



Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine  
Sumy State University

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# **POLITICAL SCIENCE**

**Lecture notes**

**In two parts**

**Part I**

Sumy  
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Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine  
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# POLITICAL SCIENCE

## **Lecture notes**

for students of specialties

*028 “Management of Social and Cultural Activity”  
and 053 “Psychology”*

of full-time course of studies

## **In two parts**

### **Part I**

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Summary of lectures is prepared in accordance with the training programme in “Political Science”. The course of Political science is presented: formation of political science, main problems of political system, evolution of political thoughts. The main attention is paid to the political aspects to institutions of political power. The main political systems, parties, political elite, leaders are considered. The nature of political power, the role of political parties in politics are revealed. It is addressed for full-time students of the training directions 028 Management of Social and Cultural Activity and 053 Psychology.

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## PREFACE

Political science as a science and academic discipline has existed for a long time. Without studying political science and understanding political processes, the existence of society itself is impossible. Political science is used to model and organize the political life of the state.

The proposed program for studying the course "Political Science" reflects the achievement of world and domestic humanitarian knowledge in all its richness and diversity of scientific directions, covers the main problems of modern political science, in particular the subject and method of political science, the development of politics as a social phenomenon, the history of political thoughts, problems of the functioning of political life, the establishment of civil society and democracy, the functioning of the political system and its institutions, the issue of political consciousness and political culture, problems of the world political process and international relations, the direction and image of political forecasting.

The curriculum of the course meets the objectives of the higher school regarding the improvement of the quality of political science education of students at the level of modern requirements. The main tasks of higher education are not only training in one particular sphere, but also the formation of a broad scientific outlook of youth – the future leaders, organizers, politicians that are the elite of society.

This text-book, which is the summary of lectures it can help with understanding the structure, functions of political power, principles of organization of political systems, role, patterns of political regimes functioning and will help to make the analysis of political events and processes, can help to make own ways of political participation.

Text-book is a way that students have the chance to prepare for the seminars, these lectures will give the whole picture of the subject.

*Man is said to be a “political animal” naturally because of his innate inclination to take part in the affairs of the city or ‘polis’ (city) and become a human being.*

*Being a political animal means that man is innately drawn to dealing with other men when it comes to the city and what should be done within it.*

*According Aristotle*

## **TOPIC 1. POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A SYSTEM OF KNOWLEDGE OF POLITICS. EVOLUTION OF POLITICAL THOUGHT**

### **Plan**

- 1.1. Political Science as a Science
- 1.2. The Dual nature of political science
- 1.3. Subject of political science. Functions and methods
- 1.4. Policy as a social phenomenon.

### **1.1. Political science as a Science**

Political science is one of the youngest humanitarian disciplines. It took shape as an independent branch of scientific knowledge in the late 40s of the XX century. Students should get acquainted with the main stages of its evolution, analyze the stages of the formation and emergence of various models of the Company's devices.

The concept of the term "politics".

There are many approaches in political science to define the essence of politics. For Plato it meant a skill, an ability to live in conditions of city-state (“polis” from Greek language). For M. Weber “politics” meant striving for authority, it is conquering of it, holding people in different social collectives.

According to D. Easton, “politics” is the distribution of values realized by authority.

In P. Merkl’s opinion “politics”, in its best manifestation is a noble striving to justice and wise order, and in its worse one it is a self-interested thirst for authority, fame, and wealth.

Another approach about “what is Politics”. In K. Ramanathan’s opinion “politics” is a way to manage human activities. Laswell & Kaplan: An empirical research/study on the power development and distribution. The study of political behavior and examines the acquisition and application of power. A process by which group of people make collective decisions. The term is generally applied to the art or science of running a governmental or state affairs.

Study of state, power and political institutions which play an important roles in managing human activity.

As an activity to govern the state or political institutions

The word politics come from the Greek word “*politika*” models on Aristotle’s affairs of the city. However, the etymology of the term only denotes the object of the study, indicates the area in which it is located. To identify specific features and for scientific definition of the term, political science needs to establish an object and subject to study political science, and students should be characterized by them. And, as a result, formulate the definition of political science.

Political science is the science of politics. Politics should be understood as a form of social activity aimed at acquiring, using, supporting and overthrowing political power, realizing the interests of the individual, social groups at different levels of the institutions of the political system. Politics is based on two concepts: politics and power. The concept of political thought emerged after the SWW.

## **1.2. The Dual nature of political science. Functions and methods**

The dual nature of political science lies in the fact that politics influences both the human mind and its emotions

*Politology as science.*

- Before one examines the claim of political **science** to be called as a science, one ought to know what is the meaning of science. Science may be defined as “a body of systematized knowledge”.

So, a knowledge that has been accumulated by a systematic process is called a science. These may be physical sciences or social sciences.

- Physical sciences like Physics, Chemistry, Biology, etc. follow this scientific approach while studying physical phenomena. Social sciences like Sociology, Political Science and Economics also follow this scientific approach while studying social phenomena.
- A political scientist may observe the electoral behaviour in a constituency systematically, with a view to formulating general principles. Political scientists like Aristotle and Bryce observed systematically the working of the governmental systems in many States. As a result of their studies, certain principles in Political Science were formulated.
- Thus, when one examines the principles of political science, one finds that these principles have been formulated after a systematic study of political phenomena. Now, if by science one means a body systematised knowledge, then political science is, no doubt, a science.

#### *Is Politology an Art?*

- What is an Art? By art it generally means “practical application of knowledge for the achievement of a particular end”. A scientist may possess thorough knowledge of the chemical composition of nature and characteristic of colours. But when an artist applies the knowledge of colours in painting a picture, it is an art for the knowledge of colours has been applied to produce a painting.
- Let us see whether political science can be an art. Political Science is a body of systematized knowledge about the State. Can this knowledge be applied in practical situation? When drafting a constitution, knowledge of political science is applied.
- In administering the day-to-day affairs of a State, knowledge of political science is necessary. In formulating foreign policies and in conducting diplomatic relations with foreign States, knowledge of political science is imperative. We observe that political science does not merely accumulate theoretical knowledge.



- Knowledge of political science is applied by statesmen, diplomats and administrators to achieve their respective ends in their day-to-day functions. Hence, political science can also be branded as an art, if by art we mean “practical application of knowledge for the achievement of a particular end.”
- Aristotle was the first thinker who viewed political science as a science. Bodin, Hobbes, Rousseau, Bryce, Bluntschli, Garner, Leacock, etc. all accept this claim. But the majority of the writers call it both a science and an art. It is an art in the sense that knowledge of political science is not of theoretical significance only. On the other hand, knowledge of Political Science has practical value. Hence, Political Science can be called both as a science and an art.

In this case, it is important for students to understand the structure of political science and to understand interdisciplinary origin of this science. The study of discipline should be based on knowledge of history, cultural studies, sociology, legal education. At the same time, political science can be considered as a basis for studying the course of philosophy, religious studies, as well as some special courses that students will study at the senior courses.

It is recommended to give a brief description of the composite parts of political science. The interdisciplinary nature of political science, proceed to the study of the patterns of political science, the main categories and methods.

### **1.3. Subject of political science. Functions and methods**

Briefly speaking, subject of political science is political system of society. State, political parties, social movements and public organizations, political leaders, all of them are subjects of politics. They have specific relations between each other and society. They also have one consolidative aim and general norms, so they *form definite social system*. Their activity is interdependent that affirms their system character. These subjects' activity directed to society, and its result is a definite situation in political life of society.

We should underline that political science is a science about politics, and the subject of political science is political system of society.

Politics is a way of functioning of political system, therefore if we wanted to understand the definite politics, first of all, we should analyze political system of given society: what is its structure, how its elements operate, what is the role of nation, how political system subordinates to nations will, etc.

Political science is closely related to the life of society, its public destination is determined by those functions that it adds in society. There are some points related to functions of political science. We can say that like a social science it plays an important role in society, and has definite responsibilities in front of society. Therefore, among the most important functions of this science we should mention cognitive-outlook one, which realizes in formation of definite knowledge, points of view, understanding of political processes and phenomena in society. Students should understand political science functions. The most important are:

a) cognitive - associated with the study of the patterns of political processes; is a formation of political consciousness in society, political culture and on this basis attraction of all conscious part of society to democratic processes and active political life.

b) prognostic - generating scientifically based forecasts on the trends in the development of the political life of society; allows at the basis of theoretical knowledge of regularities of political processes and events, theirs comparison with processes, which are happening in the state, work out the forecast of political development.

c) the rationalization of political life - justifies the need to create some and eliminate other political institutions, is developing optimal state management models.

d) there is a methodological function of political science. It is necessary to know and understand political processes, their regularities, forecast their development, predict possible results of political decisions, make fundamental ground for politics of different levels, authoritative structures and their political activity, determination of direction, strategy and tactics of state ruling.

Political science, like any social science, should use some general and specific methods of investigation.

Among basic methods we should mention dialectic and systematic ones. Dialectic method allows look at political processes and events in their formation and development, in correlation with other not only political, but also economical, social and other spheres of social life. At the basis of systematic method we have an integral approach to the political system, recognition and understanding of interconnection and interdependence between structural elements of this system.

There are some specific methods of political science: historical, comparative, empirical-sociological, and behavioral.

With a help of historical method we study the political events in process of their formation and development in connection with the past.

Comparative method gives us the chance to compare political processes and events, distinguishing general and special ones, essential and non-essential matters, consistent and accidental patterns.

Empirical-sociological method allows using of sociological means in investigations, and analysis of real political life's factors. At this basis, political scientists can make the conclusions of tendencies, regularities of political decisions, and make political forecasts.

Empirical-sociological method depends on the object of investigation and includes some approaches:

The institutional approach (study of political institutes, content, structure, organization and functioning of political authority);

The activity one (investigation of the development of political processes and political activity);

The sociological one (determinative influence of politics on individuality, social groups and their influence on politics).

Behavioral method (key words - behavior, action) is based on the analysis of political behavior of individuals and social groups.

There are some other methods of political science:

= content-analysis is a quantitative analysis of political information (constitutions, programmes and statutes of political parties, political agreements, speeches of political leaders, etc.);

= observation is a method of primary empirical fact gathering: systematical, goal-seeking perception and registration of political facts;

= inquiry is a special method of oral or written appeal to people with definite questions with the aim of determination of their attitude, estimation, and relation to the political situations or events.

#### **1.4. Policy as a social phenomenon**

When considering the second question, students should analyze the origin of policies, give it a definition. Interest in politics can be traced in people with deep antiquity. The policy took shape as a relatively independent sphere of the social life in connection with the problems of people at a certain stage of development of society. The implementation of such interests of groups that affect the social status of social and national communities, demanded the interference of state and other innovation of public authorities, applying in order to resolve contradictions and preserving the integrity of society, the middle of coercion and social violence. Therefore, politics (from Greek. - The art of government management) can be defined as the region mainly targeted relations between social groups about the use of public authority institutions in the interests of implementing their socially significant requests and needs.

It is important to understand that the essence of policies is also determined by a number of functions that it performs. Its most significant functions are:

- 1) structuring of the political organization;
- 2) the expression and protection of the policies of the important interests of the state, social groups and layers of society, individuals;
- 4) organization of political relations in society, the integration of various segments of the population;
- 5) the formation of political consciousness of citizens.

There are many approaches what is politics. But all of them can unite one definition: "Politics is a phenomenon of social life. It arose in society, aimed to organization of society and protection of interests of definite social groups.

According to above-listed, we have two basic postulates:

I – Politics is a social life phenomenon, and like a definite form of activity should include two components: theoretical and practical.

II – The main aim of politics is organization of society for satisfaction of needs and interests of society as a whole, and first of all its ruling stratum.

So, the essence of politics we can determine in such definition:

*Politics is a specific theoretical and practical activity of state, authority, political parties, public movements and organizations, and individuals, directed to determination of ways and aims of social development, organization and management of society with aims of its achievement; satisfaction of needs and interests of society, and its ruling stratum.*

Politics is the most important structural element of social life. It represents the sphere of relations between people, in the case of organization and functioning of state authority. Political science as a science studies political life, political system of society, its structure, processes, and phenomena. It works out scientific recommendations and forecasts of political development. This science is a basis of formation of political consciousness and political culture in democratic society.

Generalizing all above-mentioned points, we can say that the subject of political science in wide understanding is political system of society, regularities, principles and mechanisms of its formation, functioning and development on micro- and macro-level.

In narrow understanding, the subject of political science and its investigation is the essence of political authority and its institutes, regularities of their appearance, functioning and transformation.

And students should understand difference between Political Science and Politics. Political science and Politics are two words that are often confused when it comes to their meaning. Actually there is some difference between the two words. Political science deals with the science of politics. On the other hand, politics refers to the affairs of the state. This is the main difference between political science and politics.

- Political science deals with the origin of politics, forms of government in various countries, the various rights of people in a

country, the role of the ruling party and the opposition party, and such other topics. On the other hand, the word 'politics' refers to the state of affairs of a country. The affairs of a country are of course directed towards the welfare of its countrymen. The word '*politics*' is used figuratively nowadays exactly in the opposite sense. If a move is not explicable by the commoner then it is termed a political move. That, which is incomprehensible is often called political in sense. Sometimes, the word 'politics' refers to political principles.

- Political science, on the other hand, deals with the theory and practice of politics. It analyses the various political systems across the globe all through the different centuries. Political events and conditions are often given importance in the study of political science. In fact, it can be said that political science integrates itself with other branches of knowledge as well, including, anthropology, economics, international relations, sociology, history, and law. It is interesting to note that political science has relevance to psychology and comparative politics, as well.
- A person who is adept in the knowledge of political science is often referred to by the name 'political scientist'. On the other hand, a person who is adept in politics and administration is often called by the name, 'politician'.

## **TOPIC 2. HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHTS**

### **PLAN**

- 2.1. Periodization in the History of Political Thought
- 2.2. Political thought of the Ancient world.
- 2.3. Political ideas in the Middle Ages.
- 2.4. Political thought of the Renaissance and New Time
- 2.5. Political thought of the XIX-XX century
- 2.6. History of political thought development in Ukraine

### **.2.1. Periodization in the History of Political Thought**

Political thought studies questions about power, justice, rights, law, and other issues related to governance. While some believe these concepts are static, political thought asks how they originated and to what effect.

Political Thought is a field of Political Science - it is, an important sense, its foundation. However politics or Political Science is defined, there is a need to understand both normative and empirical problems in politics. Political Thought deals with the normative aspect of Political Science. In this regard, it demonstrates the limits to Political Science and allows us to understand what we know and what We do not. Political Thought teaches us what questions to ask in Political Science.

Political Thought is divided into three general areas of study. The first looks at the history of political thought and we`ll stude exactly this part. This historical aspect of political thought is itself divided into three periods, with two basic Concentrations. The major periods are ancient, medieval, and modern and the two Concentrations are Western and Oriental. The second area of study is Political Philosophy. Political Philosophy is premised on a normative, universal and abstract approach to Political Science; it encourages us to think carefully about the Contemporary values of politics. The third area is Political Ideology. In this area, research centers on Liberalism,

Conservatism, and Socialism. The objective is to identify the relationship between political thought and reality.

Political Thought has developed with the overall advancement of Political Science

1. Antiquity (VI-IV century BC). Ancient Greece. Plato, Aristotle. They created systematized concepts of political knowledge (the science of politics). The problem of man and his connection with nature and the state. The ideal form of government is a just state (Plato).

2. The Middle Ages. Augustine the Blessed (VI-V centuries). "On the City of God": laid the foundations of Catholic political philosophy. You need a rational knowledge of God. In his work, A. Blessed describes two hailstones: the Roman Empire ("Babylonian harlot") and New Jerusalem (the City of Heaven). God determines in what hail people fall, so people need to live right, that is, According to God's laws. The first philosophy of history.

3. New time. Return to lost ancient values. XVII century. - The first scientific revolution. XVIII century. - the religious grounds for explaining everything that exists on Earth are undermined. The natural-legal concept and theory of contractual origin of the state. A natural person becomes a state person through the conclusion of a social contract.

## **2.2. Political thought of the Ancient world.**

The history of the formation of political ideas, doctrines, thought is to long durini many centureces. The elements of the formation of political scientific knowledge for a long time was formed within the framework of publicly philosophical theories.

The start of scientific knowledge of politics was laid by ancient Greek widnings. Solon, Democritus, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle.

In 507 BC, an Athenian leader Cleisthenes introduced a system of political reforms that he called "democracy" or "rule of the people" (here demos, "people" and Kratos, or "power"). It was the first known democracy in the world. This system consisted of three separate institutions: the Ecclesia, the sovereign governing body that wrote



laws and dictated foreign policy; the Boule, a Council of representatives from the ten Athenian tribes and dikasteria, people's courts, in which citizens discussed the case before a group of jurors selected for the lottery. Although this Athenian democracy would survive for only two centuries, it is the invention of Cleisthenes, the "Father of democracy", was one of the most enduring contributions of ancient Greece to the modern world. The Greek system of direct democracy would pave the way representative democracies around the world.

Socrates remained the idea of a rule of law, opposed aka the form of the Board as democracy.

Socrates, in his analysis of political and philosophical problems and issues, applied the method of dialectic, and in this respect he departed from the Sophists who arranged the different topics in a systematic way and then discussed them.

Socrates, on the other hand, adopted the question-answer method. Needless to say, his disciple Plato also followed him.

In the view of Socrates ethics and politics are closely connected with each other. Without politics ethics carries no value, and without ethics politics becomes harmful. "The highest of all virtues is the political art which includes statecraft and makes men good politicians and public officials."

Almost similar opinion was made by Aristotle. In other words, Socrates thought that the purpose of politics was not to capture power, nor it was an art how to remain in power. Political ethics make good and proper citizens. Both public and private persons must learn the art of political ethics.

Socrates also discussed the concept of law. He divided law into unwritten divine law and written human law. He cautioned us by pointing out that there was no discrepancy between these two sets of laws.

Justice was the root of all the laws. If a law is not justified by justice, it is useless. If anything is not approved by justice it cannot be legal. To be precise, Socrates gave priority to justice in his thought system and in this respect Socrates followed his predecessors.

Socrates dealt with a popular and at the same time important concept of politics popularly known as allegiance to law. He devised the theory of concord which means the citizens must show allegiance and obedience to law. Interpreting Socrates's allegiance to law, Xenophon, the most reliable interpreter of Socrates's view, says—"A Republic that is obedient to laws is happy in peace and invincible in war. Moreover, you know that concord is a great happiness in a state." Socrates admitted the diversities among the citizens and differences of opinion

Plato dreamed of an ideal state managed by the wisers of philosophers. Citizens of this state are warriors who have no private property, nor wives, no children. They have all the general, so that there is no mutual hostility. Create material values – artisans. The ideal form of the organization -Ristocratic or monarchical. The political and social issues Plato devoted the two most detailed of his works: "State" and "Laws". In his works, Plato talks about the model of an "ideal", better state, creates a project, a utopia. Plato did not accept much in the already existing states in principle. In the treatise "The State" Plato writes that the main reason for the spoiling of societies and states (which once had a "perfect" system in the time of the "golden age") is in the "domination of vested interests" that determine the actions and behavior of people. In accordance with this basic flaw, Plato divides all existing states into four varieties in order of increasing, increasing "selfish interests" in their system.

Aristotle laid the basics of politics, summarizing the experience of the ancient city - the state, described the ancient political regimes. The main idea of Aristotle was the idea of the natural nature of the state, the essence of which he saw in a common goal, considered the state by the Supreme Unity of the Company.

In his work "Politics" Aristotle expressed a number of fundamental ideas about democracy. For example, a social basis of democracy, middle class as a guarantee of strength, the stability of the direction of the Board; election of rulers and electoral laws, etc.

### *Political Thought of Ancient Rome*

Cicero, the political thinker of ancient Rome, in his treatises paid attention to the problems of legal equality and state. The state should be based on the universal mind and defense, it is the result of the activities of the people, the reason for its relations is the need to protect property.. In his scholarly reflections in the works *On State*, *On Laws*, and others, Cicero emphasized that the basis of the state is the desire of people to live together, and the center - the family. The state, in his opinion, is a harmonized legal formation, the achievement of the people.

Depending on the number of subjects of power in the state, Cicero divided the states into monarchies (royal power), aristocracy (power of optimists), democracy (people's power), indicating that in nature there is a cycle of these forms. Cicero considered the ideal a mixed form that would have elements of the three named forms of state.

### **2.3. Political ideas of the Middle Ages**

The middle Ages occurred in the V–XVI CC. during this period, political views evolved and changed. Throughout the middle Ages there was a fierce struggle between the papacy and secular feudal lords, monarchs for their leadership in the community. The Central problem of political thought was the question of which power should be priority: spiritual or secular

The political thought of the Middle Ages is presented primarily by the names of Augustine Blessed (Aurelius Augustine) and Thomas Aquinas, who played a crucial role in justifying the Christian political concept. Although before the effect of theology on political thought was large enough, nevertheless, the Middle Ages period is distinguished by the dominance of religious concepts of public life.

Augustine Blessed - the most prominent representative of Christian political thought - made a particularly great contribution to the doctrine of the division of power into secular and spiritual, state and church and their interaction. He contrasted two states: "Kingdom of God" - the church, where the world reigns, peace, unity, law and justice, "Kingdom earthly" - the state created by people. And we can tell that in his work, A. Blessed describes two milestones: the Roman

Empire ("Babylonian harlot") and New Jerusalem (the City of Heaven). God determines in what hail people fall, so people need to live right, that is, According to God's laws. It is the first philosophy of history.

He proclaimed that all social and state institutions, as well as legal norms, are the result of sinfulness of the people. God gave man the will, and if he does not use it according to the Scriptures, he becomes like the devil. Freedom seems to induce man to commit sin. From this, Augustine concluded that only a select, chosen people could take advantage of the law of God. All others must suffer

Thomas Akvinsky (1226-1274) a prominent representative of Christian political thought. He proceeded from the fact that it is not necessary to recognize any power, but the one that meets the divine institutions and natural law. If positive right does not correspond to the divine and natural law, it is unlawful and not subject to observance.

Aquinas's theory of political order became highly influential. He sees man as a social being that lives in a community and interacts with its other members. That leads, among other things, to the division of labour.

Aquinas made a distinction between a good man and a good citizen, which was important to the development of libertarian theory. That is, the sphere of individual autonomy was one which the state could not interfere with.

Thomas thinks that monarchy is the best form of government, because a monarch does not have to form compromises with other persons. Moreover, according to Thomas, oligarchy degenerates more easily into tyranny than monarchy. To prevent a king from becoming a tyrant, his political powers must be curbed. Unless an agreement of all persons involved can be reached, a tyrant must be tolerated, as otherwise the political situation could deteriorate into anarchy, which would be even worse than tyranny.

#### **2.4. Political thought of the Renaissance and New Time**

Ancient political scientific knowledge has been developed and enriched with a prominent politician and scientists of the Renaissance

N. Machiavelli. In his work "Sovereign" he determined political science as a science of the state. The main thing in the presence of Machiavelli - state power, analysis of its disposal, conservation, increase.

Niccolò di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, was a Florentine Renaissance historian, politician, diplomat, philosopher, humanist, and writer. He has often been called the founder of modern political science. He was for many years a senior official in the Florentine Republic, with responsibilities in diplomatic and military affairs. He also wrote comedies, carnival songs, and poetry. His personal correspondence is renowned in the Italian language. He was secretary to the Second Chancery of the Republic of Florence from 1498 to 1512, when the Medici were out of power. He wrote his most renowned work *The Prince* (*Il Principe*) in 1513.

He denied the theological approach to clarifying the essence of the state and law and justified the concept of fate. In this regard, Machiavelli noted that the rulers, who had completely obeyed their destiny, could not resist its blows and lost power. In his view, power in the state can be gained through the use of arms or the mercy of fate. Forms of state depend on the number of rulers.

He said that...

- Politics have no relation to morals.
- It is much more secure to be feared than to be loved.
- A prince never lacks legitimate reasons to break his promise.

He believed that the basis of the input behavior is the benefit and strength. Policy should be relying on force, and not to morality, which can be adopted in the presence of a good goal. Hence, on Machiavelli, it follows the conclusion - the goal justifies funds in politics.

Machiavelli frees politics from the principles of morality. It is from this thesis that a new in political thought begins the flow of "Machiavelism", i.e. What is associated with a policy based on a cult of coarse force. Of all the forms of the state device, he prefers a republic, considering it a better form to maintain state power.

*Political Thought of Modern Times*

In the XVI - XVII centuries. there was a bourgeois revolution in the Netherlands that greatly influenced the development of capitalist relations in Protestant countries.

In the era of the origin of capitalist relations in Western Europe, the development of political ideas is associated with the names of Hobbs, Locke, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, etc.

Hobbes believed that the disorganic life was represented by the Chaos, from this chaos, people found a way by creating a public contract, i.e. They agreed to convey all their rights to the monarch and submit to exchange for the law. States: monarchy, democracy and aristocracy. Locke was an ideologist of a social compromise between the nobility and the bourgeoisie. The state, by Locke, receives from people as much as power, how much is necessary to implement their - Gr.Dadan ideas and the right to own property. He also developed the idea of a rule of law, considering the law by the main tool for preserving and expanding freedom. Freedom requires a clear distinction between the authorities. Any form of state, considered Locke, must grow out of the public contract. In contrast to Hobbs, Locke concluded that the state should obey the public.

Freedom and equality of Montecchia considered as the fundamental properties of human nature. The theory of separation of the authorities is the second achievement of Montesquieu. In his opinion, political power is always abused, and the abuse comes out of the nature of the cell. The rule of law can only be provided by the distribution of authorities to legislative, executive and judicial, so that the authorities can hold each other.

Jean-Shak Rousseau has a special place in the radical-democratic direction of political thought. With the Rousseau to change the civilian concept comes social, accents are shifted in it. The starting point is not a person, but groups, i.e. Classes, nations. In one sense, people create a state, and in the other - they are the products of the state. According to Rousseau, those who resist the general will, all society should force to her. Rousseau recognized social equality, and private ownership is not denied.

I.Kant German Philosopher continued the development of liberalism, defending the principle of self-autonomy personality. He

was a supporter of contractual state theories, developed ideas of legal restriction of state power. The highest form of providing ourselves, advocates law enforcement. The right has a forced force, whose carrier is the state.

## **2.5. Political thought of the XIX-XX century**

Considering this question, it is necessary to pay attention to the teachings of representatives of the utopian socialism of the beginning of the XIX century. (Saint-Simon, Fourier and Owen). Unlike other thinkers, Utopists saw society progress in its exclusive change. The main reason for the instability of society, they saw in the non-fair bundle of it, the main reason for which was private property. Basically, not denying it, Saint-Simon and Fourier called for its reasonable distribution. Utopists protruded for the public nature of power, against exploitation, for the emancipation of women (Fourier) and believed that the "golden age" ahead, a fairly one person endowed with the will and reason to want to change the existing position, it will come.

A special place in the history of political thought is allocated to marxism. Marx and Engels inherited the ideas of their predecessors and enriched them. The attention of students should be paid to the fact that despite the fundamental difference of the philosophical foundations of the Marxist analysis of politics from other theories, its influence is impossible to deny it. Many prominent political scientists and social sociologists consider Marx by the classic of political science and noted the contribution of Lenin to the development of politics as activities. The central idea of Marxism is the rationale for the socio-economic determination of the political sphere of society. It is concretized in the provisions on the class nature of the state, the policies of the parties. The dominant idea of Marxism is the substantiation and disclosure of the class and economic basis of political power, its institutions. Political power in Marx, there is only a generation of economic power: the class which owns economic power, inevitably conquers political power. Social and class, class-economic approach in policy analysis - minor method for the Marxist method. An important idea of marcsism can also be considered the problem of relative policies.

At the end of the XIX and XX century, Marxism finds its expression in two main directions: revolutionary and reformist. The revolutionary course found its expression in Leninism, and the reformist today is the Social Democratic Movement of Europe.

A special place in the development of political science belongs to M. Deber. He argued that in the Late Baptist Society, the inclusive life of people is determined by the bureaucracy - the rapidly growing layer of managers. He developed both the theory of democracy, the central link of which was the doctrine on the mechanism of social control, over a bureaucratic apparatus separately from society. Weber has developed the concept of power legitimacy.

The central place in modern political science is occupied by the issues of the authorities and democratization of public life in the conditions of transfers from the industrial type of society to the post-industrial. Among the representatives of this area, the American political scientists of Luel, R. Dal, O. Toffler, M. Krozier, etc. occupy a prominent place.

## **2.6. History of political thought development in Ukraine**

Formation of political thought in Kievan Rus also took place under the influence of the Christian religion, which since 988 became state. This is evidenced by the first literary monuments of the time. The main concepts of socio-political thought of princely times were the concept of "godly ruler" and the concept of "princely unity". For a long time the Ukrainian people had to endure hard trials. The ancestors of the Ukrainians suffered a Mongol-Tatar invasion, then Ukraine was conquered by Lithuania, but the worst was the oppression of Poland, accompanied by religious oppression. National-religious enslavement has adversely affected the development of political thought in Ukraine. But everything changed when in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. ideas of the Reformation against the feudal system and Catholicism began to penetrate into Ukraine. The political thought of this period is represented by the ideas of an enlightened monarchy limited by law. Political views in Ukraine were further developed during the Hetmanate.



The issues of the relationship between church and state were reflected in the political views of the prominent figure of the Orthodox Church, Peter Mohyla. He outlined the concept of the perfect ruler. I saw him as a strong, resolute, virtuous, and faithful right glorious faith ruler. The pinnacle of the development of political thought in the first half of the nineteenth century, became the political doctrine of the Cyril and Methodius Society. Members of this organization, rallied around the idea of a Slavic union in the form of a Slavic Republican Federation. The further development of political ideologies in Ukraine was largely facilitated by M. Hrushevsky and V. Vinnychenko. The basis of M. Hrushevsky's political concepts was Ukraine's entry into Russia to gain autonomy, but this principle was neglected.

In Political Thought in Ukraine in the 1920s - 1930s. There are several directions, in particular, conservative, state nationalism, integral nationalism.

## **TOPIC 3. POLITICAL POWER. THE CONCEPT, ESSENCE, STAGES OF THE FORMATION OF POLITICAL POWER**

3.1. The concept, essence, stages of the formation of political power

3.2. Main characteristics, resources and structure of political power

3.3. Problems of legitimacy of power

### **3.1. The concept, essence, stages of the formation of political power**

Power is the relationship between the subjects, in which one of them certainly falls under the influence of another. Behavioral concepts focus on the motives of the behavior of people in the struggle for power, which is considered as the ultimate goal of political action. According to them, the regulatory in the system of political relations is the government of the market: accounting of a survey and suggestions, competition.

Systematic approaches determine power as a fundamental property of the system, designed to protect it from disorganization and destruction. Power regulates group conflicts and ensures the integration of society. Power is one of the types of social interaction between people, as a result of which one of the subjects implements his will through the command and submission system.

Power - 1) the ability, the right and the opportunity to dispose someone or something, and have a decisive influence on the fate and behavior the activities of people through various means: law, authority, liberty, coercion, etc .; 2) system of government.

Power is the ability of an individual or group to state in social relations, in spite of the resistance, people`s own will.

Power is the realization of defined goals. Among two subjects, the power has one who reaches the highest outlined results. (teleological approach)

Power is a special type of behavior when some people rule, and others - obey. Man is managed by desire of power. It is perceived as a mean of enrichment, prestige, safety and welfare. Political power is collision of will to power as the balance of political forces. (behaviorism approach)

Power - is a derivative not from the individual, interpersonal relations but from social system and manifests itself in relations between the parts and the whole. (system approach)

Power - feature of social organization, social status, roles that allow you to control the resources of power. (structural and functional approach)

Power - the relation between two partners (agents) in which one of them has a significant impact on the other. In other words, it is an interaction between the subject and the object in which the subject through certain means controls the object. (relational approach)

Students should understand difference between Definitions of Power and management, control, authority, leading. SO below the Definitions of this words.

Management – using government powers in shaping the behavior of targeted objects.

Control - the ability of authorities to constantly monitor how the government regulations are implemented.

Authority - mechanism of realization of power, which takes the form of social institutions and provides for the division of social groups in dominant and subordinate, hierarchy and social distance between them, isolating and separating special administrative apparatus.

Leading - determination of the main objectives of society development and ways of their achievement.

### **3.2. Main characteristics, resources and structure of political power**

So, *Political power is the relationship between institutions, organizations, rippices, individuals, in which one of the parties a long period of time and is guaranteed to require the other part of the fulfillment of its power orders and has for this control and pressure.*

To understand the content of the power relations, it is necessary to analyze the components of the authorities in detail: the subject and the object of power, its resources.

The subject of government in the system of social relations acts as an active principle. It determines the activities of people and

organizations on the basis of the authority command, expressed in a democratic or authoritarian form and strictly achieves its execution, using sanctions (punishment) or encouragement. The authorities are responsible for the development of a system of norms and rules governing the behavior of individuals and social groups.

To implement the powerful interactions, there is not enough for one subject of power. The second most important component in the system of powerful relations is the object of government as an actover of the subject. The objects of power are society, class, ethnicity, group, individual. Objects of political power include all aspects of life - economic, social, spiritual, scientific, technical, etc.

Continuing the characteristics of the components of the authorities, the students must consider the resources of the authorities under which all those means that the use of which ensures the impact on the government in accordance with the objectives of the subject. The typology of resources reflects their diversity.

In accordance with the most important areas of activity, resources are characterized as economic, social, political and power, cultural and informational, demographic. We highlight the habitatistics of social resources as the most difficult to understand. Social resources - the ability to increase (or lower) social status, places in the social hierarchy (Publishing, prestige, education, etc.). The diversity in the use of resources increases the performance of power. The use of power resources makes reality and the process that occurs in the following forms: domination, management, organization and contour. Students need to reveal the essence of these forms of power.

The power **resources** are subjective (personalized), political, physical, social, cultural, information, force, demographical and other.

- *Subjective* power resources include the following personal characteristics of the subject of power as political education, competence, organization, political will, the ability to analyze the political situation and forecasting, the ability to make decisions and take responsibility, determination, authority and others.

- *Political* resources of power are based on availability of developed political parties, of effective mechanisms of government, its human resources, developed political culture.

- *Economic* power resources are represented in advanced material and technical base of society, favorable geographical position, mineral wealth resources, advanced production technology, skilled labor and others.

**Resources of power** - all the means the usage of which ensures the impact on the objectives by the subject.

- *Social* power resources - is socially structured society with high levels of education, welfare, health service.

- *Cultural* and *information* resources of power - information, knowledge, media, manipulation of public consciousness.

- To *Force* resources belong army, police, security, court, prosecutor's office.

- *Legal* power resources - legislative values, developed system of law, high legal culture of population.

- *Demographic* resources of government are physically and mentally healthy population, no sharp disharmony of age, demographic sustainability relations and others.

## Features

- The *supremacy* of political power makes it mandatory for others types of government, society as a whole. It can limit the influence of other types of power, or even stop functioning of some of their subjects.

- *Publicity* of political power means its public, impersonal and outdoor nature. It is implemented on behalf of and within society.

- Monocentrism of political power reveals itself in the presence of a single decision making center concerning the whole society. It is state and its higher authorities.

There is a difference between legitimacy and legality of power.

- The first is the concept of moral character, the second is legal and ethically neutral.

- Legal authority is issuing laws and can realize them, but it may not be legitimate (when the population is in passive or active opposition to the government).

- Legitimacy is the recognition by people under power

Unlike political power of other types (economic, social, spiritual and informational) are polycentric, they are realized by many centers - enterprises, social funds, the media and others - independent from each other.

### **3.3. Problems of legitimacy of power**

Considering this issue, students should understand that the features of various elements of power can serve as a criterion for the allocation of specific types of power. They must, based on the characteristics of the resources, to allocate the corresponding types of power, namely: economic, social, forced, spiritual information. Students need to give a detailed characteristic of political power, to determine its essence and signs. Among them, to highlight the legality in the use of power within the state, the rule, the obligation of solutions for any other power, publicity (generality and impersonality), monocentricity and diversity of resources.

The most important characteristic of power is its legitimacy. The legitimacy of the authorities is associated with the belief of the overwhelming majority of the population to the fact that political norms, the political system are the best for this country.

*Legitimacy* - the ability of a particular political regime to achieve public recognition and justification of the chosen political course, its political decisions, personnel or functional changes in the structures of power.

Typology of M. Weber's legitimacy, which distinguished three main types of legitimacy of political domination: traditional, charismatic and rational-legal.

The traditional type of legitimacy of power is based on the authority of traditions and customs. Power of this type is established

in accordance with traditions and customs and is limited by them. The authorities perceive power as due, as it always has been, they are accustomed to submit to power and believe in the inviolability and sacredness of long-standing orders. Traditional legitimacy is the most stable because traditions and customs are the most sustainable. A clear example of this type of legitimacy is the power of the heir to the throne.

The charismatic type of legitimacy of political domination is based on the belief of subordinates in unusual qualities and abilities, the exclusiveness of the ruler. This type is characteristic of societies with low levels of development of democracy and political culture of its members. Often, it also occurs in developed democratic states in times of crisis, when there is an urgent need to unite all sections of society around the personality of a political leader to overcome the crisis. At the same time, the greatness of the very person of the leader, whose authority sanctifies power structures, promotes recognition of power by the population, is consciously cultivated.

The rational-legal type of legitimacy of political domination is based on the conviction of the subordinates in the legality (legality) and expediency (rationality) of the established procedures and the existing power. Under this type of legitimacy, the authorities and their leaders are elected through democratic procedures and accountable to voters, ruled not by prominent persons, but by the laws on which the authorities and officials act. This is the basic type of legitimacy of political power in modern democratic states.

- National-patriotic legitimacy that determines the national symbols, rituals, myths inherited from the previous national government formations;
- Legitimacy on the principles of participation, which requires a broad participation of citizens in political institutions and their faith in the possibility of influence the government.

In conclusion, it is necessary to analyze the main forms of legitimacy of power: traditional legitimacy (based on habits, customs to obey the authorities), legal, rational legal legitimacy (voluntarily established legal norms regulate power relations), charismatic legitimacy (based on faith in Supernatural qualities of a political leader, which can grow into a cult of personality).

## **TOPIC 4. POLITICAL REGIMES: TOTALITARIAN, AUTHORITARIAN, DEMOCRATIC**

### Plan

- 4.1. Political regime and its parameters
- 4.2. Features of totalitarianism
- 4.3. Features of the authoritarian regime
- 4.4. Features of the democratic regime

### **4.1. Political regime and its parameters**

"Political regime" is a system of methods, means and means of the implementation of political power, mechanical interaction between the subject and the object of power.

Political regime is determined by many parameters.

Among them are the most important are:

- the degree of participation of the people in the formation of political power;
- guaranteeing of the rights and freedoms of the individual and their relationship with the rights of the state;
- the degree of real participation of the people in political life;
- Characteristics of real mechanisms for the implementation of power in society;
- the situation of the media, the degree of publicity in society and the transparency of the state apparatus;
- the real relationship between legislative, executive and judicial authorities;
- the position of political parties, movements, public associations of citizens in the political system;
- the functioning of the social representation system;
- political and legal status and role in the society of the power structures of the state (army, police, state security bodies, etc.);
- dominance of certain methods (convictions, coercion, etc.) in the implementation of political power;
- accounting of minority interests in making political decisions;



- availability of mechanisms of political and legal responsibility of officials, including the highest.

#### **4.2. Features of totalitarianism:**

- the ideology of all social life with the monopoly domination "of the only right" ideology (class, racial, nationalist),

- the brutal suppression of any dissent;

- The domination of the extremely centralized political movement led by the mass batch of totalitarian type. This party grows up with the state ("party-state") and focuses the entire completeness of power in society.

- dominance in managing the methods of violence, coercion, terror;

- the presence of a powerful apparatus of social control and coercion (security service, army, militia, etc.).

- blind faith and fear - the main resources of totalitarian management;

- Limit centralization of state power, sacralization (deification) of its carriers, the cult of leaders.

In political science, totalitarianism denotes a form of dictatorial rule, which, unlike an authoritarian dictatorship, claims to have an influence on all the social spheres. This principle is often linked to the desire to create a « new man ». While an authoritarian dictatorship tries to maintain the status quo, a totalitarian dictatorship requires that citizens participate actively in political life and wants the political life to develop in a direction dictated by the respective ideology. Thus, totalitarianism is generally based on the popular and mass organizations, which it is mobilizing all the time. It excludes any form of opposition, going until the moral and physical destruction of those who totally or partially object to the totalitarian claim for dominance (right to gain power)

#### **4.3. Features of the authoritarian regime:**

- a small number of carriers of power (monarch, dictator, military junta, oligarchic group);

- the unemplishment of the authorities, the principles of the election of state bodies and officials, accountability of their population are narrowed or negated.

- the principle of separation of the authorities, the head of state, the executive power is dominated, the role of representative bodies is limited;
- monopolization of power and policies, preventing the real political opposition and competition (sometimes the lack of a variety of political institutions may be a consequence of the immaturity of civil society);
- refusal of total control over society, non-interference or limited interference in non-organistics, primarily in the economy;
- Team, administrative, administrative, at the same time, there is no terror in the quality of state administration, at the same time, mass repressions are practically not used;
- there is no single ideology;
- rights and freedoms of individuals are mainly proclaimed, but are really not provided (first of all in the political sphere);
- the personality is deprived of security guarantees in relationships with power;
- Power structures to society are almost uncontrolled and sometimes used for political purposes.

#### **4.4. Features of the democratic regime**

- recognition of the people the source of power, sovereign in the state. The sovereignty of the people is expressed in the fact that he forms the state power through elections and participates in its implementation directly (with the help of referenda, local self-government, as well as mainly through representative bodies chosen by him);
- regular election and replacing the central and local government bodies, their accountability to voters;
- proclamation and real enforcement of human rights and freedoms and citizen. Of particular importance for the full functioning of the democratic political system is guaranteed to citizens' rights to participate in the management of the state - the electoral law, the right to create political parties and other associations, freedom of speech, opinions, rights to information, etc.;
- making decisions by the majority and subordination of the minority to the majority in their implementation;

- democratic control of society over power structures (armed forces, police, security bodies, etc.) used only on direct purpose and strictly within the framework of laws;
- dominance of belief methods, coordination, compromise; narrowing of methods of violence, coercion, suppression;
- the real implementation of the principles of the legal state, including the principle of separation of the authorities.

## **TOPIC 5. DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF POWER SUPPLY AND A MEANS OF A POLITICAL PROCESS**

### **Plan**

- 5.1. General principles of democracy
- 5.2. Democracy is carried out through its shapes
- 5.3. Democracy as an ideal and reality
- 5.4. How applicable to the principles of democracy to reality

### **5.1. General principles of democracy**

This topic in the course of political science is very significant, as it is associated with the analysis and functioning of the political system.

Democracy is one of the main forms of government, the substantial and social organization of society, the state and power, developing and progressing in history political regime, usually associated with the republican form of the state.

Democracy must be understood as a historical process of realization of freedom, justice, etc. This process is infinite.

The history of the study of democracy makes it possible to allocate in the work of the antique philosophers of Plato and Aristotle the first characteristics of the concept. Modern democracy includes a number of major provisions:

- 1) the highest political legislature should be elected people;
- 2) Along with him, elected authorities should exist. The authorities and management of less high levels, right up to self-government;
- 3) voters must be equal to rights, and selective right - universal;
- 4) All voters must have an equal right to vote;
- 5) the vote must be free;
- 6) a voting list is not allowed;
- 7) the decision in the election is carried out by most votes;
- 8) the decision of the majority limits the minority rights;
- 9) the authority must enjoy the confidence of other bodies authorities;

10) the relationship of society and elected by him authorities us to be mutually responsible;

11) democracy exists under continuous and close public inspection;

12) the state and society produce effective mechanics the bottom of preventing and resolving conflicts on all social and political levels, tire and minority, social groups, nations, etc.

Of the listed fundamental principles, others follow: the priority of human rights over the human rights; restriction of the power of most over the minority; Respect for minority rights to have their own opinion and defend him; law supremacy.

### **5.2. Democracy is carried out through its shapes.**

This is direct democracy and representative. Direct or direct democracy include elections on the basis of universal impact law. Direct democracy proceeds from the fact that the people himself should directly participate in the adoption of the most important political decisions.

Representative democracy proceeds from the understanding of democracy as a competent and responsible for the people of representative office. The carriers of the representative authorities are the national parliament, as well as other legislative bodies both in the center and in the field, as well as elected representatives of the executive and judicial authorities. In modern democratic society, the formation of public policy at all levels is mainly in representative institutions. This is due to the increased complexity of the inherent ownership of the civilization of economic, social, political, environmental and other problems.

### **5.3. Democracy as an ideal and reality**

In the second question, the attention of students focuses on the statement of Abraham Lincoln - "Democracy is the national board exercised by the people for the sake of the people."

Democracy is currently more likely as an attractive ideal, and not as a characteristic of real democratic states. This concept contains an internal contradiction. Its essence is that the power of the people in the full sense of this word means the self-government of the people, and therefore the denial of the special apparatus of coercion and other

attributes of the state. In fact, democracy has never existed without state. To preserve the stability of the social system, mandatory for all decisions of state bodies are inevitable.

The concept of democracy finds practical application in many countries of the world. But has a number of shortcomings:

1) idealization of reality, exaggeration of participation of citizens

Dan in political processes;

2) ignoring the influence of business, bureaucracy, military-industrial complex, trade union

Call on power;

3) restriction of freedom in favor of equality. Support state

The gift of socially disadvantaged layers can really implement

Just only at the expense of other populations.

Despite the shortcomings, democracy is the most humane form of government from all known. The negative sides of democracy can largely neutralize, without refusing to its main advantages. Democratic Board increases the likelihood of finding optimal solutions. When making political decisions, various views and positions are presented and the selection of the most acceptable of them is selected.

#### **5.4. How applicable to the principles of democracy to reality**

Democracy implies certain conditions for its approval and normal functioning. It is necessary that each people ripe to organize the corresponding forms and mechanisms of self-government. It is important that he realize not only the limits of his rights, but also responsibility, responsibilities for self-protection, which is acquired as a result of a long historical experience. The above is presented, mainly understanding the Euro-centrist theory of democracy. In order to become a valid de-mocrat, it is necessary that the person is born and grew by socialized in a democratic sociocultural environment.

The idea of democracy in its Eurocentrist understanding relies on the postulate - an individual is more important than the group. Other business in the east. If the issue of individual rights and freedoms is relevant in the West, then in most eastern countries in the first place there are group rights and interests.

## **TOPIC 6. POLITICAL SYSTEM**

Plan

- 6.1. System approach to learning political life
- 6.2. Structure of the political system. The objects of operation.
- 6.3. Types of political systems

### **6.1. System approach to learning political life**

Starting to study this topic, it is necessary to figure out why the concept of "political system" is one of the main in political science. Deep rationale and widespread, this concept received only in the middle of the 20th century. This is generated by the logic of political science, which led to the need to describe political life from the system position.

It should be paid to the fact that political scientists have developed several models that allow us to clearly understand the functioning of political systems.

Easton, Almond are the foundations of system analysis of political system of any country.

Easton approach. Each part of the larger political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other part; the operation of no one part can be fully understood without reference to the way in which the whole itself operates.

The very idea of a system suggests that we can separate political life from the rest of social activity ... and examine as a self-contained entity surrounded by environment or setting in which it operates. What keeps the system going are inputs of various kinds. These inputs are converted by the processes of the system into outputs and these have consequences both for the system and for the environment in which system exists. Major attributes:

1. Properties of identification. To distinguish a political system from other social systems, we must be able to identify it by

describing its fundamental units and establishing the boundaries that demarcate it from units outside the system.

**Units of a political system.** The units are the elements of which we say a system is composed. In the case of political system, they are political actions. Normally it is useful to look at these as they structure themselves in political roles and political groups.

**Boundaries.** Some of the most questions with regard to operation of political system can be answered only if we bear in mind that a system does not exist in vacuum. It is always immersed in a specific setting or environment. The way in which system works will be in part a function of its response to the total social, biological, and physical environment.

2. **Inputs and outputs.** If we select political system for study, we do so because we believe that they have important consequences for society, namely, authoritarian decisions (outputs). Without inputs the system can do no work; without outputs we cannot identify the work done by the system. Much of what happens within a system has its birth in the efforts of the members of the system to cope with the changing environment.

3. **Differentiation within a system.** If a political system is to perform some work for anything but a limited interval of time, a minimal amount of differentiation in its structure must occur. The members of a system engage in at least some minimal division of labor that provides a structure within which action takes place.

4. **Integration of a system.** Structural differentiation sets in motion forces that are potentially disintegrative in their results for the system. If a structured system is to maintain itself, it must provide mechanisms whereby its members are integrated or induced to cooperate in some minimal degree so that they can make authoritative decisions.

**Almond.** Political system is a system of action. Political institutions, or persons performing political roles are viewed in terms of what it is they do, why they do it, and how what they do is related and affects what others do.

1. The term system covers all of the patterned actions relevant to the making of political decisions. The concept of system



implies a totality of relevant units, an interdependence between the interactions of units, and a certain stability in the interaction of these units (changing equilibrium).

2. The unit of the political system is the role. Role – is that organized sector of an actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in an interactive process.

3. A political system may be defined as a set of interacting poles, or as a structure of roles

According to Almond the Political system is a set of functions.

There are identified the following types of structures:

- 1) legislative branch;
- 2) executive branch;
- 3) the judicial branch;
- 4) officials;
- 5) political parties;
- 6) other pressure groups.

The term "system" comes from the Latin word *systema*, in turn from Greek *systema*: "whole compounded of several parts or members, system", literary "composition".

**A system** is a set of interacting or interdependent component parts forming a complex or intricate whole. Every system is delineated by its spatial and temporal boundaries, surrounded and influenced by its environment, described by its structure and purpose and expressed in its functioning.

Alternatively, and usually in the context of complex social systems, the term is used to describe the set of rules that govern structure or behavior.

The **political system** of society can be *defined as a set of interrelated and interacting organs of the state and other political institutions, and political principles, norms, political relations, political consciousness and culture, ensuring the effective functioning of political power, management of society and of all its spheres.*

The systems approach focuses not only on the study of all complex of political and government institutions, but also examines

the relationship between subjects of politics, legal rules governing these relations.

The systems approach also allows you to explore the interaction between the political system and environment (society in general).

The political system has a number of social features:

- powerful (the political system is the mechanism of formation, use and maintenance of political power to meet the needs of society)
- strategic and managerial (administration and management of economic, social, legal and spiritual spheres)
  - representative
  - mobilization
  - integration
  - distribution
  - stabilization
  - modernization
  - legal

The concept of "political system" in politics analysis.

First, it allows you to submit political life as a system of behavior of people, establish mechanisms for the influence of political actions, on the nature of political institutions and structures.

Secondly, it gives an understanding of politics as integrity, it opens up the possibility of analyzing methods, forms of its interaction with the environment, the components of which can act economics, culture, social structure.

Thirdly, one of the most important assignments of politics to ensure the unity, the integrity of the public organism.

It is important to understand that the formalization that is entered by a systemic approach creates the possibility of a comparative analysis of different types, models of political life, allocating uniform criteria for their comparison and analysis. The meaning of the system approach to the analysis of political life is to study it as subsystems within the broader system and in identifying subsystems, elements of this system. This approach allows to unify terminology, clarify the concepts of political theory and the relationship between themselves.

## **6.2. Structure of the political system. The objects of operation**

Consideration of this issue it is advisable to begin with the allocation of structural elements of the political system, and then move on to their characterization.

The most active and dynamic part of the political system of society is its political organization - a set of specific organizations and institutions carrying out certain functions. As a result of their interaction and political power is carried out in this society. The political organization includes: the state, party, mass community organizations and movements, the media and the church.

A very vaeny political role in society is assigned to the media, the media is called the "fourth power".

Church plays a prominent role in the political system. It should be noted that today there is a search for more modern, sophisticated forms of religion and politics. Analyze the features of such searches.

The next structural element of the political system of society is political relations.

The third element of the political system is political and legal norms that make up its regulatory framework. The fourth element of the political system is political ideology and next - political culture.

One of active elements of political system is political culture – a particular pattern of orientations to political action. It does not coincide with a given political system or society. Patterns of orientation to politics may, and usually do, extend beyond the boundaries of political systems. The political culture is not the same thing as the general culture, although it is related to it. Because political orientation involves cognition, intellection, and adaptation to external situations, as well as the standards and values of general culture, it is a differentiated part of the culture and has a certain autonomy.

### **6.3. Types of political systems**

The classification of political systems is distinguished by a large variety, based on a significant number of different criteria.

The typology of political systems proposed by Gabriel Almond who believed that system-factor of political systems is the political culture. According to this classification he allocated four types of political systems. It is based on various political cultures. It highlights the Anglo-American, continental-European, industrial and partially industrial political systems, as well as the political systems of totalitarian type.

#### Anglo-American type of political system

- Characterized by a homogeneous (sharing of political ends and means), secular (multi-valued, rational-calculating) political culture.

- Political system involves an individualization of and a measure of autonomy among the various roles. Each one of the roles sets itself up autonomously in political business. There tends to be an arm-length bargaining relationship among the roles. The political system is saturated with the atmosphere of the market.

- Policies offered by candidates are viewed as hypotheses, and the consequences of legislation are rapidly communicated within the system and constitute a crude form of testing hypotheses.

- Because the political culture tends to be homogeneous and pragmatic, it takes on some atmosphere of a game. It is good when the outcome is in doubt and when the stakes are not too high.

- It never occurs at all in totalitarian politics.

Structure is: highly differentiated, manifest, organized, and bureaucratized. Characterized by a high degree of stability in the functions of the roles (political division of labor is more complex, more explicit, and more stable). Likely to have a diffusion of power and influence within the political system as a whole (resulting from a

system of mass communication, mass education, and representation by interest groups)

Pre-Industrial type of political systems.

- Mixed political cultures and mixed political systems (as a minimum we have two political cultures).

- Emerges from this impingement of different political cultures and depends on at least 5 factors:

- (1) The type of traditional cultures which are involved
- (2) The auspices under which Westernization has been introduced (Western colonial powers, or native elites)
- (3) The functions of the society which have been Westernized
- (4) The tempo and tactics of Westernization process
- (5) The type of Western cultural products which have been introduced

One of the typical manifestations of the conflict of political cultures is the charismatic nationalism which occurs so frequently in these areas and which may be in part understood as being movement toward accepting a new system of political norms, or a movement toward reaffirming the older traditional ones, often both in peculiar combinations.

We must have in these political systems the old or the traditional political culture, or cultures, the new or the Western-rational political culture, and transitional, or resultant political phenomena of one kind or another.

This typical mixture of political cultures presents the most serious problems of communication and coordination. Instability and unpredictability are not the pathologies but inescapable consequences of this type of mixture.

Role structure:

- (1) Relatively low degree of structural differentiation (political interests are latent and take the form of spontaneous violent actions, political parties are unstable)
- (2) There is likely to be a high degree of substitutability of roles (no stable division of political labor)

(3) Mixing of political role structures (there may be a parliament formally based on a set of legal norms and regulation, but operating within it may be a powerful family, a religious sect, a group of tribal chieftains, or some combination of these)

Totalitarian type of political systems

- Totalitarian political culture gives the appearance of being homogeneous, but the homogeneity is synthetic.

- There are no voluntary associations and political communication is controlled from the center.

- In the totalitarian order the characteristic orientation to authority tends to be some combination of conformity and apathy.

- Totalitarianism is tyranny with a rational bureaucracy, a monopoly of the modern technology of communication, and a monopoly of the modern technology of violence.

Structure is: the predominance of the coercive roles (penetration of all of other role structures); the functional instability of the power roles – bureaucracy, party, army, and secret police (prevents any stable delegation of power, diffusion of power and creation of other power centers)

Continental European type of political systems

- Refer primarily to France, Germany, and Italy.

- A pattern of political culture characterized by an uneven pattern of development. There are significant survivals, “outcroppings” of older cultures and their political manifestations. But all of the cultural variations have common roots and share a common heritage.

The Continental European cultures have political subcultures:

- (1) The pre-industrial, primarily Catholic components

- (2) The older middle-class components

- (3) The industrial components

- Demoralization (“transformism”) is an almost inescapable consequence of this combination of political culture and system.

Structure characteristics:

- 1) One might call a general alienation from the political market. The political culture pattern is not adapted to the political system
- 2) There is not an individualization of the political roles, but rather the roles re embedded in the sub-cultures and tend to constitute separate subsystems of roles.
- 3) There is higher degree of substitutability of roles than in the Anglo-American systems and lessor degree than in the non-Western systems (parties may manipulate pressure groups in the sense of making their decisions for them)

J. Blonedel divides the political systems of the world for five categories:

1) Liberal democracy with a support for liberalism in decision-making;

2) communist systems with the priority of equality of social benefits and disregard for liberal means of achieving it;

3) the traditional state, usually managed by the oligarchy and conservative in nature, since the distribution of social and economic benefits is usually very uneven;

4) Populist systems that have developed in developing countries in the post-war years and seeking greater equality in the field of economic and social benefits. They are in a certain extent authoritarian, as to achieve greater equality, authoritarian means are required;

5) an authoritarian and conservative system, a characteristic feature of which is to conduct an active policy to maintain the preservation of inequality.

It is enough to spread the division of systems for autocratic and democratic. The fundamental difference between them is how power is distributed in the process of public administration: whether it is dispersed between several entities of the authorities or concentrates in the hands of one entity. In the case of separation and dispersal of political power, the political system qualifies as constitutional, democratic. If political power is concentrated in the hands of one subject, the system is classified as an autocratic (authoritarian).

Dahl based his typology of political systems on number, subsystem autonomy, and legitimacy.

Modern political systems based on the characteristics of their political structures are divided into Western and not Western. In the first there are several differentiated structures with specialized functions, such as groups of interests, political parties, legislative, executive, judicial and other structures.

Depending on the orientation of stability or change, political systems are divided into: a) conservative; The main goal is to maintain and maintain traditional structures, the situation in the political, economic and cultural spheres, and especially the form of political power; b) Transforming, conducting social transformations. Give examples of existing types of similar political systems in the modern world.

According to the results of the study of this issue, it is important to realize that the diversity of all these typologies of political systems indicates the multidimensionality of the political world. The complexity of political systems is such, no approach taken separately or method is insufficient to give us a more or less complete picture. For analyzing political systems requires a multi-dimensional approach.



## **TOPIC 7. THE STATE AS A BASIC ELEMENT OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM**

Plan

- 7.1. State - Product of Public Evolution
- 7.2. Essence, function, state structure
- 7.3. Types of states in the forms of the state device.

### **7.1. State - Product of Public Evolution**

The base elements of the political system is the state. What is State? Science propose different understanding and approach.

State is a country, society, people that are located in a particular area and have power bodies. "State" means organization that has supreme authority in a particular area. State - a form of organization of social life, management of society based on the public power exercised on behalf of people, includes power agencies.

State – those bodies, institutions, organizations, establish some order issuing laws and monitor its implementation and, if required, and apply power. So, the state as a political organization has a monopoly on coercion of the population within a territory has the right to conduct on behalf of the society of domestic and foreign policy, the exclusive right to issue laws and regulations that are binding for the entire population of the country, sets the taxes, fees and collect them, and performs a number unique to its functions.

It will be logical to focus on theories of the state origin.

Theocratic concept binds the emergence of the state with God's establishment.

Patriarchal theory considers state power over society as a decco, guardian.

The contractual theory displays a state from the agreement between the rulers and the subjects concluded in order to organize public life.

The theory of violence proceeds from the fact that the state arose as a result of the enslavement of weak groups is more organized and stronger.

Psychological theory displays the state education from the idea born by the human genius.

The socio-economic concept is widespread, explaining the emergence of the state by the evolution of production, property and class differentiation, division of labor and the desire of the economically dominant class to consolidate this domination politically.

Modern general state theory considers it as a legal form of the organization and functioning of political power from the point of view of international law.

## **7.2. Essence, function, state structure**

The state is the political integrity formed by the national or multinational generality enshrined in a certain territory, which supports the legal order established by the elite, which monopolizes the institutionalized power, which has the legal right to apply coercion.

The state is a set of interrelated institutions and organizations that make up a special system of managing the main areas of public life.

It is important to understand the essence of the state, reveal its functions.

State functions are responsibilities, a circle of activity, appointment, role in the most generalized form. It is customary to allocate internal and external functions. Internal functions include political, legal, organizational, economic, social, educational, cultural and educational. External functions are associated with the protection of borders, interference in the affairs of states, the maintenance and development of interstate relations, the development of foreign economic relations.

Features of state:

- Sovereignty. The supremacy of state power in the country and its independence in foreign relations.
- Population
- The right to use force. The state has the right to use force, coercion within the limits set by law.

- Law. The state operates under established law. Structure and the function of state bodies are determined by the law. It acts also as control over relations of coexistence of citizens in society.

- The apparatus of the state. Coercion. A set administrative and management structures designed to implement the decisions of central and local government.

- Territory. The state is inextricably linked to a territory where its authority and laws are binding.

Legal State is a state limited in its actions by the law protecting freedom and other rights of persons and subjects the power to the will of the sovereign people. In relation to the citizens in legal state, the principle of "allowed everything that is not prohibited by law of respective constitution" is exercised. In relation to the state operates the mean of permission that limits the range of its activity framework by law. Recent studies point out the lack of classical concept of the legal state to ensure genuine individual freedom and social justice.

Social state - a state that seeks to ensure every citizen with decent living conditions, social protection; and ideally - provides equal starting opportunities for the realization of life goals, personal development.

Activities of Social state include:

- social redistribution of income in favor of the less affluent sections of society;

- employment policy and ensuring human rights of worker at the enterprise;

- social insurance;

- concern for unemployed young people, disabled, elderly;

- development of available education, health, culture, etc.

- Between the types of legal and social state exists as a unity as some differences.

Common of them is that they both are designed to ensure the welfare and well-being of the individual. Legal state – the individual freedom and fundamental rights of the individual by setting clear limits of state intervention and guarantees against usurpation of power. Social state – conditions of decent existence for everyone.

The difference between them turns out that the legal state in its plan should not interfere in the distribution of wealth, social state is directly addressing these problems, while seeking not to undermine the foundations of a market economy such as individual property, competition, individual responsibility etc.

States differ in the form of board and forms of the state device.

The form of the Board is an external expression of the content of the state due to the structure and legal status of state authorities. In the form of government, monarchical and republican states are distinguished. In turn, they have varieties: the monarchy can be absolute and constitutional, and the Republic is presidential, parliamentary, mixed.

The monarchy is a form of government, in accordance with which the highest power in the state combines the functions of the head of state and largely the functions of other authorities - legislative, executive and judicial.

The Republic is a form of government, in accordance with which the highest power in the state belongs to elective authorities - parliament or to the President; They monitor the government, there is an independent justice, municipal self-government.

*The form of government* - a way organization of the state power, caused by the principles of formation and relationships between higher organs of state; system of formation and relationship of the Institute of President, senior executive and the legislative bodies.

According to the power of the head of state there are two forms of government.

Monarchy. The supreme state power is legally owned by one person - the monarch and is transmitted in the order of succession. The monarch is formally the source of state and public authority.

Among states-monarchies we should mention: absolute monarchy where the head of the state is a monarch, virtually combines all branches of government, forms the government and manages it (Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Oman) and dual monarchy where the head of the state is a monarch endowed mainly executive and the legislature only partially (Jordan, Kuwait, and Morocco) or parliamentary monarchy: head of the state is the monarch, he cannot directly influence on

the stuff and government policy. Government is formed only by Parliament and is accountable only to him (Sweden, and Japan).

**Republic.** All the higher organs of state power are elected or formed by a national representative institutions (parliament). There are some types of states-republics: *presidential republic*: president is a head of the state. Personally, or with the subsequent approval of the upper house of parliament forms the government, led by himself, or intended for the Prime Minister (the United States, Argentina, and Russia)/. *Mixed republic*: president like a head of the state offers government staff (first of all, candidate of prime minister) to be approved by parliament (France, Finland, and Ukraine). *Parliamentary republic*: president is the head of state. He cannot directly influence on the formation of government and governmental policy. It is formed only by parliament and is accountable only to him (Germany, Italy, and India).

Form of political system - a way of territorial state organization, defined by the principles of relations between state as whole and its regional components. The main forms of government are unitary (simple) and federative (complex) state. In addition, there were confederations and empires.

### **7.3. Types of states in the forms of the state device.**

The form of the state device is the national-territorial organization of the state and the relationship of central and regional structures. It gives an answer to the question: what parts the territory of the country and what is their legal status, the relationship and the relationship of the hierarchical structures of the state

There are two main forms of government: unitary and federal.

Unitary state is characterized by a unified territory, a single constitution, a centralized judicial system, a unified system of higher state authorities, uniform citizenship. The territory of this state consists of administrative units (regions, districts, etc.), which are not politically independent. Most states in the world are unitary, give examples of such states. Unitary: the only Constitution, the rules of which are applied throughout the country, unified system of higher state authorities, whose jurisdiction extends across the country, a

unified system of law and judicial system that administers justice throughout the country, a single citizenship.

Geographically large states take the form of a federal device. The Federation is an allied state consisting of state entities with certain sovereignty in its territories.

Each subject of the federation (whether the Republic, the region, state, etc.) may have its own legislative, executive and judicial authorities. There is a constitutional delimitation of powers between the federal authorities and the authorities of the Federation's constituent entities. So, federative - state whose territory consists of state entities vested with certain legal and political autonomy; the only territory and forces, joint customs, monetary and fiscal systems, constitution, joint government, legislation and single citizenship; subjects Federation can not be fully independent internal and external policy; of the Federation competence to make laws within its competence, to create its own legal and judicial system.

The Federal state can be formed:

1) as a result of the agreement between independent entities to create a new state with the transformation of parties of agreement into federal members;

2) by joining to state the new areas and giving them rights the Federation subject or the formation of new entities of Federation on the territory of the pre-existing state

3) as a result of increase in status of regional structures and turning them into subjects of the federation

4) by the evolution of the confederation into a federal state with the transformation of former independent states into federation subjects

Confederation - a form of union of states in which states retain their sovereignty in full. So it is not a particular form of public structure, but a form of association of sovereign states.

Features:

1) it is formed on the basis of agreements;

2) subjects of confederations have the right of free exit from it;

3) State sovereignty is preserved;

4) subject to the jurisdiction of the Confederation is a small number of issues: war and peace, foreign policy, defense systems, communications etc.

5) the only public bodies are created to meet the challenges stipulated by contractual acts;

6) permanent government Confederation bodies are deprived of power;

7) Subjects of Confederation have the right to refuse to recognize or apply the acts of the central authorities and others.

## TOPIC 8. POLITICAL ELITE

Plan

- 8.1. The concept of political elite, essence, modern theories
- 8.2. Functions of the political elite
- 8.3. Typology of political elites

### **8.1. The concept of political elite, essence, modern theories**

The political practice of even developed and stable democratic societies shows that the distribution and implementation of power does not imply equal participation in all citizens in it. Everywhere and always to power are involved a narrow circle of persons - a minority that makes the masses recognize themselves.

The ideas about the legality of dividing society to a minority that dominates the rest of the population was expressed in antiquity. Confucius, for example, shared society on the ruling elite and commoners.

Students should be understood that in political science under the elite, they understand the group of persons who take the most important political decisions. It is characterized by special social, political, psychological qualities, prestige and privileged position.

In modern political systems, where the scientific and technical and technological revolution is rapidly developing, which discovered access to the formation of broad masses, new reality has been created for the formation and functioning of the political elite.

This should be emphasized that the theoretical analysis of the elite is presented in the elitist approach. A number of authors (American political scientist J. Bernheim, D. Bell) view the elite as a group endowed with special qualities (social, political, psychological) knowledge, which allows it to make the most important political decisions. In the middle of the XV century. Managed elite (managers) appears. Organizational skills and knowledge of economic management predetermine a significant concentration of power in their hands. Political domination is based on the management elite on knowledge, education, professional competence. The main motive of their social activity is political power. Knowledge and competence allow a new intellectual elite to make the greatest contribution to the



development of society. The significance of intellectuals in the information society provides them with political power.

The author of the institutional approach R. Mills considers the elite as a group of statuses and social roles. Since the power in modern society is institutionalized, there are those who are at the head of social institutions, occupy top posts in the social structure. For society, the most significant political, economic and military institutions. Those who lead these institutions and make up the elite of power. In practice, it is the three-way elite in the face of the political leaders of the first plan, the leaders of corporations and military leadership takes the most important political decisions. R. Millz noted that the elite of power from politicians includes only the most influential people. In the United States, the decision-making center moved from Congress to the presidential structures, therefore not representatives of the people (legislators) are most influential, and political "appointees" put forward by the president.

As a result, R. Mills concluded that the elite does not constitute a dominant group formed on the basis of free elections, but is a oligarchy consisting of the "appointees" of the president.

A different approach in the analysis of elites we see from the Indian political scientist P. Sharan. He drew attention to the fact that the maturity of society is largely determined by the elites, the resources of their domination and influence. On this basis, he allocated the traditional elite and modern. The resources of the rule of traditional elite are religions, customs, traditions, cultural stereotypes. The influence of religious elites is noticeable in the East (in particular, in Iran, in the Persian Gulf countries, etc.). But the influence of the military elite, although heterogeneous composition and value orientations, has noticeably increased. So, in Africa, the military represent the most educated and progressive part of society, which cannot be said about the military in Latin America.

Students should have noted that the modern elite of P. Sharan took various socio-professional groups - leaders, officials, intellectuals, businessmen, technocrats. According to the degree of influence on the process of making strategic decisions, he divided the

modern elite into three groups: the highest, secondary and administrative.

The highest elite is those who directly participate or have a significant impact on the decision-making process. They are not so much, it is 100-200 people who occupy strategic posts in the government, major political parties, pressure groups, here are the legislators. In the democracies of the Western type, according to P. Sharan, for each million inhabitants account for about 50 representatives of the highest elite, and in the United States with a population of 200 million. The circle of the highest elite has 10 thousand people.

The highest elite is average, the belonging to which is determined by three indicators - the level of income, professional status, education. The average elite is 5% adult population.

The administrative elite includes the highest layer of civil servants holding leadership posts in ministries, departments and other management bodies.

Obviously, the political elite is an integral element of any civilized society. Completely organized social systems have to deal with the ever-increasing diversity of the interaction of groups, individuals, forms of human activity both within the system and outside it. This causes the allocation of people professionally engaged in management. By accepting the most important political decisions, they determine the methods of coordination and representation of the interests of various groups of the population, the forms of the participation of the masses in social transformations. Therefore, it is legitimate to assume that elitism will continue in the foreseeable future. Moreover, attempts to fight the elitism of society are damaged to himself, since objectively directed against progress.

When studying this issue, it is necessary to emphasize that the denial of elementality shares the actual political inequality in any society and thereby limits the possibilities of democratic control over the elites. In addition, the preservation of illusions about equal access to all citizens to power weakens the attention of society to the issues of high-quality selection in the elite of really worthy and competent people. This opens up the possibility of coming to power of

adventurers and creates a threat to the subordination of the Company with despotic elites. This circumstance demonstrates the need to improve the selection systems in the elite, and not to combat her.

To a large extent, the quality of the elite is determined by the nature of the political and cultural environment of various societies, specific impact of socializing forces (family, education systems, party systems, etc.). Together with the ability of individuals, all these factors determine the culture of the political elite.

The political elite is an independent, higher, relatively privileged group of people, endowed with specific psychological, social and political qualities, who are directly involved in the approval and implementation of decisions related to the use or influence of state power.

### **8.2. Functions of the political elites:**

Political elites comprise a small group that has power and influence over the “others” in society. Basically, political elites play an important role in the decision-making process of the community.

- Strategic function - the whole society needs to be organized to achieve a certain goal.
- The communicative function is to respond in a timely manner to negative emissions from society
- The organizing function is to guide people to achieve strategic goals and plans.
- The integrative function is the ability to harmonize relationships in all segments of the population.

Elites form the goals and prospects for the development of society. They make strategically important decisions and use the resources of state power for their implementation. So, the functions of the political elite include are strategic, communicative, organizational, integrative.

### **8.3. Typology of political elite**

V. Pareto defined the elite as a group to which the most productive and capable in the various spheres of activity of the person who received the highest rating in their activity belong. The Pareto group called the elite (wealthy, talented, gifted) in the field of individuals who each received the highest marks in their field. He

argued that the elites emerge from the lower strata of society, in the process of struggle rise to the higher, expand their influence there, reach prosperity, and then degenerate and eventually disappear. This cycle is the universal law of history. Pareto distinguished two main types of elite: lions characterized by conservatism and foxes - masters of political combinations. A stable political system is dominated by lions, in an unstable situation by foxes.

G. Mosca, like V. Pareto, divided society into a minority that rules and a majority that rules. Mosca believed that the basis of social development is not economics, but politics. The ruling elite concentrates in their hands the leadership of the state mechanism, and therefore has a direct impact on the economic situation in the country. With the transition from one historical epoch to another, the composition of the ruling class and its structure changes, but it always exists, even more so - it defines and shapes the political process. Such organization of the minority is one of the conditions for its dominance over the majority. Mosca distinguished two principles of the ruling minority: the active and the liberal. In his opinion, each of the epochs has its own principle, the main thing is that it operates as efficiently as possible.

R. Michels formulated a hypothetical law, which governs all social organizations – the "iron law of oligarchy," and tested it on the European political parties in the years before the First world war. The content can be interpreted in the following way: in any organization, regardless of its magnitude, the leaders become necessary for the success of its activities and for its preservation. He proved that any joint human activity, reaching a scale and complexity that can be called "organization," requires certain professional knowledge and skills in order not to be destroyed or spoiled. Control over the organization then inevitably falls into the hands of a small group of people who have such knowledge and skills, able to effectively manage the activities of the organization.

Among the elites, a distinction is made between the ruling, directly possessing state power, and the opposition (counter-elite); open, recruited from society, and closed, reproducing from their own environment, for example, the nobility.

The elite can be high level elite and middle. The high level elite directly influences the decision-making that is significant for the entire state. Belonging to it may be due to reputation, for example, unofficial advisers to the president or position in the structures of power. In Western democracies, there are about 50 members of the high level elite for every million inhabitants. Among the highest elite is often distinguished, characterized by a special intensity of communication, interaction and usually numbering 200-400 people.

Elites can be classified on different grounds.

In relation to power, one can distinguish the ruling elite, which possesses state power and makes the most important political decisions, and the counter-elite, which is deprived of the opportunity to exercise power functions.

According to how the elite is being renewed, a closed elite is distinguished, which is replenished by people from certain classes, estates, but does not admit representatives of other classes, estates, and an open elite, to which people from all social groups have access. .

The economic, political and military elites are distinguished by types of activity.

According to the forms of ownership, the agrarian, industrial, financial, and intellectual elites are distinguished.

Optimal for society is a stable democratic elite, combining a stable connection with the population, with a high degree of group integration, capable of understanding political opponents and finding compromise solutions.

## **TOPIC 9. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP, CONCEPT AND ROLE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS**

Plan

9.1. Political leadership

9.2. Typology of political leaders

### **9.1. Political leadership**

Having considered the first question, then students find out that the unequal status of participants in political life in a political hierarchy is due to varying degrees of their proximity to power and the ability to make strategic decisions, as well as the ability to influence social changes. Even inside the elite, its individual representatives differ from the other explicit priority in their influence on society. The political leader is called a personality providing a permanent and decisive impact on society, the state, organization.

The institute of leadership has emerged. His appearance was caused by the need of difficultly organized systems in balanced development. The objectives of leaders include the development of agreed development goals, the distribution of functions and roles among participants in social interactions, streamlining the behavior of individual elements of the system in order to increase the efficiency of society as a whole. Thus, the practical importance of the problem of leadership is related to the search for effective forms of manual and management of social processes.

Social nature of leadership indicates that it is the result of the interaction of the leader and its supporters, i.e. Bilateral influence. Modern political science offers a comprehensive understanding of political leadership, implying the presence of the following components: 1) the study of the personality of the leader, its origin, the process of socialization and the method of nomination; 2) Analysis of the environment of the leader, its followers and opponents; 3) consideration of relations between leader and supporters; 4) study of social conditions for nomination in leaders; 5) Analysis of the results of the interaction of the leader and its supporters in specific situations. In this approach, much attention is paid to the analysis of

the interaction of the leader of his followers. It allows you to identify the technology of effective leadership, to understand the logic of the political behavior of the leader. The possible effectiveness of the action of the political leader allows you to identify a political style.

The political style is a set of standard procedures for developing and making decisions, identify the political course and methods of its implementation, various ways of interaction between the leader with followers, the types of response to the emerging problems and the requirements of various groups of the population. Style can be effective and inefficient, authoritarian and democratic, etc.

The effectiveness of leadership depends on the degree of coincidence of the motivation of the leader and its supporters. The leader needs to know and clearly understand the installation and behavior of its followers, the approval or disapproval of its activities, the motivation of its own behavior.

Knowledge of motivation and behavioral installations of supporters allows the leader to determine the possible type of leading behavior: either policy leadership, subordinating its supporters to solving a predetermined goal; or supportive leadership, stabilizing the behavior of its followers.

Leadership is considered as a permanent, priority impact of the individual to society or group. However, declare that the mystery of leadership is open, fully possibly possible. It is not yet clear, for example, why some ideas are perceived by people with readiness and enthusiasm, and others meet resistance, rejection or indifference?

## **9.2. Typology of political leaders**

Manifestations of leadership are quite varied. In political science there are their typology. The leadership typology on the basis of the accounting of personal qualities of the leader was offered the German sociologist M. Veber. He allocated three types of leadership: traditional, rational legal, charismatic.

Traditional leadership relies on customs and traditions, the strength of the habit, which is rooted in the distant past. The habit of obeying is based on faith in the holiness of the tradition of transfer of power by inheritance: the right to dominate the leader acquires due to its origin. This is the type of authority that once used the leader of the

tribe, the head of the genus, the monarch. Although this type of leadership comes from the scene, however, it is still maintained in a number of countries (for example, in some countries of the Persian Gulf).

Charismatic leadership is based on the faith in the individual personality, in the exceptional qualities of this person. Charismatic power, noted M. Deber, is characterized by the personal dedication of subjects to humans and their faith only in his personality, which is distinguished by outstanding qualities, heroism or other distinctive properties that turn it into the leader. Charismatic leadership is inherent in transitional societies conducted by modernization, therefore charismatic domination can create conditions either for traditional power (for example, to return to the monarchy institute), or for rational-legal. The characteristic of the charismatic authority is that it is deprived of any objective grounds (for example, it does not relieve the law, tradition), and exists due to the sole to personal qualities of the charismatic leader, faith in it.

Rational-legal leadership personifies bureaucracy. Power relies on a unified and adopted by the whole society of legal norms. The competence of each carrier of power is due to the Constitution and legal norms. The rational legal leadership is distributed in increasing number of states, and traditional and charismatic leadership come from the historical scene.

Recently, the classification of leaders in the style of behavior is offered. Styles of political behavior may vary on the technology of developing and making the leader's decision. So, the authoritarian style of leadership, oriented to the sole making decisions and democratic. Relying on the initiation of the activity of its supporters, their participation in the management process.

In the political system, the leader performs a number of functions. The functions of leaders in a particular society depend on the degree of maturity of its economic, political, cultural spheres, on the level of culture of the population, on the nature (type) of the political regime and, finally, from the individual qualities of the leader itself. Modern society with a high degree of separation of social and political roles and functions significantly reduces the possibilities of



access to the leading positions of non-professional politicians, which often occurs in traditional and transitional societies.

Having considered the proposed material, students show the necessary leader functionality. Among the general functions of the leaders, select the following:

1) Integrative: Association and coordination of various interest groups based on basic values and ideals recognized by all society;

2) orientation: developing a political course, reflecting the trend of progress and the needs of populations;

3) instrumental: defining methods and methods for solving tasks to society;

4) mobilization: initiating the necessary changes by creating developed incentives for the population;

5) Communicative: ensuring sustainable forms of political self-organization based on close contacts with the public, various organizations, groups and layers;

6) the function of the guarantor of justice, legality and order (from the arbitrariness of bureaucracy, lawlessness, violations of the rights and freedoms of the individual).

A political leader is also characterized by the presence of certain needs, in particular, in power, i.e. achieving the highest value, which is power (G. Lasswell, A. George); in control over events and people; in achieving certain political heights, ie. concern for excellence, skill, behavior aimed at achieving success; in the affiliation, i.e. belonging to a group and getting approval of their actions from members of the group.

Political leadership is an important part of political process. Objective needs of organization and management of social and political life demands the appropriate political leader. But some objective conditions: high level of democratization in society and political system, reduce its dependence on political leader in power. Without the formation of these conditions society will hope for a "strong hand", which will take a "right path", and provide "bright future".

## **TOPIC 10. POLITICAL PARTY AS A POLITICAL INSTITUTION OF SOCIETY**

### **Plan**

10.1. Political Party: Essence.

10.2. Criteria to identify political parties

10.3. Functions of political parties and Classification of political party.

10.4. The financial resources of political parties

10.5. The Party and Political Party system

### **10.1. Political Party: Essence**

The study of the first question should be started with the analysis of the essence of the party as the political institution of society. The initial point of reasoning for students is to clarify the relationship of the formation of parties with the presence of a specific social structure.

Social groups, layers, classes serve as the social basis of parties. Students must assign that parties represent the interests of various social groups, classes, layers. Protecting and implementing economic, political and cultural demands in the political system of various social groups, classes and layers, parties perform the role of mediators between population groups and state power. Therefore, students must conclude. That the party is an organization of like-minded people, representing the interests of social groups and aims to implement them by conquering public authorities or participation in its implementation.

After clarifying the entity of the party, students may consider the most important phases of the formation of this Political Institute. It is necessary to begin with the phase of opposition, the struggle of the state against parties, especially during the period of absolutism.

Politics is the process to organise how we live together in a society. In a democracy, every citizen can participate in this process.

In a democracy, most if not all citizens should be involved in political activities. However, a direct democracy where every citizen is directly involved in all political decisions is not possible within modern mass societies. This is why a modern democracy needs institutions and organisations that represent the will and the interests

of the citizens as authentically as possible. These can be associations, informal groups or non-governmental organisations. In particular, the political parties carry out such a representative function. They offer to the citizens the possibility to influence politics and political decisions. They are an important instrument and institution of politics. Without political parties, a modern representative democracy is not conceivable. Only, the parties ensure that the citizens are permanently capable to act politically. They articulate and integrate different interests, visions and opinions. They are also the main source for the recruitment of political elites.

Parties are competing amongst each other for the best ways of resolving political problems. They are in competition for influence and power. Without the power to enforce political vision it is not possible to organise a society. Internal discussions and conflicts within, as well as between, the parties accompany this contest for ideas and power. They are legitimate and essential. In this lecture, student can find information about political parties as central institutions of a modern democracy. The characteristics and functions of parties, the basic elements of their organisation, their political and social context, as well as the problems of party democracy and the specific challenges faced by parties are main topics.

#### *What is a political party?*

Political parties are a special form of social organisation. They should not be confused with associations, federations, and social clubs. A well-known definition of political parties comes from the American political scientist Antony Downs, who wrote: “A political party is a team of men seeking to control the governing apparatus by gaining office in a duly constituted election” . The Italian scholar Giovanni Sartori, who has lectured for a long time at the Columbia University in New York and is internationally one of the most well-known researchers on political parties, defined a party as: “any political group identified by an official label that presents at elections, and is capable of placing through election, candidates for public office.” Even if these definitions demonstrate some difference in the understanding of political parties, they all emphasize the participation in elections and the interest to gain public offices and mandates as

essential elements that characterise political parties. They must meet certain criteria which can be summarized as follows.

### **10.2. Criteria to identify political parties**

- A party strives to influence the formation of political opinion and aims to have a general political impact. The active influence of political opinion-making is aimed at a longer period of time as well as a wider region and should not be concentrated on a local level or a single issue.

- A party is an association of citizens holding individual memberships, and shall have a minimum number of members, so that the seriousness of its targets and the prospects of success remain clear.

- A party has to demonstrate the will to consistently take part in the political representation of the people during elections. It, therefore, distinguishes itself from unions, non-governmental organisations and other initiatives that do not want to carry any political responsibilities for larger sectors but only try to have selective influence, and that do not participate in elections.

- A party has to be an independent and permanent organisation; it shall not be formed only for one election and cease to exist afterwards.

- A party must be willing to appear in public.

- A party does not necessarily need to win a seat in parliament, but it has to fulfil all the other criteria.

Parties can therefore be understood as permanent associations of citizens that are based on free membership and a programme, and which are anxious to occupy through the path of elections, the politically decisive positions of the country with their team of leaders, in order to materialize suggestions for resolving outstanding problems. The means of elections implies the competition of at least two parties.

### **10.3. Functions of political parties**

So, according to understanding that a political party is the organization of the most active parts of a particular population with a view to coming to power and protecting their own interests we can analyze functions of a political party.

To participate successfully in the political process and to contribute to the consolidation of democracy, political parties have to demonstrate certain capacities. In political science, these capacities are called “functions”.

Briefly there are two groups of political party` functions:

1. Group of Open features

- Propagation of own ideas
- holding rallies, meetings, demonstrations to draw attention to oneself
- criticism of the ruling party
- to propose own candidates to Government and ruling structure of state

2. Closed functions

- lobbying
- prefer to promote ‘own candidates’ for governing positions in state staff

The question of this lecture include an analysis of the party functions, or the most important activities of this political institution.

It is necessary to give a complete characteristic of the following functions of the party, namely:

1) identification, substantiation and formation of the interests of certain groups of society;

2) socio-political enlightenment of people;

3) the creation and continuous development of ideological doctrine, a political program of action;

4) constant care for expanding the social base party, expanding interactions with groups of interest, strengthening party positions in civil society;

5) selection of personnel for the party, an impact on the formation of the political elite;

6) the preparation and conduct of election campaigns on the formation of higher and local authorities;

7) the formation and activities of the party fraction in parliament;

8) the organization of the parliamentary opposition, pressure on state bodies.

What do political party do for society?

They articulate and aggregate social interests: Parties express public expectations and demands of social groupings to the political system (= function of political opinion-making).

They recruit political personnel and nurture future generations of politicians: They select persons and present them as candidates for elections (= function of selection).

They develop political programmes: Parties integrate various interests into a general political project and transform it into a political programme, for which they campaign to receive the consent and support of a majority (= function of integration).

They promote the political socialisation and participation of citizens: Parties create a link between citizens and the political system; they enable political participation of individuals and groupings with the prospect of success. (= function of socialization and participation).

They organise the government. They participate in elections to occupy political charges. Normally in party democracies, a good part of government authorities arise from political parties (= function of exercising political power).

They contribute to the legitimacy of the political system: in establishing the connection between citizens, social groupings and the political system, the parties contribute in anchoring the political order in the consciousness of the citizens and in social forces (= function of legitimating).

Classification of political party:

1. In number: personnel and mass
2. By class composition: bourgeois, workers and peasants.
3. In relation to the social order: revolutionary, reformist, conservative and reactionary.
4. At the place that parties occupy the political system: the ruling and the opposition.
5. By ideological and political orientation: left, right and centrist.
6. By legal status: legal and illegal.

#### **10.4. The financial resources of political parties**

Political parties need in order to carry out effectively their functions in the spirit of fostering the democratic society, to acquire

expertise, to develop their programmes and distribute them, to maintain a stable organisational structure, to cultivate communication with the members and, last but not least, to conduct electoral campaigns. In the ideal case, this financing should enable the parties to carry out their tasks without being financially dependent on one interest group or person. Since the necessity of parties for the democratic system is undisputed, many democratic countries have financial government support for parties. This support can take the form of direct grants from the treasury (usually as a refund for election campaign expenses) or the form of indirect support through tax deductibility of donations for parties.

#### Means of income

- Membership fees is the least controversial source of income. The fees are a sign of the bond between members and their party. The membership fees are not only an important financial source but also an expression of affection to a party. Unfortunately, the poor members of a party often cannot afford to pay a fee. And if there are malpractices or misuse of the party funds, there is even less willingness to pay any fee. Therefore, the political parties should give an account of the use of the membership fees (as well as of other income) in a transparent form. Even in poor countries, parties should try to collect some small fees from their members—but they also should offer some service in return. Where there is no way to collect fees in the form of money, there is always the possibility of collecting “fees” in the form of some services for the party.

- Financial contributions of parliament members and similar regular dues of officials from the parties; these persons contribute to the party beyond their membership fees, as they owe their mandates or positions in the public administration, etc. to their party.

- Revenues from capital, events etc.; some parties own businesses (for example, print houses for the distribution of party documentation and party brochures etc.) or carry out other activities from which they generate revenue. In principle, they should officially account for their entire revenues from such activities and for their capital.

- Donations are the most controversial public source of party financing. This is especially so for big parties that obtain an important portion of their revenues through donations. The concern is that major donors from the economy could try to exert political influence along this path. This would contradict the principles of democratic equity.

- Loans are an important but problematic source of financing of political parties. Loans will lead to debts, and for many parties indebtedness represents a serious problem. It is not easy to reduce the debts by legal means. If possible, political parties should avoid this source of financing. In any case, they should officially account for their liabilities towards credit institutions.

- Refund for election campaign expenses. This is a common practice of public party financing. The refund of election campaign expenses is usually tied to the election results of a party

So we can talk about private resources and state

Private resources are:

- Membership fees
- Contributions of parliamentarians and other representatives of the party in public offices

- Donations

- Income from party assets

- Other sources of income (for example, publications)

State resources are:

Direct financial contributions from the State

- Reimbursement of electoral campaigning costs

Indirect financial contributions from the State

- Exemption of taxes in cases of heritage or donations to the parties

- Tax revenues for party fees and donations

Principles of party financing

- The parties shall annually and officially account for their finances, especially in cases where they receive public funds.

- Membership fees should be a major part of a parties' revenue. Membership fees not only has a financial effect, but also improves the



identity and obliges the party leadership to be transparent towards their own members.

- Government contributions to parties should respect the principle of equal opportunity, as well as the impact of an election, which is expressed by its election results.

### **10.5. The Party and Political Party system**

*Party system is a union of political parties that take part in decision-making.*

The entire group of parties in a country forms the political party system. The party system reflects the pattern of relationships between individual parties in relation to each other. The composition of a party system results mainly from two factors. On the one hand it is the structure of social conflicts and interests. Classical conflicts are for instance those between capital and labour or those between secular and religiously oriented parties. On the other hand, the party and electoral laws also exercise considerable influence on the configuration of the party system depending on how liberal and free or restrictive the creation of new parties have been laid out and if the electoral system facilitates the representation of a larger number of parties in the parliament or not. Yet, in pre-democratic times the existence of one party provoked at least the emergence of another party. Throughout history, party systems have in principle developed along social and/or ideological lines of conflict.

Party systems can be classified by different criteria. Most frequently it is the number of parties that are fighting for power that serves as the criteria for the description of a party system. *In this way, one can differentiate one, two and multi-party systems.*

In a “single-party” system only one party dominates and there is practically no political competition between parties. A “single-party” system is, as mentioned before, a contradiction in itself since a “party” should only be part of a larger group. Singleparty systems are

therefore characterised by the oppression of political competition and democratic freedom.

*“Two-party system”* means that two parties primarily dominate the political competition, while other, smaller parties only play a subordinate role.

*In a “multi-party system”*, more than two parties have an effect on the political competition.

The existence of a two-party or a multi-party system depends on several different factors: political traditions, the development of political institutions, the socio-economic circumstances, and the relevance of regional cleavages, and ethnical or confessional conditions. The specifications of the electoral law can have a certain, but not decisive, influence on the composition of the party system. The majority voting systems (first-past-the-post-systems) rather favour the evolution of a twoparty system (or a system comprising only of a few dominant parties), whereas a proportional voting system is more likely to favour a multi-party system. However, there is no distinct connection between electoral and party systems. The system of government influences the development of parties and party systems insofar as a parliamentary system offers more influence for political parties because the government emerges directly from the parliament, which is dominated by the parties. In a presidential system, it is the head of government—the president—who is directly elected by the people and thus its legitimacy is based not primarily on the parliament. In addition, he mostly exercises, beside the parliament, also legislative and other functions, and he normally has a right to veto parliamentary decisions or even has the authority to dissolve the parliament. So, at first glance, in presidential systems parties play a minor role. On the other hand, in presidential systems the separation of powers is usually more evident because the parties are not linked so closely with the government. In parliamentary systems, however, the identity and especially the relationship between the government and the ruling party or parties is greater. Even so, in a presidential system the

president also needs the approval of parliament and a parliamentary majority. The relative independence from the government which the parties enjoy in a presidential system is of considerable relevance. The number of parties represented in parliament is only slightly influenced by the system of government. This is rather a question of social cleavages, eventually also the ethnic and other cleavages in a country, the structure of conflicts and interests and the electoral system.

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