**LECTURE NOTES**

**Political science as a science and academic discipline.**

**The object and subject of political science, its relationship with other sciences**

     The concept of "political science" came from two Greek words - politike (state affairs) and logos (doctrine). Political science as an independent branch of knowledge emerges at the turn of the Middle Ages and the New Times, when thinkers began to explain political processes with the help of scientific, rather than religious-mythological arguments. The foundations of scientific political theory were laid by N. Machiavelli, T. Hobbes, J. Locke, S.-L. Montesquieu, etc. Political science as an independent scientific discipline began to form in the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1857, F. Leibert began to read a course of political science at Columbia College, in 1880 the first school of political science was created in the same college, which served as the beginning of the active formation in the US of a system of political science and scientific institutions. And in 1903 the American Association of Political Sciences was established, in the same year a political journal was published. In France, the teaching of "political and moral sciences" was begun in the time of the Great French Revolution. In the United Kingdom, since 1885, the London School of Economics and Political Science has been functioning, where employees of public authorities and managers of different levels are trained. In 1896, the Italian political scientist and sociologist G. Mosca published the book Elements of Political Science, which gives grounds to talk about the expansion of political science in Europe since the end of the nineteenth century. The process of formation of political science as an independent science and academic discipline was completed in 1948. This year, under the auspices of UNESCO, the International Association of Political Science was established. At the International Congress held in Paris (1948) on political science, the content of this science was determined and it was recommended that the course of political science be included in the system of higher education as an obligatory discipline. It was decided that the main components of political science are: 1) political theory; 2) political institutions; 3) parties, groups and public opinion; 4) international relations. In our country, political science has long been regarded as a bourgeois theory, pseudoscience and therefore was in its infancy. Separate political problems were considered within the framework of historical materialism, scientific communism, the history of the CPSU, and other social sciences. At the same time, their study was dogmatic, one-sided. Political science as a new training course begins to be taught in all higher educational institutions of Ukraine only after the collapse of the USSR. As an independent science political science has its own object and specific subject of knowledge.

***The object of political science is the sphere of political relations in society.***

    The sphere of political relations is much wider than what could be called purely political. It includes the processes of functioning and development of power, including the masses in politics, economic, social and spiritual interests of society. The political sphere is the interaction in the political process of large and small social groups, associations of citizens, individual individuals. The political sphere includes both socio-political institutions and organizations, through which interaction between individual subjects of politics.

**The subject of political science** is the patterns of the formation and development of political power, the forms and methods of its functioning and use in the state-organizational society. The peculiarity of political science lies in the fact that it considers all social phenomena and processes in relation to political power. Without power, there can be no policy, since it is the power that is the means of its realization. The category "political power" is universal and covers all political phenomena. For example, the problems of reform of the political system, which are very sharply discussed in our state. From the point of view of legal science, they represent a dispute about the content of legal norms, from the point of view of political science - this is a theoretical reflection of the struggle of various social forces for the possession of economic and political power in society. Thus, political science is a system of knowledge about politics, political power, political relations and processes, and the organization of the political life of society. Political science has arisen and is developing in interaction with many sciences that study certain aspects of politics as a social phenomenon. (see Chart 1). Own approaches to the study of different aspects of politics have history and geography, law and sociology, philosophy and economics, psychology and cybernetics, and a number of other sciences. Each of them has as its subject the study of this or that aspect of the sphere of political relations, beginning from the methodological ones and ending with specifically applied questions. History studies real social and political processes, different points of view on these processes. Thus, it helps to clarify and explain the causes of current political processes. Philosophy creates a general picture of the world, clarifies the place of man and his activities in this world, gives general concepts about the principles and conditions of cognition, the development of theoretical concepts in general, political in particular. Economic theory considers economic processes as the basis of the political sphere, which makes it possible to understand the nature of political relations. The law outlines the general framework for the activities of all state structures, as well as other organizations, citizens and their associations, i.e. framework for the formation of central phenomena for policy. Sociology gives political science information about the functioning of society as a system, on the interaction of different social groups in the aspect of political relations. Particularly valuable for political science are the methodological developments of sociology regarding the conduct of empirical research (questionnaires, content analysis, expert surveys, etc.). Politology is closely connected with psychology. Analyzing the activities of a person in the political sphere, the political scientist uses concepts developed by psychological science: "needs", "interests", "ideals", etc. In his studies, political science also relies on data from political geography and political anthropology, and uses materials of political globalistics. In the last decade, a number of special political science disciplines have appeared: political modeling, political imaging, political marketing, etc. Such sciences as cybernetics, logic, statistics, systems theory give political science a form, quantitative dimensions, design of the presentation of scientific messages in terms of abstract interpretations of political phenomena and processes.

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| History |  |  | The Science of Politics | |  |  | Political Geography |  |
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| Economic theory | Cybernetics |  |
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| Right |  |  | Logics |  |
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| Sociology |  |  | Statistics |  |
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| Psychology | Other sciences | | Theory of systems |  |
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Scheme 1 The relationship of political science with other sciences

*Categories and functions of political science.* *Applied Political Science*

     Like any scientific discipline, which has the subject of research, political science has its own system of categories, i.e. Nodal concepts, with the help of which the subject of science is revealed.

    A specific feature of the political category apparatus is that, being formed later than the apparatus of other social science sciences, he borrowed many categories from the historical, philosophical, legal, sociological dictionary. Politology has learned a lot of terms from the field of natural sciences: cybernetics, biology, theoretical mathematics, etc. The system of political science categories is in development, it is constantly enriched both at the international and domestic levels. Nevertheless, some elementary concepts have already settled down into broad practice. They will then be revealed and explained in subsequent lectures. Among the most important categories of political science are: politics, political power, the political system of society, the political regime, civil society, political parties, political culture, political elite, political leadership, etc. Political concepts and assessments, the impact of political science on the life of modern society are increasingly widespread and significant. This testifies to the existence of multiple connections between political science and society, and the fulfillment of a number of important functions by it. Let us highlight the most obvious (see scheme 2) The theoretical-cognitive function is associated with the identification, study, understanding of various trends, difficulties, contradictions of political processes, with an assessment of the political events that have occurred;

     The methodological function of political science assumes that an understanding of the general laws of the political life of society will help other social sciences in solving their specific problems;

Functions of political science:

Theoretical and cognitive

Methodological

Analytical

Regulatory

Prognostic

    The analytical function of political science, like that of other social sciences, is aimed at understanding the essence of political processes, phenomena, their comprehensive evaluation;

    The regulatory function is that political science contributes to the development of correct benchmarks in violent political flows, ensures the impact of people and organizations on the political process, their participation in political events.

    The essence of the predictive function is that the knowledge of the world trends of political development and their correlation with the existing interest groups in society allows to determine in advance the effectiveness of the alleged political decisions. The presence of preliminary expertise helps to insure the society from negative consequences and ineffective actions.

     Applied political science. Conventionally, political science can be divided into theoretical and applied. Both components are inextricably linked, complement and enrich each other.

     Applied political science is a branch of political science that examines specific political situations with the purpose of obtaining certain information for interested persons and organizations, developing political forecasts, practical advice and recommendations for them to improve the effectiveness of their activities.

    The specific nature of applied political science is clearly manifested in its goals and the final product. Theoretical political science aims to obtain new general abstract knowledge, sufficiently universal or knowledge characterizing whole types of phenomena. Applied political science tends to develop mainly short-term forecasts of the deployment of events, give concrete recommendations to certain participants in the political process. Applied political science studies are usually conducted by professional analysts, experts, image makers (specialists in creating a positive image of citizens, especially voters, politicians), political advisors and other persons having a relationship to real politics. Applied research is usually carried out by order of state bodies, parties, other organizations, candidates for elected posts, etc. Such studies are widely used in the preparation of government decisions, as well as in the conduct of election campaigns. Applied political science develops technologies for managing electoral campaigns, the processes of creating political parties and associations, using the potential of the media in achieving certain political goals.

***The methods of research used in political science***

     The activity of people in any of its forms (scientific, practical, etc.) is determined by a number of factors. The final result depends not only on who acts (the subject) or on what it is directed (the object), but also on how this process is accomplished, what methods, methods, means are used in doing so.

     Methods of research are methods and ways of achieving certain results in practical and cognitive activity.

    Depending on the particular purpose of the study, political science chooses various methods and methods of analysis, which are quite numerous. Conventionally, the methods used in the study of political phenomena and processes can be divided into general theoretical and concrete empirical. In real research, all methods are intertwined complementing each other. The group of general theoretical methods include institutional, historical, systemic, comparative, psychological, behaviourist, and others.

     The institutional method is focused on studying the interaction of political institutions: the state, its bodies, political parties and other public organizations. The analysis is based on the prevailing and socially entrenched political forms and formal rules of decision-making. The historical method is based on the study of political phenomena in their development. The advantage of the historical method lies primarily in the fact that it gives an opportunity to study political processes in the context of the historical situation in which they arise and develop. Also this method allows you to analyze the recurring phenomena in history (for example, wars and revolutions). Using the historical method, researchers have the opportunity to generalize the modern historical experience of the development of political systems. The analysis of various stages in the movement of political processes makes it possible to reveal patterns in their development. The importance of the application in the political analysis of the historical method is to a great extent due to the needs of political practice. Timely and correct use of it avoids manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism in politics.

   Comparative method. In order to understand the true essence of the political world, it is necessary to study the various forms of its manifestation in various countries and regions, socio-economic, socio-historical situations, different nations and peoples, etc. In this context, not only the political system in its entirety, its forms, types and varieties, but also its specific components, can act as objects of comparative analysis. And these are state structures, legislative bodies, parties and party systems, electoral systems, mechanisms of political socialization, etc. Modern comparative political studies cover dozens or even hundreds of compared objects, conducted using both qualitative approaches and the latest mathematical and cybernetic means of collecting and processing information. There are several varieties of comparative studies: a cross-national comparison is oriented toward comparing states with each other; comparatively oriented description of individual cases; binary analysis based on the comparison of two (most often similar countries); cross-cultural and cross-institutional comparisons aimed at matching national cultures and institutions, respectively.

The system method emphasizes the integrity of politics and the nature of its relationship with the external environment. The system method finds the widest application in the study of complex developing objects - multilevel ones, as a rule, self-organizing ones. These include, in particular, political systems, organizations, institutions. At the system approach the object is considered as a set of elements, the interrelation of which determines the integral properties of this set. For example, among the political institutions an important place belongs to the state. In his analysis, the main emphasis is on identifying the diversity of relationships and relationships that take place both within the state (system) and in its relations with the external environment (other political institutions within the country, states). With the help of the system method it is also possible to clearly define the place of politics in the development of society, its most important functions, and the possibilities in carrying out transformations. However, the systemic method is ineffective in analyzing individual behavior in politics (for example, the role of the leader), in the consideration of conflicts and the study of crisis situations.

     The psychological method is focused on the study of subjective mechanisms of people's political behavior, their individual qualities, character traits, as well as to elucidate the typical mechanisms of psychological motivations, the role of subconscious factors in political life. Mechanisms of subconscious motivation were investigated by many scientists, but a special role in this direction belongs to Z. Freud. In his opinion, the basis of man's actions is unconscious attraction to the enjoyment of sexuality (libido). But they come into conflict with widespread social restrictions. The dissatisfaction and internal conflicts that arise on this ground lead to sublimation (ie, switching) of the instinctual energy into various spheres of life, including to the socio-political sphere. In general, psychology plays a significant role in the research of the political sphere in a number of areas:

-      the impact of psychological factors on the development and adoption of political decisions and on their perception by citizens;

-      optimization of the image of power or political system;

-      the creation of psychological portraits of leaders;

-      analysis of the dependence of political behavior of citizens on their inclusion in the social environment;

-      the study of the psychological characteristics of various social groups (ethnic groups, classes, interest groups, crowds, demographic, etc.), etc.

    A kind of revolution in political science was made by the behaviourist method. Behaviorism (from English - behavior) - in the literal sense of the science of behavior. The essence of behaviorism lies in the study of politics through a concrete study of the diverse behavior of individuals and groups. The starting point of behaviorism is the assertion that human behavior is a reaction to the impact of the external environment. This reaction can be observed and described. Politics, assert behaviorists, has a personal dimension. Collective, group actions of people, one way or another, go back to the behavior of specific individuals who are the main object of political research. Behaviorism rejects political institutions as the object of research and recognizes such behavior of individuals in political situations.Behaviorism played a significant role in the development and development of comparative and applied political science. It is within the framework of behaviorism that concrete empirical methods used by political science have been fully developed. The group of concrete empirical methods include: population surveys, analysis of statistical material, study of documents, game methods, mathematical modeling, study of folklore (chastushki, anecdotes, etc.), etc.

    Population surveys, which take place both in the form of questionnaires and interviews, provide rich factual material for identifying various types of patterns. And their careful analysis makes it possible to make political forecasts. Analysis of statistical materials makes it possible to obtain sufficiently reliable results in identifying trends in the development of political processes. The study of documents includes the analysis of official materials: party programs, transcripts of government meetings and parliaments, various reports, as well as diaries and memoirs. Significant interest can be represented by cinema-photo documents, posters. The use of game methods makes it possible to simulate the development of a particular political phenomenon (negotiations, conflict, etc.). This allows researchers to reveal the internal mechanisms of the phenomenon being studied,issue recommendations on decision-making. The method of mathematical modeling consists in studying political processes and phenomena by developing and studying models. For example, according to their purpose, measuring, descriptive, explanatory and predictive models are distinguished.

    Today, in connection with the improvement of computers and software, the modeling of political macro- and microprocesses has become one of the primary directions in the development of the methodology of political science.

    The role of political science especially increases in the conditions of a reformed society, when it is necessary to introduce serious changes in the structure of the political system, in the content of the political process and the nature of power. Political science helps to solve the problems arising on this path, regulate public consciousness and control the political behavior of various groups of people.

**Lecture number 2** . **The nature of politics. Main Paradis g we political science.**

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              Political science, like other social sciences, belongs to the category of polyparadigmatic disciplines, that is, it allows the coexistence of various conceptual approaches to policy research that support relevant groups and schools. A paradigm is a theory, or a problem statement model, adopted as a model for solving research problems. This concept was introduced by T. Kuhn, in order to reveal the logic of scientific development. According to T. Kuhn, the paradigm sets the direction of policy research, in which the researcher, relying on certain traditions of political search, realizes the solution of a specific problem. According to this concept, the history of political science is the history of successive changes in paradigms, their renewal and enrichment.    
  
Basic paradigms of political science. From the point of view of modern political science, the following types of paradigms can be distinguished. **The theological paradigm was** formed at the initial stage of development of political doctrines, when power and the state were considered as bearers of divine will. It existed from ancient times to the late Middle Ages. **The naturalistic paradigm**   
  
     
  
  explains the features of politics mainly by extra-social factors - geographical environment, climatic conditions, biological and racial characteristics. This approach was formed in antiquity. For example, Aristotle considered private property a natural phenomenon. In the XVII-XVIII centuries, naturalism turned into one of the leading principles of European enlightenment thought. Supporters of this concept sought to extend to public life the laws established in the physical sciences. This is how the idea of ​​the identity of macro-microcosm (the ancient Greeks) arises, the consideration of society as a biological organism (al-Farabi). In the XIX century, these ideas were further spread. Thus, P.F. Lilienfeld, the German thinker of the late nineteenth century, proceeded from the postulate of the unity of the natural and social worlds, affirming, for example,that the economic life is the physiology of society, the system of legal institutions - morphology, the government - the nervous system, etc. In political science, naturalism was embodied in geopolitics, biopolitics and psychology concepts.    
  
The founder of geopolitics is considered to be the French thinker J. Boden, who formed the concept of the influence of climate on people's behavior. Subsequently, this concept was developed by the French thinker Montesquieu. In the work "On the Spirit of Laws" the main principles of geopolitics were drawn up. According to Montesquieu, the geographic environment, especially the climate, determines the spirit of the people, the form of the state structure and the nature of the social order.    
  
In modern political concepts, geopolitical views find their continuation. The work "The Geographic Pivot of History" by Oxford University Professor J. Mackinder formed the basis of most geopolitical concepts of the 20th century. From the point of view of Mackinder, for a modern analysis of the international position of the state and practical foreign policy, geographic determinism, placing "political forces" in a specific geographical environment, is of the utmost importance. Mackinder divided the world into land and sea, while postulating that the landlocked states lag far behind in development. Today, consideration of geopolitical factors is an integral part of the formation of the political course of any state. **Biopolitical paradigm**   
  
. The theoretical basis of these representations are the doctrines of early positivism, according to which the goal of any science is a description of the immediate observable. Accordingly, in political science, the subject of direct observation is the behavior of individuals, social groups, etc. The explanation of the behavior was reduced to an unambiguously rigid scheme: the stimulus-the organism-the reaction. Thus, the biological properties of the organism, namely sex, age, innate human qualities, according to this concept, can serve as the basis for explaining political behavior. At the same time, the influence of other factors mediating the reaction and behavior of a person was not recognized as significant.    
  
These principles formed behaviorism (the science of behavior) - one of the leading directions of American political science of the early twentieth century. Its founders are American politicians Merriam and Lasswell, who formed the Chicago school of political science. The "unit" of political research was the observed behavior of individuals and groups in different political situations. The use of behaviourist methods assumes that due to the accuracy of describing political behavior with the help of quantitative methods, political science will be similar in accuracy and demonstrability to the natural sciences. The main principles are the following: the detection of similarities and differences in the political behavior of different groups and individuals, on the basis of which certain forecasts are made. According to behaviorists,the defining feature of the human psyche and behavior is the unconscious desire for personal power, understood as an opportunity to influence someone. "Man is an ambitious animal." The desire for power lies in all forms of human life without exception: in relations between spouses, parents and children, bosses and subordinates, etc. This same passion is the basis of any political action.    
  
At present, the ideas of biopolitics are embodied in feminist theories that study the features of women's political behavior, namely the influence of gender, age, temperament on the policy area and other teachings.    
  
In 50-60 years appears similar to the biopolitical - psychologizing direction. Here the subject of absolutism is the psychological qualities of man. Representatives of this direction proceed from the necessity to take into account subjective mechanisms of political behavior in politics. The motives that lead people into politics and force them to participate in political processes are always individual, depend on character traits, will, education and upbringing. Thus, within the framework of this concept, political behavior was attempted to explain solely the psychological qualities of an individual or a social group. To this end, attempts were made to apply in political science research methods borrowed from experimental psychology and psychoanalysis.    
  
The problem of power in a broad sense appears in psychoanalysis as a problem of the domination of the unconscious over human consciousness. So, the well-known American psychoanalyst, political scientist K. Horney, considered the main driving force of political activity a state of fear generated in a person by a hostile social environment. The essence of political activity is, according to K. Horney, the desire to avoid situations that inspire fear. She singles out the "four great neuroses of modernity": "attachment neurosis" (the thirst for love and approval at any cost), the "power neurosis" (pursuit of prestige and possession), the "neurosis of obedience" (the propensity for conformism) and the "isolation neurosis" (flight from society).    
  
This approach, for example, found implementation in the concept of power B. Russell. In the disclosure of the mechanism of the influence of power on individuals, psychological elements of behavior such as fear, despair, collective hysteria are particularly clearly traced. It is these personality traits that political leaders use to assert their power. Therefore, the creation of favorable conditions for the full development of the individual and the elimination of those that give rise to social excitement and pessimism are the most important condition for preserving democracy and preventing the dictatorial regime. Thus, this approach expands the spectrum of hidden motives of political behavior. **Social paradigm**   
  
  unites various theories that explain the nature of politics through social factors, primarily determining the role of this or that sphere of social life. These positions, for example, adhere to Marxism, according to which politics is determined by economic relations. In Western political science, the concept of law is widespread, according to which law is regarded as the generating cause of the policy that determines its content and direction. Supporters of this concept believe that the right, rather than political activity, provides a socio-political compromise in society. One of the varieties of the social paradigm is the *culturological paradigm*   
  
   
  
  . Within the framework of this concept, the content of politics is made dependent on the values ​​of society, groups or subjects, that is, trying to explain political phenomena by appealing to the culture of human civilization. What are the cultural traditions, such is the nature of political power in society. The culture of Protestantism contributed to the development in the Western countries of the ethics of individualism and the morality of success, which led to the realization of the special importance of liberal rights and freedoms. Clan solidarity in the APR countries became the foundation of a collectivist political culture. As the political values ​​that determine the nature of people's behavior, identify ideological, based on the moral conviction of individuals in the value of a particular social and political system, personal, associated with the faith of individuals in the personal qualities of leaders.The choice of certain values, and, consequently, of the forms of political behavior, is determined by the socio-cultural characteristics of a person. For example, as the values ​​can be the dominant in society views of the political leader, a belief in his personal qualities (the cult of Stalin). To date, there is a fairly widespread view that it is the democratic political system and the principles it proclaims that are the main humanistic political value.according to which the democratic political system and the principles it proclaims are the main humanistic political value.according to which the democratic political system and the principles it proclaims are the main humanistic political value.    
  
Thus, within the framework of this paradigm certain political values ​​that determine the character of people's behavior are proclaimed. So, the main approaches to describing and essence of politics, considered by us, show the complexity and multidimensionality of the world of political life. The modern development of society is characterized by the increasingly increasing interdependence of the political, economic, legal, cultural and other spheres, which shows that within the framework of one paradigm it is impossible to fully explain the world of political life . 

So, in general, **politics is the process of resolving conflicts in groups, communities and society as a whole, based on the use of solutions acceptable to all societies for the society** .

*Relations between politics and other spheres of public life.*

Interaction of economy and politics. In the formation of political power, an important role belongs to the economy. Many believe that a weakly developed economy inevitably involves the centralization of power, strengthens authoritarian tendencies. At the same time, economic growth in society, raising per capita income contributes to the establishment of a pluralistic democracy. At the same time, it is not necessary to assert that, first of all, the economy determines the political area of ​​life. Politics can not be regarded as the main determining factor of the economy. In general, the economy, predetermining the material basis of people's livelihoods, thus determines the nature of social differentiation of society. This or that form of the state's reaction to the social demands of the groups forces the policy to act towards certain decisions.

The development of distribution in any society generates problems, some of which are political, i. can not be solved without the use of special political institutions and procedures.

The source of such problems are, first of all, the transitions from one type of production to another. They entail changes in the relations of society with nature, production relations and distribution systems of benefits, cause major social shifts. Politics has significant opportunities to influence the development of production - distribution through the solution of the political problems generated by it, changes in the rules of law, forms of ownership, mechanisms for managing production and distribution processes. However, this is limited by the needs and opportunities of production itself - distribution. Not corresponding to them political decisions can permanently deform the development of production.

Interrelation of politics and morals. Moral relations are characterized mainly by the interrelationship between individuals, expressed in the requirements for the individual on the part of individual groups, on society as a whole, on the coordination of personal interest with the public, and on the affirmation of the social in the individual. Political relations are not meant to express the individuality of each, but more directly express group interests.

One of the sources of contradictions in politics and morality is that politics implies the possibility of using force, coercion. There is no universal model of communication, distinctions and contradictions of morality and politics. Everything depends on the nature of the prevailing morality and politics. There are two tendencies in them and there are two tendencies: the desire to settle everything and the impossibility to achieve it. One type of political and moral will clashes with other types. Therefore, on the scales of society, both political and moral relations are internally contradictory.

Ideology and politics. The most active in any society is ideology and politics, since ideology is the totality of the different views that make up the public consciousness. The most important feature of ideology, public consciousness of each society is pluralism. Therefore, the ideology of any society can not be characterized unambiguously. An important part of it is political ideas and concepts, as well as political science itself. All this is called political ideology, and the part of consciousness that contains it is a political consciousness.

Politics and law. The legal, legal sphere fixes in the current legislation the basic principles of political domination of certain forces. Law is the system of requirements for the joint existence of people, which is predetermined by the very nature of society and without which its existence is impossible. It acts as an indicator of the maturity of the policy of a particular class, layer, nation, state. The law defines the boundaries and opportunities for the activities of both the opposition and the ruling structures. In specific political systems, the relationship between politics and law is rather contradictory and ambiguous. Not only in totalitarian and authoritarian but to some extent in democratic countries, political loyalty is often above the law.

**Lecture number 3. The main stages of development of the political on the first knowledge of the history of civilization.**

Political thought began to develop along with the emergence of political life, the formation of political relations, institutions.

At the first stages of the development of society, political life was reflected in the ideas; which was the primary stage of comprehension by her man. When the society reached a relatively high stage of development, political doctrines appeared in the true meaning of this term, many of which had a significant impact on the entire subsequent development of political thought.

Among the thinkers, whose ideas had a significant impact on subsequent political thought, include the ancient Greek philosophers Socrates, Democritus, Plato, Aristotle. They were not only philosophers in the full sense of the word, but also profound political thinkers.

The basis of the theoretical study of political life, politics was one of the first laid down by Socrates (468-399 BC). He knew political life, all forms of its manifestation, not at the level of representations, guesses and myths, but already in a system of certain categories, although he did not state his views in writing, but only in oral conversations. The theoretical mind of Socrates allowed him to rise to very valuable generalizations, important for political science. He came to the conclusion that the basis of the state (polis) life is the law. In his opinion, the normal organization of the life of society is possible only on the basis of law. Socrates not only realized the need to comply with the laws for the proper organization of the state, but considered law-abiding to be the main criterion of human life.

The theoretical position of Socrates, according to which he identified the legitimate and just, served him as a starting point for the classification and characterization of various forms of government and government. If power is based on the will of the people and on state laws, he believed, it would be a kingdom. If at the mercy of the ruler, then this is tyranny. The power of wealth Socrates called plutocracy, etc.

Interesting thoughts Socrates also spoke about the governance of the state. In his opinion, only knowledgeable, specially trained people are able to carry out managerial activity successfully. He very disapprovingly spoke about the procedure for appointing officials on the basis of lots, that is, practically without taking into account the level of professional training and other qualities of applicants. Incompetence of managers for him was a synonym for the death of the state, transition to a tyrannical regime of government.

Deep-thinking about political thought was expressed by the largest representative of ancient Greek materialism - Democritus (about 460 BC, - the year of death is unknown),

Democritus raised the question of the emergence of society, social and political institutions. In his opinion, initially the life of people did not differ from the life of animals. Like animal people, they used ready-made products of nature. Later, using tools to meet their needs, people learned to make clothes, build houses, etc., and thus created a society. Society, according to Democritus, is the result of the human mind, hands, abilities. The most important condition of social life, the thinker believed, was the division of labor.

Ideal, according to Democritus, is a device of social life, in which a person is not affected by fear and passion.

The political thought of ancient Greece was raised to a qualitatively new level by Plato (427-347 BC). He was not only one of the brilliant followers of Socrates, but also an original thinker. The influence of Socrates especially affected the early works of Plato. Later, his views underwent a significant evolution.

The most compressed form of Plato's teaching is that he regarded as a true being not the world around him, nor the real political life with its diverse forms of manifestation, but some ideal constructions, an intelligible world of ideas.

Plato's political views are set forth in his works "The State", "Politician", "Laws" and others.

To meet their needs, the thinker believed, people need a joint settlement - the state (society). The state (according to Plato, the concept of "state" and "society" are identical) appears as a result of innate social needs. It is necessary to maintain order, protect people from external enemies. The state should be happy "not in its separate part, not so that only some people in it were happy," wrote Plato in "The State" - but so that the eye was happy as a whole. "

All citizens, according to Plato, and they were divided into three groups: sages (philosophers), guards and artisans and peasants, should support the state. Management in the state should be carried out by sages (philosophers). "As long as philosophers do not reign in the states," wrote the thinker, "until then ... states will not get rid of evil" (Plato, Soch-TZ-Ch. I-M., 1971.-P. 275 ).

Plato gave a description of forms of state power. He believed that the correct forms of this power are monarchy and aristocracy, and distorted - timocracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny.

Plato expressed many ideas that remain relevant until the present time. This applies, first of all, to the idea of ​​a law-based state. In one of his main works "Laws" he wrote: "I see the near death of that state where the laws are not powerful and are under someone's power. In the same place where the law is the ruler over the rulers, and they are his slaves, I see the salvation of the state and all the blessings that the gods can only give to the states "(Plato, Collected Works, Vol. 3, Ch. 2.-M., 1978). - P. 188-189).

According to Plato, the state is close to perfection, in which rulers rule, and laws. In the first case, that is, when rulers become over laws, the government acquires tyrannical features. Tyranny, as the worst form of government, grows on the shoulders of an unbridled democracy that grows out of the power of the people into the power of the crowd, sweeping away all restrictions imposed by law. Excessive freedom turns, in turn, into excessive slavery. The tyrant, according to Plato, is seeking power under the guise of expressing and protecting the interests of the people. Such a "defender" of the interests of the people, Plato wrote in his work "The State", for the first time "smiles and embraces everyone with whom he meets, does not call himself a tyrant, promises much in private and in general,people and close to him distributes a lot of land and pretends to be merciful and meek in relation to all. " In the future, he discards camouflage, establishes a dictatorial government based on his personal power, arbitrariness.

Equally in scale, Plato in the history of political thought was his disciple, follower and opponent Aristotle

(384-322 BC). Researchers of political thought call Aristotle the founder of political science as a separate discipline. This has good reasons.

To understand the political doctrine of Aristotle, his works are of the greatest interest: "Politics", "Athenian politics", "Ethics", "Rhetoric". In many respects following his teacher, he nevertheless created his own original political teaching.

According to Aristotle, a person from birth is a political animal, the highest and most comprehensive form of social life is the state. The state has natural causes of its origin. It is an alliance of free citizens and is a complex organism consisting of various elements performing various functions. The main goal of the state is to educate citizens in moral virtues and ensure their happy life. Citizens, according to Aristotle, are those people who can participate in the legislative and judicial activities of this state. Slaves are not citizens. At a young age, citizens must perform military functions, in old age - political. The most useful layer of society, thought the thinker, are farmers,because they, in consequence of the specific nature of their work and their resettlement in large territories, are not inclined to interfere unnecessarily in the affairs of state administration.

The management of the state, according to Aristotle, should be occupied by the middle layers. These layers neutralize the polarization of the poor and the rich, ensure the stability of public life. "Only there," wrote the thinker in his main political work "Politics", "where in the middle of the population the layers have a preponderance over both extremes, or over one of them, the state system can count on stability."

The essence of political power Aristotle interpreted as proceeding from the principle of freedom and equality of individuals. In his view, the main feature of political power is the exercise of domination and subordination.

Aristotle classified and characterized the forms of government. He divided the forms of government into right and wrong. Correct, in his opinion, are regulated by the norms and restrictions of all kinds of government, irregular - unregulated. To the correct forms of government, he attributed the monarchy - the rule of one in the interests of the common good, aristocracy - the rule of the few best for the good of all, politicians? - the rule of the best majority (the best representatives of the poor and the rich) for the common good; to the wrong - tyranny - unlimited rule alone in their own interests, the oligarchy is the rule of the few rich in the interests of their own good, democracy is the unlimited rule of the poor majority in their own interests. Of all the forms of government, the worst thinker considered tyranny, the best politician),which should be based on reconciling the poor and the rich and the compulsory rule of law over rulers.

The political thought of the ancient world was not limited to Ancient Greece. Significant achievements also characterize ancient Roman political thought. The most prominent political thinker of ancient Rome was Mark Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC). He left behind a vast intellectual heritage. But in the most complete and systematized form, his political ideas are set forth in the works "On the State", "On the Laws".

Being an educated person, Cicero was very familiar with the political teachings of Plato, Aristotle and other thinkers of Ancient Greece. Perceiving many of their ideas, he adapted them to the political realities of Ancient Rome. The state Cicero understood as a common cause, the general condition of the whole people. He, like Plato, and Aristotle, in determining the forms of state government considered an obligatory sign not only the expression of the general interest of free members of the state, but also their coordinated interaction within the framework of existing laws.

Cicero, like the Greek thinkers Plato and Aristotle, noted the one-sidedness of the "pure" forms of state government. For him, it was equally unacceptable to rule in the form of tyranny, cliques of the rich and noble or the crowd. The best form of government, thought the thinker, is a mixed version of the known forms of government, representing a combination of the best qualities of these forms. The mixed form of government is stable. Her stability, Cicero wrote in his work "On the State," is guaranteed by the implementation of "a uniform distribution of rights and powers so that the masters have enough power, the council suffers from the influence of the primacy and the people have enough freedom." In modern language, which means that the theoretical research of Cicero contains a prototype of the theory of separation of powers,as one of the most important principles of the rule of law.

Significant merit of the ancient Roman thinker in substantiating the principle of necessity and binding compliance with treaties in international relations. He laid the foundations of the theory of international law.

Cicero, as a humanist, although not an opponent of the aggressive aspirations of his state, his claims to world domination, advocated the human treatment of prisoners and defeated.

The political teaching of Cicero had a great influence on thinkers of the Renaissance and later times.

*The development of political thought continued in the Middle Ages.*

The Middle Ages in the history of mankind, as we know, fall on the formation and development of feudalism. At that time, in most of Western Europe, a peculiar political structure developed, the main feature of which was manifested in the fact that a significant part of the power functions was transferred to the middle and lower levels of the social structure with the strengthening of the power of the church.

The Middle Ages are usually associated with the accession of the church, scholasticism, suppression of any manifestations of rationalism. This is not accidental. In 325, as is known, at the first Ecumenical Council of representatives of the church leaders, an alliance was established between the Roman imperial authority and the church. Christianity from the religion of the oppressed has become a state religion. This, among other reasons, led to the domination of the religious worldview. Social and political problems began to be considered through the prism of religious dogmas. At that time, not only philosophical and sociopolitical views of Plato, Aristotle and other ancient Greek thinkers were reanimated and adapted to the needs of the prevailing worldview, but also the ideas of early Christianity.

The Middle Ages are usually divided into three periods: 1) early feudal, 2) the flowering of the feudal system and 3) later Middle Ages.

The political thought of the Middle Ages is characterized by the proof that the highest power in society is spiritual power (the power of the church).

During the early medieval period, the most significant thinker was Aurelius Augustine (354-430), whose teachings formed the basis of Catholicism.

Augustine's views on the political life of society are set out in his main treatise On the City of God. They are deeply religious. In this work, Augustine pursues the idea that "historical events depend on divine providence" (Plekhanov, G.V., elected philosopher, works - V. 2. - M, 1956 - S. 635). Public life, according to Augustine, is the struggle of two opposite kingdoms - sinful pagan and divine. The first of these kingdoms, he believed, was embodied in the state institutions of the Roman Empire, the second - in the church. A state that is not subordinate to the church, in its opinion, is no different from a gang of bandits. The struggle of the "sinful" and "divine" kingdoms will naturally lead to the victory of the Catholic Church.

According to Augustine, God not only created the world, but also creates it constantly. Everything in the world has a divine origin, and therefore must be accepted as it is. The necessary phenomena, in his opinion, are slavery and poverty. Slaves and the poor need to properly understand this need and tolerate it. Freedom, according to Augustine, is not a choice between good and evil, but the doomed to live in sin.

For his faithful and zealous service to the interests of the Catholic Church, Augustine received the name "Blessed" and was counted among the saints.

With the greatest completeness, the spirit of the Middle Ages was reflected in the political doctrine of Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) - a philosopher, a theologian who was the founder of Thomism. He wrote a number of works in which he examined the problems of politics, the state. The most important of them for understanding the political ideology of Thomas Aquinas, and, consequently, the ideology of the Middle Ages in Western Europe, in the countries of the Catholic world are: "On the Rule of Sovereigns", "The Sum of Theology", "The Sum Against the Gentiles."

The initial thesis of the whole outlook of Thomas Aquinas formulated by himself. It says: "Philosophy is the handmaid of theology." Therefore, it is not difficult to understand what goals were at the center of his teaching. They were aimed at justifying, in logical categories, the laws and justice of the modern world order as a result of the divine creation. All the work of Thomas is an experience of rational justification of the truth of religious dogmas. Where Akvipsky lacked his own arguments to prove this, he resorted to the help of thinkers of antiquity. Thus, agreeing with the position of Aristotle that man is his "animal sociable and political nature," he declared that in order to meet the natural desire of people to unite, there was a divine will in the form of a divine act of creation.There are many such examples.

Only thanks to divine providence, according to Aquinas, the social organism has harmony, differentiation. Under the differentiation of society, Aquinas understood the division of people into managed and governed, the rich and the poor. Such a division of people, in his opinion, corresponds to the divine law. God, he believed, established and estates. This is the will of God. Therefore, people's desire to rise above their class, Foma claimed, are sinful.

The state, according to F. Aquinas, is the result of the divine creation. Divine Providence gives the state harmony, differentiation. The primary source of power, which was later handed over to one or more persons, he believed, was the entire human community, the people. The sovereign's power is conditioned by God's will. The sovereign is not only the ruler of the state, but also his creator. To the Emperor, according to Aquinas, everything is subordinate. However, secular power is subject only to "the body of people, not the soul. The supreme power belongs to the church. As far as God is above man, he asserted, so much spiritual power is above the earthly sovereign.

Thomas Aquinas allowed the possibility of resistance to state power until the uprising. But this, in his opinion, is permissible only in the case when the state power acts in unreasonable interests. In the struggle of the church and secular authorities for influence and domination, he was on the side of the church. This is clearly expressed in the intolerance of F. Aquinas to any kind of heresy. He theoretically substantiated the need for the church inquisition, seeing in it a means of preserving the purity of faith.

For his work on the realization of the interests of the Catholic Church, Thomas Aquinas was ranked among the saints. His teaching (Thomism) in 1879 was declared the "only true" philosophy of Catholicism. It is very influential in many countries of Europe and at the present time.

*The turning point in the development of political thought was the Renaissance* . This is not accidental. The period from the 40s of the 14th century to the first decade of the sixteenth suit was characterized by a decisive departure from the church-theological tradition of the Middle Ages. The Renaissance epoch has shown the world an unprecedented achievement in all areas of culture, has become the greatest progressive coup. At this time, created the immortal works of Leonardo da Vinci, Michel Montaigne, Giordano Bruno.

The Renaissance era freed a man from the bonds of medieval scholasticism and brought him back to himself, gave him the opportunity to explain his own life, not from religious dogmas, but from life itself.

Especially intensively at this time, developed Italian city-states. This naturally led to the fact that the greatest political thinkers at this time showed themselves here. They viewed political life from earthly, practical positions. The main focus of the thinkers of this time was on the human problem, freedom. For example, Leonardo Bruni (1370-1441) concluded that freedom of the will is possible only with the republican form of government. Ideals of the republican form of organization of public life were defended by other thinkers.

The founder of the new science of politics was the Italian public figure and thinker Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527). In a systematic form, he described his political idem in the works "The Emperor", "Discourse on the First Decade of Tim Libya", "The History of Florence".

N. Machiavelli refused the medieval practice of examining political power as a kind of divine institution, granted by God. He viewed political life from purely earthly positions, showed that it does not obey the action of religious dogmas. In his opinion, political power develops according to its own laws, which do not coincide and even are opposite to the laws that operate in other spheres of society. In particular, he showed what is useful, is "good" for the government, may be completely different from the point of view of morality, and so on.

Machiavelli perfectly understood the essence of politics, its tough, and sometimes cruel laws. Politics often has to go on violation of moral standards. In the treatise "The Emperor" Machiavelli justified the expediency of the political principle: "the end justifies the means". Having formulated this position, he gave the possibility of a free interpretation of the relationship between goals and means of political action. Subsequently, a policy that neglects the laws of morality, aimed at achieving personal gain by individuals and groups that have power, has been called "Machiavellianism."

Guilt Machiavelli in this sense of the principle "the end justifies the means" no. According to Machiavelli, the goal that justifies the means is a "common cause" - a strong-national state, the interests of the Fatherland. Only in the name of this politician must be able to enter the path of evil, to learn the ability to be malevolent, but at the same time, do not deviate from the good, if this is possible.

Being a Republican by his convictions, Machiavelli, however, objectively assessing the situation in contemporary Italy, advocated a strong monarchical power. Observing the political life of his country, he saw that the time for the republic had not yet come. First it was necessary to collect the territory in a single state. With this task, according to one hundred opinion, only strong monarchical power could cope; In the future, the monarchy must give way to the republic.

N. Machiavelli introduced in science the understanding of the state as a general political state of society, its more definite political organization.

The development of political thought in the Renaissance was not limited to Italy. It manifested itself in other countries. A notable contribution to the treasury of political thought was the concept of "state sovereignty" of the French political thinker, sociologist, lawyer Jean Bodin (1530-1596). This concept, which remains to this day at the center of political discussions and political practice, he set forth in the treatise "Six Books on the State."

J.-Bodin believed that the state has a specific feature - sovereignty. This feature distinguishes the state from all other social organizations. According to Bodin, sovereignty, supreme power is a permanent, independent, unified, indivisible, unlimited power over citizens and subjects. Above this authority there is no other authority. This power can not be divided, its laws are binding for execution by all ..

Bodin rejected the assertion that the monarch's power comes from God. He believed that the people have the right to kill the tyrant, and not the monarch, whose authority is based on laws. In monarchical power, Bodin saw the only force capable of ensuring peace and the rule of law in society.

An important role in the liberation of political thought from medieval scholasticism was played by the Dutch thinker Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466-1536). He was a convinced opponent of the conquest wars. He associated interest in the war with the interests of the "tyranny of the nobility," and defended peaceful relations between peoples.

In the Renaissance, along with political ideas that justify the need for the emergence and establishment of the bourgeois system, there were also doctrines that denied this system. The Renaissance is the time of the emergence of utopian socialism, whose representatives were T. Münzer, T. Mohr, T. Campanella and others.

The ideologist of the popular movement in the German Reformation, Thomas Münzer (1490-1525), in his works "Justified Protective Speech", "Exposing false faith" and others, preached the struggle for social order without class distinctions and private property, acting on the basis of "divine law" and " common good ". He advocated the transition of state power to the hands of the working people.

Thinker, politician Thomas More (1477-1525) was the Lord Chancellor of England. In 1516, he published the book Golden Book, as useful as it was amusing, about the best structure of the state and the new island of Utopia. This book was later called "Utopia" ("a place that does not exist"). It immortalized the name of its author and gave the name to one of the directions of socio-political thought - utopian socialism.

In the book Utopia, T. Mohr described the calamities of the masses; for the first time in history, showed that the cause of these disasters is private property, which, by allowing to concentrate property in the hands of a few, entails poverty and poverty of the rest of the population. "He could be said to be capable of destroying people's disasters only by" the perfect destruction of private property ". "... I am fully convinced," wrote Mohr, "that it is impossible to distribute everything equally and fairly, and also to manage human affairs happily, but how to destroy property altogether."

For his beliefs Thomas More was executed by the king. The political ideas of T. More were developed in the writings of Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639) - an Italian philosopher, courageous fighter against medieval scholasticism and the Inquisition, for the liberation of his homeland from the Spanish domination. For 27 years Campanella spent in jail.

His political ideas with the most complete T. Campanella set out in the novel "The City of the Sun". In this work he depicted an ideal social system in the state of the Sun.

In the opinion of Campayella, all people, sooner or later, but inevitably, will come to the communist principles of organizing the social life of solariums. This will necessarily happen, he believed, for man is by nature a social being, the collective principle in him is stronger than the individualist.

Significant achievements of political thought were implemented in the New Time - the period of the establishment of a new social and economic system - capitalism. At that time, theories of "natural law" and "social contract" emerged.

A prominent representative of the theory of natural law and the social contract was the Dutch jurist, sociologist and statesman Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). His views were reflected in a number of works, primarily in the main work "On the Law of War and Peace."

Grotius divided the right to "natural" and "human." The first of them, but his opinion, follows from the dictates of the mind and the nature of man and therefore regardless of God's will. In the course of the implementation of the principles of natural law (abstention from seizing someone else's property, observing contracts, etc.), the "human" right arose, which led people to the necessity of concluding a treaty. The result of the conclusion of a treaty between people was the appearance of the state.

A significant contribution to the development of political knowledge was made by the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). He outlined his political ideas in the works "On the citizen" and "Leviathan, or Matter, the form and authority of the state church and civil".

Following Machiavelli and Grotius, T. Hobbes made an attempt to show the state not as a divine creation, but as a result of the vital activity of people. In his opinion, in the pre-state period people lived in conditions when there was a "war of all against all." It threatened them with ruin. To avoid this, people created a state designed to ensure universal peace and security. Having united in the state, people voluntarily transferred their rights to the sovereign and state bodies, which expressing the will of all can force everyone not to violate the decisions made, live in peace.

The supreme state power, the philosopher believed, can be represented by one person, a "meeting of persons", but it must be absolute, unified, unlimited. Only such a power, in his opinion, can ensure the stability of society, and at the same time the conditions for the development of the individual, which can only develop in a strong state, with firm laws. In the absence of such a state, people, pursuing their selfish goals, can destroy each other in the war of all against all. The task of the law, Hobbes emphasized, was "to limit the freedom of individuals so that they can not harm but help each other and unite against a common enemy" (Hobbes T. Leviathan, M., 1936.-P. 210). To ensure peace in the society, he believed, it is also extremely important "that no views or teachings be preached to citizens that would lead them to thought,that they have the right not to obey "the power of the sovereign and state organs, which alone have the right to" judge what views and doctrines are hostile to the interests of the world, and forbid their distribution "(Hobbes T. Sobr., in 2 volumes - T I. - M "1991. - P. 338-339). The law of the state, in his opinion, should be concern for the welfare of the people.

The Dutch philosopher Benedikt Spinoza (1632-1677) was also a party to the theory of public dogma . In his main work "Ethics" he derived social patterns from the unchanging nature of man and substantiated the possibility of harmonious combination of private interests of people with the interests of the whole society.

B Spinoza believed that the state arose on the basis of a social contract. It is designed to provide every person with the ability to be guided by reason, to gain freedom. Best of all, this can be done, in his opinion, under a democratic form of government. Being a supporter of strong state power, he also believed that she can not interfere in the internal life of people, should not encroach on the freedom of their conscience. According to Spinoza, state power, which manages people only through fear, can not be recognized as virtuous. The state should lead people so that it seemed to them as if they were not being led, and they live so to their own will, according to their own understanding.

At a qualitatively higher stage in its development, political thought rose in the era of the Enlightenment. This is natural. This time in the history of mankind is not accidentally called the Age of Enlightenment. Scientific knowledge, which was formerly the property of a narrow circle of scientists, has now spread to secular salons, went beyond laboratories, universities. The political thought of the Enlightenment is imbued with optimism, faith in the mind of man, with conviction in the decisive role of enlightenment.

The birthplace of the Enlightenment was England. This is not accidental. This country, before others, began to follow the path of capitalist development. Subsequently, educational thought has manifested itself in many other countries. In England, it is represented by the intellectual heritage of J. Locke, J. Toland, A. Smith and others; in. France - F. Voltaire, J.-J. Rousseau, D. Diderot, P. Holbach, S. Montesquieu and others; in Germany - G. Lessing, I. Herder and others; in North America - B. Franklin, T. Jefferson and others; in Russia - NI Novikov, AN Radishchev and others.

Among the British enlighteners, the first magnitude was John Locke (1632-1704). His political views are most fully expounded in the work "Two Treatises on Public Administration." The essence of Locke's political concept is to substantiate the unity and interdependence of human rights. Like Hobbes, J. Locke believed that the state arose as a result of a social contract. However, having concluded the contract, he believed, people did not lose their natural rights, they-retained inalienable rights, including the main ones: the right to life, the right to freedom, the right to property. At the same time, Locke was deeply convinced that the property of each person is the result of his work.

According to Locke, full guarantees of the economic freedom of a person are possible only with the addition of its political freedom. To ensure political freedom, to prevent encroachments on human freedom on the part of state bodies, he believed, it is necessary to divide the powers of the state between its various structures. Legislative power in the state should be separated from the executive (including the judiciary) and federal, in charge of external relations. Legislative power should belong to a representative assembly, executive - to the king and the cabinet of ministers. Separation of state power between its structures will be mutually limited and balanced. Locke advocated for such a state in which the supreme rule, the law,corresponding to its content of natural law and recognizing the inalienable natural rights and freedoms of man. With the usurpation of power, the people, according to J. Locke, have the right to insurrection and overthrow of the ruler or rulers.

All forms of state power, according to Locke, grow out of a social contract, and therefore have the right to exist. While affirming this, Locke, however, gave preference to the constitutional monarchy.

The theory of separation of powers in the most developed form was embodied in the works of the French philosopher and political thinker Charles Louis Montesquieu (1689-1755).

The political views of S. Montesquieu are most fully described in his main work "On the Spirit of Laws". In this work an attempt is made to explain the origin of the state, to reveal the nature of the laws of social development and on this basis to put forward a draft of public reforms.

Montesquieu distinguished in the state three branches of power: legislative, executive and judicial. To prevent abuses of the highest state power, he believed, an order of things was necessary in which its various branches were independent of each other and could restrain each other. This is necessary in order "that there be no opportunity to abuse power ..." (Montesquieu Sh.L. About the spirit of the laws /, Selected Works, M., 1955 - P. 289). The implementation of the principle of separation of powers in the structure of the state, in his opinion, is also necessary in order to ensure the rule of law, the political freedom of citizens, to guarantee their security, and to prevent lawlessness.

Highlighting the three main forms of government: the republic, monarchy and despotism, Montesquieu regarded his ideal as a constitutional monarchy. At the same time, he noted that the republican form of state government is just as natural as the monarchical form. To the despotic form of government the thinker treated extremely negatively.

A great influence on the development of political thought in the Age of Enlightenment was given by François Marie Arue (1694-1778), who wrote under the pseudonym of Voltaire. This influence manifested itself not so much in the creation of new fundamental ideas, as in the enlightenment of society.

A notable contribution to the development of political thought in the eighteenth century was made by the French philosophers D. Diderot (1713-1784), C. Helvetius (1715-1771), P. Holbach (1723-1789), J. Lametrie (1707-1751). The political ideal of Diderot and Holbach was a limited monarchy with popular representation. Helvetius spoke with obvious sympathy about a democratic republic.

An outstanding thinker of the Enlightenment era was the French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). He sharply criticized feudal relations based on social inequality and exploitation of the people. This relationship

Rousseau contrasted the "natural state" - the "golden age", where all people are equal.

In his works "Discourse on the origin and causes of inequality between people" and "On the social contract, or the principles of political law" J. J. Rousseau considered the natural state as a state of equality and freedom. The cause of social inequality, in his opinion, was the emergence of private property, as well as errors in people's activities. The emergence of private property was led by the "ability to improve", which people had from the very beginning. This ability led to the improvement of tools. This, in turn, led to the emergence of private property. The state arose as a result of a social contract. When the state appeared, most people gave up natural rights and freedoms.

The highest degree of social inequality is reached in a despotic state. -This state, thought Zh-Zh-Russo, can not exist forever. There will come a time when the disenfranchised majority will overthrow the despot. Having overthrown such power, people will again have to conclude a social contract, the essence of which, according to Rousseau, is that "each of us gives his personality and all his power to the supreme leadership of the common will, and together we accept each member as an indivisible part of the whole "(Rousseau J. \* J. J. of the social contract .-- M., 1938. - P. 13). This treaty, the thinker believed, can not be a contract for the election of a government, an agreement that would provide for the subordination of one side and the domination of another. As a result of such a treaty, a state must be formed in which the supremacy of power,sovereignty will be enjoyed by the people. "Instead of the individual personality of each contracting party, this act of association immediately creates a moral and collective whole composed of as many members as the assembly has votes, the whole which receives by its very act its unity, its common self, life and will." (Rousseau J.- J. Treatises. - M., 1969. - P. 162).

In such a state, according to Rousseau, all power belongs to the people. It is an expression of "general will", "it is the will of the people as a whole" (Ibid., P. 168). This power, thought the thinker, can not be represented by anyone. People's deputies "can not be representatives of the people, they are only its commissars; they can not decide anything definitively; Every law that the people has not ratified personally is invalid; this is not even a law "(ibid., p. 222). Execution of the will of the people, according to Rousseau, is the Government

They are not something independent, but carry out only the will of the people. The will of the people is revealed by referendums. To prevent the usurpation of power, he believed, can facilitate the holding of public assemblies. At these meetings, the government must report to the people about its activities. The people, Zh. Zh. Thought. Rousseau, has the right to resist tyrants.

Many of Rousseau's ideas were legislated in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen of 1789 and the French Constitution of 1791.

Enlightening ideology, having arisen in the countries of Western Europe, has spread, as already noted, in other countries. In North America, educational ideas were promoted by B. Franklin, T. Peip, T. Jefferson and others. ,

The American philosopher, the third president of the United States, Thomas Jefferson (1743-4826) believed that every person has a moral sense of justice and injustice. The historical process, according to Jefferson, is a confrontation between the innate moral principle and human egoism, which is fixed in social and state forms.

**Lecture №** **4** . **Political power and mechanisms for its implementation.**

In the political literature, there are many definitions of power. For example, T. Hobbes believed that sweetness is a means to achieve good in the future, and life itself is an eternal and relentless pursuit of sweetness, which ends only with death. M. Weber defined power as a possibility to exercise one's will against the resistance of others. R. Dahl believed that power allows one person to force another to do what he would not have done on his own. At the same time, H. Arendt believed that power does not belong to an individual at all , but only to a group of people acting together. S. Luks, rejecting this

judgments, argues that the basis of all the definitions of power is a primitive idea: a certain A in one way or another affects the

BP Morris clarifies that power is not just a way to influence

someone or something, and action as a process aimed at changing someone or something. The same is said by A. Giddens: the possession of power means

cp the ability to change the order of things. G. Lasswell and A. Kaplan in the book "Power and Society " emphasize that power is involved in decision-making. For Parsons power - it chem EMA resources with which achieved total tse there. R. Aron believes that power is the potency that a person or group owns to establish relationships with other people or groups that agree with their own desires. B. Russell will define power as the production of deliberate results. Many scientists emphasize the natural nature of power. Evil is not in the power itself . Each person initially in one way or another seeks power and with lava, although there are people who always try to command, and others - to obey. Between these extremes is the mass of people who, in some situations

easier to obey, in others - to command. There is a type of people who do not like to command at all . At the same time, there is no leader without aspiration to power. No leader succeeds if he does not get joy from the authorities, if he does not have self-confidence. We must also take into account the authority of the organization. Only at the junction of the two forms of power - individual and organization - is the essence of power as such, its property as coercion at the point of contact .

      Despite the differences in the approaches of scientists to determine the nature of power, its general characteristics are also singled out. The scope includes the concept of ability and opportunity, domination and subordination. Without subordination there is no power, without authority there is no subordination. The manifestation of power is an action that encourages people to do something that they would not do at will. This is power over someone. However, there is power for something, for example, to achieve a certain goal. Therefore, as A. Giddens observes, power by its nature is not oppression, it is simply the ability to choose the mode of action or the opportunity to achieve results. Power is not tsya an obstacle on the road to freedom, but just serves as its intermediary, an intermediate link. Power is often defined as a willful attitude. To rule is to impose

their will to the will of others. Power is the real ability of certain social forces or individuals to exercise their will in relation to other social forces or individuals. The universal properties of power are singled out: its universality, that is, functioning in all spheres of public life and political processes; its ability to penetrate all kinds of activities, uniting or disconnecting people, social groups. The space of power can be quite small, say, the personality of the person himself , the family, and the largest - state power, the power of religions, ideologies, international structures. Therefore, we can distinguish various types of power: economic and political;

secular and ecclesiastical; legislative, executive and judicial;

central, regional, local; state, party, family,

the power of the apparatus, leaders, parents, etc.

       Already in primitive society there is a public authority coordinating all aspects of collective life and regulated by customs. Later, in the conditions of the division of labor and property, public power undergoes significant changes, becoming political power. Gradually, it is formalized in laws, transforming into a new power - the state. Political power always has a social character, manifested through the functioning of special structures , involves the use of coercion, traditions, moral influence, a system of ideological and legal norms. It is important to take into account the balance of political and state power. Political power appears as the actual balance of class and the other with otsialnyh forces. *State power* is a direct product

political power, it has a political character, because the state in its activities affects the interests of virtually all segments of the population. but nor political power is reduced to the state power , because it also includes the power and influence of parties, leaders, public organizations, etc., or the state - to political. The state also performs nonpolitical tasks, which, however, can acquire a political nature for various reasons (schooling, language of instruction, ecology, etc.).

***Value of politics and power***

Power and politics are sometimes identified, considering them inseparable and

interdependent. Indeed, the power is the central beginning of politics, it is a means of implementing policies. The struggle for power, for its mastery and its grudging is a political problem, irrespective of whether it is solved by elections, names, seizure. As a rule, power is not an end in itself for social forces striving to realize their goals. However, having come to power, these forces begin to formulate concrete structures of power of various sizes - from the government , the president, the parliament to regional and local structures. New spruce governors, carrying out their interests and goals, develop and conduct themselves in life      ь own policy, which becomes a means of this power. In other words, politics is n richinoy power, and power - the cause of policy. One can say that politics and power are linked by a circular causal relationship. This question has not only theoretical, but also practical significance. In specific political situations, for all policy issues, one way or another,

there are issues of power, its preservation and retention . So, before elections, the power is often pursued by a populist politician by flirting with the people, empty promises; demonstrates the paternal concern for the poor, the sick, the good, there are many of them in our country. Those interested in preserving this authority, foreign states send their high-level visitors with a promise of loans, with demonstration of support from the existing regime, etc. The very conquest and retention of power already has a policy with all its attributes - the setting of tasks, the choice of goals, means, methods of struggle, etc.

***Structure of power***

***Subject and object of authority***

      The relations of power presuppose the existence of a subject and an object (or a second, passive subject), relations of domination and subordination, motivation for action and its fulfillment at the will of the first subject. Power arises in the relations between people, groups of people, about the entity and its parts, that is, the subjects endowed with consciousness, will, ability to act. The very power of anything can not do, they are people with power or n odchinyayuschiesya. Therefore, the concept of power as an influence, relationship can not extend to the relationship between people , groups of people and the world of things, the spiritual world, that is, objects that are not able to act, fulfill instructions. Therefore, expressions such as "the power of money," "the power of things," "power

ideas, "" power over nature "- this is nothing more than metaphors, figurative

expressions adopted in everyday life. They denote the dependence of any kind on anything. Feelings, thoughts, ideas, money by themselves are not objects, do not fulfill the will of man. It can be performed by other people, acting for ideological reasons, because of money, fear, etc.

       Of course, in real political life, power exists in objects, symbolic forms, in documents, laws, instructions, programs, signs of differences, etc. There are numerous political institutions whose employees solve various issues within the limits of their powers. In ordinary speech, these institutions can also act as subjects of power: the congress decided that the government decided that the parliament drafted the law, although all this was done by specific people. There are many situations when the object and the subject of power are combined in one person, in one collective. It has a wasps oboe political significance for the formation of self-governing processes in society, for example, self-discipline, self-reliance, self-management,

initiative.

*Subjects of power* can be individuals, organizations, communities of people, unions of states, the world community. The primary subjects are individuals, the secondary ones are political organizations, the subjects of a higher level are political elites and leaders. As a rule, the subjects of power should possess such qualities as the desire to rule, the will to power, the willingness to take responsibility, competence, professionalism, the ability to use resources, and have authority. Sometimes the desire to rule is due to the fact that the authorities open wide opportunities for obtaining various kinds of benefits: high incomes, privileges, profitable

connections, etc.

      The subjects of political power are:

- social communities (people, nations, classes, social groups and strata). They affect power indirectly. In periods of radical political change, anarchy, anarchy, these communities can take political power directly for a short time directly into their own hands, by means of rebellion, insurrection, revolution, civil disobedience, the creation of authorities "from below";

- the state;

- political parties and organizations. The ruling parties render

direct influence on the functioning of political power,

opposition - mediated. In some countries, the influence of opposition parties is enshrined in legislation (the right to create their own "shadow cabinet");

- ruling elites, bureaucracy, lobby (pressure groups). Political elites and bureaucracy exist in any society , their influence on power is often decisive. Lobbyists represent and push the interests of various layers, groups, existing in society . In a number of Western countries, lobbying is officially recognized, and its activities are monitored;

- group and individual leadership;

- personal power;

- Individuals (citizens) in the conditions of elections, referendums;

- The crowd (ohlos). The crowd can take power into their own hands in times of crisis,

absence of any organized political force. Emotion, not

reason, dark instincts take precedence over the crowd. As a result of the seizure of power

a regime of ochlocracy is established by the crowd . The state of the political life of the society depends on how the subjects of political power interact , what are the principles and nature of their mutual relations . Power is always a relationship between the subject and the object, the will of the master and the subordination of the object. Submission is as natural to people as leadership. Therefore, power depends on the obedience of the population, on whether they are prepared to tolerate it if it does not suit society. The qualities of the object of political power depend on the political culture of the population. For example, the patriarchal and subordinate type of culture forms obedience, the habit of obeying, the desire to live under "hard hand ". An activist type of culture forms a citizen who carries his share of responsibility for the country, and not a submissive servant to the powers that be.

***Functions of power***

         The manifestation of power is natural for man and is embedded in the biological, natural and social principles of his life. Command and execution are two universal principles of power that are indivisible and interact, as well as two types of personality - imperious and subordinate . Both these types are socially necessary. They are reproduced in the civil society structures and relations between them, for example, state and society, government and the masses, parties and leaders, etc. The coordination of these relations also refers to the public functions of political power. The authorities are called upon to form the political system of society, political relations between the state and society, public groups, classes, political institutions, parties, citizens, government bodies. The government is called upon to monitor these relations, to turn them whenever possible into conflict-free and organized ones.

          The authorities manage the affairs of society and the state at different levels:

- the macro level of the highest central political institutions, state institutions, parties and organizations;

- the average level ("meso level"), which is formed by institutions of regional, regional and district scales;

- micro level, which covers direct political communication between people , small groups, self-government. At this level, a political culture is formed, opinions are formed, people's beliefs . This level is not inferior; it constitutes the political fabric of society as a whole, including all other levels of power. The functioning of political power largely depends on the type of political regime in society, openness or closeness of society, the nature of political

relations and other political characteristics of the given state, including stability, authority, separation and cooperation of the authorities, the role

opposition, democracy. Thus, to the most important, socially significant functions of political

authorities can include the following:

- maintenance of public order and stability;

- identification, limitation and resolution of conflicts;

- achievement of public consensus (consensus) ;

- coercion in the name of socially significant goals and maintaining stability;

- Management of the affairs of society.

***Concepts of power***

In modern literature, there are various authorities for power. Thus, system concepts regard power as a property of the political system. T. Parsons believes that power as a property of the system is associated with the achievement of common goals with the system, with the organization. Crozier considers the power eternal. "Power can neither be liquidated nor nationalized, but, like the heads of a hydra, it appears in increasing numbers and becomes stronger every time it is considered to be beheaded." For a long time , the legal concepts of power dominated the history of political thought . Hobbes, Locke , Spinoza, Rousseau, Kant and others thinkers considered the law to be primary, and politics and power - derived from law.

          French philosophers of the eighteenth century appealed to reason as the only judge over everything that existed, demanded the establishment of a rational society in accordance with the natural rights of the people of the world. The search for an ideal law and state is characteristic of Plato and F. Bacon, for communist utopias from T. Mora to E. Cabe. Philosophical substantiation of I. Kant's theory of the pri vative state is also based on the principle of publicity of the state structure with legal norms. The concept of power is widely spread . The basic ideas of the behavioral (behavioral) direction were put forward in the 20-30s of this century by a group of scientists B ikagskogo University, who began to study the behavior of people in the field of politics, to study the political process, the real facts, believing that any p con- cern must pass the test of facts. Behavioralists explain political life from inherent properties, behavior, will, aspiration to power. A political person is a person who aspires to power. In politics, everything is power, and all power is

policy. But politics is the sphere of social interaction, therefore individuals enter into relations about power. Only on the basis of the will of the people, with all the political stuff, will get together, acquiring stable, stable forms over time, becoming fixed in political institutions. The power of these institutions must be derived from the relationships in the field, in which people enter. From here one can understand how the parties, political organizations and the state are born and function . The state power is reproduced by concentration, merger, clash, disintegration, the struggle of political actors, their will to power. Behavioralists view political relations as a power market (market model). Subjects of power enter into certain agreements, "transactions" for the sake of achieving power and what it gives. Implementation of agreements

depends on two factors: the goodwill of the participants and the presence of an external force,

compelling to observe the accepted obligations . The second factor presupposes the presence of force, standing as if over the system, over participants in transactions. If we compare political interaction with the game, then in the game wins the one who wins by the rules of am. In a political game, the gain is to increase the amount of power. G. Lasswell believes that this gain is determined by the participation and whether the opportunity to participate in decision-making. It happens that in the game one side does not just break the rules, but seeks to betray them to win. To stop such actions is possible only from the outside. But if the game covers everyone, the whole political system, then there is simply no such force. Hence the conclusion: a political game must be a self- experimenting one. The rules of a political game must come from it , and not be imposed from the outside . The idea of ​​a self-regulating mechanism is borrowed by behaviorists from American social and economic thought, where it was believed that the regulator of all economic relations is the market. This idea was extended to the sphere of political relations. The political arena becomes the market of power. Power is sold and bought according to the rules of trade: accounting for demand and

proposals, aspirations for profit, competition of sellers and buyers. The real political market is not perfect. There is a deceit, a violation of laws,

demagogy, blackmail; here you need strength, agility, acting, luck, luck,

Lucky case. Those who control their own property tend to turn their dollars into votes, their property into political power. According to Merriam, business is a dictator in a power family. The struggle for power is motivated not only by the goal of gaining power, but also by its play character. Politics appears as a game of space where winnings and losses are likely . On the back of this world - the human nature with its origins of human behavior pulses.

The relationalist concepts of power characterize power as an interpersonal relationship that allows one individual to change the behavior of another. It is the relationship between the subject and the object of power. They can be different: suppression of the object's resistance, unequal distribution of resources between participants in power relations , division of zones of influence, etc. If in one situation power is possessed by one individual, then with a change in the sphere of influence, the roles can change. The object of power can become its subject.

***Separation of power***

The separation of power is the main mechanism for the functioning of all types of political and non-political power. The separation of power arises from the property of power to be the relationship between the subject and the object, between which the command-and- execution relations , domination and subordination are formed. In the political system of society, where the subjects of power are institutions, organizations, the separation of power means the making of decisions and their implementation, the distribution of labor, the division of functions. Separation of powers ist oricheski formed at a very early stage the IAOD states and resulted in the specialization of the authorities of different persons and institutions. The first major division of power dissolves political and religious (spiritual, priestly) power, the authority of the state and the church. The rivalry between these authorities lasted for many centuries. For many countries, it is not completed now, and its outcome is far from unambiguous for many regions of the world. In the most secular state government, the division of the professional functions of power began early . There was a separation of power between central and local government (self- government), power was formed at different levels with different functions. The separation of power at the state level was uneven and accompanied by a conflicts and even wars between the royal power and parliaments (The Glorious Revolution of 1688 in

England, overgrown in the war of the king and parliament a, the change of dynasties; The French Revolution). There was also a centuries-old battle for the right of people to take part in the government - electoral rights, otherwise , for the separation of power between the state and society. The universal electoral right was established only in the twentieth century and not universally.

Projects for the separation of the unified state power into several independent but interrelated authorities that could co-operate and control each other appeared in the 17th century. The first project of this kind belonged to John Locke (ser, the seventeenth century), who divided power into legislative, executive (she and the judiciary) and federal, which is in charge of international relations. Later, in the XVIII century, Montesquieu created the theory of separation of powers in its modern form: legislative, executive and judicial. The principle of separation of powers is enshrined in Article 6 of the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus. It notes that the state is based on the principle separation of powers: legislative , executive and judicial. State bodies within their powers are independent: they interact with each other, restrain and counterbalance each other. Of great importance in the system of separation of power is the separation in the judicial branch of the constitutional court, which plays the role of arbitrator in relations between the authorities. Relations between the divided authorities are regulated by laws, constitutional provisions, and the traditions of the political culture of society. but these relations are not always harmonious . This is especially true for countries that are only beginning to master the system of separation of powers. Such a Trani include Belarus.

The experience of history shows that attempts by one of the branches of power to dominate weaken the state and reduce the separation of powers to a purely formal procedure. In this case, a real ruling power may be some other force standing outside the official power structure.

It should be borne in mind that power is divided not only between legal

structures, although there may be unspoken orders, orders,

behind-the-scenes struggle, conspiratorial organizations such as organs

security, intelligence, control. Can exist in society and

illegal political and non-political structures that really own

power, shadow and illegal structures . In times of crisis, all forms of hidden power segregation can become extremely dangerous, since they create conditions for the criminalization of politics, pressure on society, its destabilization, political conspiracies and coups.

**Power Resources**

Under the resources of the authorities it is accepted to understand all those means, the use of which provides influence on the object of power in accordance with the objectives of the subject. Resources are either values that are important to an object (money, commodities) or means that can affect the inner world, the motivation of a person (the media), or tools with which you can deprive a person of certain values, the highest of which are generally considered to be life (weapons, punitive agencies in general) (Fundamentals of Political Science, Textbook, Part 1. - 1993. - P. 110). Subjects of political power have a unique system of resources. In their hands are the state with its apparatus, and Rome, internal affairs agencies, prisons, law enforcement agencies, monetary and tax systems, etc.

State power has the monopoly right to promulgate laws that are binding on the entire population. It can legally use force, relying on a special enforcement device. Gosudars TBO having a single center of decision -making, not only uses coercion, but also economic, social, ku lturno-information resources. The power resources are interests, people's beliefs, their feelings, emotions

(fear, hatred, envy, enthusiasm, enthusiasm, discontent, etc.).

Effective means of power can be national and religious

feelings. Resource type of interest is determined by economic potential,

tax, social policy. The resource of coercion uses fear for

life, health, property, welfare. The result of violence is that a person is forced to behave differently than he would like. Coercion can be physical, psychological, moral.

The resource of power is the language as an element of the political culture. The language of power is specific, it relies on myths, stereotypes, and the meaning of words depends on the will of the master, on the ability to read between the lines. The importance of cliches, a cliche of bureaucratic language, is a kind of a pass to the corridors of power. Language policy plays far from the last role in real political processes, election campaigns.

Resources include the country's economic, military , cultural potential, the state territory, stability and order, the unity of society, natural resources, population , its quality (culture, education, labor skills, etc.). Of great importance are traditions, ideology, faith, trust, public mood , public participation in politics, the time that has the power to solve their tasks. The authorities' resources include knowledge, professionalism , propaganda in all its forms, and the mass media. Different resources are usually used by the authorities in a complex, although each resource type has its own implementation conditions and efficiency limit, the most convenient objects and the time of the action. Thus, young people are most prone to persuasion . Opposition forces rely more on nedo vodka. In times of revolutions, wars, violence is more often used. Coercion is more prevalent in countries with weak democratic traditions. In societies with the traditions of individualism, the emphasis is on the use of material interest, money, although coercion , fear of life, health, well-being are also used.

It should be borne in mind that the effect of these or other means of power has a limit beyond which their application becomes meaningless . Thus, the arms race is not only dangerous, but also meaningless, since the imposition of many military means means the destruction of life itself. Therefore, it is necessary to strive to ensure that the basis of power is the habit of order, the high level of culture, the well-being of people, the rule of law, and not fear of punishment and coercion.

***Political and political legitimacy***

To characterize power relations, the term

"domination". In order for the government to fulfill public functions, it was stable and stable, it must be institutionalized, that is,

fixed in certain institutions, institutions, forms. Thereby

reproduce and consolidate relations of domination and subordination,

division of managerial work and associated privileges. This establishes a certain social hierarchy, a staircase, and taking certain steps of this ladder allows you to make decisions, order, authorize or prohibit.

The form of social organization of power is domination. Domination is defined as a mechanism for the exercise of power, which takes the form of social institutions and assumes the division of society into dominant and subordinate groups, the hierarchy and social distance between them, and the allocation of a special administrative apparatus. Domination is a political order in which some command, and others obey, although the first can be under the democratic control of the latter.

Dominance includes economic, political , ideological aspects. Many political scientists consider the economic state to be the most important, because it is the power of owners of means of production , money, other social riches. Money has a strong influence on the conduct of election campaigns and election results, is used to buy politicians, to influence the media, and so on. By lytic authority authorizes the e conomic dominance. Therefore, state power is the supremacy of economically dominant forces. Ideological logic domination is called upon to justify this order, to justify it, present as fair and humane.

         In modern democracies, the absolute power of big business is constrained by competition, the participation of workers in decision-PRODUCTION 's decisions, distribution of profits, the tax policy of the state and in other ways. In these countries, self-sufficient political power is sufficient , capable of subordinating economic power to its own goals, having primacy over the economy. Political power does not allow the monopolization of the media in the hands of certain individuals and groups, as well as the government, because this can help a certain grouping for a long time To maintain its domination, despite the ineffectiveness of economic and other policies. The democratic system presupposes a division of domination by forming a multitude of centers of economic influence, the separation of power between the state, parties, interest groups, and also

State power for legislative, executive and judicial,

approval of cultural and information pluralism , accessibility of education. Political domination manifests itself as a means of acquiring social domination, that is, a privileged position in society. A high political position contributes to the accumulation of wealth, access to knowledge for themselves and their children. Wealth, in turn, increases the chances of entry into the political elite, access to education, the media, the first information. Thus, there is an accumulation of power, an increase in domination. An alternative to domination is the self-government of a society, however, it is possible in small areas and territories, and not within the framework of modern states.

***Legitimacy of power***

The term "legitimacy" arose at the beginning of the nineteenth century and expressed the desire to restore the power of the king in France as unifiedly legitimate, in contrast to the power of the usurper. At the same time, this word acquired a different meaning: the recognition of this state power and the territory of the state at the international level. The demand for legitimacy of power arose as a reaction against the violent change of power and the redrawing of state borders, against arbitrariness and ochlocracy.

    Legitimacy means recognition by the population of this authority, its right to govern. Legitimate power is accepted by the masses, and not simply imposed on them. The masses agree to submit to such power, considering it to be fair, authoritative, and the existing order is the best for the country. Of course, in a society always ec be the citizens who violate the laws, do not agree with the data of the political course, do not support the government. Legitimacy is the power and means that it is supported by the majority that laws are the main part of society. Political science also uses the term " legality" of power. Legality and legitimacy are not the same thing. A egalnost authorities - legal justification, the legal existence of power, its validity, compliance with legal norms. Legitimacy does not have legal functions and is not a legal process. Any power that promulgates laws, even unpopular, but which ensures their fulfillment, is legal . At the same time, it can be illegitimate, not accepted by the people. In society, there can be illegal power, for example, the mafia.

*Legitimacy* is the trust and justification of power, therefore it is closely connected with the moral assessment of power. Citizens approve of power based on the moral criteria of good, justice, decency, conscience. Legitimacy is designed to provide obedience, consent without coercion, and if it is not achieved, then justify coercion, the use of force. Legitimate power and politics are authoritative and effective. It is obvious that legitimacy can be, as conquered, and lost. Timing The elites' conquest by the elite are different depending on the circumstances, and its

loss is caused by different and causes. It is difficult to assess the legitimacy in a society where modernization is taking place, where habitual norms of behavior are violated. Nevertheless, it is possible to neglect legitimacy only to certain limits, and this is typical for despotic power of authoritarian or totalitarian type or for power doomed, temporary, weak. Democratic power devotes much attention to legitimacy , because it is forced to rule with the consent of the people , and not because it is her good will.

In order to win and retain legitimacy, people's trust, the authorities resort to the argumentation of their actions, referring to your values ​​(justice, truth), to history, feelings and emotions, moods, real or fictional will of the people, the dictates of time, scientific and technological progress, the requirements of production, the historical tasks of the country , etc. To justify violence, repression, it is often used to divide people into friends and enemies. Principles of legitimacy (beliefs) can originate in ancient traditions, revolutionary charisma or in the current legislation. The typology of legitimacy, which enjoys widespread recognition, was introduced by Max Weber, who identified three main principles: tradition, charisma, legality. These are ideal types that do not exist in a "pure form". In concrete political systems, these three types are intertwined with the predominance of one of them.

**Lecture number 5. Subjects of politics. Personality as a subject of politics.**

Social stratification of modern society and its influence on politics. Large social groups as the main subjects of politics. Politically dominant class and political coalitions, the forms of their impact on society. The political role of small groups, their participation in the formation of political attitudes and the orientation of their members. Personality as a subject and object of politics. Political socialization of the individual.

There are three main levels of subjects of political relations: 1) the social level includes individuals, professional groups, a nation, a class; 2) the institutional level covers the state, parties, political movements, interest groups; 3) the tertiary level is derived from the first and second and includes elites, leaders who play the most prominent role in politics.

The expansion of the political participation of broad sections of the population , the growing interest in politics, today represent a ***global trend of*** world development. Getting into bed Well rful world policy suggests new generations odds ming they have a certain relationship to the politi e skim goals and values, which they found in a particular general stve. To maintain the integrity and so on Gressa society is important to know how the broadcasting of political persuasion tions and political standards of living from one generation to another, and thus is the formation of an independent and responsible watered and Cesky subject.

Political relations are formed between subjects of different levels and subsystems of political life. Accordingly, it can be relations at the macro level (nation-wide, all-party), as well as at the regional and local levels. Political relations can be formed between subjects of different levels, i.e. on the "vertical" (relations between the state and society, elites and the masses) or between subjects of the same rank, by "horizontal" (relations between different branches of government, between state bodies and institutions).

Subjects of political relations - individuals and social groups (strata), as well as organizations, take direct more or less conscious participation in political activities, although the degree of such consciousness may be different. American political scientist G. Almond, depending on the awareness of participation in politics, distinguishes three groups of its subjects: 1) subjects parochial, driven by concern for the realization of their immediate interests and not aware of the political consequences of their participation, their political role; 2) subject subjects who understand their political role and purpose, but who do not see the possibility to go beyond their limits, independently influence political life; 3) subjects-partipants (participants), clearly aware of their goals and ways of implementing them and using for this institutional mechanisms (parties, movements).

Obviously, different social actors are not equal as a political force. Not all actors are equally involved in certain political actions. At the same time it is extremely difficult to separate individual and collective, direct and indirect participants in political actions. Primary subjects of politics - individuals, social groups, nations, peoples - do not cease to be subjects of political relations, regardless of whether they participate or not at the moment in political actions. Thus, the individual actions of a popular charismatic leader would be impossible without the collective participation of the masses supporting him. At the same time, the effectiveness of the actions of direct participants in political actions largely depends on the attitude towards the event of people who did not participate directly in it.Expressing their attitude before, during and after the implementation of the corresponding actions, they thereby become their indirect participants.

An important quality of the subject is his activity, which expresses the measure of the intensity of the subject's activity. The political activity of the subject depends on the degree of awareness of his interests. Political activity can take a different direction: it can be constructive, focused on building a political system and stabilizing public relations, or it can be destructive, aimed at destabilizing the system and even destroying it. Political activity manifests itself in various forms: the negotiation process, the activities of political leaders, elites, parties, the state apparatus, in mass political actions (rallies, pickets, riots). The extreme form of political activity is the social revolution, during which there is a radical breakdown of the existing social relations, the transformation of the system of power. Reflection and self-identity part in poly tick suggests that it has the political receptacle and Nij, experience and culture. They help her as politi e skom subject ef tively fulfill political roles and responsibilities, without becoming hostage to political games of different forces. People are not born with a pre-SPM on ennym political experience and cul ture, and acquire them throughout their lives. Then you can ck and to show and about the group as the subject of politics. *The process of assimilation of the individual* , *group values and norms of political culture* , *inherent in a particular society and enable e f* *tively perform political roles and functions, and thus ensure the preservation of society and gender and cal ICU threads* , *called political socialization and her* .

Create mechanisms successful political sotsi and tion of capable of ensuring the continuity of the floor , and cal development and the preservation of society in the course of generational change, is an important practical problem of the political system. To solve it, you need to imagine how the individual internalizes (absorbs) policy objectives and valuable STI and integrates them into his personality: passively accepting the prevailing stereotypes in society and actively interacts acting with is a Stu? The content of the progress of political socialization depends on the nature of the relationship of the individual and power in a particular society. The meaning of his interpretations within the framework of existing concepts in political science about gi.

In relation to politics, a person can be both an object and a subject. The problem of the individual as a subject of politics consists in determining the possibility and degree of its influence on political power, as well as in the possibility of achieving power and ways of achieving it. A measure of political subjectivity of a person is his political activity, participation in political life. It is amenable to quantitative measurements, therefore it is studied by the methods of sociology and psychology. For example, in recent years public opinion polls have been widely circulated in our country about current political events, the results of which give an idea of ​​the degree of politicization of the masses and their readiness for certain political actions. Participation in political life is the norm of democracy.Personality becomes a true subject of political relations only in a democratic society, where a person is given broad political rights and opportunities to meet his political needs, for full-fledged political activity. The conditions for the formation of an individual as a political subject also include: the development of political consciousness, the level of education, culture, political thinking, collective activity, etc. Political activity and political influence of individuals vary. This explains the presence of leaders and people who support them.the development of political consciousness, the level of education, culture, political thinking, collective activity, etc. Political activity and political influence of individuals vary. This explains the presence of leaders and people who support them.the development of political consciousness, the level of education, culture, political thinking, collective activity, etc. Political activity and political influence of individuals vary. This explains the presence of leaders and people who support them.

The active participation of the individual in the political life of society has a multifaceted significance.

Firstly, through this participation, the conditions for a full first disclosure of all human potentialities, for his creative samovyrazhe Niya, which in turn is a necessary prerequisite for the most effective solution of social problems. Thus, the qualitative transformation vanie all aspects of life requires all-round intensification chelove factors beyond, active and conscious participation in the process Shiro FIR masses. But is democracy, trust and transparency are impossible no creativity, no conscious activity, not interested Noah participate.

Second, the overall development of man as a political subject is etsya important condition for closer ties with the political institutions and civil buildings Kim society control over the activities of the political and administrative structures of the people, means to counter bureaucratic injustices in management, offices functions councils Lenia from society.

Third, through the development of democratic society satisfies sweat rebnost its members to participate in managing state affairs. Any achievements of the enterprise, industry, region, or the national economy as a whole are by and large still an intermediate result, the final one is always man. Participation in a democratic political process is a way of self-affirmation of a person, formation of a communication culture, management and self-management skills. As the basic material needs of man, the growth of their culture and self-esteem, will increasingly satisfy the needs and interests of participation in social and political life.

1. **The reasons for the participation of the individual in political life.**

A fully developed person is an active public figure. Providing the personality of opportunities for conscious, active participation in social and political life is a way of elevating the human in man. Achieving the goals of broad political participation of people depends to a large extent on the motivations that guide the personality in their political activities, since the motivation itself can be so negative from the point of view of public interests that it will not contribute either to strengthening democracy in society, or moral improvement and comprehensive development of personality. The question of motivating political participation or non-participation is very complex. The famous American political scientist G. Lasswell once attributed the desire for political leadership inherent in a part of people and put forward the following theory:"... the man's desire for power is a reflection of his low self-esteem, that with the help of power such a person seeks to compensate for low self-esteem, increase his prestige and overcome his sense of inferiority." However, this view was not universally accepted. There was another: low self-esteem inhibits the involvement of a person in the political process, reduces its ability to deploy active political activities. To get a fairly complete idea of ​​the motivation for participation in the political process, it is necessary to conduct broad sociological studies of individual motives of specific individuals, taking into account their belonging to different social groups and other factors of the social environmentto increase their prestige and overcome their own inferiority. " However, this view was not universally accepted. There was another: low self-esteem inhibits the involvement of a person in the political process, reduces its ability to deploy active political activities. To get a fairly complete idea of ​​the motivation for participation in the political process, it is necessary to conduct broad sociological studies of individual motives of specific individuals, taking into account their belonging to different social groups and other factors of the social environmentto increase their prestige and overcome their own inferiority. " However, this view was not universally accepted. There was another: low self-esteem inhibits the involvement of a person in the political process, reduces its ability to deploy active political activities. To get a fairly complete idea of ​​the motivation for participation in the political process, it is necessary to conduct broad sociological studies of individual motives of specific individuals, taking into account their belonging to different social groups and other factors of the social environmentTo get a fairly complete idea of ​​the motivation for participation in the political process, it is necessary to conduct broad sociological studies of individual motives of specific individuals, taking into account their belonging to different social groups and other factors of the social environmentTo get a fairly complete idea of ​​the motivation for participation in the political process, it is necessary to conduct broad sociological studies of individual motives of specific individuals, taking into account their belonging to different social groups and other factors of the social environment .

Active inclusion of a person in the political process requires certain prerequisites. They can be divided into three groups: politico-legal, material, socio-cultural. It is proved that for the participation of a person in normal political activity, satisfaction of his basic needs in food, goods and services, living conditions, achievement of a certain level of general education and vocational training, general and political culture is necessary.

1. **The influence of education on personality.**

Especially strong influence on political consciousness and behavior of the person, in opinion of many political scientists, is rendered by such factor of culture as formation. We know Lenin's statement that illiterate people have nothing to do with politics. Just because of their lack of education, they can be subject to political manipulation, to be drawn into political extremist movements. An illiterate person stands outside the conscious policy and is the object of political action, and not their subject.

In foreign political science the conclusion is unambiguous: the higher the level of human education, the more politically it is oriented and predisposed to democratic attitudes and actions. Education broadens the political horizons of man, largely protects from adherence to extremist doctrines. Helps a person make an intelligent choice. "The higher a person's education," writes SM Lipset, "the more likely he believes in democratic values ​​and supports democratic practice." A more educated citizen believes that he can influence the political process, and he is given access to political power or effective participation in it. The more educated a person is, the more likely he is to participate in political discussions and with a wider range of people. So,the political activity of the individual is based on a combination of certain prerequisites that either contribute to the development of political activity, the development of the potential qualities of a person as a social and political figure, the formation of an individual as the actual subject of the political life of society, or substantially hamper all these processes and preserve political apathy and passivity. Purposeful formation and development of personality provides scientifically - organized upbringing.Purposeful formation and development of personality provides scientifically - organized upbringing.Purposeful formation and development of personality provides scientifically - organized upbringing.

1. **The role of education in the formation of personality.**

Consider this aspect is important because education has a huge impact on the formation of the individual, her behavior and, often, the place occupied in society.

Modern scientific ideas about education as a process of purposeful formation and development of the personality were formed as a result of a prolonged confrontation of a number of pedagogical ideas. Already in the Middle Ages the authoritarian education theory was formed, which continues to exist in various forms even now. One of the brightest representatives of this theory was the German teacher IF Herbart, who reduced education to the management of children. The purpose of this management is to suppress the wild playfulness of the child, "which throws him from side to side," the management of the child determines his behavior at the moment, supports the external order. Management receptions Herbart considered the supervision of children, orders.

As the expression of protest against authoritarian education, the theory of free education, put forward by J. J. Rousseau. He and his followers called to respect the growing man in the child, not to embarrass, but to encourage in every way the natural development of the child during the upbringing.

Soviet pedagogues, proceeding from the demands of the socialist school, tried to rediscover the concept of "the process of education" in a new way, but they did not immediately overcome the old views on its essence. Thus, P. P. Blonsky believed that education is a deliberate, organized, long-term impact on the development of a given organism, that any living creature-man, animal, plant, can be the object of such an impact. AP Pinkevich interpreted education as a deliberate planned impact of one person on another for the purpose of developing biologically or socially useful natural properties of the individual. The social nature of education was not disclosed on a truly scientific basis and in this definition.

VA Sukhomlinsky wrote: "upbringing is a multifaceted process of constant spiritual enrichment and renewal - and those who are brought up, and those who bring up." Here the idea of ​​mutual enrichment, interaction between the subject and the object of education is highlighted. Modern pedagogy proceeds from the fact that the concept of the process of upbringing reflects not a direct impact, but a social interaction between the teacher and the person being educated, their developing relationships. The goals that the educator sets for himself are a certain product of the student's activity. The process of achieving these goals is also realized through organizing the activities of the student; the evaluation of the success of the actions of the teacher is again made on the basis of what qualitative changes in the consciousness and behavior of the student.

Every process is a set of regular and consistent actions aimed at achieving a certain result. The main result of the educational process is the formation of a harmoniously developed, socially active personality that can become an active participant in political life, i.e. its full-fledged subject.

Education - a two-way process, involving both organization and leadership, as well as personal activity of the individual. However, the leading role in this process belongs to the teacher. It is appropriate to recall one remarkable incident in the life of Blonsky. When he was fifty years old, the press asked him to give an interview. One of them asked the scientist what problems he is most worried about in pedagogy. Pavel Petrovich thought and said that he does not cease to occupy the question of what is education. Indeed, a thorough understanding of this issue is a very complicated matter, for the process, which denotes this concept, is extremely complex and multifaceted.

First of all, it should be noted that the concept of "upbringing" is used in a variety of meanings: preparing the younger generation for life, organized educational activities, etc. It is clear that in different cases the concept of "upbringing" will have a different meaning. This difference is particularly clear when they say: educates the social environment, the everyday environment and educates the school. When they say that they "educate the environment" or "educate their surroundings," they do not mean a specially organized educational activity, but the everyday influence that social, economic and living conditions have on the development and formation of the individual. The expression "educates the school" has a different meaning. It clearly indicates a specially organized and consciously carried out educational activity. Another KD Ushinsky wrote,that, unlike the influences of the environment and everyday influences, which are most often spontaneous and unintentional in nature, education in pedagogy is regarded as a deliberate and specially organized pedagogical process. This does not mean that school education is shut off from the influences of the environment and domestic influences. On the contrary, these influences should be taken into account as much as possible, relying on their positive moments and neutralizing the negative ones. The essence of the matter, however, is that education as a pedagogical category, as a specially organized pedagogical activity, can not be confused with the various spontaneous influences and influences that a person experiences in the course of his development.upbringing in pedagogy is seen as a deliberate and specially organized pedagogical process. This does not mean that school education is shut off from the influences of the environment and domestic influences. On the contrary, these influences should be taken into account as much as possible, relying on their positive moments and neutralizing the negative ones. The essence of the matter, however, is that education as a pedagogical category, as a specially organized pedagogical activity, can not be confused with the various spontaneous influences and influences that a person experiences in the course of his development.upbringing in pedagogy is seen as a deliberate and specially organized pedagogical process. This does not mean that school education is shut off from the influences of the environment and domestic influences. On the contrary, these influences should be taken into account as much as possible, relying on their positive moments and neutralizing the negative ones. The essence of the matter, however, is that education as a pedagogical category, as a specially organized pedagogical activity, can not be confused with the various spontaneous influences and influences that a person experiences in the course of his development.relying on their positive moments and neutralizing negative ones. The essence of the matter, however, is that education as a pedagogical category, as a specially organized pedagogical activity, can not be confused with the various spontaneous influences and influences that a person experiences in the course of his development.relying on their positive moments and neutralizing negative ones. The essence of the matter, however, is that education as a pedagogical category, as a specially organized pedagogical activity, can not be confused with the various spontaneous influences and influences that a person experiences in the course of his development.

But what is the essence of education, if we consider it as a specially organized and consciously carried out pedagogical activity?

When it comes to a specially organized educational activity, then usually this activity is associated with a certain impact, influence on the person being formed. That is why in some textbooks on pedagogy education is traditionally defined as a specially organized pedagogical influence on the developing personality with the aim of shaping social attributes and qualities determined by society. In other works, the word "impact" as a dissonant and supposedly associated with the word "coercion" is omitted, and education is treated as a guide or management of the development of the individual. However, both the first and the second definitions reflect only the external side of the educational process, only the activities of the educator, the teacher. Meanwhile, in itself external educational influence does not always lead to the desired result:it can cause a positive as well as a negative reaction in the educated person or be neutral. It is quite understandable that only if the educational influence causes an inner positive reaction (ie attitude) in a person and stimulates her own activity in working on herself, she has an effective developing and shaping influence on her. But just about this in the above definitions of the essence of education is silent. Nor does it clarify the question of what kind of pedagogical influence this should be in itself, what kind of character it should have, which often allows it to be reduced to various forms of external coercion. Various studies and moralizing. These shortcomings in revealing the essence of education were pointed out by NK Krupskaya and attributed them to the influence of old, authoritarian pedagogy."Old pedagogy," she wrote, "argued that it was all about the influence of the educator on the educated ... Old pedagogy called this impact the pedagogical process and spoke about the rationalization of this pedagogical process. It was supposed, that in this influence - a nail of education ". She considered this approach to pedagogical work not only incorrect, but also contradicting the deep essence of education. Trying to more specifically present the essence of education, the American educator and psychologist Edward Thorndike wrote: "The word" upbringing "is given a different meaning, but it always indicates, but it always indicates a change ... We do not educate anyone unless we call for changes in it" . The question is: how are these changes made in the development of the personality? As noted in philosophy, the development and formation of man,as a social being, as a person, by "appropriating human reality." In this sense, education should be viewed as a means to promote the appropriation of the human reality by the growing personality. What is this reality and how is it appropriated by a person? Human reality is nothing but the social experience generated by the labor and creative efforts of many generations of people. In this experience, we can distinguish the following structural components: the whole set of people's knowledge of nature and society, practical skills in various types of work, ways of creative activity, as well as social and spiritual relations.In this sense, education should be viewed as a means to promote the appropriation of the human reality by the growing personality. What is this reality and how is it appropriated by a person? Human reality is nothing but the social experience generated by the labor and creative efforts of many generations of people. 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Since this experience is generated by the work and creative efforts of many generations of people, this means that the results of their diverse labor, cognitive, spiritual activity and their "meaningfulness" are "characterized" in knowledge, practical skills and methods of scientific and artistic creativity, social and spiritual relations life together. All this is very important for education. In order that younger generations could "appropriate" this experience and make it their property, they must "disentangle" it, that is, in essence in one form or another, repeat, reproduce the activities concluded in it and, with creative efforts, enrich it and in more developed form to their descendants. Only through the mechanisms of its own activity,their own creative efforts and relationships, a person takes possession of social experience and its various structural components.

It is easy to show on this example: that students have learned the law of Archimedes, which is studied in the course of physics, they need in one form or another "to disclose" the cognitive actions accomplished once by great scientists, that is, to reproduce, let, under the guidance of the teacher, the way he went to the discovery of this law. Similarly, the acquisition of social experience (knowledge, practical skills, ways of creative activity, etc.) and in other spheres of human life. It follows that the main purpose of education is to help the child, including the growing person in the activity of "distributing" various aspects of social experience, reproduce this experience and thus develop social qualities and qualities, develop himself as a person.

On this basis, education in philosophy is defined as the reproduction of social experience in the individual, as the translation of human culture into an individual form of existence. This definition is useful for pedagogy. Bearing in mind the activity character of upbringing, Ushinsky wrote: "Almost all of its (pedagogy's) rules flow mediately or directly from the basic position: give the pupil's soul the right activity and enrich it with the means of unlimited, soul-absorbing activity."

For pedagogy, however, it is very important that the measure of a person's personal development depends not only on the very fact of his participation in the activity, but mainly on the degree of the activity that he manifests in this activity, and also on its nature and orientation, that in the aggregate it is customary to call an attitude to activity. Let us turn to examples.

In the same class or student group, students learn math. Naturally, the conditions in which they are engaged are approximately the same. However, the quality of their academic performance is often very different. Of course, this is affected by differences in their abilities, the level of previous training, but their attitude to the study of this subject plays an almost decisive role. Even with moderate abilities, a student or student can very successfully learn if they show high cognitive activity and perseverance in mastering the material studied. Conversely, the lack of this activity, the passive attitude toward academic work, tend to lead to a lag.

Equally significant for the development of the personality is also the nature and direction of the activity that the person manifests in the organized activity. It is possible, for example, to show activity and mutual help in work, trying to achieve the overall success of the class and school, but you can be active just to show yourself, to deserve praise and to gain personal gain. In the first case, a collectivist will be formed, in the second case - an individualist or even a careerist. All this puts before each teacher the task of constantly stimulating the activity of students in the organized activity and forming a positive and healthy attitude towards it. Hence it follows that it is the activity and attitude towards it that act as determining factors in the upbringing and personal development of the student.

These judgments, in my opinion, quite clearly reveal the essence of upbringing and give an opportunity to approach its definition. Education should be understood as a purposeful and consciously carried out pedagogical process of organizing and stimulating the various activities of the person being formed in order to master social experience: knowledge, practical skills and skills, ways of creative activity, social and spiritual relations.

This approach to the treatment of personality development has been called the activity-relational concept of upbringing. The essence of this concept, as shown above, is that, only including a growing person in a variety of activities for mastering social experience and skillfully stimulating his activity (attitude) in this activity, it is possible to carry out his effective upbringing. Without the organization of this activity and the formation of a positive attitude towards it, upbringing is impossible. This is the essence of this complex process.

1. **Factors influencing political activity on the individual.**

Participation in a democratic political process is a way of self-affirmation of a person, formation of a communication culture, management and self-management skills. As the basic material needs of man, the growth of their cultural level, self-awareness and self-respect, will increasingly satisfy the needs and interests of participation in public and political life. A fully developed person is an active public figure. The further, on a broader scale, society will face this trend. Providing the personality of opportunities for conscious, active participation in social and political life is a way of elevating the human in man.

1. **Motivation to participate in the political process.**

Achieving the goals of broad political participation of people depends significantly on the motivations that guide the individual in their political activities, for the motivation itself can be so negative from the point of view of the public interest that it will not contribute either to strengthening democracy in society, or moral perfection and all-round development of the individual. The question of motivating political participation or non-participation is very complex. Here, sociology and psychology will fit together with political science.

On this occasion, various opinions were expressed. G. Lasswell introduced a theory that explained the inherent part of people's desire for political leadership. Its essence lies in the fact that man's desire for power is a reflection of his low self-esteem, that with the help of power such a person seeks to compensate for low self-esteem, increase its prestige and overcome its own inferiority. This point of view, although quite widespread, was not universally accepted. Another opinion was expressed: low self-esteem hinders the involvement of the individual in the political process, reduces its opportunities in the deployment of active political activity.

In both cases, the problem of motivating political participation is highly psychologized, i.e. the question of the motives of political activity is reduced to the personal, psychological qualities of participants in political life. Therefore, for a more complete adequate picture, the question of motivating political activity should be put in a broader social context.

It was noted that participation in the governance of the state and society, in the political process, represents for the citizen in one case the right to realize one's possibilities, in another - the moral and political duty, in the third - the interest (moral, political or material).

1. **Prerequisites for the participation of the individual in the political process.**

Active inclusion of a person in the political process requires certain prerequisites. They can be divided into three groups: material, socio-cultural and political-legal. Experience shows that for a person to participate in normal political activity, primary satisfaction of his needs in basic foodstuffs, goods and services, living conditions, achievement of a certain level of general education and vocational training, general and political culture is necessary.

In foreign political studies, the relationship between the well-being of society and its political system is examined in at least three aspects.

First, the thesis is quite justified that, the richer the society, the more openly it is to democratic forms of functioning. In an economically developed society, the most important in terms of strength and influence are social groups that do not belong to either the extremely poor or the fabulously rich; sharp, essentially two-way, property polarization disappears, a strong "middle class" is formed, which, in its position in society and objective interests, is the backbone of the democratic regime.

Secondly, the level of well-being has a significant influence on the political beliefs and orientations of a person. CM. Lipset came to the conclusion that financially better-off people are more liberal, and the poorer are more intolerant (intolerant).

Thirdly, sufficiently high national welfare serves as a necessary base for the formation of a competent civil service, a corps of professionally trained management personnel. In conditions of poverty, it is difficult to achieve on a mass scale a high level of general education and vocational training necessary for effective governance on a democratic basis.

1. **Formation of political views of the individual.**

The social environment has a significant influence on the formation of political views of the individual, on the emergence of it as a subject of political activity. Here, the prerequisites lie as to whether a person will have a democratic conviction and orientation, or she will give preference to authoritarian and other undemocratic ideas and practices.

Education has a particularly strong impact on the political consciousness and behavior of the individual. We know Lenin's statement that an illiterate person stands outside politics. This should be understood as that an illiterate person stands outside the personally conscious policy, but is the object of political actions, being dragged and manipulated, and not by their subject expressing their own conscious will.

In this regard, a generally accepted conclusion was made: the higher the level of human education, the more it is politically oriented and, most importantly, predisposed to democratic orientations, attitudes and actions.

V. Kay revealed the influence of the level of education on the political role of a citizen in four areas: the more educated people have a stronger sense of duty to participate in political life; a more educated citizen has a stronger sense of the effectiveness of his political participation, he believes that he can influence the political process and that he has access to political power; the more educated the citizen, the more he is interested in politics and the more so is involved in it; education determines the greater likelihood that a citizen will be politically active.

1. **Politico-legal factors.**

Politico-legal factors are also an essential prerequisite for active political participation. These include the democratic political regime, the dominance of a democratic political culture in the society, the legal provision of democratic procedures for the formation of all power structures, the adoption and implementation of political and managerial decisions, the participation of members of society at all stages of the political process.

The political activity of the individual is based on a combination of certain prerequisites that either contribute to the development of political activity, the disclosure of the potential qualities of a person as a social and political figure, the formation of the personality as the actual subject of the political life of society, or substantially hamper all these processes and preserve political apathy and passivity.

1. **Rights and freedoms of the individual.**

Personal rights and freedoms can be divided into three groups: socio-economic, political and personal. The first group includes such rights as the right to work, rest, education, health protection. Provision of socio-economic rights allows the individual to satisfy the most urgent material and spiritual needs, create conditions that are worth living for a person.

Political are the right to elect and be elected to higher and local bodies of state power, the right to unite in socio-political organizations, the right to hold rallies and demonstrations, the right to participate in the management of state and public affairs, etc. The meaning of political rights is to promote the formation a person as a public and political figure, to create prerequisites for his political participation, the development of socio-political activity.

The third group of rights - personal rights (the right to the inviolability of the individual, housing, the right to privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations, etc.). Their implementation contributes to the creation of conditions for the free development of that minimum of personal benefits, without which normal human life is impossible. **Lecture number 6. Political leadership. Political elite.**

Political leadership in the system of power relations takes a special place. In leadership, the "visibility" of power, its clarity, is most clearly manifested. Political leaders personify themselves power. They have such a huge influence, which is incommensurable with the influence of other political actors.

For objective and subjective reasons, political activity of people is not the same. M. Weber wrote that there are "politicians on the occasion", that is, ordinary members of society with minimal political influence, which manifest themselves only in the period of elections, referendums. "Politicians on the occasion," M. Weber believed, we are also when we applaud or protest at a "political" meeting, we pronounce a "political" speech. In addition to "politicians on the occasion" there are "concurrent policies." These are those who are temporarily engaged in politics, taking part in the work of a political organization. Such politicians are many parliamentarians working from session to session, party functionaries, activists of socio-political organizations. And there are, according to Weber, professional politicians who live for politics or at the expense of politics.Leaders are a special type of politicians-professionals who live for politics. Politics is the business of their lives. Politics for them is a true human act and a sphere of total dedication.

Political leadership is a phenomenon of power. Leadership clearly shows the ability of one person at the top of the power pyramid to change the social behavior of other people, social strata, and society (if it is a national leader) in a way that is desirable for them.

At the same time, leadership is a special kind of power. In leadership, power relations are characterized by maximum asymmetry, maximum inequality, since the leader accumulates power that can force him to do what he orders, all members of the group, organization, and in the case of the nation, all citizens.

A feature of leadership as a power relationship is that the power of the leader is informal. This is not power by position, authority authority, which has a lasting influence. The authority and influence of the leader develop spontaneously and are supported by unofficial means of group control. A socio-psychological process of leadership is formed, which differs from management as a legally regulated process.

However, the position and leadership in politics are closely interrelated. "Real" leadership is basically informal, but having authoritative authority, the leader most often eventually occupies a certain position. The post can stabilize the position of the leader, can significantly strengthen or weaken it. "Real" leadership and formal employment of posts may overlap one another, but do not coincide completely. Some leaders do not occupy top positions, and many of those who hold official positions at the top of the job hierarchy are not leaders. So, Academician A. Sakharov was the absolute leader of the democratic opposition in the USSR, although he did not hold a high political office, and the Queen in the UK or the President in the FRG are not political leaders, despite the highest step in the hierarchy,which they occupy. Thus, while leadership and formal positions of influence influence each other, the leader is only the one who influences people, regardless of whether he holds a position or not.

Leadership as a power is characterized by the fact that it is carried out on a wide range of issues. Political leaders exercise their power over the economic and social sphere, over foreign policy and security. Their influence extends to culture and art, that is, the decision that the leader takes can affect any social problem.

Leadership also implies not just the accidental use of power, lasting influence. Therefore, leadership is more clearly manifested in the conditions of organized groups. The more organized the group, the longer the phenomenon of leadership. Leadership in the crowd is situational, is local and temporary, and only the organization prolongs leadership for a sufficiently long period.

Political leadership, noted the French political scientist J. Blondel, is one of the highest and most encompassing forms of power. Leaders perform a number of important functions in which the specificity of their activities is manifested.

1. **Functions of political leadership.**

Studying politics as leadership, American researcher R. Tucker identified three main functions that the leader performs.

1. Diagnostic function.

"Diagnosis" is the period when the leader studies the situation, evaluates it, identifying the most important problems, isolating negative tendencies and establishing what and how to be corrected. The leader makes his conclusions on the basis of the information received from advisers, assistants. But, given the assessments of experts, the leader, and only him, puts the "diagnosis" of the situation.

The diagnostic function is related to the directive.

2. Directive function.

It involves determining the direction of action: how and what exactly should be done at some point in order to solve the problem.

3. Mobilization function.

But leadership is more than analysis and decision making. This is also a "mobilization" for the implementation of decisions, involving in the concrete activity of those who need to solve the problem and achieve the goal. Leadership in politics performs the most important mobilization function. Around the leader, groups, social strata, and the nation as a whole are rallying together. Many researchers of political leadership believe that the diverse social interests only with the advent of the leader receive a clear design and are transferred to the center of political life. The leader promotes political self-identification of individuals, social groups, strata. Acting on people in mass, leaders are able to inspire and guide them to realize the most difficult tasks that require citizens and courage, sacrifice, and heroism.

Thus, the leader is an authoritative member of an organization or social group whose influence allows him to play a major role in decision-making in the political process and in specific situations. "Ideal" leadership is a combination of three main functions: "diagnosis", the direction of action and mobilization.

1. **Personal qualities and role of the environment in political leadership.**

What is the determining factor in leadership - personal qualities or situation that claimed this personality, made it necessary? The dispute about this is a long time ago. In his work "on the role of the individual in history" GV. Plekhanov gave a classical Marxist answer that the personality only modifies the physiognomy of development, but the development tendencies remain unchanged. And I noticed about Napoleon that a sword was needed, and she was called. French philosopher J.-P. Sartre, reflecting on the conclusion of Plekhanov, answered: is not this the whole question, what sword is being called, and whether any of the called generals could become emperor and pour blood on Europe. The dispute continues. This is not surprising, since leadership is multidimensional, and different approaches are used to study it. The most interesting studies are related to the study of personal qualities,necessary for the leader (the concept of the leader's features), and with an analysis of the relationship between the leader and the environment, the leader and his followers.

Many researchers emphasize the importance of psychological qualities for the leader. Thus, M. Weber believed that a vocational policy should have such qualities as passion for action, a sense of responsibility and an eye-level - the ability to accurately assess the situation. If a politician has a psychological inclination to evade responsibility and is also vain, he will quickly lose the position of a political leader.

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, heightened interest arose in the relationship between the leader and the masses, as broad sections of the working people joined the active political struggle at that time. French scientists T. Tarde and G. Lebon drew attention to the special role of the leader in mass movements and the psychological qualities of leaders. A political leader should be a good psychologist, instinctively understand the soul of the crowd, be able to influence her instincts. Lebon noticed that often the leaders of the crowd are nervous-excited people, but endowed with strong will.

Russian sociologist and representative of the Narodnik movement N.K. Mikhailovsky in his work "The Hero and the Crowd" also noted the ability for leadership to be able to be a hypnotist in order to lead the masses anywhere.

Psychological reductionism has received classical development in works of the Austrian psychoanalyst of Freud. In the twentieth century, interest in the psychology of leadership and the study of personality qualities important for leaders was preserved, but new aspects of the research appeared. G. Lasswell drew research attention to psychopathology in politics and the dangers that political behavior of persons with mental disorders carries. The properties of a person as a living person and their influence on the political process were studied by E. Form, a German-American psychologist and sociologist. In his work "anatomy of destructiveness" E. Formm studied the traits of Hitler's character. Necrophilia of Hitler, destructive inclinations, anger and vindictive hatred had a decisive impact on his political activities. Many decisions of the Fuhrer were the product of irrational destructiveness,Formm believes.

Interest in psychopathology in politics is not accidental, since the emergence of weapons of mass destruction and the huge power resources of power create a serious threat to civilization. "One, almost imperceptible violation of the balance in the psyche of several leading people is enough to drown the world in blood, in fire and in radioactivity," wrote the Swiss psychologist K. Young.

The study of the features of the leaders made it possible to generalize a huge empirical material. American researcher R. Stogdill analyzed 124 studies based on the "theory of features" of leaders and faced insurmountable difficulties, since there was not a single feature with which all authors would agree. Even such seemingly necessary qualities as will power and mind were challenged.

Despite the difficulties encountered by the supporters of the theory of "leader traits", it should be recognized that the personal factor means a lot, but it only takes on weight in the context of the leader's activities. The features of the leader should be viewed not in isolation from social conditions, but in connection with them, and not in static, but in dynamics.

The environment for the formation and activities of the leader is of great importance. Different political regimes create different opportunities for implementing certain goals and political initiatives of the leader. With a stable constitutional rule, authoritarian manners of the leader are "extinguished" by a mechanism of checks and balances. A developed legal culture of society hampers the dubious legal initiatives of the leader. Thus, the environment introduces restrictions on the activities of the leader or creates favorable opportunities for the development of certain predispositions of his character. Under initial economic and political conditions, the individual imposes an imprint on the entire system. There is a clear difference, for example, between the Hungarian political leader J. Cádor and the political leader of Romania N. Ceausescu. Totalitarian regimes in Germany, Italy,Russia emerged as a result of the First World War, revolutions and counter-revolutions, but much in the history of these countries is determined by the personality of the dictator who was at the top of power. It is also true that different systems create different conditions for the realization of specific personal qualities.

However, the absolutization of the influence of the environment can generally reduce leadership only to the function of the situation, to the epiphenomenon. In fact, the environment creates a specific situation in which the leader acts. The funds that are in the hands of the leader also cause the process of its response to problems and ways of their implementation. The leader himself is part of the environment and can not separate himself from her. The leader depends on what the environment creates, prompts and even dictates.

Recently, scientists are increasingly focusing on creating a "general theory of leadership" that would open the way to a comprehensive analysis of leadership as a social and power phenomenon, but so far political science is in a state that US political scientist J. Jennings: "No one can be satisfied and say that the secret of leadership is open. "

1. **The typology of leadership.**

In political science, there are various classifications of political leaders. The variety of classifications is determined by the multidimensionality of leadership itself as an authority relationship and the ability to apply different approaches to distinguish the types of leaders.

Quite often a simplified typology based on a dichotomy is used, that is, on the opposition of two types of leaders: the leaders "lions" and "foxes" (N. Machiavelli), "real" leaders - managers (R. Tucker), "leaders-converters" and "Leaders-business" (J. MacGregor Burns). The dichotomic approach is traditional, but the reality is much more complicated, so more complex typologies of leaders are used.

G. Lasswell proposed his classification, based on the tendency of leaders to a certain model of behavior. Lasswell singled out leaders-agitators, organizers and theoreticians. Leader-agitators prefer to influence the power of the word, oratorical art, personally, an example of behavior. Leaders-organizers prefer working with cadres, they are attracted by the use of the organization's capabilities to enhance their influence. Theorists influence the power of the intellect. There are leaders who clearly can identify the sphere of behavioral preferences, but there are also those where it is difficult to do this. So, V.I. Lenin - a leader who has both agitators, organizers, and theorists in leadership, has been equally vividly expressed.

Interesting is the classification proposed by S. Hook. Criterion of classification S. Hook made the degree of influence of leaders on events and the ability to manage them. On this basis, he divided all the leaders into two unequal groups. The first included leaders who can perfectly navigate the situation and use it. These are eventual leaders, leaders using events. And the second, a small group of leaders who are able to create events on their own, make history in their own way, i.e. the leader making the event. These leaders abruptly change the historical process. First of all, S. Hook names in this group VI Lenin and Napoleon.

The variant proposed by M. Weber is based on ideal types of domination. On this basis, ideal types of leadership stand out: a traditional leader, a charismatic leader and a rational type leader.

So the eldest son of a monarch after his death himself becomes a monarch. Leadership of a rational type or bureaucratic leadership is legitimized by law. The leader-official acts not as the person from whom the power proceeds, but as the executor of a certain state function symbolizing a rational management. The power of the charismatic leader is legitimized in his special gift, ability to solve all problems.

The charismatic leader is of interest to modern political analysis. Charisma to some extent have many political leaders. But the twentieth century showed that leaders with charismatic qualities can turn into a Fuhrer, a semi-divine leader whose image causes fear, love and rapture at the same time. Such a leader demands unconditional obedience to his will and is full of inner conviction that he alone knows the way to solve the tasks set.

Modern charismatic leaders are engendered by mass protest movements. They tend to be realized in conditions of plebiscitary democracy. In mass societies, M. Weber concluded, the Caesar's element is ineradicable. The political leaders of a nation-wide scale elected by universal suffrage have colossal power and stand as if over other branches of power, bearing responsibility only to the people.

The need for a charismatic leader usually manifests itself during a period of social crisis, when traditional power institutions fail and are not able to respond adequately to changed conditions and make non-standard decisions. Political systems also gravitate toward charismatic leadership, in which the process of modernization begins, and there are no stable social institutions, there are no democratic traditions and a developed legal consciousness.

The role of charismatic leaders is strengthened by two circumstances. First, the development of the media gives the leader the opportunity to directly address millions of people and use his demagogue qualities. The second is the crisis of mass parties and, in general, the weakening of party influence on the voters.

Plebiscite charismatic leaders are not necessarily dictators, but they are directly elected by the people, rely on its support, are firm and resolute in pursuing a political line that appeals to the masses; they know what they want and do not change their policies under the influence of the situation. For modern plebiscitary charismatic leaders is characterized by the desire to rise above party and social interests and play the role of the unifying principle of the nation.

On the path of turning a charismatic leader into a dictator, institutional and legal barriers can be put. First of all, they should not have absolute power over power structures and mass media. This blocks the charismatic breakthrough into dictators and is governed by law, not by will. In places where democratic control institutions are weak, they are quickly eliminated by a charismatic leader, a plebiscitary leader appears that tramples representative democracy. The administrative structure becomes a means of strengthening personal power, the propaganda-repressive apparatus begins to work under the complete control of the leader-dictator. Charismatic power is unstable, because it is not based on tradition or law, but on faith in the charisma of the leader, in the mission that this leader must fulfill,and the ability to do that, he has to constantly prove.

Only in conditions of a developed liberal democracy with a traditionally strong respect for the democratic procedure and the law there is no danger of overgrowing the leader's charisma into leadership. Then there is a political balance in the system of power relations: the leader - the political elite - the interest groups - the people.

1. **The notion of "political elite".**

It is well known that any society is represented by managers and administrators, that is, those who exercise political power in the country, and those in relation to whom this power is exercised. To characterize managers used different concepts, but the most common is the "elite".

The notion of "elite" comes from the Latin "elegize" (draw) and the French "elite" (selective). In literature, there are many different definitions of the elite, when there is a ruling part of society, the ruling stratum. If we summarize the different points of view, then we can state that this term denotes groups of people who have a high position in society, who have prestige, power, wealth, active in political and other spheres of activity.

In this definition, two important points should be emphasized. First: the concept of "political elite" and the ruling elite "includes a variety of groups directly or indirectly involved in power processes. This includes political, economic, military, ideological and other types of elites.

The second point: unlike all other groups that make up the ruling elite, the political elite directly participates in the exercise of political power.

So, the political elite is a certain group, a layer of society, which concentrates in its hands state power and occupies command posts, manages society. In general, these are professional politicians of high rank, vested with powerful functions and powers.

The political elite of modern states is represented by monarchs, presidents, vice presidents, vice presidents, prime ministers, ministers, heads of legislative and executive bodies, deputies, members of the supreme court, governors of states, heads of power structures, territories, regions, supreme diplomatic corps and other

At one time, in a number of Western states (including the United States, Britain, Germany), the active age of its members was 50-55 years old; from 60 to 80% completed one or two institutions of higher education; The vast majority are large owners.

The political elite is a group of people who have the tools of power. It has a complex structure and is internally differentiated. The criterion for identifying the main types of political elite is the volume of power functions. On the basis of this criterion, the following types, or levels, of the political elite are distinguished: the highest, average, administrative.

The highest political elite includes the leading political leaders and those who hold high positions in the legislative, executive and judicial branches of power (the immediate entourage of the president, the prime minister, the spinnaker of the parliament, the heads of state bodies, leading political parties, political factions in the parliament) .

The average political elite is formed from a huge number of elected officials: parliamentarians, senators, deputies, governors, mayors, leaders of various political parties and socio-political movements, heads of electoral districts.

The administrative elite (bureaucratic) is the highest layer of civil servants) who know the highest positions in ministries, departments and other government bodies.

1. **Functions of the political elite and its qualities necessary to fulfill these functions.**

The social destiny of the political elite is reflected, first of all, in those functions that it performs. They are diverse, complex, and of course, are associated with greater responsibility. The latter circumstance makes one ponder over the question: on what are the basis and what are the functions of the political elite regulated? It would seem that the answer is simple: the content and boundaries of the function performed by the political elite is determined by the country's constitution. This is what happens in countries with a legitimate existence of political power, where the political situation is characterized by stability. However, in real life, cases of discrepancy between constitutions and real power are very rare. This happens in at least two cases. In the first place, when the political situation in the country is thoroughly changing (transitional periods),but these changes are not yet reflected in the constitution. Second, deviations from the constitution are possible. For example, the USSR Constitution proclaimed that power belongs to the Soviets, but the real political picture did not confirm this.

The noted circumstances were taken into account when studying specific functions performed by the political elite. These functions are many. The most significant: strategic, communicative, organizational, integrative.

In the first place among these functions is a strategic function. Its content is to develop a strategy and tactics for the development of society, the definition of a political program of action. It manifests itself in the generation of new ideas reflecting the public needs for radical change, in determining the strategic direction of social development, in developing a concept of urgent reforms.

The strategic function can be fully implemented at the highest level of the political elite - parliamentarians, cabinet ministers, experts, advisers, presidential aides.

Successful implementation of the strategic function of the political elite is determined not only by the qualitative staff of the "brain staff" involved in the development of the country's political course. It also depends on the state of public opinion in the country, its reflection in the political decisions being made. This is the next most important function of the political elite - communicative. It provides for effective representation, expression and reflection in the political programs of interests and needs of various social groups, as well as layers of the population and their implementation in practical actions. This function includes the ability to see the particular moods of various social communities, to respond quickly and accurately to changes in public opinion on various burning issues.

In order to establish close contacts with various social groups in each state, the political leadership uses regular personal meetings with people, trips around the country, etc.

Organizational function. The political elite at all times has faced and will face the need to organize the masses. Among the potential political elites, those that are more able to provide support for their programs by the masses will be most effective.

The developed strategic course is embodied in the system of various political events. These include:

* legislative (adoption of laws and other legislative acts by parliament, government);
* mobilizing (various forms of influence on the public consciousness, the formation of moods, value orientations of people);
* regulating (distribution and redistribution of resources of material, human, financial);
* Coordinating (coordination of central and regional actions);
* controlling;
* corrective and others.

1. **The ruling elite: the concept and structure.**

As already noted, the concept of "ruling elite" is much broader than the concept of "political elite". The main sign of belonging to the ruling elite is the knowledge of the highest, state positions in society, in political structures, in the economy, in the military complex, in culture, etc. Basically, this is a part of society that does not take part directly in political management, but has the highest indicators and achievements in its professional sphere.

In addition to the political elite, the ruling elite also includes the economic, cultural, ideological, scientific, information, military elite.

The economic elite is a social stratum, which includes representatives of large capital, large owners. Decisions made by the economic elite very often exert no less influence on people's lives than the government's decision.

The cultural elite includes the most authoritative and influential figures of art, education, literature, representatives of the creative intelligentsia.

The scientific elite includes the most gifted part of the intellectual elite. Its role is determined by the degree of influence on such processes as the development of science and technology, scientific and technological progress.

The military elite is the most important layer of the ruling elite. It plays an important role in the life of society, in political processes. Although the military elite is seen as an independent group, it is often referred to as the political elite. The degree of influence of the military elite on public life is determined by the level of life of militarization of the country, the nature of the political regime.

**Lecture number 7. Political systems of our time. Political regimes** .

Principles of a systemic policy description. The essence and features of the political regime. The notion of political stability. Political opposition. Basic typologies of political systems. Authoritarian political system. The totalitarian political system. Political system of a democratic type.

     The founders of the system approach in political science are American political scientists D. Easton, G. Almond and K. Deutsch. They proposed a systemic, structural-functional and communicative model of the political system. Let us consider them in more detail.

The first in time occurrence is the system model of D. Easton. In a series of works written in the 1950s and 1960s (The Political System (1953), The Model for Political Research (1960), The System Analysis of Political Life (1965)), D. Easton is trying to build an integral theory based on the study of "direct" and "reverse" connections between the actual political system and its external environment. The political system, in the opinion of the researcher, is an interaction through which the material and spiritual values ​​are authoritatively distributed in society and on this basis conflicts and tension between members of society are prevented.

To build his model, D. Easton uses four basic categories: 1) "political system"; 2) "environment"; 3) "reaction" of the system to the effect of the environment; 4) "feedback" or the impact of the system on the environment. Proceeding from this model, the mechanism of functioning of the political system includes four phases.

The first phase is the "entrance", the impact of the external environment. D. Easton distinguishes between two types of "input": demand and support. The demand is an opinion addressed to the authorities about the desirable or undesirable distribution of values ​​in society. D. Easton in its content identified several types of requirements: 1) distributive (on wages and working hours, on the conditions for obtaining education, medical and other services); 2) regulatory (on ensuring public safety, control over the producer and the market, etc.); 3) communicative (on providing political information, on the use of political power, etc.). Requirements tend to weaken the political system. By nature and orientation, they can be constructive and destructive. Constructive requirements contribute to the development of the system,its improvement, and destructive leads to its destruction.

Support means strengthening the political system, it encompasses behavioral options favorable to the system. This is the payment of taxes, the performance of military duty, compliance with laws, respect for symbols and institutions of state power, holding demonstrations and rallies in support of the system, participation in elections, etc. The main objects of support D. Easton called the political regime, power and the political community.

The second phase is the "conversion" (or transformation) of requirements into the preparation of decisions that are a reaction of the government to the impulses of the external environment.

The third phase is an "exit", decision-making and implementation in the course of practical actions. Political decisions can take the form of new laws, applications, regulations, subsidies, etc. Political actions are implemented in the form of a system of measures to regulate and solve urgent problems in the field of economy, social policy, etc.

The fourth phase. The results of the government's activities influence the external environment through a "feedback loop". Support is strengthened if the decisions and actions of the government meet the requirements and expectations of large sections of society. In this case, the tendency of stabilization of the system prevails. If the decisions made at the output are not adequate to expectations, then new demands arise, and the public grows discontent. This leads to destabilization processes.

D. Easton laid the foundation for the analysis of the political system of any country. According to his model, the political system is an "open" system, receiving constant impulses from the environment. Its main goal is to transform incoming requirements and support into adequate decisions and actions. At the same time, the political process turns out to be a process of transforming information, transferring it from the "entrance" to the "exit." The main task of the political system is to survive and maintain stability by adapting to the environment. Responding to environmental signals, the political system implements changes in the society and, at the same time, maintains stability in it.

A different, structural-functional approach to interpreting political systems was proposed by G. Almond in the works of Politics of Developing Regions (1966), Comparative Politics: The Concept of Development (1968), Comparative Politics Today (1988). He proceeded from the fact that the ability of a political system to carry out changes in society and simultaneously maintain stability depends on the specialization of the roles and functions of political institutions acting as a set of interdependent elements. Each element (state, parties, pressure groups, elites, law, etc.) performs a vital function for the whole system.

The use of the structural and functional approach to the analysis of political systems was associated with the negative consequences of the practice of the mechanical transfer of democratic political institutions to developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s. Having fallen into a different socioeconomic and cultural environment than in the West, democratic political institutions proved unable to fulfill their basic functions, to ensure efficiency and stability in society.

G. Almond, comparing various political systems, tried to identify the main functions that are necessary for effective social development. Comparative analysis of political systems suggested a transition from the study of formal institutions to the consideration of specific manifestations of their activities. On this basis, G. Almond defined the political system as a set of roles and their interactions among themselves, implemented not only by government institutions, but by all structures of society on political issues. The model of G. Almond takes into account psychological, personal aspects of political interactions, impulses coming not only from outside, from the people, but also from the ruling elite.

Following D. Easton, G. Almond also singled out the functions of "entrance" and "exit", however, unlike D. Easton, he assigned to each political institution its specific role. If at the "entrance" the function of political socialization and the involvement of citizens in politics is carried out in one way or another by all the elements of the political system, then other functions of the "entrance" are distributed among different institutions. The function of the integration of interests is carried out by political parties. Interested groups perform the function of expressing interests. The mass media ensure the interconnection of the population and the institutions of power.

At the "exit", each branch of state power performs certain functions. Institutions of legislative power are engaged in the development of rules and norms of relationships that are binding for citizens. The function of implementing these rules is assigned to the executive power. The bodies of the judiciary exercise the function of monitoring their observance. Immediate release of information is carried out in the course of practical activities of the government on the implementation of domestic and foreign policies. Thus, the political system appears as a combination of ways to respond to political situations, taking into account the diverse interests in society.

The appearance of the communicative model of K. Deutsch is associated with the development of information technologies, their penetration into all spheres of society. In his "Nerves of Management: a Model of Political Communication and Control" (1963), K. Deutsch describes politics as a process of managing and coordinating people's efforts to achieve their goals. Proceeding from this, the political system is called upon to formulate goals and carry out their correction on the basis of information about the state of the society, its relation to these goals, and also on the basis of information on its own activities.

In the model of K. Deutsch, the political system is represented as a set of information flows built on the principle of feedback. According to the phases of information and communication flows, K. Deutsch identifies several cycles of the functioning of the system: 1) obtaining (through information services, public opinion research centers) and selection (selection, systematization and primary analysis) of information; 2) processing and evaluation of information (new information is compared with existing information and is evaluated through the prism of values, norms, stereotypes); 3) decision-making (the government takes an appropriate decision to regulate the current state of the system); 4) implementation of decisions with feedback (the results of the activity of the authorities, their evaluation serve as new information, they deduce the system for the next cycle of functioning).

Modern interpretations of the political system are diverse. Widespread in political science received the theory of "structure" A. Giddens, "social and political field" P. Bourdieu, "new institutionalism" D. March, D. Olsen and P. di Maggio.

The political system should be understood as a set of political relations and institutions, values ​​and norms that ensure political life, reproduction and renewal of the political order in society, its integrity and sustainability.

Using a systematic approach to analyzing political life allows:

First, to study political life as a subsystem functioning within a wider system, to reveal its elements.

Secondly, to present the problems of interaction between society and political institutions, the social environment and decision-making centers.

Thirdly, to build in a single model state and non-state institutions (parties, movements, media, etc.).

Fourthly, to identify the internal structure that organizes all interactions in the sphere of state power, which regulates political life in society and balances its relations with the external environment.

Fifth, the identification of a universal model in the organization of political life makes it possible to carry out comparative studies of different states, their constitutional order, party systems, to determine the features of national governance, political cultures and other elements .

              The concept of "political regime" is the most important in European political science, unlike the American one, which gives preference to the category "political system" in its fundamental nature. Its power is exercised through the political regime, that is, specific forms and methods of exercising power, a certain structure of power institutions, whose powers are conditioned by the principles of the organization of branches of power.

**Lecture number 8. The theory of democracy: history and moder n Nost.**

Basic interpretations of democracy **.** Modern theories of democracy. The essence of a political system of a democratic type. Universal properties of democracy. Civil society. Mechanisms for the formation of political democracy. Internal contradictions and threats to democracy.

Modern theoretical understanding of democracy associated with the names Dzh.Lokk, Montesquieu, Zh.Zh.Russo, A.Tokvilya, Dzh.Medisona, Thomas Jefferson and other thinkers of the XV II of - of the XIX century. The following trend was observed: if before the interpretation of democracy was dominated by the normative approach associated with the definition of goals, values, the sources of democracy of its ideals, then empirically descriptive (descriptive) that covered the issues of what democracy is and how it functions in practice, subsequently The procedural approach, associated with attempts to understand the nature of democratic institutions, the mechanism of their functioning, the causes of the development and decline of democratic systems, became decisive.

There Libe -sectoral, conservative, populist, Communist and anarhists Kie interpretation of democracy, plyurali -terrorist and elitist concept, the idea of direct and representative de democracy, security model, developing, and participatory democracy (direct or participatory democracy).

Summing up the different approaches, the Russian political scientist L. Smorgunov identifies two main theoretical paradigms: the liberal-democratic and the radically-democratic (see Chart 1)

*Table 1* . **Liberal-Democratic and Radical-Democratic Theories** 

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| *The liberal-democratic theory* | *Radical-democratic theory* |
| Morally autonomous individual  Sovereignty of personality  Society as the sum of individuals  Interest of all  Pluralism of interests  The primacy of law  Freedom of the person  The primacy of human rights  Representative democracy, elections  Free mandate  Separation of powers  Subjugation of the minority to the majority with the protection of minority rights | The social person  Sovereignty of the people  Organic society  General interest  Unity of interests  Superiority of the common good  Freedom of the citizen  Unity of rights and obligations  Direct Democracy  Imperative Mandate  Separation of functions  Subordination of the minority to the majority |

These theories differently define the boundaries of the state's activities necessary to ensure human rights and freedoms. This question was raised by T. Hobbes in developing the contractual concept of the state. The English thinker recognized that sovereignty belongs to citizens, but they delegate it to elected representatives, since only a strong state is able to protect its citizens. The liberal democratic theory views democracy not so much as the order that allows citizens to participate in political life, but rather as a mechanism that protects them from the arbitrariness of the authorities and the unlawful actions of other people. Radical-democratic theory focuses on social equality, the sovereignty of the people, not the individual, ignores the separation of powers, preferring a direct, rather than representative democracy.

According to Sh. Eisenstadt, the main differences in contemporary political discourse are between pluralistic and integrative, or totalitarian, conceptions of politics. The pluralistic conception regarded the individual as a potentially responsible citizen and proceeded from the active participation of citizens in the most important institutional spheres, the search for which was the decisive role. The result was the proclamation of constitutions and the embodiment of their provisions in constitutional-democratic regimes; the establishment of representative institutions as guarantees of the openness of the political process; establishment of the rule of law and independence of the judiciary.

Authoritarian and totalitarian concepts, including their "totalitarian-democratic" interpretations, denied the validity of hopes for the formation of responsible citizenship through such open processes. They were united by an ideological understanding of the world, proceeding from the prevalence of collectivism over other forms of the organization of society, and whose essence is the belief in the possibility of transforming society through total political action. Such a democracy is called Marxist , People's , Socialist , which includes the most diverse models of democracy generated by the Marxist tradition.

A significant place in modern democratic theory is the concept of **participatory democracy** (English, parti CIPATE - participate), which developed the modern political scientists Carol Peytman (author of the term "participatory democracy" and the book "The participation and a democratic Kai theory", 1970), Crawford MacPherson, Joseph Zimmer man, Norberto Bobbio, Peter Bahrah, Benjamin Barber and some others. The essence of this theory is to return to classical ideals demos ratii, implying citizens actively participate in the discussion and ­        decisions on the main issues of public life. They are regarded as essential for democratic participation and dissemination of social equality: the principle of participation should apply to non-state public institutions, where people directly express their will, first of all to labor collectives, treating her in private STI as self-government. Freedom, equal right to self-development can only be achieved in a participative society that improves the sense of political efficacy and contributes proyav leniyu care of the collective requirements. In such a society, citizens are well informed, interested in their high activity in public life.

**Lecture number 9** . **The state as a political institution.**

**The concept and reasons for the existence of the state**

    The state is a political community with a certain structure, organization of political power and management of social processes in a certain territory. The state is the most important institution of the political system. The significance of the state is determined by the maximum concentration in its hands of power and resources, which enable it to effectively and decisively influence social changes.

    Since its inception, the state has been interpreted ambiguously in the history of political thought. A variety of reasons for the emergence and existence of the state were put forward: in the theological theory this is the Divine power; in the contractual - the power of reason, consciousness; in the psychological - the factors of the human psyche; in organic - biological factors; in the materialistic - socio-economic factors; in the theory of violence, military-political factors.

    In the literature, factors that influence the formation of the state are distinguished: geographic, ethnic, demographic, informational.

    The emergence of statehood is due to causes, among which it is hardly possible to single out any as the main determining factor. The state arises, exists and develops as a result of the complication of social and economic life, as an instrument for regulating the joint satisfaction of the interests of society, groups, classes, social strata, and individuals.

**Functions of the state**

    The functions of the state are the main directions of the state's activity in the solution of the tasks facing it. The state performs a number of functions that distinguish it from other political institutions. They are divided into internal and external.

***Internal*** functions: economic; social; Organizational; legal; political; educational; cultural and educational.

    The economic function of the state is expressed in the organization, coordination, regulation of economic processes through tax and credit policies, creating incentives for economic growth or the implementation of sanctions.

    The social function is to meet the needs of people in work, housing, maintaining health; in the provision of social guarantees for the elderly, disabled, unemployed, youth; in life, property, health insurance.

    The legal function includes the provision of law and order, the establishment of legal norms that regulate the social relations and conduct of citizens, the protection of the social system from the destructive actions of extremists.

    The cultural and educational function is aimed at creating conditions for the satisfaction of the cultural needs of the population, familiarizing them with the achievements of the world artistic culture, and the possibility of self-realization in creativity.

    The political function of the state consists in ensuring political stability, exercising power, developing a policy that meets the needs and aspirations of the general population, or maintaining the political dominance of the owner class.

    Ecological function. With the help of legislation, the state establishes a legal regime for rational use of natural resources, assumes obligations to its citizens to ensure a healthy, normal environment.

***External*** functions are the functions of mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic, social, technological, cultural, trade areas with other states, the function of protection from external threats - the defense of the country.

**Lecture number 10. The legal state and civil to b exists**

     The concept of " **civil society** " makes it possible to distinguish between the spheres of political and non-political life of society and is used in two ways.

**Civil society in a broad sense** is an autonomous and directly independent state of public relations.

**Civil society in its true and narrower sense** is a civilized state of society, the characteristic feature of which is the equality of the individual, the community of citizens and the state.

     Civil society forms **three principles** : individual, collective and state. The power is the link between personality and society. The latter stands out at a certain stage in the development of society and unites its members in the civil society, fixing its structural elements: economic, economic, family, cultural, legal and other relations with the participation of citizens.

**Three factors** contribute to the formation and development of civil society : the legal nature of the state, the cultural state of society and the transformation of national subjects into free citizens.

     The main **obstacle to the development of civil society** is the domination of the state over society. The primacy of the state, its supremacy in relation to the individual leads to the subordination and destruction of civil society. The domination of the state is manifested in the reduction of the public sphere, civil initiatives and the increase of the individual's duties to the state to the detriment of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

      In a democracy, civil society seeks to decentralize state power by transferring some of the power to self-government bodies and strives to carry out conflict-free interaction with the state. In its development, civil society influences the formation and consolidation of democratic institutions of state power, promotes the implementation of the institution of human rights, and forms open political systems.

      The state is called upon to serve civil society, serve its interests. The powers of the state in civil society are minimized.   
      Modern civil society is inseparable from the rule of law, just like a legal state is inseparable from civil society. Civil society is the reverse side of the rule of law, they do not exist without each other. The formation of civil society is a necessary condition for the transition to legal statehood, as well as the rule of law is a factor that facilitates the transformation of society into a civil whole. Ignoring this pattern manifests itself in the attempts of post-totalitarian states to move to legal statehood before the creation of a civil society. However, such a transition can not be implemented in a short time, because the forcing of this process leads to devastating economic and socio-political consequences.

**A state** with the rule of law **is considered to be a legal state** . The rule of law is based on legal principles:   
-   first, in all spheres of public life, recognizing and implementing the requirements of law;   
-   second, it limits its activities in accordance with legal regulations.

**The main features of the rule of law** are: the rule of law, the reality of citizens' rights and freedoms, the organization and functioning of state power on the basis of the principle of separation of powers. Three components correspond to the indicated characteristics: the legal (normative) component, the individual legal component (rights and freedoms of citizens) and the organizational and legal (institutional) component. The legal component of the theory and practice of the rule of law contains such a legal understanding, which is characterized by a distinction between law and law and the creation on the basis of this legal understanding of legal laws.  
    

***The rule of law*** is a form of organization of state power in which the state itself, all social communities, individual individuals respect the law and are in the same attitude towards it. Law in this case is a way of interrelation between the state, society and the individual.

*Principles of the rule of law:*

1) the creation of a legislative system, the corresponding objectivity of law;

2) consolidation in the legislation of a wide range of natural inalienable and democratic human rights, their provision with real material and other guarantees, reliable protection against any encroachments;

3) separation of power into legislative, executive and judicial branches: the branches of power should be independent of each other and should act in accordance with constitutionally sealed powers;

4) the rule of law, on the basis and in fulfillment of which all by-laws are created and implemented;

5) with the federal structure of the state, the democratic distribution of competence among the subjects of the federation. The notion of "rule of law" provides not so much the subordination of state power to the constitutional norms, but rather the limitation of its omnipotence in the interests of guaranteeing the rights of an individual in the face of the state. The legal state limits itself to a certain set of constant norms and rules. The state becomes legal precisely because it falls under the rule of law. The law has priority over the state.

In the rule of law, the forms, ways and mechanisms of the state's activity, the limits of freedom of citizens guaranteed by law are clearly and precisely defined.

*General requirements, which the rule of law should meet:*

- compliance of the legislation with the most important interests of all classes and social strata, the trends of socio-economic development and the moral and psychological situation in society;

- limited interweaving of legislation in the context of the practical process of solving pressing problems;

- strict compliance of current legislation with the constitutional one;

- Practical maintenance of the rule of law in relation to by-laws;

- dialectical combination of stability and dynamism of legislation;

- existence of well-tried democratic procedures for citizens' participation in the law-making process;

- accounting for public opinion;

- the existence of a perfect legal mechanism for resolving disputed and conflict situations between subjects of law at all levels of the analytical, state, social structure;

- a high level of legal knowledge and legal culture of citizens.

Thus, ***civil society*** is the aggregate of social relations, formal and informal structures (groups, collectives) united by specific interests (economic, ethnic, cultural), ensuring the conditions of human life, satisfaction and realization of various needs and interests of the individual, social groups outside of activity state *.*

Civil society and the state mutually complement each other and depend on each other. Without a mature civil society, it is not possible to build a legal democratic state, since it is the conscious free citizens who are able to create the most rational forms of human co-existence.

**Lecture number 11. Political parties, the party system is, we and socio-political organizations and move e Nia** .

The concept of a political party. Functions of political parties. The main stages of partogenesis. Typology of parties. Essence and varieties of party systems. The essence and functions of socio-political organizations and movements.

The social structure of society, the presence in it of various social groups (ethnic, religious, professional, territorial and many others) contributes to the formation of the most important element of the political system - the political party. The term "party" in translation from Latin ("partio") means "part", "business".

Parties as organizations play a leading role and occupy a central place among public associations, organizations and movements that are also part of the political system of society. Parties, involving the most initiative people, are intermediaries between social groups and state power.

Parties protect the interests of social groups, or claim to express the interests of society as a whole. Participating in the political process, the parties develop their ideologies, programs, goals of their activities, they strive to provide themselves with support in society. In the political struggle, every party or bloc of parties strives to build, as a result of coming to power in the state, the interests, goals and ideals represented by it or a coalition of parties, into general, nationwide programs.

The political party is the most important political institution of the society. The political party is a fairly stable public association of an active group of people, united by close interests, beliefs, goals and ideals. It expresses the political will of a particular social group of society or of the whole society and sets itself the task of mastering or participating in state power for the implementation of its programs.

The party, as a rule, has a certain structure, which includes the following elements:

1) the party elite (the leader of the party, the party apparatus, they provide leadership of the party's activities, develop ideology, strategic goals of the organization's activities, its tactics, forms of participation of the party and its supporters in election campaigns, etc.)

2) ordinary members of the party, their activities are aimed at ensuring the fulfillment of party goals and objectives, programs and ideals.

In addition to these elements, there are two more levels of the political party:

1) the party in the system of power bodies (officials in the state apparatus, who received posts due to their membership in the relevant party - presidents, governors, deputies of the parliament, etc.)

2) the mass base of the party (voters who vote for party candidates during the election campaign.)

More fully the purpose of the party is manifested in its functions. Political scientists identify the most important functions of this political institution:

identification and justification of the interests of social groups of society, bringing them to the attention of state bodies and local self-government bodies;

reflection of the interests of social groups of society in political ideology and program, development and refinement of political doctrine;

socio-political education, explaining to the masses the situation in the society, the domestic and foreign policy of the state, the actions of political leaders, other participants in the political process and the platform of action proposed by the party, the formation of beliefs on the basis of party ideology among citizens;

providing, in various forms, broad support for the Party's program requirements, its political actions on the part of the population, the involvement of citizens in the party and party work;

participation in the formation of the political elite (training of cadres for party organizations, state bodies, local self-government, public organizations and movements, the media, etc .;

organization of the struggle for power using radical means and methods, participation in the political process to achieve power, holding electoral campaigns to form higher and local authorities, supporting or protesting against the current authorities;

the definition of forms, means and methods of party activity, depending on the changing political situation;

the exercise of power in the functioning bodies of state power and local self-government (the activities of party leaders as heads of state, government, the work of party factions in parliaments, etc .;

development of principles, forms and methods of relations with other participants in the political process.

The completeness of the parties' realization of their functions depends on the level of development of the society, its social structure and the status of the party's institution in the mechanism of power, the political regime, the preparedness of the party leader, relations with the masses, the international situation and other factors.

**Lecture number 12. Political modernization and tion society**

Concept of the political process. Types of political change. Features of political processes. Stages of the development of the theory of political modernization. The basic tendencies of development of modern states. Features of modernization of modern Kazakhstan society.

The main role in the concepts of political development is played by the theory of political modernization. **Political modernization** means social mobilization and political participation. It is a model of the global process of civilization, the essence of which lies in the transition from a traditional society to a modern one, i.e. rational as a result of scientific and technological progress.

There are two types of modernization:

1. Original, spontaneous modernization. Typical for countries that have experienced a transition to rational social structures as a result of the gradual development of internal processes (England, USA).

2. Secondary, reflected modernization. It is characteristic of countries that have lagged behind in their development and are trying to catch up with the advanced countries through the extensive use of their experience.

Modernization requires highly centralized political institutions. Institutionalization is a process in which organizations and methods of action become stable, i.e. ability to implement changes without their own destruction.

**Political modernization** First, the expansion of territories and the streamlining of administrative and political borders, the formation of national or federal states, the strengthening of the central (both legislative and executive) power, and at the same time, the separation of powers; secondly, the state's ability to make structural changes in the economy, politics, and social sphere while maintaining stability and internal cohesion of the society; Third, an important aspect of political modernization was the inclusion of an ever broader population in the political process (at least through elections); Fourth, finally, the establishment of political democracy, or at least populist rule, a change in the ways of legitimizing power (instead of referring to "God's craft" and "the nature of things" - the ideological and political preferences of social groups).

**Lecture No. 13. Conflicts and crisis situations in the policy** .

The concept of "conflict" (from the Latin *clash* ) means the clash of two or more forces in order to realize their interests. This is a way of interaction between the parties, in which the actions of one of them, faced with the opposition of the other, hamper the realization of its interests. Thus, the conflict has two sides, and their interests are incompatible. Conflict arises only in case of contradictions. A political conflict is understood as a clash of opposing interests of individuals, groups, parties, states, organizations and political systems, in the struggle for values, status, power and interests. The conflict is eternal, because it is impossible to create a society where the interests of all are satisfied.    
  
The source of the political conflict is not only a difference in the interests of the parties, but also a lack of understanding of their own interests, as well as social and political prejudices of group leaders, their ambitions and group selfishness. Some political analysts see the source as incompatible with the claims of the parties for good with limited opportunities for their satisfaction. For example, economic conflicts are associated with a lack of resources and often simply a livelihood. Even at the heart of political conflicts lie deep economic contradictions.   
  
The most famous Western concepts of conflictology are: 1)   the concept of a positive-functional conflict (the author is an American political scientist L. Kozer, the essence: the conflict unites groups, the society inherent inevitable inequality, dissatisfaction of members and tension between people and groups), 2) conflict model of society (author - German political scientist R. Darendorf, the essence : the very development of society engenders conflicts, but society can also influence them, societies differ not by the presence or absence of conflict, but by the attitude of power to them), 3)    general theory of conflicts (the author is American political scientist K. Boulding, the essence: all conflicts develop according to common models, which allows different forces to control them, each side seeks to take a position opposite to the other side to grasp, in the very nature of man and society there is hostility ). But on the whole, all these concepts are characterized by conviction in the solvability of conflicts, while the Marxists had a different view: the conflict is permanent, but only because it is a conflict between classes, under communism it will not exist. However, the conflict in politics is the norm, and not an exception.   
  
Political conflicts can differ in the degree of maturity, in character and in severity of resolution. Depending on the situation, the conflict can tend either to self-liquidation, or to resolution, or to exacerbation (escalation, when more and more participants are involved). They are distinguished by subjects, level and object (scale). The largest in scale is the intersystem conflict (or the conflict of civilizations), caused by the difference in state or national interests on a global scale. Further, conflicts can be armed (they are dangerous for the possibility of involving new forces and getting out of control) and unarmed (diplomatic, customs, financial "wars"). Internal politics arise within society, the regime, the party, or between parties and even factions of one party, more often in the course of a political campaign. French political scientist M.Duverger divides internal political conflicts into horizontal conflicts (between groups) and vertical (at different levels), between governors and ruled, between the minority and the majority, and so on.   
  
Among internal political conflicts, social class, interethnic, religious, inter-party and interpersonal can also be distinguished. Internal political conflicts are very complex, reconciliation of political interests is a whole science and art of compromises. Especially dangerous are conflicts between branches and power units (center - regions, legislative - executive power, etc.).      
  
Conflicts in different ways are manifested in democratic and undemocratic systems. Democracy is initially programmed for conflict and has special political and legal institutions to address them and seek a compromise, which is connected with the separation of powers. This protects the democratic political system from both authoritarianism and anarchy. But authoritarian and totalitarian political regimes seek to eliminate conflicts in the name of harmony and unity, but that's why they, on the contrary, are incurably conflicting, and in the most painful and destructive forms. Contradictions for years are pounded inward to break through, and instead of many small conflicts, one macro conflict breaks out, which costs society dearly.   
  
Conflict, even purely religious and economic, is always of a political nature, because is decided on the basis of the political course of the state. International conflict as a form of foreign policy conflict is both the failure of the international system and the clash of forces pursuing goals incompatible in one space. Each era corresponds to its own type of international conflicts. They can be resolved at different levels - interstate, with the help of third countries or international organizations (UN, etc.).   
  
Sometimes three main types of any political conflicts are distinguished: 1) conflict of interests (prevailing in developed countries, easy to resolve, since compromise can always be found), 2)    value conflict (characteristic mainly for developing, unstable states, weakly compromises, very maximal) and 3) conflict of identity (arises there, food does not identify with society (state), but with a group (racial, national, religious or linguistic) . For political science the most interesting conflicts affecting the state as the basis of the political system are political crises a sign of political crisis:.. 1) violation of the balance of power, 2) failure of the state and its agencies perform ( 4) the disposition of ideas that deny the very political system, (5) the dislocation of power,    
  
          structural and personnel leapfrog, 6) disappointment in political ideals, which leads to the emergence of radical forces on both the right and left, 7) the power loses credibility and authority, is delegitimized, and 8) the opposition starts activities aimed at eliminating the political regime. A political crisis can be seen as a transition of the system to a new level or as the creation of a new system, i.e. as a moment of development. The causes of the crisis are the alienation of the masses from power, the decline in the standard of living of the people, national and religious problems, the discrepancy of values. Crises are internal political        
  
      and   interstate . Internal political crises are national and private.    TO   particular include: a governmental crisis (the government is unable to cope with the situation, or of the parties leaving the coalition, parliament can dismiss the government), a parliamentary crisis (changes in the balance of power in parliament, when its decisions are not supported by a majority of voters, and the new elections and the parliament dissolves), the crisis of the ruling party, the constitutional crisis (the actual termination of the constitution, which loses legitimacy). But the nationwide crisis is a revolutionary situation, when "the upper strata can not, but the lower classes do not want." Both conflicts and crises have a number of functions - both positive and negative. The following are positive: 1)                  
  
      the relaxation of tension between social forces, the "diversion channel," 2) the promotion of a new balance in society, the reassessment of values, and 3) the strengthening of intra-group cohesion, awareness of group interests. The negative ones are: 1) the destabilization of society, 2) the threat of the liquidation of the political system, 3) the threat of a split in the unstable groups. So, political conflicts and crises are an inalienable feature of the political life of society.            
  
  
  
2.   First, let's look at ways to resolve conflicts : 1) "avoidance," 2) deferral of permission, 3) rapprochement of the parties through an intermediary, 4) arbitration, 5)            negotiations of the parties on the basis of a balance of interests. American political scientist T. Schelling emphasizes the strength in resolving the conflict, achieving a one-sided victory, and assigns the role of "emergency exit" when the methods of force are unpromising or unprofitable. Another American political scientist A. Rappoport believes that all conflicts can not be adjusted to a single scheme. There are conflicts of 3 types of "scramble" (the goal is only victory, contradictions are insoluble), "debates" (a compromise is possible) and "game" (general rules for the parties). Effective resolution of political conflicts can only be based on mutual concessions. But we must also take into account the fact that in a number of CIS countries a confrontational political culture has historically been established, which carries with it intolerance towards dissenters.   
  
The conflict situation does not necessarily develop into conflict, if the contradictions are eliminated by the satisfaction of the parties. But if there is a conflict, then there appear (in the opinion of the American political scientist R. Dahl) three alternatives: deadlock, coercion, peaceful settlement. The deadlock arises, if each participant in the conflict blocks the actions of the other, which exacerbates the conflict compulsion, is most often used if an authoritarian state that fears disobedience is involved in the conflict. Peaceful settlement is most feasible in the presence of political institutions that provide negotiations. To successfully resolve the conflict, according to the political scientist Nordlinger, it is necessary to adhere to 6 principles: 1) a stable coalition, 2) the principle of proportionality, 3) depoliticization, 4)        mutual veto right, 5) compromise, 6) concession (granting the right to resolve the conflict to a third party). Each of the parties develops its positions that determine the limits of concessions and compensation. On the basis of these positions, either direct contact between the parties is possible, or an appeal to the intermediary (the arbitration party). There are the following types of intermediaries: 1) neutral-independent (require attention and respect for their recommendations, take on the role of facilitator during the negotiations), 2) "rule makers" (strive to form a single system of values ​​as a basis for harmonizing interests and conditions for successful negotiations, actively participate in them, offer their options, but do not insist on them).      
  
      
  
The question of the forms of conflict management is also important, the main one of which is the institutionalization of the conflict, giving it a legal and organizational basis. If this does not happen, then there is a conflict without rules, a spontaneous and uncontrolled explosion of discontent. A conflict within the framework means predictability of the behavior of its participants.   
  
There are three stages of conflict resolution: 1) preparatory (a detailed analysis of the situation by the participants themselves, laying the groundwork for its settlement), 2) negotiations (a long and difficult stage involving direct contact of the parties to the conflict or their proxies), 3)      exit from the conflict (the stage involves monitoring the agreed decisions, the role of the intermediary is particularly important here). The analysis of the conflict situation at the first stage should include information about the object and subjects of the conflict, historical roots, causes, level of tension, participants' resources - i.e. "conflict tree". The second stage (the negotiations themselves) requires special art. The success of the negotiations depends on two factors: 1) the elaboration of questions at the first stage and 2) the ability of the mediator to create from the parties a collective capable of working together. The negotiation line can be of four types: 1) avoiding exacerbation, 2) the desire to reach an agreement by any means, 3)          intransigence in order to completely defeat the enemy and 4) the tactics of consent (the desire to achieve a common approach of the participants to the problem in order to reach a solution that satisfies both sides, focuses on interests, not positions, miscalculation of the consequences of solving the problem).   
  
What are the ways of resolving political crises ? Political crises usually take place in three stages: 1) the latent stage of the accumulation of contradictions (here there is a unification of new forces in the struggle with the old order, supporters of the old power are demoralized, the forces of progress do not understand how far the matter goes), 2)      the stage of the crisis (the polarization of forces in accordance with their programs, the escalation of the contradictions between the opponents of the old order, the defenders of the old orders gather with the forces for the counteroffensive), 3) the stage of resolving the crisis (the most acute stage, the struggle, the result - or old). There are two ways to resolve political crises: 1) revolution, 2)    
  
    reform. If the reforms affect the underlying foundations of the social and economic system, then this is a "revolution from above", considered "aerobatics" in politics. Perestroika began as a revolution from above, but got out of control. The revolution quickly and radically solves the problems, but it requires a very high price from the society. Reform is more typical now, it retains a certain balance and balance of power. The struggle of interests goes on within the framework of civil accord, through mutual concessions, which is more favorable for national development. It is also very important to take into account the political traditions and mentality of the people. You should not hurry "to cut in a living way", to break down political stereotypes and traditions by force.

**Lecture number 14. World politics and current IU Well tional relations** .

Features of international political processes. The theoretical debate of realists and idealists about the understanding of world politics. Geopolitics. Classical geopolitical theories. The newest trends in the development of world politics.

     International relations exist as much as there is an organized society. Only at the dawn of its development they were intertribal, intergeneric, interclan. For a long time, people connected international relations with the problems of war and peace.

The study of international relations is at the same time one of the oldest and the newest scientific directions. Formally, the appearance of it can be considered 1919, when the Wales University in Ayberswite (Great Britain) was the first department for the history and theory of international relations. The term "international relations" was introduced into the scientific circulation by an English thinker at the turn of the 17th-18th century. Jeremy Bentham, who understood by him to communicate between states. However, today the concept of international relations is treated more widely.

The origins of the study of international relations should be sought in antiquity.

In antiquity, the idea of ​​superiority of power arose (and wars are the natural state of relations between polices), formulated by Thucydides in the 5th century. BC. e. in the "Peloponnesian War", which is still considered a classic work on the theory of wars and international relations. Later, it formed the basis of the current trend - "political realism."

Another idea - "cosmopolis", which led to the ideas of "world government", "universal world organization" emerged in the IV. BC. e. within the philosophical school of the Stoics. She was developed by Cicero.

In the Renaissance the views of N. Machiavelli are of special interest. In his works "The Emperor" and "Towards the Last Decade of Titus Livia" he revives the idea of ​​superiority of power, this applies especially to interstate relations ("early political realism"). This direction was continued in the works of T. Hobbes ("war of all against all"), J. Bodin (theory of state sovereignty), E. de Wattel (the principle of "balance of forces", the theory of political equilibrium, which also adhered to B. Spinoza and D Hume).

Parallel to the early "political realism" a new direction arose and developed. He is associated with the names of the Spanish theologian F. de Vittoria, the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, the German philosopher I. Kant. In the views of these thinkers, the priority of human relations with the state belongs to man. Natural human rights are placed above the interests of the state. Representatives of this direction did not so much refer to the existing situation as to the perspective one, so the name of the idealism direction was established behind them.

In the middle of the nineteenth century another paradigm was emerging that did not fit into the framework of realism and idealism-Marxism. According to K. Marx, world history develops only with the emergence of capitalism. International relations in the political sphere become relations of domination and subordination, relations of class struggle and revolutions.

International relations were understood as relations between states.

Today, there are various theoretical directions in the study of international relations. Without resorting to their classification, we should focus on the most famous.

Idealism in modern science has been further developed. Its basic position is that it is necessary to end world wars and conflicts between states through legal regulation. Among the most significant ideas of this direction is the idea of ​​creating a system of collective security based on voluntary disarmament and renouncing war as an instrument of international politics. In international practice, idealism was embodied in the creation after the end of the First World War in 1919 . The League of Nations, whose program was developed by US President Woodrow Wilson. However, the utopian nature of this program, the unwillingness of states to resolve international issues in a political way, was obvious. The League of Nations was not able to cope with the tasks that sought to entrust it with maintaining peace and preventing wars. The Second World War demonstrated the non-viability of this idea. However, the idealistic tradition has found its embodiment in the work of such American politicians as Secretary of State and well-known political scientist Zbigniew Brzezinski, Presidents Jimmy Carter and George Bush, as well as in a number of scientific works (Makeelroy, F. Fukuyama, D. Lumsdain, etc.).

One of the theories that actively criticized idealism was political realism. His most famous representatives are J. Kennan, J. Schwarzenberger, K. Thompson, H. Kissinger, E. Carr, and others.

The classic work of this direction was the work of Hans Morgenthau "Political relations between nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace", the first edition of which was published in 1948. From the point of view of G. Morgenthau, the basis of international activity is the desire of states to increase their strength and weaken others. The result of satisfying the interests of all states leads to the establishment in the world arena of a balance of power - a kind of balance that supports the state of peace between states. He believes that there are two ways to establish such an equilibrium - military and diplomatic. The only way to avoid a catastrophe is to develop diplomacy. In his work G. Morgenthau formulated the principles of political realism, one of which is the principle of rational policy.The emergence of practical recommendations and the convergence of theory with practice served as an impetus to the formation of international relations as an independent science.

According to many Western researchers, it is from this work of G. Morgenthau that the institutionalization of international relations takes place as an independent discipline.

Idealism and realism are not the only areas in the study of the MOD. In response to the construction of a number of authors of their theories within these directions, the criticism of their shortcomings expanded.

Most Western scholars dwell on three approaches (apart from those already considered political realism and idealism) that have become most widespread among researchers in the IO: behavioral, structuralist and evolutionary.

Behavioral approach is based on the hypothesis that no event can be obvious. Ideas can only shed some light on the understanding of a specific event. Therefore, the term "science", which Morgenthau applied to his theory can not be used. The theory is only a method of physical and natural sciences, which maximizes the ability to analyze the behavior of states and people (J. Rosenau). Proceeding from this premise, behaviorists prefer to focus their attention on quantitative research in the field of international trade, contacts, newspaper publications, etc.

The structuralist approach suggests structuring international relations by analogy with the structure of the atom.

International systems are one of such structures. Rarely will anyone deny that groups of states in world politics have characteristics greater than the sum of their parts. When analyzing, they suggest going from top to bottom, from the whole to the private.

The evolutionary approach combines elements of structuralist and behaviourist approaches, however, differs from them. The two previous trends consider MO in statics. Evolutionists, like biologists, view society in development. Theorists, for example, suggest that wars, political and economic crises are repeated with a cycle of several hundred years (R. Gilpin, etc.)

Neo-Marxism and postmodernism are very popular.

Quite common is the neo-Marxist approach, which emphasizes economic inequality in the modern world and the stratification of the population according to the economic parameter, which today does not occur along borders, national states, but mainly along the North-South axis. Within the framework of neo-Marxism, the concepts of "third world countries" (developing countries) and "countries of the second world" (socialist) were introduced into scientific circulation. Representatives of this theory are I. Wallerstein, A. Gunder Frank, RW Cox.

The world-system theory is one of the most well-known variants of neo-Marxism. It comes from the following provisions:

1. The world is divided not only into states, but also into more important structural units-classes. The appearance of the states was necessary for the transition to the world economic system (peace-economy) and its victory over the world-empires of the past.

2. At present there is only one world-economy-capitalist. The development of capitalism has passed a series of cycles of expansion and stagnation, which begin with its inception in Europe. As a result of the development of capitalism, countries were divided into three parts depending on economic indicators: the center (core), the periphery, and the semi-periphery. Those who are in the center of the country have a much higher standard of living and dominate the rest.

Representatives of the world-system theory proceed from the fact that the development of the nucleus is carried out at the expense of other countries. This leads, in their opinion, to conflicts. At the same time, the periphery and semi-periphery are trying to resist, raising various kinds of uprisings. The world-system theory warns of the polarization taking place today along the "rich North-poor South" line, which leads to potential conflicts.

The theory of dependence is a slightly different version of neo-Marxism. Representatives of this theoretical approach (in particular, A. Frank) note the rapid development of the economy in the world in the second half of the XX century. Economically less developed countries, according to their point of view, are dependent on the more developed ones. The followers of the dependence theory emphasize that economic development or backwardness are not the natural stages of development that are inherent in all states, but have arisen as a result of unequal interstate relations.

Today, the developed countries continue to exploit the developing countries, but use not economic but force, economic coercion, which is in fact only a new form of colonialism - neocolonialism. There is an uneven development of the economies of developing countries: some industries in them become super modern, open borders, prosperous and competitive, while others remain traditional with backward ways of production. All this entails social and political instability in developing countries.

The postmodern approach originated in the theory of international relations in the 1980s: on the one hand, as a reaction to classical theories (neo-liberalism and neo-realism), on the other - under the influence of neo-Marxism in search of a different theoretical alternative. The French philosopher F. Lyotard introduced the term "postmodernism" into scientific circulation.

The development of postmodernism was significantly influenced by the processes in the world that could not be explained from the traditional theoretical positions of neo-realism and neoliberalism: the oil crisis of the 1970s and the activities of oil-exporting countries, currency shocks, widening the gap between the rich "North" and the poor "South" ". The so-called "low intensity conflicts" appeared on the agenda, which hardly fitted into the confrontation between the two superpowers.

Postmodernists criticize realists, stating that it is impossible to reveal in a certain objective way state interests. Moreover, there are no universal interests. In general, they are inclined to the fact that the state is, rather, a "fiction". This is a kind of concept used by researchers to refer to a group of people, which sometimes leads to delusions. So, in the Realistic concept, postmodernists emphasize, the Soviet Union was viewed as an integral participant in international relations. In fact, this is not so. That is why the realists were so puzzled by the collapse of the USSR.

In general, it can be said that there are many different approaches to the study of MO. So far, a unified theory has been developed that synthesizes all the virtues of various directions. In addition, it is difficult to classify existing theories because of their multiplicity and polemics.

Elements of the theory of international relations

Initially, at the turn of the 20th century, when studying international relations, the problem of war and peace was placed at the center, the main task was to find ways and means to prevent wars or their speedy end. This problem is inseparable from interstate relations as a whole. It was they who, by the beginning of the 1940s, took their place as an object and subject of study. However, real life has shown that international relations are not confined exclusively to state ones, that non-state actors take an active part in world politics, and the state itself does not act as a single monolith. Therefore, the research of the Ministry of Defense has expanded, covering many other actors and deepened into the spheres of internal processes and their entry into the international arena.

There are various approaches to the interpretation of the term "international relations". Definitions vary from specifically descriptive: "MO is the totality of economic, political, ideological, legal, diplomatic and other relations and relationships between states and systems of states, between the main classes, the basic social, economic and political forces, organizations and social movements acting on world arena, i. between the peoples in the broadest sense "to the abstract conceptual:" MO is the aggregate of integration ties that form the human community. "

One of the last definitions, taking into account the current state of affairs on the world stage, was suggested by N. Kosolapov: "International relations in the strict sense of the word, in every concrete era, are objectively relations between internally organized organized socio-territorial systems in the external for them, politically, powerfully and organizationally undeveloped or poorly structured environment. "This definition is based on a systemic approach and encompasses a multitude of actors, not limited to enumerating them, which makes it possible to teach Vat and long-term changes in the international arena.

The term "world politics" appears in the late 1970s. Within the framework of neo-liberalism, a scientific direction is formed, which has received such a name. Initially, research in the world politics was influenced by economic processes associated with world crises, changes in the world economy. Later, within the framework of world politics, achievements were made in the field of comparative political science (research of political regimes), analysis of the phenomenon of interdependence, as well as the emergence of various actors on the world scene and the development of transnational relations.

It is possible to give the following definition of world politics: activity, interaction of various actors (states, INGOs, individuals, TNCs, etc.) in the international arena, its influence on the process of global development.

The main actors in the international arena are the states. Only states have sovereignty, only states have real opportunities to use force in international relations. However, for a full analysis of the processes taking place within the MO, one should take into account the pluralism of actors. Today, we can not limit ourselves to studying the behavior of states. The structure of the MoD is increasingly composed of non-state actors. These include international intergovernmental organizations (UN, UNESCO, NATO, EU, WEU, etc.), transnational corporations (IBM, etc.), international non-governmental organizations (Greenpeace, Amnesty International, etc.) Individuals (for example, Mother Teresa). Among the actors influencing the international process, we can also note national liberation movements, mafia groups,terrorist organizations, regional administrations.

The first to speak of the "split" of the world was J. Rosenau. He divided the fields of interstate relations, where the laws of classical diplomacy operate, and fields covering "actors outside sovereignty" or non-state actors.

Today we witnessed a changing relationship in different regions of the world. A case in point is the unification of Europe into the European Union (EU). The labor and capital market is unified, monetary circulation systems are united, identical laws are being developed in different spheres of society's life. At the same time, the traditions, language, culture of each of the EU states are preserved.

There are many different approaches to the systematic study of the MO. This also causes a different typology.

Depending on the spatial and geographical characteristics, a global planetary system and regional subsystems are distinguished.

There are also stable and unstable (revolutionary by the definition of S. Hoffman) systems, conflict and cooperative, open and closed.

Of particular interest is the typology of M. Kaplan, which has gained popularity in the West. His concept he developed in 1957 in the book "System and process in international politics."

M. Kaplan identifies 6 types of international systems.

The first type is the "balance of power" system. In his opinion, it existed in the XVIII, XIX centuries and early XX. This system is characterized by multipolarity. There must exist at least five powers, or it will turn into a bipolar one.

The second type is the "flexible bipolar system", which, according to M. Kaplan, existed since 1945 . This system is characterized by the presence of two dominant and opposing states. Less powerful states are drawn into coalitions or blocs that are controlled by one of them. The internal arrangement of blocks can range from rigidly hierarchized and authoritarian, where the will of the leader is imposed on everyone else, to an almost free coalition of autonomous countries. Significant influence in this system is used by non-state universal actors - international organizations (for example, the UN).

According to Kaplan, the "flexible bipolar system" is unstable. It will inevitably be transformed into one of two other types - a "hard bipolar" or "unipolar" system.

The "rigid bipolar system" differs from the previous type in that the blocks here are more hierarchical, the non-aligned states are disappearing, and the role of international organizations is extremely limited. There is a high degree of use of armed force to resolve emerging conflicts.

In the "universal international system" the role of international organizations acquires a global character. This system resembles a federal arrangement where global international organizations assume the role of government. Such a system presupposes a well-organized and orderly governance structure in the political, economic and administrative spheres. A universal actor, it can be the UN with greatly expanded rights and powers, develops rules and monitors their compliance within the framework of international relations.

"Hierarchical system" is in fact a kind of world state, where all the roles are painted and each of the countries occupies its niche in a rigid hierarchy. In fact, national boundaries lose their separating function. The policy is "done" in a single center and is controlled by a power-hegemon. Any centrifugal tendencies are suppressed.

The latter type - the "single veto system" - is built on the principle of the responsibility of each state for the actions of all others. Here, each of the state actors can block a common solution, as well as resist such a blockage. Under this system, "every actor relies on the negative golden rule of natural law" do not do to others what you do not want yourself. " Such behavior of states could be observed in the event of the general spread of nuclear weapons.

In real life, there were only two of the proposed - the system of balance of power and the bipolar system.

The structural approach of M. Kaplan tends toward abstraction and generalizing conclusions. The criticism of his theory rests mainly on two points. Firstly, this typology does not take into account the influence of processes within states; secondly, the behavior of states dominates in its international system, and other actors get at best secondary roles.

However, his theory laid the foundation for a structural analysis of international systems. Even his main critic K. Waltz agrees that in history two types of international systems can be observed: a multipolar system that characterized interstate relations from the time of the Treaty of Westphalia to the Second World War, and the bipolar system that replaced it. Most other researchers hold the same opinion.

An international attitude is a frozen structure, not once and for all. The subjects of the MO are in constant interaction and development. The conflict in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, armed intervention in the affairs of sovereign states, negotiations within the UN framework, the signing of nuclear arms reduction treaties, as well as many other events on the international arena are related to international processes. At the heart of international processes is the interaction between the subjects of the Defense Ministry.

American political scientist D. Held believed that the main form of politics in the modern world is the struggle, cooperation and negotiations. Most researchers share his point of view, focusing on the importance of struggle or conflict (Schelling, Rapoport), then on issues of integration and cooperation (Mitrani), then at negotiations (Fischer, Zartman, Berman, Lukov). To the above categories M. Lebedeva proposes to add "the process of making and making decisions".

International processes include: 1. International conflict; 2. Cooperation; 3. Negotiations; 4. The process of decision making and decision-making.

1. There are many definitions of the concept of "international conflict". Most researchers emphasize the participation of states as parties to the conflict. However, the real processes taking place on the international scene demonstrate the involvement of non-state actors in the conflict. To the number of international political conflicts, it is advisable to attribute not only those that are the result of political activity of states and their associations, but also due to the actions of other participants in international relations, the political aspects of any (economic, informational, confessional, cultural, etc.) MO.

There are several typologies of international conflicts: depending on the number of participants - bilateral and multilateral; geographic coverage - regional and global; on the flow time - short-term and long-term; on the level of hostility - armed and unarmed; and etc.

Among the features of international conflicts, their dual nature should be noted. Even in the conditions of the most severe armed conflict, there are elements of cooperation (for example, exchange of prisoners of war). According to Deuttsch's opinion, which has become widespread in the MO theory, international conflicts represent situations with mixed interests in which the interests of the parties coincide and diverge simultaneously.

2. International cooperation reflects the process of interaction of two or more actors, which excludes the use of armed violence and dominate the joint search for the realization of common interests. Cooperation does not exclude the emergence of disagreements and conflicts between the parties, but assumes that they are resolved within the framework of diplomatic negotiations. Cooperation relations include two and multilateral diplomacy, the conclusion of treaties and alliances. As part of this process, a whole system of interstate and non-governmental organizations emerged. Integration processes, for example, the creation of the European Union, are the result of cooperation.

3. Cooperation and conflict resolution are based on the negotiation process. Negotiations in the MOD have been used since ancient times, but the complication of the MO system in the twentieth century, the aggravation of contradictions between states and the existing destructive military potential have made negotiations one of the main international processes. G. Morgenthau in 1947 . called for building the relationship of states through diplomacy. In subsequent years, many researchers have engaged in the study of this process (S. Sigel, C. Osgood, R. Fisher, M. Lebedeva, etc.).

The negotiation process goes through several stages: preparation for negotiations; the process of their management; analysis of the results of the negotiations and the implementation of the agreements reached.

One of the features of international negotiations is that, being part of the MO, on one hand they experience their influence, and on the other hand they themselves influence international relations, largely defining and shaping them.

4. The process of making a political decision differs somewhat from the three previous processes. It includes those motivations that encourage participants to enter into conflict or cooperate.

The process of making a political decision can have a significant impact on international relations and the fate of people. For example, the decision by the US and NATO to begin bombing in Yugoslavia to solve the problem of Kosovo Albanians affected not only the situation inside Yugoslavia, but also the region (Europe) as a whole.

Within the framework of many schools and directions research of this process is carried out. Speaking about the trends typical for this process at the end of the twentieth century, it should be noted the increase in the price of the error for the decision (the presence of weapons of mass destruction), the increase in information noise (the abundance of unchecked and distorted information along with reliable sources), the increasing influence of the masses on the development and adoption political decisions.

Summing up, we can conclude that international relations are a complex system of global interrelations in a society characterized by dynamism, development, multi-subjectness, the presence of various actors.

**Lecture number 15. Kazakhstan in the international system of the t wear. Foreign Policy Priority is, you RC.**

Foreign policy priorities of Kazakhstan in the modern world.

The main foreign policy priorities of the Republic of Kazakhstan, as before, are focused on creating favorable foreign policy conditions for accelerated economic, social and political modernization of our country.

Kazakhstan still adheres to the strategy of multi-vector foreign policy, proclaimed by the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev immediately after his election as president of the country on December 1, 1991.

At his first press conference in Alma-Ata for correspondents of foreign and domestic media NA. Nazarbayev, in particular, stressed that Kazakhstan, having a middle position on the continent, should become a bridge between Europe and Asia. Therefore, Kazakhstan will not be limited only to the Asian continent, the country should have a reasonable balance between Europe and Asia. The Republic of Kazakhstan will have economic and political ties with all countries of the world. This position of Kazakhstan was largely determined and determined by the geopolitical situation of our country, the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional composition of the population, the level of development of the economy as a whole.

Taking into account the current international realities in the Address of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev to the people of Kazakhstan "Growth of welfare of citizens of Kazakhstan is the main goal of state policy" (February 6, 2008), the priorities of the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan are set in a new way.

The main emphasis in the foreign policy strategy is on ensuring an effective security system in the Central Asia, aimed at preventing threats (international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking, illegal migration), originating mainly from neighboring countries. To solve this problem, it is supposed: firstly, Kazakhstan's active participation in the activities of interstate associations - the Conference on the Creation of Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO); secondly, the strengthening of economic and political cooperation with neighboring countries - Russia, China, as well as Central Asian states; third, expansion of constructive interaction with the United States, the EU and NATO. At the same time, Kazakhstan's leadership proceeds from the priority of the community of fundamental interests,the need to achieve mutually beneficial and mutually acceptable approaches to solving any disputable problems. A special area of ​​foreign policy activity is the preparation for the chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2010. To this end, it is planned to develop a special program "The Way to Europe", which contains the development of Kazakhstan's approaches to the OSCE chairmanship.

An equally important area of ​​foreign policy activity is the policy aimed at developing and deepening the dialogue of civilizations and religions, implemented by the Kazakh leadership for several years. Kazakhstan in 2003 and 2006 held two congresses of leaders of world and traditional religions who gathered spiritual representatives of the world's major confessions. President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev at the 62nd session of the UN (September 2007) was invited to hold the 3rd congress of religious leaders in 2009 under the auspices of the United Nations. At the initiative of the Kazakh side, in October 2008, the forum of foreign ministers of Muslim and Western countries "The Common World: progress through diversity" will be held in Astana.

The current system of foreign policy priorities of Kazakhstan is due primarily to the fact that the spread of unconventional threats and challenges has acquired a stable and long-term character in Central Asia. The reasons for this, on the one hand, lie in the incompleteness of the political reform process and the difficult social and economic situation in the Central Asian republics, and on the other hand, in geographic proximity to zones of political instability, latent and local conflicts (Afghanistan, Pakistan, Middle and Middle East). At the same time, the CA region is becoming a transit zone for these threats to other countries.

Since Central Asia is a single vast region, including countries with similar economic, geographical, historical, religious, cultural features, regional stability and security are ranked at the following levels:

- within each country;

- within the region as a whole;

- in countries adjacent to the region.

The first and most important level is ensuring security and stability in each country, first of all, by creating a competitive economy, active social policy, timely political reforms, strengthening of public harmony, inter-ethnic and inter-confessional peace.

Here, each country has its own recipes. We in Kazakhstan followed the path of political transit, taking into account our realities. Characteristic features of this path are: the preservation of the presidential form of government; stage-by-stage reforms; balance of decisions; national dialogue; consolidation of the main political forces

Within the second level, namely, a separate region, it should be noted that no country has enough strength and resources to ensure security in both the economic, political, social, environmental areas and in combating traditional and non-traditional threats and calls. Therefore, Kazakhstan, taking into account the different level of socio-economic and political development of the countries of the region, stands for the evolutionary path of integration: from the free trade zone to the customs union, then to the common economic space.

According to the Head of Kazakhstan, developing as a single space, the countries of Central Asia will be able to create a kind of "economic prosperity belt" that will be a reliable barrier to international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking and illegal migration.

Kazakhstan stands for coordinating efforts not only at bilateral, but also at regional and international levels - in order to effectively combat international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking, international organized crime, illegal migration, epidemics, environmental problems, other non-radiological threats and challenges.

In this regard, in our view, the most promising organization that meets these goals is the ***Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA),*** whose main importance is to strengthen cooperation through the development of multilateral approaches to ensuring peace, security and stability in Asia . At present, the CICA member states are: Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, China, Egypt, India, Iran, Israel, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Palestine, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkey, Uzbekistan; observer states - Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Ukraine, USA, Lebanon, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia. CICA also includes the UN, OSCE, LAS and CAPS.

Contrary to many skeptical expectations, the Kazakh leadership did not abandon the work on the implementation of the stated tasks at the level of the next initiative, but began to implement the set goals in a planned manner. From the very beginning, the idea of ​​convening CICA found the support of a number of Asian states that determine the political climate on the continent and international organizations.

June 17, 2006 in Almaty, the second CICA summit was held, which confirmed the viability and prospects of this forum. According to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayev, for Asia, which has rich natural resources and huge human potential, in many cases the transit form of development of states and societies, as well as the presence of "old" conflicts are characteristic. In this regard, the Asian continent needs a comprehensive approach to security and cooperation issues, the practical and step-by-step application of confidence-building measures. In this regard, as the Kazakh president believes, CICA can and should become an integral part of the global system that opposes the challenges of modernity.

By adopting the Catalog of Confidence Building Measures, the provisions of which the CICA member states intend to carry out on the principle of voluntarism, the legal foundations of the Asian security system with concrete mechanisms for ensuring stability in the region were laid for the first time. Thus, CICA is becoming the locomotive of mutual approaches in combating security challenges in the Asian continent and making a significant contribution to ensuring peace and security throughout the world.

An important role in the foreign policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is attached to active participation in the ***Eurasian Economic Community (EurAsEC)*** , which arose in 2000, one of the founders of which is Kazakhstan. Today EurAsEC, in addition to Kazakhstan, includes Russia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The organization's goal is economic integration, which envisages the creation of a free trade zone and the formation of a customs union.

In the social and humanitarian sphere, it is planned to conduct joint research on priority areas of science and technology, harmonization of national education systems, development of science and culture.

At the summit of the heads of the EurAsEC member states in Dushanbe (October 6, 2007), the leaders of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia signed documents on the formation of a single Customs territory and the Customs Union. It is assumed that the creation of the legal framework of the Customs Union will be completed in 2010. At the Dushanbe summit, the Kazakh diplomat T. Mansurov was elected Secretary General of EurAsEC

Of great importance for Kazakhstan is the military-political component of regional integration cooperation - in the context of ensuring national security of the country. The escalation of tension and conflict situations, permanently arising at the borders of the CIS countries, raise the issue of developing joint measures to counter various phenomena that threaten their stability and further development. An important step in this direction was the signing in May 1992 in Tashkent of the Collective Security Treaty, later renamed ***the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO).***

At the session of the Collective Security Council on June 23, 2006 in Minsk, the heads of the ***CSTO*** member ***states*** signed a political declaration on further enhancing the effectiveness of the organization's activities, turning it into a multifunctional international security structure. The declaration formulated the tasks of adapting the CSTO to new realities, countering growing challenges and threats. A program of joint measures was also signed to coordinate the activities of law enforcement agencies and special services of the CSTO member states in the field of combating terrorism and the drug threat. Particular attention was paid at the summit to the improvement of the management system of the collective rapid reaction forces of the Central Asian region of collective security.

President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nazarbayev, speaking at the Minsk summit of the CSTO, said that without security, there can be no question of integration. As the Head of Kazakhstan stressed, the CSTO is an organization uniting allies that must jointly react to external aggression of any plan - not only military extremist, but also political, extremist, information.

In 2007 the heads of the CSTO member states signed packages of documents: a) on the regulatory and organizational design of the peacekeeping mechanism; b) to improve the legal framework for the activities of the Interstate Commission for Military-Economic Cooperation; c) plan for re-equipping (equipping) the collective rapid deployment forces of the Central Asian region of collective security with modern weapons, military equipment and special means.

Particular importance is attached to cooperation of the Republic of Kazakhstan within the framework of the ***Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)*** , established in April 1996. At present, the SCO member states are Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Today, cooperation within the framework of the SCO includes a wide range of economic, military-political interaction, as well as activities in the humanitarian sphere. At the same time, it must be emphasized that the SCO is not a military-political alliance and its activities are not directed against other states and regions. The main focus of the SCO is focused on solving the problems of ensuring security, peace, stability in the SCO space, enhancing the role of the organization in international efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, combat terrorism and transnational crime.

Important was the agreement signed at the meeting of the Council of Heads of State of the SCO member states in Bishkek (August 16, 2007) on long-term good-neighborliness, friendship and cooperation. This document, along with the SCO Charter, defines strategic directions for further cooperation of the organization. At the Bishkek summit of the SCO, the need for speedy completion of work on agreements on countering terrorism, on combating illicit trafficking in arms and ammunition was underscored. The leaders of the SCO member states support the development of a mechanism for the practical implementation of the Agreement in the field of combating drugs. The SCO pays much attention to increasing the pace of economic interaction, including in the fields of energy, transport, agriculture, trade and investment, including the activities of the Interbank Association, the Business Council SCO,as well as the creation of a transcontinental transport corridor between Europe and Asia.

The energy sphere is becoming a promising direction of cooperation within the framework of the SCO. President of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev, speaking at the Bishkek summit, proposed to create, in addition to the Energy Club, the SCO Energy Agency, which would become a sort of information center of the data bank of cooperation. It was also suggested that specific trade operations in the energy market could be carried out at the SCO Energy Exchange.

Kazakhstan traditionally pays special attention to environmental issues, first of all, to the Aral Sea, rational use of water resources of transboundary rivers-Amudarya, Syrdarya, Irtysh. In this regard, in the opinion of the Kazakh side, it is necessary to develop approaches to resolving issues relating to transboundary rivers and water bodies that would balance the national interests of all stakeholders.

Since January 2007, the Kazakh diplomat B. Nurgaliyev has been Secretary General of the SCO.

Kazakhstan's cooperation with regional and international integration associations points to the openness and willingness of the leadership of our country to build and develop relations in the system of international relations in the framework of both bilateral and multilateral format. The main principle is mutual respect, partnership and prospects.

Development of economic, political and cultural-humanitarian relations with the closest territorial neighbors - Russia, China, as well as Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan - is of paramount importance for ensuring stability and security in Central Asia, creating conditions for mutually beneficial cooperation in the region.

A special place in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan is occupied by the ***Russian Federation*** , which recognized the independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan on December 17, 1991. In turn, on December 20, 1991 Kazakhstan recognized the independence of Russia.

The legal platform for bilateral relations is the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the RK and the Russian Federation, signed on May 25, 1992, which states that Kazakhstan and Russia, building on the historically established strong ties of the two states, build their friendly relations on the principles of mutual respect for state sovereignty, territorial integrity and the inviolability of existing borders.

Of fundamental importance are the provisions of the treaty on the peaceful settlement of disputes and the non-use of force or threat of force, including economic and other means of pressure, equality and non-interference in internal affairs, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and faithful fulfillment of obligations. A logical element in the development of bilateral documents in the political, economic, cultural and humanitarian spheres was the signing on July 6, 1998 of the Declaration on Eternal Friendship and Alliance, oriented to the 21st century.

Kazakh-Russian relations have gone through several stages in their history: defining a new format for bilateral relations; search for an optimal model of economic and political cooperation; expansion and deepening of integration in trade and economic, scientific and technical and humanitarian fields; implementation of strategic partnership.

Kazakhstan and Russia, due to numerous economic, political, ethnic, linguistic, demographic, confessional, geographical reasons (the longest continuous land border in the world, a significant number of Russian-speaking population in Kazakhstan and ethnic Kazakhs in the Russian Federation, an interest in political and trade-economic cooperation and so on) are extremely "interconnected" states.

This is eloquently evidenced by data on trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. The turnover of Kazakhstan with Russia exceeds the turnover with all other states of Central Asia. In 2007, it reached $ 16.3 billion (for comparison, in 2005, trade amounted to $ 9.5 billion). The rate of turnover is 30% per year. In the general commodity turnover of Russia with the CIS countries, Kazakhstan accounts for 15%. In turn, the share of the RF in the foreign trade balance of the Republic of Kazakhstan is 24.7%. In Kazakhstan there are more than 1600 enterprises with the participation of Russian capital.

Activation of Kazakh-Russian relations took place in 2000, after the election of Russian President V. Putin. Russian-Kazakh cooperation is developing both in bilateral format and on a multilateral basis - within the CIS, EurAsEC, CSTO, SCO, CACO. It should be noted that the relationship between the RK and the RF is the basis for the creation of the Eurasian financial, energy, transport and customs infrastructures.

Here are just some facts of mutually beneficial cooperation. In June 2005, our countries agreed to create an investment bank with an authorized capital of US $ 1.5 billion open for accession as shareholders of other countries, primarily members of the Eurasian Economic Community. The bank has over 20 investment projects worth more than $ 2.5 billion. It has already been decided to invest about $ 600 million in the modernization of the Kazakh Ekibastuz GRES-2. The result of the project will be the solution of the energy deficit problem in Northern Kazakhstan and the border regions of Russia.

An agreement has been reached between Kazakhstan and Russia to establish a joint venture for processing Karachaganak gas at the Orenburg gas processing plant, discussing the expansion of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium's pipeline and increasing the capacity of the Atyrau-Samara oil pipeline.

It is important to implement agreements on the establishment of three joint ventures - for the extraction and enrichment of uranium, as well as the development of power units with nuclear reactors of small and medium power.

Within the framework of joint projects, Kazakhstan is actively implementing its own space program. In particular, in 2006 the first Kazakhstan satellite "KazSat-1" was launched into space orbit. At present, preparations are under way for the launching into space orbit of a whole series of Kazakhstani satellites. Cooperation of Kazakhstan with Russia will allow our country, which has a unique Baikonur cosmodrome, to enter the world market of services for launching space satellites and create its own technological base for their production.

Cultural and humanitarian cooperation is actively developing. It is enough to note the holding in 2004-2005. Year of Russia in Kazakhstan and the Year of Kazakhstan in Russia. In 2006 a monument to the great Kazakh poet Abay was opened in Moscow. On the territory of Kazakhstan there are eight branches of Russian universities, including the Moscow State University. M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University. It was decided to open in 2008 in Astana a branch of the Moscow Institute of International Relations.

Kazakhstan remains the most significant partner of Russia in the system of its geopolitical and geostrategic priorities. President of the Russian Federation V.Putin, in his greeting to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev, on the occasion of the 16th anniversary of Kazakhstan's independence, stressed that the strategic partnership with Kazakhstan in Russia is given special importance. According to V.Putin, thanks to an unprecedentedly active political dialogue, the dynamically developing Kazakh-Russian cooperation enriched itself with large-scale infrastructure projects in the fuel and energy sector, in the field of transport and the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

According to the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.A. Nazarbayeva, Kazakh-Russian relations are on a high level of trust and strategic partnership. Between our countries, the Head of Kazakhstan emphasizes, there are no political and economic problems that could not be solved "... through constructive dialogue and consideration of mutual interests."

This thesis was confirmed at the high-level talks held in Moscow on December 20, 2007. In particular, N. Nazarbayev and V. Putin stressed that, in accordance with the Plan of Joint Actions on Economic Cooperation "Kazakhstan-Russia" for 2007, 2008, the priority will be given to the fuel and energy complex, space exploration, transport projects, as well as the integration processes going on in the post-Soviet space.

Both countries are in favor of increasing the export of Kazakh oil through the Atyrau-Samara pipeline (up to 20 million tons), the expansion of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium project (up to 67 million tons), the construction of the Caspian gas pipeline, the construction of the nuclear power plant in Aktau, the intensification of transit trade goods between Western Europe and Western China.

The continuity of relations between Kazakhstan and Russia was confirmed during a telephone conversation that took place the day after the presidential election, March 3, 2008, between N. Nazarbayev and the newly elected President of Russia D. Medvedev. In particular, D. Medvedev said that he considers Kazakhstan the most reliable and close ally of Russia. At the same time, the newly elected Russian president expressed strong conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and multifaceted economic partnership will develop only on the basis of increasing, for the benefit of the peoples of the fraternal countries.

The priority direction of Kazakhstan's foreign policy continues to be cooperation ***with the People's Republic of China*** , diplomatic relations with which were established in January 1992.

Sovereign Kazakhstan had to build its policy towards the PRC from scratch. President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nazarbayev, analyzing the situation of those years, recalls: "Both sides formed the image of the enemy, and military doctrines declared each other the most likely enemy ... General policy, the general propaganda of all of us set up that China is the enemy number one. ... Kazakhstan, having gained independence, had to re-define its relations with the People's Republic of China. It was necessary to get rid of the inheritance inherited from party ideologists. "

On the part of the Chinese leadership, in turn, there was also a willingness to start a full-scale dialogue with Kazakhstan on all aspects of the relationship between the two countries. As former President of the PRC Tszemin noted, "... China will always be a faithful friend, a good neighbor, in spite of any changes taking place in the world."

On December 23, 2002, the Treaty on Good-Neighborliness, Friendship and Cooperation was signed in Beijing between Kazakhstan and China, in which the high level of bilateral relations was legally fixed, and the previously reached agreements in the military, economic and cultural-humanitarian spheres were confirmed.

Among the most important theses enshrined in this treaty, it should be noted: the development and strengthening of good-neighborliness, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation; the historical significance of the delimitation and demarcation of the Kazakh-Chinese state border; territorial inviolability and inviolability of state borders; adherence to the principle of one China; non-use of nuclear weapons and confirmation of security assurances to Kazakhstan; strengthening of security, stability and confidence-building measures in the Central Asian region within the framework of the SCO; assistance in ensuring peace, security and stability in the Asian continent within the CICA framework, and so on.

Currently, Kazakhstan-China economic cooperation is actively developing. In China's foreign trade, Kazakhstan ranks second among the CIS countries, second only to Russia. In 2007, the trade turnover between the two countries amounted to 9.1 billion US dollars (for comparison: in 2005 the trade turnover was 3.7 billion dollars).

China has shown interest, first of all, in the energy sector. In December 2005, the construction of the Atasu-Alashankou oil pipeline was completed, with a throughput capacity of 10 million tons, and an increase to 20 million tons in the second phase of the project. The owners of the pipeline are JSC "KazTransOil" and the China National Corporation for the Exploration and Development of Oil and Gas (China National Oil Development Corporation ) with 50% interest.

The acquisition of China by China National Petroleum Corporation ( CNPC ) for $ 4 billion of PetroKazakhstan's shares guarantees the successful operation of this pipeline. As of January 1, 2005, the proven and probable oil reserves of the Kumkol group of fields in the south of Kazakhstan amounted to 549.8 million barrels of oil (75 million tons).

Taking into account the availability of the 448.8 km Kenkiyak-Atyrau oil pipeline commissioned in January 2003, it is planned to build a 752 km pipeline Kenkiyak-Aralsk-Kumkol by the end of 2011, as well as modernize the Kumkol-Karakoin-Atasu oil pipeline with a total length of 627 km - to supply oil to the Atasu-Alashankou pipeline system. Thus, the construction of the West Kazakhstan-West China oil pipeline will be completed.

The importance of this pipeline has increased dramatically after joining the Kazakh-Chinese oil pipeline of Russia. In the Protocol for 2008, the Agreement between the Governments of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation on Cooperation and Development of the Fuel and Energy Complex (signed on November 26, 2007 in Astana) provides for transit of Russian oil via the Omsk-Pavlodar-Atasu-Alashankou pipeline route in the amount of 5 million tons of oil per year. [13] Although in fact, Russian oil was supplied via this pipeline from 2006, when this oil was purchased by the counterparty on behalf of KazTransOil JSC on the Kazakh-Russian border. In 2006, 2 million 161 thousand tons of oil were supplied to the People's Republic of China from Kazakhstan and Russia. According to the China National Oil and Gas Corporation, as of October 15, 2007, a total of 5.29 million tons of crude oil was supplied to China via the Kazakhstan-China oil pipeline.[14]

At the talks held on August 18, 2007 between the President of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev and the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Hu Jintao, mutual interest was confirmed in the completion by 2011 of the construction of the Kenkiyak-Kumkol oil pipeline and the commissioning of the Western Kazakhstan-Western China oil pipeline with the project with a capacity of 20 million tons of oil per year. An agreement was also reached between N. Nazarbayev and Hu Jintao on Kazakhstan's accession to the construction of a new transit gas pipeline - from Turkmenistan to China through Kazakhstani territory.

Since the problem of transboundary rivers, particularly the Ili and the Irtysh, is of particular importance for Kazakhstan, in the joint Communique of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the PRC, adopted following the results of the summit talks, its decision was reflected as follows: under the mechanism of the Kazakhstan-China Joint Commission on the Use and protection of transboundary rivers will continue to exchange and cooperate on the basis of the principles of fairness, rationality and ensuring the observance of mutual interests in the development and use of transboundary resources.

Kazakh-Chinese cooperation should be viewed through the prism of the fact that in the first half of the 21st century, It is expected that China's role in the modern world will increase significantly. China in the medium term will be able to compete with Russia, the United States, the EU, including in Central Asia. At the same time, we proceed from the premise that the long-term goal of China's foreign policy is to maintain the peaceful international environment necessary for the successful advancement of the country's modernization.

The development and deepening of relations in the bilateral and multilateral format with the states of Central Asia - ***Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan -*** is the strategic foreign policy priority of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan proceeds from the fact that we are brought together not only economic interests, but also the fate of our peoples, which has been ordered in such a way that we, in a good sense of the word, are "doomed" to live in a state of closest friendship. December 12, 1991 at a consultative meeting of the heads of state of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, a statement was adopted on the need to coordinate efforts to form the CIS. The participants of the meeting declared that all the states forming the Commonwealth should be recognized as founders.

On April 30, 1994, the Treaty on the creation of the Common Economic Space between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan was signed.

In the framework of the visit of the President of Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan in April 1997, the Treaty on Eternal Friendship was signed between the two states. A similar document was signed with Uzbekistan, during an official visit to that country in October 1998. [16]

At the meeting of the leaders of the countries of the Central Asian Community, held on 9-10 January 1997 in Bishkek, the trilateral Treaty on eternal friendship between the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and the Republic of Uzbekistan was signed in the history of international relations of the Central Asian countries. Article 3 of this treaty establishes the provision that "the parties will provide each other with all-round support, primarily in matters of preventing the threat of independence and sovereignty, territorial integrity."

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, the countries of the region were forced to build their relations already as sovereign and equal states, not without the negative consequences of the disruption of traditional ties in the economy, politics, socio-cultural sphere that are still felt. We should note the unstable political situation in a number of countries in the region, as well as the real threats to regional security brought with them by religious extremism, terrorism, drug transit and illegal migration.

Regional integration is an essential means of neutralizing traditional and non-traditional threats for Central Asian countries. Kazakhstan takes an active part in the activities of almost all interstate associations operating in the post-Soviet space, many of them created on its initiative. As for economic interaction with its neighbors in the region, so far Kazakhstan has implemented it within the framework of the Central Asian Cooperation Organization. However, unfortunately, the activity of CACO did not lead to any serious results, and the organization itself was clearly not capable of playing the role of the core of regional integration.

There are many factors, both external and internal, that prevent Central Asian integration. These include: seriously different models and the pace of economic and political reforms in the countries of Central Asia; significant differences in national legislation; different priorities and interests of the ruling elites; differences in approaches to foreign policy priorities; factor of external influence; incompleteness of the process of forming a system of interstate relations.

The unsatisfactory state of the Central Asian integration process has the following negative consequences: the potential of interstate conflicts remains; the process of disintegration of the economies of the region's states, which had previously been interconnected, is intensifying; the threat of development of processes that could shake social stability in the states of the region is growing.

At the same time, it must be recognized that, given the ambiguity in the approaches of the countries of the region to the issues of regional integration, there are objective factors that can become the basis for the process of integration of the states of Central Asia. These include, in particular: the same strategic goals (market economy, democracy, secular state); potential economic dividends from participation in regional and, through them, in global economic projects; high availability of the region with natural resources and minerals; Favorable geopolitical position; common security threats.

Thus, the existence of objective prerequisites is evidence in favor of regional integration, and now the main task is the development of its viable model. At the same time, the interaction of the countries of the region can be built only on the condition of understanding common problems for the region - both in the sphere of trade and economic relations and in the field of ensuring security.

Another attempt to establish the integration process was made at the informal summit of the heads of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, held in Astana on September 2, 2006. The summit discussed the most important issues for the region - water supply and electricity. In particular, decisions were taken to restore the Aral Sea, accelerate the creation of a water and energy consortium of Central Asian countries.

At present, the initiative of the Head of Kazakhstan on the establishment of the Union of Central Asian States still remains relevant. At the initial stage of this project, it is planned to create a favorable business climate throughout the region - by concluding intergovernmental agreements that would remove protectionist barriers to import, export, investment, labor, on the one hand, and ensure the joint implementation of projects relevant for of the whole region, on the other. The next stage may be the creation of regional consortia - food, water-energy, transport and communications.

The need to unite the efforts of the countries of Central Asia to solve common regional problems was clearly demonstrated by the events of late 2007 and early 2008. (rising prices for staple foods, unusually cold winters, floods and floods). The reasons for these events were: global climate change, population growth of the world, man-made disasters, the selfish policies of the great powers and transnational corporations in the sphere of economy, finance and trade.

Nevertheless, the next Kazakhstani initiative has not yet received an adequate reaction from the political elites of the Central Asian countries. Therefore, the institutionalization of the integration process within the framework of the Eurasian Economic Community and, first of all, the creation of the Customs Union within Belarus, Kazakhstan and Russia are more realistic.

In accordance with the Message of the Head of Kazakhstan, in order to strengthen security in the region, it is necessary "constructive interaction", first of all, with the ***United States of America*** , taking into account the leading role of this state in the modern world.

As is known, the United States was one of the first among foreign states to recognize the sovereignty of the Republic of Kazakhstan (December 25, 1991). The foundation of the Kazakh-American relations was laid during the official visit of N.A. Nazarbayev in the United States in May 1992, when the two heads of state announced the establishment of "new relations". From the very beginning of direct contacts, both sides proceeded from the fact that the security of Kazakhstan is one of the most "important conditions for stability in Europe and Asia", which represents a long-term foreign policy priority for the United States.

A key role in establishing constructive relations with the United States was played by the principal decision of the Kazakh leadership to abandon the status of a nuclear power. In many ways, this fact predetermined the future nature of bilateral relations.

As former US President Bill Clinton stated, "... the world is rid of yet another threat of nuclear terrorism and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. I appreciate the leadership in this President N. Nazarbayev. " A consequence of this policy was the Memorandum on granting security guarantees to the Republic of Kazakhstan signed on December 5, 1994 in Budapest by the United Kingdom, Russia and the United States, guaranteeing the strategic task of ensuring the country's security.

In the development of economic cooperation, the energy sector plays a special role. One of the first foreign companies that started business in Kazakhstan was Chevron, which in 1993 started to develop the Tengiz oil field. With the participation of the Chevron and Mobil companies, the pipeline of the Caspian Pipeline Consortium was built and in 2001 it was put into operation. In June 2006, Kazakhstan joined the trans-Caucasian oil pipeline Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan.

Currently, the United States is one of the largest investors in Kazakhstan's economy. The total volume of direct American investments in the economy of Kazakhstan is about $ 15 billion. In 2007, the US share in the total volume of Kazakhstan's foreign trade turnover was $ 2,046 billion (2.5%). In Kazakhstan, 374 joint ventures have been registered, as well as 91 representative offices of US companies.

Great hopes are placed on the Kazakhstan-US public-private partnership initiative, adopted in February 2008, designed not only to support the development of US energy projects in Kazakhstan, but also to attract US investments and innovations to the non-primary sector of the Kazakh economy.

Prospects for Kazakh-American relations should be considered taking into account Washington's geopolitical interests in Central Asia. In 2005, after the SCO member countries unequivocally supported the withdrawal of US military bases from Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, the US moved to implement a new regional strategy - the Greater Central Asia (BSA).

According to US Secretary of State Rice, the core of the BCA will be "... a safe and prosperous Afghanistan that holds Central Asia together and connects it with South Asia." According to Rice, this way, "... a large reform corridor linking the Western European republics with the democracies of South and East Asia will be created."

Rice's ideas were developed by US Assistant Secretary of State E. Feigenbaum, who believes that there is a lack of mutual understanding in Central Asia not only between the countries of the region, but also between neighboring states. According to E. Feigenbaum, this is due to the fact that for 200 years the region was oriented to the north and west, but on economic dynamics it is very close to South Asia.

Therefore, the US task is to develop regional cooperation of the Central Asian countries with neighboring states, primarily in the field of creating "energy corridors between the north and the south." [19]

As part of the implementation of the Greater Central Asia program, the United States is planning to create an energy system, which is aimed at channeling the energy resources of Central Asia, first of all, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, towards Afghanistan, Pakistan and India to meet their growing needs. In particular, in 2006, the governments of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan and Pakistan signed an intergovernmental memorandum of understanding on the formation of a regional energy market.

Building relations with the countries of the ***European Union*** , maintaining and further deepening mutually beneficial political and economic contacts with them remain among the main foreign policy priorities of our country.

Diplomatic relations between Kazakhstan and the European Community were established in 1992. In January 1995, the Agreement on Partnership and Cooperation between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the European Union was signed, according to which a political dialogue and a system of consultations were established between them, not only on European, but also on international issues.

The agreement on trade and related issues signed between the ROK and the EU in December 1996 allowed the use of the trade and economic component of the document signed earlier. Kazakhstan strives to make rational use of the experience of the countries of Eastern Europe, who earlier took the path of market transformation.

Kazakhstan, as well as Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, are gaining more and more importance for the EU in the field of energy security - in connection with Russia's foreign policy strategy, developed by President Vladimir Putin. This strategy is based on the rigid pragmatism demonstrated in relation to Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia - in 2006, Belarus - in 2007, Ukraine - in 2008. Moscow has formed its own rules for the economic game, and will implement a strict policy towards any States whose political and economic interests do not coincide with the Russian point of view for any reason.

This makes the EU member states intensively look for an alternative to Russia, which claims to be the main supplier of energy resources to Europe. European experts find them in Central Asia, which has 4% of the proven world reserves of oil and gas resources.

The energy interest of the EU towards Kazakhstan and Central Asia in general is clearly stated in the "European Union and Central Asia" Strategy adopted in 2007. In particular, this document emphasizes that the EU's dependence on external energy resources and the need for diversification of energy security opens "... new prospects for cooperation between the EU and Central Asia".

Other issues of interest to the EU are: security issues (border management, migration, combating organized crime and international terrorism, trafficking in human beings, drugs and weapons); regional cooperation; human rights; Environment; transport infrastructure; education and culture.

For Kazakhstan, the development of cooperation with the EU countries is very relevant. The main area of ​​cooperation is still energy supply. For the EU, our republic is the main regional hydrocarbon exporter. Kazakhstan annually provides up to 20% of all imports of gas and oil supplied to the EU countries. European oil giants such as Shell (Holland), TotalFinaElf and Schlumberger (France), ENI and Agip (Italy), British Petroleum and Lasmo (Great Britain), REPSOL (Spain), Wintershall take part in the oil and gas production in the Caspian region. (Germany), Petrom (Romania) and Statoil (Norway). On the territory of Kazakhstan, European companies participated in the construction of the CPC and the development of the Karachaganak field.

The EU countries are important trade partners of Kazakhstan. In 2007, the volume of trade turnover between our Republic and the EU amounted to 27.5 billion US dollars against 15.3 billion in 2005, and the share of the EU countries in the total foreign trade of the country in 2007 was 34.2% . The largest share in the total volume of trade with the EU countries belongs to Italy (11.1%), France (6.8%), Germany (3.7%), Netherlands (3.5%), Great Britain (2.3% ), Spain (1.1%).

For Kazakhstan, the investment opportunities of the EU member states are of great interest. Since the country gained independence, the EU countries have invested heavily in the republic's economy - about $ 40 billion of direct investment, which is about half of total foreign direct investment in Kazakhstan during this period. The main investors are the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy.

However, most of these investments were directed to the fuel and energy complex. Today, for us, the concentration of European investments in knowledge-based and innovative industries is important. Equally important is the creation of sufficiently liberal conditions for the investment of Kazakhstan investments in the EU economy. According to some expert estimates, now the opportunities of our republic to invest in foreign countries reach about 18 billion US dollars.

At present, the qualitative expansion of bilateral cooperation is of priority importance for the economy of Kazakhstan. Not only should our energy resources flow to Europe, it is necessary to develop cooperation with the use of the European transport and processing infrastructure. The priority issue of trade and economic cooperation for the Kazakh side remains ensuring adequate access to the EU market.

We highly appreciate the readiness of the EU to assist in the modernization of communications and transport networks in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. For us, participation in such projects as INOGATE - the creation of an integrated communication system for the transfer of oil and gas to Europe, and TRACECA (Transport Corridor Europe - Caucasus - Central Asia) has great practical importance. At present, Kazakhstan has already developed a feasibility study for the construction of the Kazakhstan section of the international automobile corridor "Western Europe - Western China" with a length of 2787 km (the length of the entire route is 8445 km). The Kazakhstan part of the car corridor is planned to be created by the end of 2013.

Evaluating the results of the cooperation of the Republic of Kazakhstan with the EU states, it can be stated that a partnership based on the recognition of such universal values ​​as democracy and human rights and aimed at developing mutually beneficial cooperation along the whole spectrum of trade and economic interests is an important aspect of Kazakhstan's further development.

Particular attention is paid in Kazakhstan to the development of relations with the states of the ***Islamic world*** . At the same time, Kazakhstan builds relations with Muslim countries not on an ideological or religious basis, but on the basis of its state interests and based on universally recognized norms of international law.

Firstly, Islam for many centuries was the religion of the Kazakhs and most other people living in Kazakhstan. 70 years of Soviet atheism could not destroy the religious traditions in our country, and the proclamation of freedom of conscience gave millions of Kazakhstanis the hope for a progressive revival of faith.

Secondly, the issue of the revival of Islam was closely linked with the need for the development of Kazakhstan's culture, an integral part of which it continues to be for more than one century.

Thirdly, the states of the Islamic world, and, first of all, the countries of the Persian Gulf, were potential sources of investments that were so necessary for Kazakhstan to overcome the economic crisis of the first half of the 1990s.

Today Kazakhstan has established economic and cultural cooperation with all leading Islamic states. Kazakhstan is a member of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (since 1995). Our country cooperates with the Islamic Development Bank, with the Islamic Organization for Education, Science and Culture.

Islamic countries, in particular the Arab countries, take an active part in investing in the Kazakh economy. For example, Saudi Arabia provided Kazakhstan about $ 100 million in soft loans, and other countries in the Persian Gulf - about 40 million. Only for the development of the new capital - the city of Astana - Saudi Arabia provided $ 15 million as free aid, Kuwait - 10 million dollars, Oman - $ 10 million.

United Arab Emirates, within the framework of the Plan of bilateral events, signed in 2006, plan to take part in the implementation of a number of projects in our country, in particular: joint construction of the National Surgery Center (Astana); co-financing by the OEA of the project on the implementation of international standards at the National Center for Motherhood and Childhood (Almaty); the construction of the Perinatal Center (Shymkent).

It should be noted that Kazakhstan is not only a recipient of Arab investments. With the financial support of our country in Cairo, in the mosque of Sultan Baybars - Egypt's eminent ruler of the 13th century, restoration work is underway; in Damascus - a historical and cultural complex of Abu Nasr al-Farabi is being built - on the site of his burial ..

At the same time, the establishment and deepening of cooperation with the Islamic world is complicated by a number of circumstances. First of all, there remains a danger of politicization of Islam in many Muslim countries, including in the republics of the former USSR.

One can not ignore the fact that the introduction of the values ​​of Western liberalism, accompanied by a growing disparity in the economic development of industrialized countries and other states, has led to the assumption in the mass consciousness of the injustice of the modern world order.

In some countries, the fear of losing their national identity and confessional self-identification, as a result of the victory of the so-called Western way of life, also overlaps the perception of an unjust world order.

Under the circumstances, an important task for Kazakhstan is to position the country as a secular state, in which religion is separated from politics, and any attempts to manipulate religious issues to achieve political goals will be resolutely stopped. As for the revival of Islam, it will be implemented within the overall development of culture and spirituality of Kazakhstan.

Considering the growing economic importance of the ***countries of the Asia-Pacific region*** , for which many experts recognize the global dominant role in the 21st century, deepening cooperation with them, above all with Japan, is of great interest for Kazakhstan, which is at the crossroads of Eurasia's transport arteries and possessing considerable economic potential, , India, the Republic of Korea and Pakistan. In terms of increasing foreign trade and diversifying international political ties for Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Indonesia are important.

The leadership of Kazakhstan attaches particular importance to the development of cooperation with ***regional and international integration associations and organizations*** that promote the development of trade and economic relations and ensure stability and security in the world. At the same time, Kazakhstan is not only an active participant in international organizations, but in a number of cases it acts as the initiator of their creation.

Having joined ***the United Nations*** in March 1992 , Kazakhstan had the opportunity to be involved in world affairs and human problems, to have access to the achievements of the civilized development of mankind in the political, economic, social, humanitarian and other important spheres of activity.

Taking into account the vastness of the international issues discussed in the UN, it is of fundamental importance to have in this universal structure its national, clearly defined positions in all areas of international life, based on the place and role of the state in the world.

On September 26, 2007, at the 62nd session of the UN General Assembly, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev introduced a whole package of proposals for the consideration of its participants, which caused great resonance in the world. In particular, the Head of Kazakhstan proposed the implementation of the following activities: the creation within the UN of the Register of World Environmental Problems; giving the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea the status of the UN Institute; the development of the Global Energy and Environment Strategy; the adoption of the Eurasian Energy Stability Pact to ensure a global energy balance; establishment of a dialogue between world confessions on key issues of the modern world order; holding the 3rd congress of religious leaders (Astana, 2009) under the aegis of the UN; the declaration of one of the coming years as the International Year for the Rapprochement of Cultures and Religions.

Cooperation with international cultural and humanitarian organizations (UNICEF, UNDP, UNESCO, UNDCP, UNHCR, etc.), financial institutions (IMF, IBRD, EBRD, ADB, etc.) continues to be an important direction of Kazakhstan's foreign policy, etc.

Kazakhstan's accession to the ***Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)*** in January 1992 was dictated by the desire of our country to actively participate in the all-European processes that allow developing and applying in practice the principles laid down in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and other OSCE documents.

Kazakhstan's cooperation with the OSCE is implemented in three main directions: policy and security issues; economy and ecology; democracy and human rights. At the same time, a constructive partnership dialogue is being maintained in providing methodological, advisory and financial assistance to Kazakhstan in the above areas. The leadership of the organization repeatedly assessed the policy of Kazakhstan as a state whose leadership openly and willingly goes to a dialogue with various international structures, in particular, the OSCE.

The main factor of the positive assessment was that, according to the OSCE leadership, the cooperation of this organization with the countries of Central Asia has become one of the most promising channels for interaction between Europe and the region. At the same time, there is growing awareness within the Organization that a whole range of problems (terrorism, extremism, drug business, international crime, environmental issues) that Central Asia faces can potentially destabilize the situation not only in the region, but throughout the world.

This is confirmed by the election of Kazakhstan as the chairman of this influential organization in 2010. Currently, at the initiative of the Head of State, a special program "Path to Europe" is being developed in Kazakhstan, which should contribute to the improvement of Kazakh laws and the development of the agenda, own vision of the OSCE chairmanship.

In this regard, the initiative of Kazakhstan - within the framework of its chairmanship - to expand the cooperation of the OSCE with the Islamic world is of interest. Thus, at the 11th summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (Dakar, March 13-14, 2008), the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kazakhstan, M. Tazhin, invited Islamic countries to join the formation of the OSCE Action Agenda in 2010. In particular, it was suggested to consider the possibility of cooperation between the OSCE and OIC on: migration and integration of Muslim communities in European countries; the rights of Muslim women and youth in Western society; modern understanding of international law; on the problems of ecology.

Kazakhstan attaches great importance to developing cooperation with such an influential military and political organization as ***NATO*** , and advocates the implementation of the existing potential in such areas as defense policy and strategy, planning and organization of scientific research, development of defense technologies, political and defense measures to prevent proliferation of WMD.

At present, Kazakhstan's relations with NATO are characterized by positive progressive development and are constructive and mutually beneficial, including within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program, which was created to form new security relations between NATO and its partners.

At present, there are three international legal documents regulating Kazakhstan's cooperation with NATO:

- The framework document "Partnership for Peace", signed on May 27, 1994;

- Agreement between the NATO member states and other states participating in the Partnership for Peace program regarding the status of their armed forces, regulating the status of troops and military personnel of NATO member countries and PIM countries in each other's territories (ratified by the Republic of Kazakhstan on July 3 1997);

- The security agreement between the NATO organization and the EAPC member states and / or PIM, which establishes mutual obligations of the parties to protect information exchanged in the partnership process.

If Kazakhstan is an active participant in international organizations, in our regional associations in the post-Soviet space our country is considered one of the locomotives of integration processes.

As before, priority in the foreign policy of Kazakhstan is attached to cooperation within the framework of the ***Commonwealth of Independent States*** and the development of integration ties with its participants.

Since the signing of the Declaration on the Establishment of the CIS (Almaty, December 21, 1991) Kazakhstan has been actively supporting the strengthening of the CIS, the comprehensive development of ties within the framework of this association, the maintenance and intensification of the trade, economic, cultural and humanitarian ties that have been preserved between the participating states.

At the same time, there are significant shortcomings in the activities of the CIS, which significantly complicate its activities and impede the development of this organization. Over the years of the existence of this association, more than 1600 documents were accepted, a significant part of which remained on paper.

At the CIS summit in Moscow on July 22, 2006, the chairman of this organization, President of Kazakhstan N.Nazarbayev, noted the positive role of the Commonwealth in mitigating the consequences of the collapse of the USSR and preventing the development of the event in an unpredictable scenario. At the same time, the Head of Kazakhstan noted that the CIS has not become an effective integration mechanism. Moreover, disintegration trends have intensified in the Commonwealth space.

Based on the current situation, the Kazakh president stressed the need to choose pragmatic and most important areas and forms of mutually beneficial cooperation affecting the interests of all peoples inhabiting the CIS countries. In particular, N.A. Nazarbayev proposed five most important directions of the Commonwealth reform: a) improvement of migration policy; b) strengthening contacts in the field of transport; c) intensification of cooperation in the field of education and science; d) joint opposition to modern threats and challenges; e) the solution of humanitarian problems.

The ideas of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev were realized already in 2007. In particular, the Kazakh formula of the CIS work "One year - one theme" was adopted. In 2007, migration policy became a topic in the CIS. Within the framework of this topic, the Head of Kazakhstan was proposed to create an Interstate Data Council on demand and supply in the labor market of CIS countries.

The summit of the heads of state participating in the CIS, held on February 22, 2008, focused on the problems of humanitarian cooperation - educational, scientific, information, cultural, youth, sports and tourism. Considering the current directions of the foreign policy of the RK, it is necessary to bear in mind that the current geopolitical situation in the world is fraught with a wide range of problems that can turn into threats and risks for the security and stability of Kazakhstan and Central Asia in general. First of all, it is necessary to note those objective and subjective realities that need constant monitoring and timely response:

- "the moment of unipolarity" is replaced by the growing aspiration of leading world and regional players to form a new world order on the basis of "pluralism";

- the crisis of the leading international organizations, primarily the UN, and the erosion of the international legal system;

- return to the number of world players in Russia and the transformation of China into a regional power with claims to become a world power;

- the creation in Eurasia of active regional organizations with the trends of their further transformation into world-class organizations;

- Implementation of the US project for the creation of Greater Central Asia;

- the selfish policy of great powers and transnational corporations in the sphere of economy, finance and trade;

- Preservation of numerous undamped foci of conflict, including in the immediate vicinity of Central Asia (Afghanistan, Iraq);

- an unstable situation in Pakistan, which is a member of the "nuclear club";

- the intensification of separatism caused by the "Kosovo syndrome" in countries adjacent to Central Asia - in Turkey (Kurdistan), China (Tibet, XUAR), and a possible upsurge of separatism by the "domino" principle in other countries neighboring Kazakhstan;

- the continuing growth of religious extremism, international terrorism, international organized crime, drug trafficking;

- aggravation of the problem of energy resources and routes for their transportation;

- global climate change;

- population growth of the world;

- global population migration, including illegal migration.