

REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

THE UK

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RAMblz3Y2JA>

Watch the video and take notes

THE US

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uRu_JcarCDY

Watch the video and take notes

WRITING

Now describe the political system in your country. Don't forget to cover:

- i) The Head of State
- ii) Parliament
- iii) Government
- iv) Political Parties
- v) Elections

SPEAKING

Now describe the political system in your country to the person sitting next to you.

BRITISH INSTITUTIONS

Parliament

Parliament is the most important authority in Britain. Parliament first met in the 13th century and its powers developed¹ gradually.

Britain does not have a written constitution, but a set² of laws:

- 1215: the nobles forced King John to accept Magna Charta;

- 1264: the first parliament of nobles met;
- 1689: Declaration of Rights. Mary II and William III became the first constitutional monarchs. They could rule only with the support³ of the Parliament;
- since then the power of Parliament has grown under a number of Acts of Parliament.

Technically Parliament is made up of three parts: The Monarch, the House of Lords and the House of Commons.

Notes

1. **developed**: increased.
2. **set**: group.

3. **support**: backing.

4. **rule**: govern.

5. **peers**: noblemen.

6. **lords of appeal**: judges.

7. **bill**: proposed law.

8. **rejections**: refusals.

The Monarchy

The United Kingdom is a **constitutional monarchy** which means that the sovereign reigns but does not rule.⁴ The continuity of the English monarchy has been interrupted only once, from 1649-59, during the Cromwell republic. Succession to the throne is hereditary but only for Protestants in the direct line of descent.

The monarch has a number of roles and serves formally as head of state, head of the executive, head of the judiciary, head of the legislature, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and 'supreme governor' of the Church of England. The monarch is expected to be politically neutral, and should not make political decisions, and

in fact, he acts only on the advice of political ministers and cannot make laws, impose taxes, spend public money or act unilaterally. In this sense, contemporary Britain is governed by Her Majesty's Government in the name of the Queen. Nevertheless, the monarch still performs some important executive and legislative duties including opening and dissolving Parliament, signing bills which have been passed by both Houses (the Royal Assent), holding audiences with the Prime Minister and fulfilling international duties as head of state.

The monarch is a permanent part of the British political system, unlike temporary politicians, and therefore often has a greater

knowledge of domestic and international politics.

The present sovereign is **Queen Elizabeth II** who was crowned in Westminster Abbey in 1953.

Arguments against the monarchy as a continuing institution in British life maintain that it is out-of-date, too expensive and non-democratic, while arguments in favour suggest that it has developed and adapted to modern requirements and that it demonstrates stability, is not subject to political manipulation and performs an important ambassadorial function in Britain and overseas.

The British public in general shows considerable affection for the Royal Family over and above its representative role.



Westminster Hall: Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip.

The House of Lords

The **House of Lords** comprises about 1,200 peers⁵ including hereditary peers, life peers, lords of appeal,⁶ archbishops and bishops. The house is presided over by the **Lord Chancellor**.

The **House of Lords** has no real power but acts rather as an advisory council for the **House of Commons**. In fact, the Lords can suggest amendments to a bill⁷ proposed by the Commons but after two rejections⁸ they are obliged to accept it. As well as having legislative functions, the Lords is the highest court of appeal. Many people think that the House of Lords should be abolished.

☐ State whether the following statements are TRUE (T) or FALSE (F) and correct the false ones.

- a) The UK is an absolute monarchy (T) (F)
.....
- b) The first child of the monarch automatically becomes king/queen on his/her death or abdication. (T) (F)
.....
- c) The Royal Assent means that the monarch is not present. (T) (F)
.....
- d) Cromwell's republic lasted ten years. (T) (F)
.....
- e) Britain's Constitution was written down in the 13th century. (T) (F)
.....
- f) Magna Charta was created by the nobles. (T) (F)
.....

☐ Find the words in the text that mean the following.

- a) Making laws
b) Carrying out laws
c) Military
d) Present-day
e) Those who inherit titles
f) Those who are awarded titles on merit
g) A proposed law
h) Old-fashioned
i) Home affairs

☐ Write four arguments for or four arguments against the monarchy in Britain.

- a).....
.....
- b).....
.....
- c).....
.....
- d).....
.....

What is your personal opinion?

.....
.....
.....

Why do you think most British people are fond of the Royal Family?

.....
.....
.....

Which other countries can you think of that have a monarchy?

.....
.....
.....

☐ What are the following dates important for? Look back over pages 22-30 and answer like this:

- e.g. 1953 - The *crowning* of *Queen Elizabeth*.
- a) 1215 - The of
- b) 1264 - The of
- c) 1689 - The of
- d) 1649 - The of
- e) 1066 - The of
- f) 1558 - The of

The House of Commons

The House of Commons consists of Members of Parliament (MPs) who are elected by the adult suffrage¹ of the British people in general elections which are held at least every five years. The country is divided into 650 constituencies each of which elects one MP who then holds a seat in Parliament. The Commons, therefore, has 650 MPs, of whom only 6.3 per cent are women. The party which wins the most seats forms the Government and its leader becomes Prime Minister.

The functions of the House of Commons are legislation and scrutiny of government activities.

The house is presided over by the **Speaker** who is appointed by the Government after consultation with the leader of the Opposition. The government party sits on the Speaker's right while on his left sit the members of the Opposition.

Unlike² the members of the House of Lords, all members of the House of Commons are paid a salary.

The Parliamentary System

General elections are by secret ballot, but voting is not compulsory in Britain. British, Commonwealth and Irish Republic citizens may all vote provided³ they are resident in Britain, aged 18 or over, registered in a constituency and not subject to disqualification (for example, certain mentally ill patients and persons convicted of corrupt or illegal election practices). Each political party puts up one candidate for each constituency and the one who wins the most votes is elected MP for that area. This system is known as the simple majority or the 'first past the post' system. There has been much debate about the British electoral system since it is unfair to smaller parties, and campaigns continue for some form of Proportional Representation which would create a wider selection of parties in the House of Commons and cater for⁴ minority political interests. But the two leading parties have preferred the

existing system although recently the Labour Party has shown more sympathy towards some kind of change. Those in favour of the British system maintain that it gives the governing party greater power and stability as opposed to the PR system which inevitably results in a coalition government.

The Political Parties

Thanks to the British electoral system there are few political parties in Britain. The main ones are: the Conservative Party, the Labour Party and the Liberal/Social Democratic Alliance. In recent years the Green Party has gained a good number of votes but very few seats.

Other smaller parties such as the Scottish National Party, Plaid Cymru (the Welsh National Party), the Protestant Northern Irish parties and Sinn Fein (the Catholic Northern Irish Party) also have some representation in the House of Commons.

The **Conservative Party** mainly represents the middle and upper classes, but a sizeable⁵ percentage of skilled and unskilled workers have always voted Conservative. Its support comes mostly from business interests and it upholds the values of tradition, free enterprise and privatisation. The party's strongholds⁶ tend to be in southern England.

The **Labour Party** has traditionally gathered its support from the Trade Unions, the working class and some middle class backing. Its electoral strongholds have always been in south Wales, Scotland, and the Midlands and northern English industrial cities. Its policies are nationalisation and the welfare state.

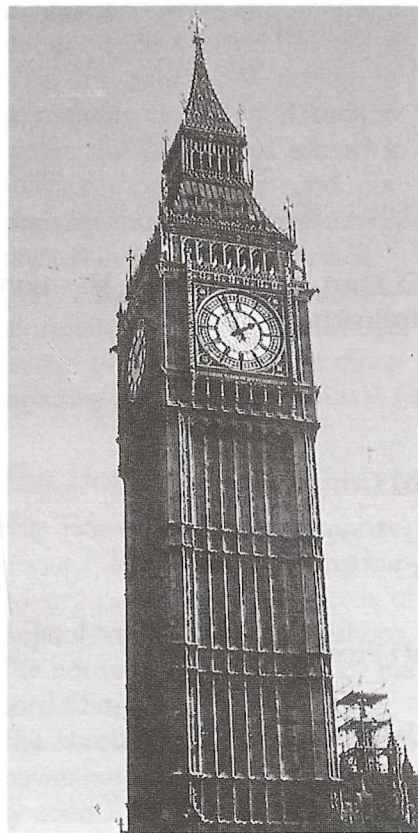
The **Liberal/Social Democratic Alliance** are dissatisfied with both the main parties and are critical of the election system.

The Prime Minister

When the leader of the party who wins the elections is made Prime Minister, his first job is to choose his cabinet consisting of the most important ministers in the government.

The Prime Minister usually sits in the Commons, as do most of the ministers, where they may all be questioned and held accountable for government actions and decisions. Arguments suggest that the office of prime minister has become like an all-powerful presidency and, indeed, there is a greater emphasis today on prime ministerial government rather than the traditional constitutional notions of Cabinet government. Much depends on the personality of the leader. The Prime Minister usually takes policy decisions with the agreement of the Cabinet.

The Prime Minister's official London address is No. 10, Downing Street.



Big Ben.

Notes

1. **suffrage**: consent.
2. **unlike**: different from.
3. **provided**: as long as.
4. **cater for**: represent.
5. **sizeable**: quite high.
6. **strongholds**: areas where it is the strongest party.

☐ **Make questions for the following answers (referring to the text).**

a) Every five years.

b) 650.

c) 93.7%.

d) 18.

e) One.

f) Three.

☐ **Which party would you probably vote for if...**

a) ... you lived in Brighton?

b) ... you lived in Birmingham?

c) ... you lived in Glasgow?

d) ... you were a Catholic in Belfast?

☐ **Complete the following with *anyone, anything, anytime, anyway or anywhere*.**

a) She said I could call on her I liked.

b) who cheats will be satisfied.

c) You can sit you like.

d) you say will be taken down and used in evidence.

e) You can do it you like.

☐ **Explain the British electoral system in your own words.**

Now compare it with the electoral system in your country.

What are the three main differences between the two houses?

☐ **Which British party supports...**

a) ...nationalization?

b) ...privatization?

c) ...changing the electoral system?

d) ...taking care of the environment?

e) ...Welfare State?

f) ...the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland?

g) ...free enterprise?

INSTITUTIONS IN THE U.S.A.

The **United States of America** is a Federal Union of fifty states plus the District of Columbia. The Federal Government resides in Washington D.C., which is the capital of the nation.

The Government of the U.S.A. is based on **the Constitution**, a document written in 1787. The Constitution was signed by representatives of the thirteen original States, and since 1789 twenty-six Amendments have been added to it (the first ten are known as the "Bill of Rights").

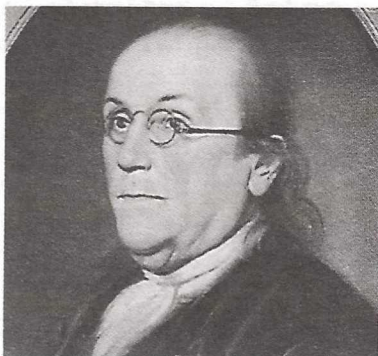
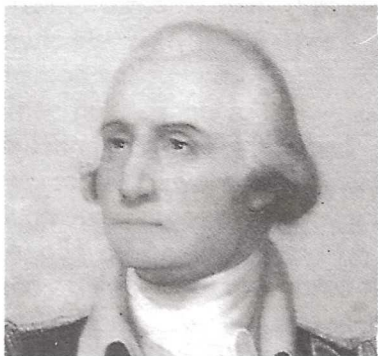
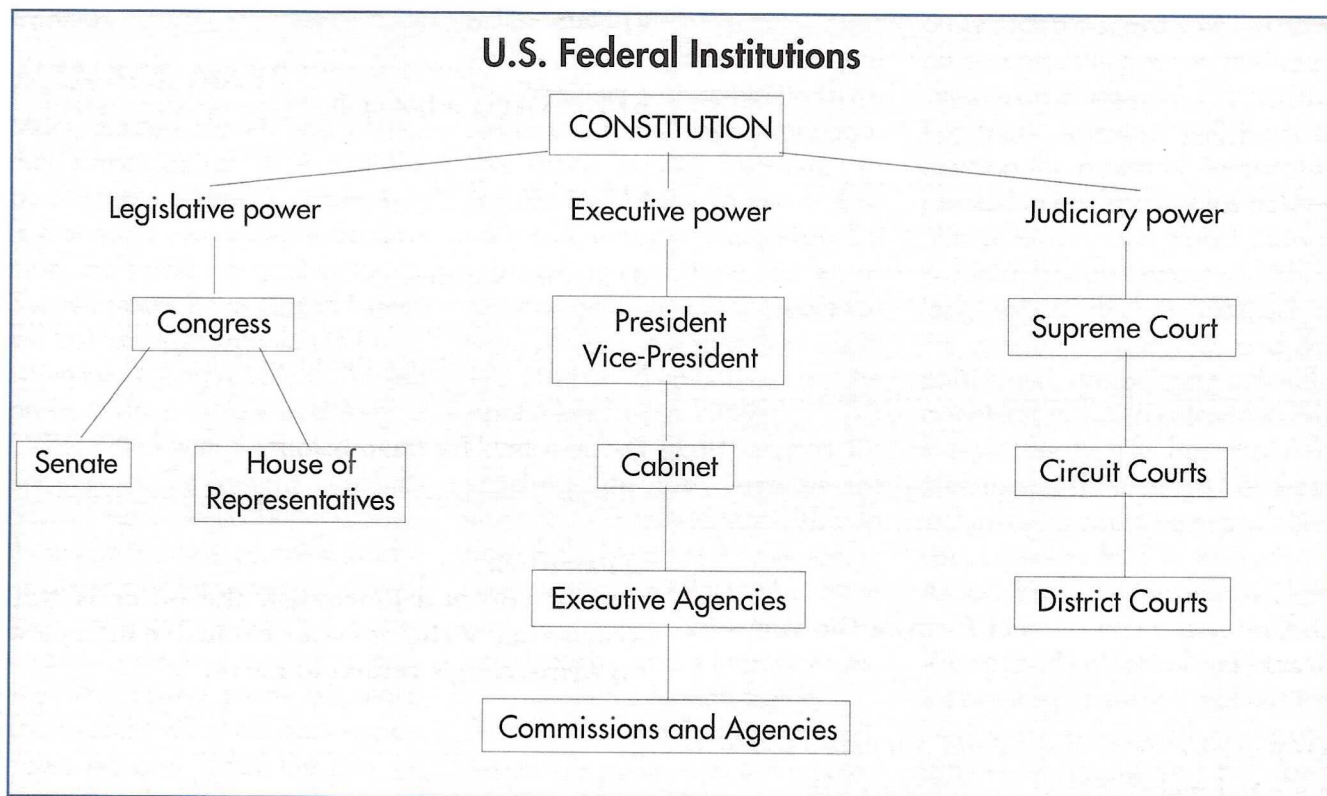
The U.S.A. under the Constitution is a republic. This means that its citizens elect the officials who govern them. The United States is also a democracy. In a democracy the citizens have certain rights. These include the rights of free press, free speech, and freedom of religion. Citizens of a democracy also have the right to a fair and fast trial¹ if they are accused of crimes. The rights of citizens in a democracy are known as civil rights.

The Constitution also provides for a **federal system of government**. This is a system in which power is divided between the **states** and the national, or **federal**, government. The division of power keeps either the states or the federal government from having too much power.

Certain powers are given only to the federal government. These include the power to make peace or war, to print money, and to regulate trade² between the states. The powers of the federal government are listed³ in the Constitution.

The powers not given to the federal government remain with the states. This means that the states actually control such things as education,⁴ marriage and divorce, and elections.

The Constitution provides that certain powers are shared⁵ by the national government and the states. These powers include the right to pass tax laws, borrow money, build roads, and try lawbreakers.⁶



George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, two of the Founding Fathers.

Notes

1. **fair and fast trial:**
just and quick process.
2. **trade:** commerce.
3. **listed:** put on a list.
4. **education:** training and instruction.
5. **shared:** divided.
6. **lawbreakers:**
those who fail to observe the law.

☐ Put in the different powers of each of the following.

Federal Government	State	Federal Government and State
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

☐ Ask questions for the following answers.

- a) Fifty.
.....
- b) Washington D.C.
.....
- c) District of Columbia.
.....
- d) Thirteen.
.....
- e) Bill of Rights.
.....
- f) 1787.
.....

☐ Name 5 rights under a democracy and explain what you think each means.

- Right of means that
- Right of means that
- Right of means that
- Right of means that
- Right of means that

☐ Crazy test. Answer the questions (if you can!).

- a) Name a famous French ant.
- b) What did king Henry do when he came to the throne?
- c) Why did the Egyptian girl cry?

☐ Join the following pairs of sentences with the correct relative pronoun (*who, which, whose*).

- a) The Government is based on the Constitution.
The Constitution was written in 1787.
.....
- b) The head of state is the President.
The President is also head of the armed forces.
.....
- c) The federal government has only certain powers.
The powers are listed in the Constitution.
.....
- d) The government officials are elected by the citizens.
The citizens' rights are called civil rights.
.....
- e) The Constitution provides for a federal system of government.
A federal system is one where power is divided between the states and the national government.
.....
- f) The federal government resides in Washington D.C.
Washington D.C. is the capital of the nation.
.....

☐ Solutions to Crazy test

(a. Napoleon; b. he sat on it; c. because her daddy was a mummy)

The President

The President is elected every four years and is the head of State, of the armed forces and the civil service. He cannot be elected for more than two terms⁷. The President lives in the White House, in Washington D.C., he carries out the decisions taken by Congress, and makes legislation which must be approved by Congress. Only in times of emergency and in foreign affairs can he act on his own.

He is Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, he initiates Foreign Policy, signs bills, prepares the National Budget and nominates upper Government Officials.

The President is assisted by his Vice-President and his Cabinet, made up of Department Secretaries. The most important of these is the Secretary of State, who deals with foreign affairs.

Congress

Congress is divided into two houses: the **Senate** (100 members, two for each state, who are elected for 6 years and renewed by one third every two years) and the **House of Representatives** (435 members elected for two years).

The Congress meets in the Capitol, in Washington, D.C., its main functions are to declare war and to make laws, which become effective after the President's approval.

The Senate ratifies treaties and gives its agreement to nominations of high officials.

Notes

7. **terms**: periods of time.

8. **nominees**: people nominated.

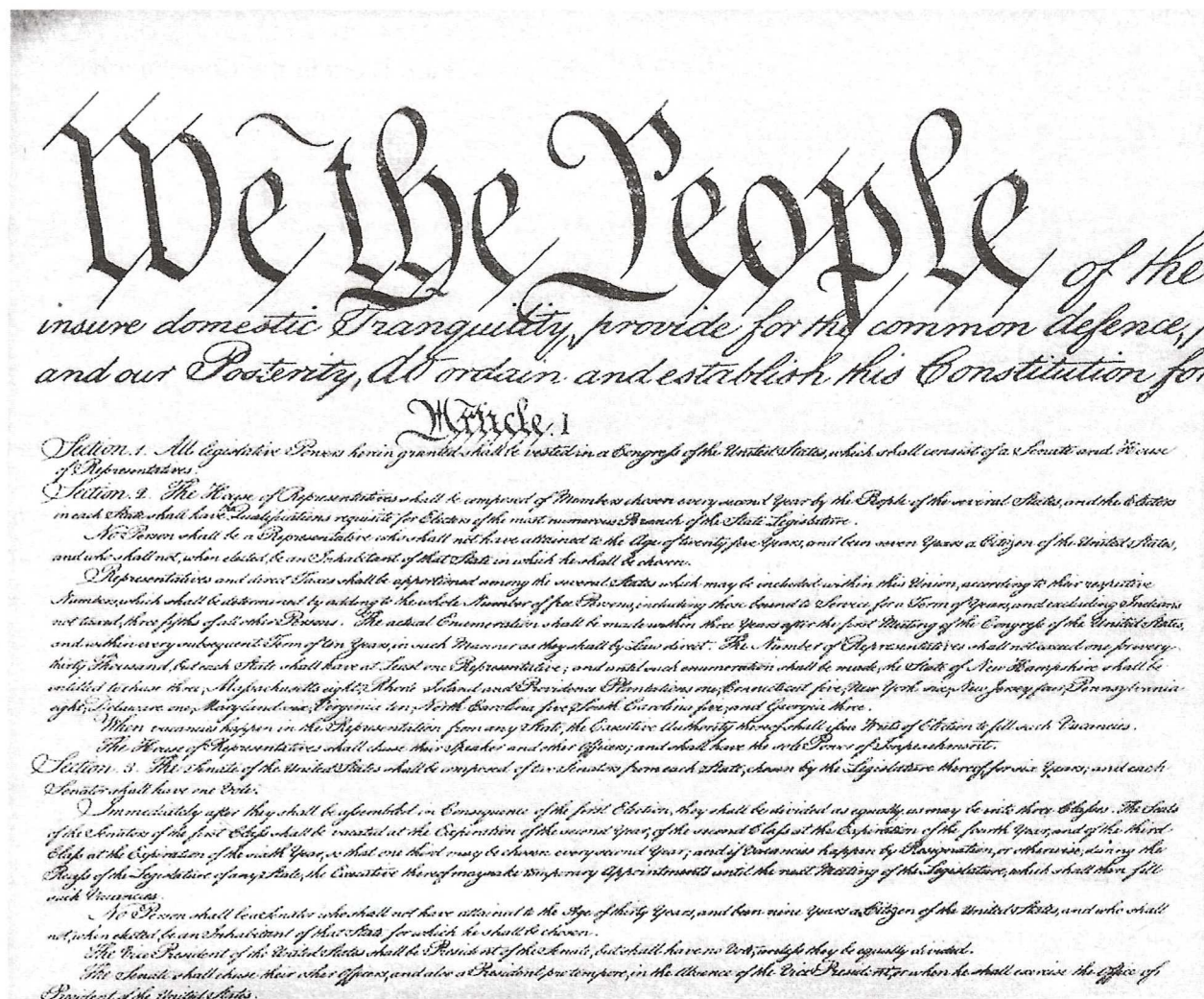
Elections

Every four years, Americans participate in the election of the nation's President.

There are two major political parties in the U.S.A., the Democrats and the Republicans. The summer before the election both political parties hold a convention, a huge meeting where the policy of the party is chosen. After the convention each party proceeds to the nomination of its own candidates. The nominees⁸ make their own campaigns and some months before the final election there is a "primary" to select one single candidate for each political party.

The winner of the final election is the new President.

The present President of the United States is George Bush. He belongs to the Republican party and was elected in 1989.



The Articles of Confederation were adopted by all 13 states in 1781.

□ Complete the following passage:

In 1781 the colonies signed an agreement known as the Articles of Confederation under which became the USA. Since it gave too little power to the central government it was in 1789 by the US Constitution. This is the written Constitution in the world and has been imitated by many countries over the years. It stated that the United States was a free democratic country, governed by people. This idea was revolutionary 1787 when it was drawn up; in those times kings or emperors or dictators ruled, with the of advisors or parliament. The Constitution stated that the United States was a Presidential Republic and explained the country was to be governed. At the time it written, it was a document valid for a nation 13 states and about 2 million people. Today the same document governs the life of 50 states and 240 people.

□ Now add the correct figures to the following sentences:

- a) Nowadays there are more US states than in 1789.
- b) The Constitution is years old.
- c) The Constitution replaced the Articles of Confederation after years.
- d) There are political parties in the US and elections are held every years.
- e) The population of the US today is times that of the 18th century.

Here are the first lines of the Articles of the Confederation which you can see in the illustration on the opposite page.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

□ Put in the correct prepositions.

- a) The President of the United States lives the White House.
- b) The President carries decisions taken by Congress.
- c) The President is assisted his Vice-President.
- d) Congress is divided two houses.
- e) Americans participate the election of their President.
- f) Congress meets the Capitol.
- g) Laws become effective the President's approval.

□ Look at this:

"Only in times of emergency and in foreign affairs can he act on his own".

N.B. When a sentence begins with words like *only*, *not only*, *never*, *rarely*, *etc.* (i.e. negative words or ideas), the verb must be inverted as in questions. Inversions are used more in written than in spoken English. The effect is extremely emphatic.

Transform the following sentences.

e.g. He can only act on his own in times of emergency and in foreign affairs.

- a) Never have I been so embarrassed in all my life.
.....
- b) Not only is she beautiful but she's talented as well.
.....
- c) Rarely has it been so cold and snowed so often in recent years.
.....
- d) Nowhere in the world is there such a beautiful place as this.
(N.B. Use a negative verb and "anywhere".)
.....
- e) Never before have I had such a delicious meal.
.....
- f) Only by practising every day can you hope to improve.
.....

Vocabulary

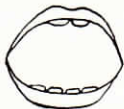
First learn the words you will need to study how to make the sounds in this section.

Your mouth

- 1 This is your mouth.



- 2 Open your mouth



- 3 Close your mouth.



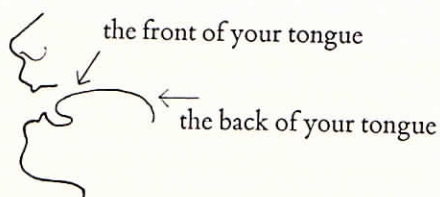
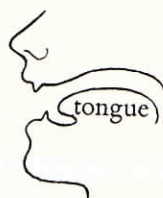
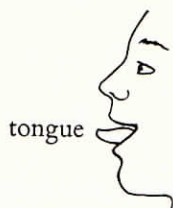
- 4 Open your mouth a little.



- 5 Open your mouth a little more.



Your tongue

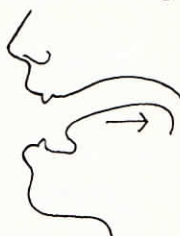


Moving your tongue

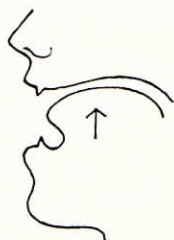
Put your tongue forward.



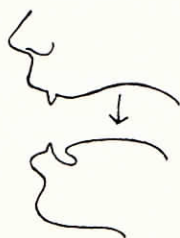
Put your tongue back.



Put your tongue up.



Put your tongue down.

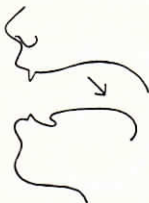


Put your tongue forward and up.



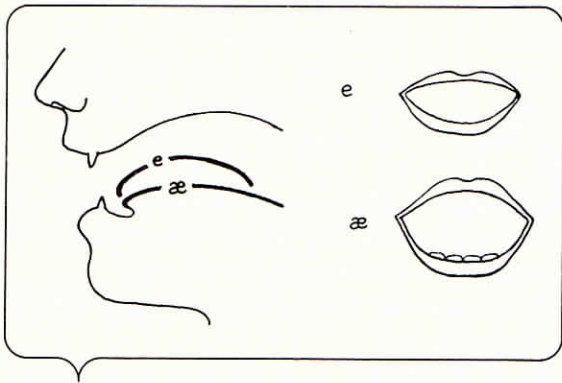
Practise i:
eat, easy, he, we, she

Put your tongue down and back.



Practise a:
ask, answer, arm, car

Unit 4 æ man



First practise the sound **e** (see page 9).
Then open your mouth a *little* more.

Practice 1 Listen and repeat:



sound 1 sound 2



x axe



pen pan



men man



said sad



beg bag



bread Brad



Test Tick the words you recognise in the sentences you hear:



- 1 a) pen; b) pan
- 2 a) men; b) man
- 3 a) said; b) sad
- 4 a) gem; b) jam
- 5 a) pet; b) pat
- 6 a) bed; b) bad



Practice 2 Listen and repeat:



apple	Anne	camera
perhaps	Amsterdam	lavatory
passenger	Alice	travelling
hijacker	Miss Allen	handbag
jacket		left hand
black slacks		Miss Bradley

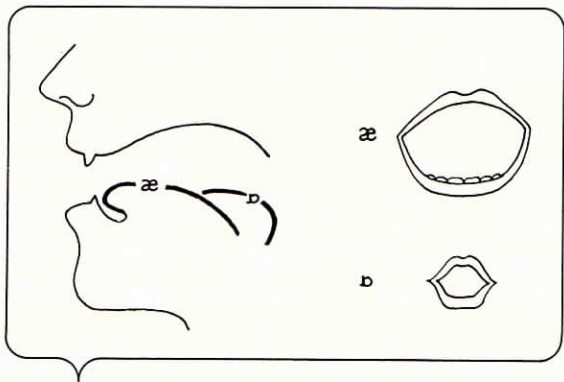
Dialogue A bad hijacker



- Hostess Bradley: *Alice! Perhaps that passenger is a hijacker!*
- Hostess Allen: *Which passenger, Anne? That sad man with the camera? He's wearing black slacks and a jacket.*
- Hostess Bradley: *No. That fat lady with the big black handbag in her left hand.*
- Hostess Allen: *Is she standing next to the lavatory?*
- Hostess Bradley: *Yes. She's travelling to Amsterdam.*
- Hostess Allen: *You're mad, Anne, I don't understand.*
- Hostess Bradley: *You see, when she went into the lavatory she didn't have that handbag in her hand, and now she's...*
- Fat lady: (clapping her hands) **EVERYBODY STAND!**
I'm a hijacker. And in this handbag I have a...
- Handbag: **BANG!**



Unit 8 ɒ clock



First practise the sound æ (see page 12).

Then put your tongue slightly back and bring your lips slightly forward.

ɒ is a short sound.

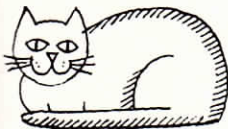
Practice 1 Listen and repeat:



sound 1 sound 2



hat hot



cat cot



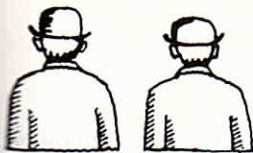
Pat pot



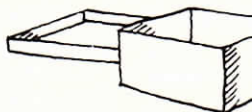
sack sock



tap top



backs box



Test

Tick the words you recognise in the sentences you hear:

- 1 a) cat; b) cot
- 2 a) sack; b) sock
- 3 a) tap; b) top
- 4 a) Tammy; b) Tommy
- 5 a) baddie; b) body
- 6 a) black; b) block

**Practice 2**

Listen and repeat:

off	got	sorry
often	bottle	holiday
on	want	horrible
'Onwash'	what's wrong	washing
a long job	Mrs Bloggs	popular

Dialogue

TV advertisement for 'Onwash'



- Voice A: *What's wrong with you, Mrs Bloggs?*
- Mrs Bloggs: *What's wrong with me? I want a holiday from this horrible job of washing socks!*
- Voice B: *Buy a bottle of 'Onwash', Mrs Bloggs!*
- Voice C: *'Onwash' is so soft and strong.*
- Voice D: *You don't want lots of hot water with 'Onwash'.*
- Voice A: *It's not a long job with 'Onwash'.*
- Voice B: *Use 'Onwash' often.*
- Voice C: *You won't be sorry when you've got 'Onwash'.*
- Voice D: *Everybody wants 'Onwash'.*
- Everybody: *'Onwash' is so popular!*

1. A canner, exceedingly canny,
One morning remarked to his granny:
“A canner can can,
Whatever he can,
But a canner can't can a can, can he ?”

2. I once fell in love with a blonde,
But found that she wasn't so fond,
Of my pet turtle Odle,
Whom I'd taught to yodel,
-- she dumped him outside in the pond.

3. A crossword compiler named Moss,
Who found himself quite at a loss,
When asked, “Why so blue ?”
Said, “I haven't a clue,
I'm 2 Down to put 1 Across.”

4. The incredible Wizard of Oz,
Retired from his business because,
Due to up-to-date science,
To most of his clients,
He wasn't the Wizard he was.

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR I

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c7nUDLKKEBY>

6

Summary:
War and Its Causes

Enduring question:

Why is war a persistent feature of international relations?

- There are many kinds of armed conflicts involving states, including interstate wars like hegemonic wars and general wars, smaller scale conflicts like militarized international disputes (MID), extra-state wars that involve entities other than just states, and internal wars that involve groups within a single state.
- The lethality and incidence of internal and interstate wars, as well as smaller conflicts like MIDs, have fluctuated over time. While the incidence of interstate wars generally increased from 1816 to 1999, in recent times it has decreased. Similarly, lethality in interstate wars peaked between 1900 and 1949, largely due to the two world wars, and has since declined.
- Wars are caused both by underlying causes, such as domestic political institutions, and immediate causes, like territorial disputes.
- The Correlates of War (COW) data set is a common data set of interstate wars, MIDs, and extra-state wars that scholars use to study war in international relations.
- Different theoretical traditions and different scholars emphasize different explanations for the causes of a given war.
- Interstate wars have many causes:
 - At the individual level, misperception and stress, groupthink, risk-taking, over-optimism, and negativity bias by leaders are all potential causes of war.
 - At the state level, economic systems and political institutions, as well as nationalism and societal gender roles, can cause or portend war. The liberal tradition emphasizes democratic peace theory.
 - At the international level, anarchy can be both a permissive condition for war and a possible propellant of conflict. The realist tradition focuses on the international level of analysis.

- Internal war, such as civil war, insurgency, counter insurgency or inter-communal war, is another type of conflict and, via processes like contagion and the internationalization of civil war, can become a major source of international conflict.
- Internal wars also have many causes:
 - At the individual level, greed and grievance are the two primary causes of war.
 - At the state level, the degree of inclusiveness of different elements in the control of the state and the capacities of the state are the two primary potential causes of internal war.
 - Lastly, at the international level, interstate wars, colonialism and its aftermath, and the Cold War have all affected internal wars.

WEBQUEST:

i) First, find definitions for the following terms:

General War

Hegemonic War

Total War

Militarized International Disputes (MID)

Civil War

Insurgency

Counter Insurgency

Inter-Communal War

ii) Then try to find historical examples of each kind of conflict

READING: THE EIGHT DEADLIEST WARS OF THE 21st CENTURY



Political theorist Francis Fukuyama famously proclaimed that the end of the Cold War marked “the end of history,” a triumph of capitalist, liberal Western democracy over competing ideologies. It was believed that 21st-century humanity would be a globalized post-conflict society moving in deterministic concert toward collective peace and prosperity. While Fukuyama’s thesis was profoundly challenged by the September 11, 2001, attacks and the subsequent U.S. “war on terrorism,” open warfare between the armies of nation-states did, in fact, become increasingly rare in the post-Cold War environment. Instead, terrorism, ethnic conflict, civil wars, and hybrid and special operations warfare (techniques used by developed nations to harass or destabilize opponents through non-traditional means) accounted for the bulk of non-state, intrastate, and interstate violence. Although the 21st century has seen a greatly reduced battle death rate when compared with similar time spans in the previous century, these numbers nevertheless represent tens of thousands of lives lost each year.

- **The Second Congo War (1998–2003)**

Far and away the deadliest war of the 21st century was a conflict that had its genesis in the 20th. The Rwandan genocide, the toppling and death of Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko, and ethnic strife between Hutu and Tutsi peoples were direct contributing factors to the Second Congo War (also called the Great War in Africa or Africa’s First World War because of its scope and destructiveness). In May 1997 rebel leader Laurent Kabila deposed Mobutu and renamed Zaire the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), but he soon found himself engaged in a civil war with some of the forces that had elevated him to power. The eastern third of the DRC became a battlefield every bit as bloody and contested as the Western Front in World War I had been. The armies of nine countries and an assortment of affiliated militias devastated the countryside. Angola, Namibia, Chad, Sudan, and Zimbabwe backed Kabila’s Congolese government forces, while troops from Burundi, Rwanda, and Uganda supported anti-Kabila rebels. Mass rapes were reported in areas of conflict, and large sections of the DRC were stripped of resources, as organized combat between professional armies gave way to brigandage and plunder. An estimated three million people—mostly civilians—were killed in the fighting or died of disease or malnutrition as a result of the conflict.

- **The War in Syria (2011-Present)**

As the Arab Spring swept through the Middle East and North Africa, popular uprisings toppled the authoritarian regimes in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, and Yemen. In Syria, however, President Bashar al-Assad responded to protests with a combination of political concessions and escalating violence against his own people. The uprising became a civil war that spread violence into neighboring Iraq and provided a fertile breeding ground for militant groups such as the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL; also known as ISIS). Rebel groups seized huge swathes of territory, and the area under government control was reduced to a small strip of land in western Syria. Assad resorted to increasingly desperate and savage measures to maintain power, dropping crude “barrel bombs” on urban populations and using chemical weapons on rebel-controlled territory. As regional powers and Western countries assumed a greater role in the conflict, it seemed inevitable that Assad would be forced from power. Kurdish militias advanced from the Kurdish autonomous region in northern Iraq, and the U.S. conducted air strikes against ISIL forces in both Syria and Iraq. In 2015 Russia, a longtime supporter of the Assad regime, began a bombing campaign in support of Syrian government forces that reversed the tide of the war. Cease-fire agreements failed to stop the violence, and by 2016 it was estimated that 1 in 10 Syrians had been killed or wounded by the fighting. Four million people fled the country, while millions more were internally displaced. At least 470,000 deaths were caused directly or indirectly by the war, and life expectancy at birth experienced a shocking plunge from more than 70 years (pre-conflict) to just 55 years in 2015. In 2022 the United Nations estimated that the fighting had claimed the lives of more than 300,000 civilians, some 1.5 percent of Syria’s pre-war population.

- **The Darfur Conflict**

In early 2003 rebel groups took up arms against the Khartoum-based regime of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir, igniting long-standing tensions in the Darfur region of western Sudan. That conflict erupted into what the U.S. government later described as the first genocide of the 21st century. After rebel groups scored a string of high-profile victories against the Sudanese military, the Sudanese government equipped and supported Arab militias that came to be known as Janjaweed. The Janjaweed conducted a targeted campaign of terrorism and ethnic cleansing against the civilian population of Darfur, killing at least 300,000 people and displacing nearly three million. It was not until 2008 that a joint United Nations and African Union peacekeeping force was able to restore a semblance of order to the region. On March 4, 2009, the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant for Bashir—the first time that the ICC sought the arrest of a sitting head of state—charging him with war crimes and crimes against humanity. That investigation was suspended in December 2014 because of a lack of cooperation from the UN Security Council.

- **The Iraq War**

Neoconservative officials within the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush had sought to topple the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein prior to the events of September 11, 2001, but the deadliest terrorist attack in U.S. history would provide (at least in part) the casus belli for the Iraq War. Citing links between the Iraqi regime and al-Qaeda as well as the presence in Iraq of weapons of mass destruction—both claims that were ultimately proved false—the U.S. assembled a “coalition of the willing” and launched an attack on Iraq on March 20, 2003. The subsequent war unfolded in two distinct phases: a short one-sided conventional war, in which coalition forces suffered fewer than 200 fatalities in just over a month of major combat operations, and an insurgency that continued for years and claimed tens of thousands of lives. By the time U.S. combat forces were withdrawn in August 2010, more than 4,700 coalition troops had been killed; at least 85,000 Iraqi civilians had also been killed, but some estimates place that total much higher. The sectarian violence that wracked the country in the wake of the overthrow of Hussein’s Ba’athist regime gave

rise to the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL; also called ISIS), a Sunni group that sought to establish a caliphate in Iraq and Syria. Between 2013 and the end of 2016, more than 50,000 additional civilians were murdered by ISIL or killed in clashes between ISIL and Iraqi government forces.

- **The Afghanistan War**

Within weeks of the September 11, 2001, attacks, the United States began carrying out air strikes against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. The Taliban, an ultra-conservative Islamist faction that seized power in the vacuum left after the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, provided a safe haven for al-Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden. The war in Afghanistan became, for a time, the most obvious manifestation of the U.S.-led “war on terrorism.” By December 2001 the Taliban had been forced from power, but both the Afghan Taliban and its Pakistani counterpart would recover strength in the tribal areas that straddle the border of those two countries. Revising its tactics to reflect those used by insurgents in Iraq, the Taliban began employing improvised explosive devices (IEDs) on military and civilian targets, to great effect. The Taliban boosted poppy cultivation in areas under its control, and the international opium trade funded much of its military and terrorist activities. Between 2001 and 2016 an estimated 30,000 Afghan troops and police and 31,000 Afghan civilians were killed. More than 3,500 troops from the NATO-led coalition were killed during that time, and 29 countries were represented among the dead. In addition, some 30,000 Pakistani government forces and civilians were killed by the Pakistani Taliban.

- **The War Against Boko Haram**

The Islamist militant group Boko Haram (a name that means “Westernization is Sacrilege” in the Hausa language) was founded in 2002 with the goal of imposing sharia (Islamic law) on Nigeria. The group was relatively obscure until 2009, when it launched a series of raids that killed dozens of police officers. The Nigerian government retaliated with a military operation that left more than 700 Boko Haram members dead. The Nigerian police and military then conducted a campaign of extrajudicial killing that inflamed what remained of Boko Haram. Beginning in 2010, Boko Haram struck back, assassinating police officers, staging jailbreaks, and attacking civilian targets across Nigeria. Schools and Christian churches in the country’s northeast were especially hard-hit, and the kidnapping of nearly 300 schoolgirls in 2014 drew international condemnation. As Boko Haram began to assert control over more territory, the character of the conflict shifted from a terrorist campaign to a full-blown insurgency that recalled the bloody Nigerian Civil War. Whole cities were destroyed in Boko Haram attacks, and troops from Cameroon, Chad, Benin, and Niger eventually joined the military response. Although the area under Boko Haram control had been eroded significantly by the end of 2016, the group still retained the ability to carry out deadly suicide attacks. At least 11,000 civilians were killed by Boko Haram, and more than two million people were displaced.

- **The War in Yemen (2014-Present)**

The war in Yemen had its genesis in the Arab Spring and the uprising that toppled the government of Ali Abdullah Saleh. As Saleh struggled to maintain his grip on the presidency, he recalled the military from outlying areas to Sanaa, the Yemeni capital. Houthi rebels in the country’s north and al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) militants in the south were quick to exploit the power vacuum. Fighting between government forces and opposition tribal militias intensified, and on June 3, 2011, Saleh was the target of an assassination attempt that left him seriously injured. Saleh left Yemen to receive medical treatment, a move that ultimately led to the transfer of power to Saleh’s vice president, Abd Rabbuh Mansur Hadi. Hadi failed to reassert an effective government presence in regions under Houthi and AQAP control, and his violent response to protests in Sanaa sparked sympathy for the anti-government cause. In September 2014 Houthi rebels entered Sanaa, and by January 2015

they had occupied the presidential palace. Hadi was placed under house arrest, but he escaped and fled to the southwestern port city of Aden. A force composed of Houthis and troops loyal to the deposed Saleh then laid siege to Aden, and Hadi fled the country in March 2015. That month the conflict was internationalized when a coalition led by Saudi Arabia moved to drive the Houthis from power and restore the Hadi government. It was widely believed that Iran was providing material support to the Houthis, and numerous arms shipments from Iran were seized en route to the conflict zone. By the end of 2021 the United Nations estimated that more than 375,000 lives had been lost as a result of the war; indirect causes, such as hunger and easily treatable diseases, were responsible for more than half of that total. In addition, more than three million Yemenis had been displaced by the war.

- **The Russia-Ukraine War**

In February 2014 Ukraine's pro-Russian president, Viktor Yanukovich, was swept from power after months of popular demonstrations and a failed violent crackdown on protesters. Yanukovich fled to Russia and, within days of his departure, disguised Russian troops invaded the Ukrainian autonomous republic of Crimea. Russian President Vladimir Putin announced the illegal annexation of Crimea in March, and weeks later disguised Russian troops invaded the Ukrainian regions of Donetsk and Luhansk. By early summer in 2014, pro-Russian forces had overrun a sizable swathe of territory, and in July Malaysia Airlines flight MH17 was shot down over rebel-controlled territory by a Russian-supplied surface-to-air missile. Nearly 300 passengers and crew were killed. A cease-fire was signed in February 2015 that slowed but did not stop the bloodshed, and the Donbas remained in a state of frozen conflict for the next seven years. By 2021 more than 14,000 people had been killed in fighting in eastern Ukraine.

On February 24, 2022, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Although Russian forces made significant gains in the first days of combat, Ukrainian defenders rebuffed attempts to seize Kyiv and other major cities and were soon launching counterattacks at Russian positions. The Russian invasion was characterized by indiscriminate artillery bombardments and air strikes on Ukraine's cities, and an estimated 40,000 Ukrainian civilians were killed in the first year of fighting. Perhaps 100,000 Ukrainian troops were killed in combat and more than a third of Ukraine's population was displaced by combat. Russia also conducted an ethnic cleansing campaign in the territory that it occupied, and as many as 1.6 million Ukrainian citizens were forcibly transferred to Russian territory. Putin had hoped to complete his conquest of Ukraine in a matter of days, but, after a year of sanguinary combat, an estimated 200,000 Russian troops had been killed, and Russia's conventional military capability had been significantly degraded.

WEBQUEST: Now search the Internet to discover what caused the following wars and what happened as a result

- i) The Hundred Hours' War between El Salvador and Honduras (1969)
- ii) The Pig War between Britain and the USA (1859)
- iii) The War of the Stray Dog between Greece and Bulgaria (1925)
- iv) The Pastry War between France and Mexico (1838)
- v) The War of Jenkins Ear (1739—1748)
- vi) The Magdala Campaign (1867—1868)

Chapter 6: War and its Causes

Summary

Imagine you are the President of Peru and that you have been dealing with a troublesome Bolivia for some time now. The President of Bolivia seized power and dissolved Parliament six months ago, and has mobilized troops on your border. He has been posturing threateningly, and claims that approximately one-fourth of your national territory is rightfully part of Bolivia. He demands that you cede the territory to Bolivia and pay BOB 70 billion (~PEN 28 billion or USD 10 billion) in "reparations and compensation for illegally occupied territory of the State of Bolivia". What do you do?

Important background information

- Your military is stronger than Bolivia's. Since the power seizure in Bolivia, the military has become highly centralized, and much of the country is under military control, but dissent is still widespread in the ranks. Additionally, while the Bolivian military has increased in size, it remains at under 100,000 troops, whereas Peru has nearly 150,000 and more modern equipment.
- The President of Bolivia is a wildcard. He is unpredictable, erratic, and difficult to negotiate with.
- Peru does not rely heavily on Bolivian imports or exports. Peru's largest trade partners are China, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and Brazil. Trade with Bolivia is not critical to the Peruvian economy.
- In addition to the instability in Bolivia, the Colombian government has been wracked by instability and corruption and is in danger of falling. There is a large, armed Colombian rebel group based in southwestern Colombia near the Peruvian border (*Frente de la Libertad de Colombia*, or FLC). While their primary goal is to overthrow the Colombian government, it seems they might be willing to foment unrest for the right sum. You have long been concerned that they would bring violence across the border. Additionally, since they are perpetually in need of funds, it is possible that Bolivia could pay the group to engage in violence in Peru.

What do you do?

Pay the reparations and give Bolivia the territory. It is not worth risking a war with an unpredictable dictator. Peru might lose a lot more than that if Bolivia launched a war of conquest, and the war effort would likely cost significantly more than the sum Bolivia is demanding.

Do not cede the territory or pay the sum. Declare that Bolivia has absolutely no claim to the land in question, and warn Bolivia that Peru will not hesitate to use overwhelming force in case of a Bolivian invasion. The Bolivian President should know that he will lose a war, and will not risk escalating the conflict.

Request economic sanctions or other punitive measures be levied against Bolivia. This is an undeniable encroachment on Peruvian sovereignty, and must be punished.

Move several thousand troops to the Bolivian border in case of an invasion, but ensure that they are under strict orders not to engage until further notice. Warn Bolivia that Peru is prepared to fight to protect its territory, and demand that Bolivia rescind its demands.

Launch airstrikes against key government and military targets, and send troops to the border to protect against a counterattack. Declare that Bolivia's demands constituted a hostile act, and you were forced to respond militarily to pre-empt the threat and protect Peru's national interests.

THE UKRAINE CONFLICT: FEBRUARY 2022

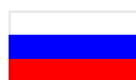


Military strength before Russia's invasion

Ukraine



Russia



Troops		1,096,600	2,900,000
Active		196,600	900,000
Reserve*		900,000	2,000,000
Main battle tanks		987	3,417
Combat aircraft		124	1,391
Attack helicopters		57	407
Armoured personnel carriers		831	7,272
Artillery		1,818	5,899

*Note: reserve includes people who have had military service within 5 years

Source: Military Balance 2022



1. VIDEO COMPREHENSION: Watch the two video-clips shown below and take notes, then read the BBC report

i) Volodymyr Zelensky Address to European Parliament - March 2022 - English Subtitles

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MApJr4qNBh8>

ii) Vladimir Putin Speech Calling on the Ukrainian Military to Take Power -- English Subtitles (Feb 25)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gZsHn93qT-A>

iii) Ukraine: We will not negotiate with war criminals - <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-63586227>

2. DISCUSSION

In February 2022, Russian forces entered Ukraine and continue to occupy several parts of the country.

(i) With reference to BBC reports and any other sources you consider relevant, explain how the conflict began.

(ii) Describe the present situation.

(iii) As students of International Relations, discuss what you think the two sides should do now.

THE SIMPLE PRESENT

FORM

Infinitive = to work

+ I work
You work
He / she / it works
We work
You work
They work

— I don't work
You don't work
He / she / it doesn't work
We don't work
You don't work
They don't work

? Do I work ?
Do you work ?
Does he / she / it work ?
Do we work ?
Do you work ?
Do they work ?

SPELLING

<u>Infinitive</u>	<u>He/she/it form</u>	<u>Exceptions</u>
Enjoy	Enjo <u>y</u> s	To be
Pay	Pay <u>s</u>	To have
Study	Stud <u>ies</u>	Have got
Try	Try <u>es</u>	Central modal verbs

Miss	Miss <u>es</u>
Wish	Wish <u>es</u>
Watch	Watch <u>es</u>
Go	Go <u>es</u>
Fax	Fax <u>es</u>

USE

- For things that are always true e.g. "Water boils at 100°C"
- For things that happen regularly e.g. "I get up at 10 a.m. on Sundays"

THE PRESENT CONTINUOUS

FORM

Infinitive = to work

+ I am working

You are working

He / she / it is working

We are working

You are working

They are working

— I am not working

You aren't working

He / she / it isn't working

We aren't working

You aren't working

They aren't working

? Am I working ?

Are you working ?

Is he / she / it working ?

Are we working ?

Are you working ?

Are they working ?

SPELLING

Infinitive -ing form

Enjoy Enjoying

Study Studying

Infinitive -ing form

Make Making

Take Taking

Stop Stopping

Sit Sitting

Admit Admitting

Prefer Preferring

Enter Entering

Limit Limiting

Lie Lying

Die Dying

USE

- i) For things happening now or in this period e.g. "I am watching TV"
- ii) For things that are changing e.g. "The price of gold is going up"
- iii) For arrangements in the future (but you must say WHEN)
e.g. "I'm flying to New York next Friday"