

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

Настоящее пособие состоит из двух частей, включающих уроки, в которых даны тексты и упражнения к ним. Материалом данного пособия послужили оригинальные тексты англоязычных политологов, анализирующих философское и политическое наследие человечества.

Тематика текстов охватывает не одно тысячелетие истории политических учений; от наследия древнего мира до наших дней. Несмотря на то, что политология и международные отношения как научные дисциплины возникли в начале XX века, а именно после 1918 года, вся предшествовавшая философская мысль, касающаяся государства, его структуры и устройства, а также отношения с ближними и дальними странами, заложили фундамент этих современных дисциплин. С древнейших времен ученых волновали проблемы войны и мира, которые занимают особое место в учениях философов и политиков.

Такой подбор материала позволяет обучаемым не только усвоить чрезвычайно обширный лексический пласт данного языка для специальных целей, но и создать общее представление об истории развития политической мысли. Данное учебное пособие по английскому языку предназначено, прежде всего, для студентов, изучающих политологию, международные отношения, мировую политику, всеобщую историю.

Данная работа выполнена в соответствии с требованиями государственных образовательных стандартов высшего профессионального образования, предъявляемыми к преподаванию иностранного языка в неязыковых вузах с учетом профессиональной направленности обучения.

Каждый урок состоит из текста, в котором кратко излагаются основные идеи того или иного философа или политика, а также упражнений, позволяющих проверить как общее понимание прочитанного, так и закрепить только

что приобретенный лексический материал. Для облегчения работы с пособием в начале каждого урока приводится словарь.

Предлагаемые в пособии тексты являются оригинальными, и даны с незначительными сокращениями. Пособие может быть использовано не только студентами-политологами, студентами, изучающими международные отношения и мировую политику, но и самым широким кругом читателей, интересующихся историей западноевропейской политической мысли.

PART I

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

For as long as there have been communities of people, there have been relations among them, and as far as we know such relations provoked people to think about them. There have been many ways of thinking about international relations, giving rise to various schools of thought. The formation, disintegration, and regrouping of schools appear to have been particularly volatile in the last two or three decades, but prior to the First World War there was a certain degree of stability in what may be called patterns of philosophical thinking about international relations.

Unit I

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ANCIENT INDIA

Note. The text you are going to read deals with political thought in ancient India. Before reading study the following

Each race contributes something essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization. The character built up in solving its own problems, in the experience of its own misfortunes, is itself a gift which each offers to the world.

While the study of politics in the Western tradition is first found in ancient Greece, political science is a late arrival in terms of social sciences. However, the discipline has a clear set of antecedents such as moral philosophy, political philosophy, political economy, history, and other fields concerned with normative determinations of what ought to be and with deducing the characteristics and functions of the ideal state. In each historic period and in almost every geographic area, we can find someone studying politics and increasing political understanding.

In ancient India, the antecedents of politics can be traced back to the Rig-Veda, Samhitas, Brahmanas, and Buddhist Pali Canon. Chanakya (c. 350–275 BCE) was a professor of political science at Takshashila University, and later the Prime Minister of Mauryan emperor Chandragupta Maurya. Chanakya is regarded as one of the earliest political thinkers, and is also known as the Indian Machiavelli. He wrote the Arthashastra, which was one of the earliest treatises on political thought, economics and social order, and can be considered a precursor to Machiavelli's *The Prince*. It discusses monetary and fiscal policies, welfare, international relations, and war strategies in detail, among other topics on political science.

PRE-READING TASKS

1. Learn the following words and word combinations

accounts

отчет; записки, исторические анналы

argue (for)

приводить доводы в пользу чего-л.

to argue for the new law (liberty, justice, etc.) — защищать новый закон (свободу, справедливость и т. п.),

benevolent

благожелательный, благосклонный великодушный

counterpart

лицо или предмет, являющееся эквивалентами чего-либо лишь в определенном контексте, коллега

dissolve

разрушать

dog

выслеживать, следить за кем-л. (обычно с враждебными намерениями); преследовать травить собаками; травить, угнетать охранять, стоять на страже

expound

1) (детально) излагать (теорию, доктрину, принципы, идею) (to);

2) объяснять, пояснять, интерпретировать, разъяснять, толковать

frayed

потертый, потрепанный, поношенный, старый

hail

провозглашать, называть

intrigue

интриговать, строить козни (against — против)

legacy

наследство; наследие

to hand down a legacy — оставить наследство

perilously

опасно, рискованно

posterity

потомство; последующие поколения

precursor

предтеча, предшественник

propound

предлагать на обсуждение

squabble

ссориться, скандалить, пререкаться из-за пустяков
(about, over)

statecraft

Syn: statesmanship искусство управлять государством;
искусное управление государственными делами

undermine

подрывать

2. Translate the following into Russian

The book I am going to speak about is called *The Arthashastra* and discusses statecraft, economic policy and military strategy, and the broader principles can be applied to a vast range of life situations. The word 'artha', roughly meaning 'wealth' is one of the 4 *purusharthas* (objectives of a human being) in Hindu philosophy, the other three being *dharma* (righteousness), *kama* (desire) and *moksha* (salvation).

The most well-known bits of this book are the 4 core principles of strategy — *saam* (persuasion), *daam* (incentives),

dand (punitive measures), *bhed* (spying, separating, several other interpretations based on context).

Being a broader book that discusses discipline and duty, law and policy, training and preparation, strategy and tactics, it appeals to the engineer, the 'MBA' and the policy scholar in everyone who studies it.

3. Match the proper names with their translations

1. the Arthashastra	a. Рукописи Мертвого моря
2. Chanakya	b. «Наука о государственном устройстве, управлении и его пользе»
3. the Mauryan empire	c. Чанакья
4. Chandragupta	d. Каутиль
5. Kautilya	e. Чандрагупта
6. Seleucos Nicator	f. «Применение тайных средств»
8. the Dead Sea Scrolls	g. империя Маурьев
9. The Principles of Material Well-Being	h. кумранские тексты
10. Capture of the Enemy by Means of Secret Contrivances	i. «Артхашастра»
11. Science of Material Gain or Science of Polity	j. Селевк Никатор

4. Translate the following into English

Особого внимания заслуживает выдающееся политическое произведение древней Индии, своего рода энциклопедия политического искусства — «Артхашастра, или Наука политики». Книга содержит ценнейшие сведения по государственному, политическому и хозяйственному устройству древнего индийского общества и является настоящей энциклопедией политической и экономической жизни страны своей эпохи.

Точный перевод книги с санскрита на русский язык означает: «Наука о государственном устройстве, управлении и его пользе».

«Артхашастра», согласно индийской традиции, приписывается мудрому брахману Каутилье (известному также

под именем Чанакья), влиятельному советнику и министру Чандрагупты I (IV–III вв. до н. э.). По данным современной науки, она оформлялась на протяжении длительного времени между первыми веками до нашей эры и первыми веками нашей эры, суммируя и критически воспринимая все то, что было создано до нее древними мыслителями Индии.

По объему и структуре «Артхашастра» представляет собой объемный труд, состоящий из четырнадцати разделов, каждый из которых содержит от 15 до 40 подразделов.

По своему содержанию и значению это произведение не только представляет собой руководство к управлению государством, но и является выдающимся памятником политической, экономической, дипломатической, юридической, философской и военной мысли в древней Индии.

5. Can you answer the following questions?

1. How far back can we trace human interest towards international relations?
2. Do you agree with the statement that each race contributes something essential to the world's civilization in the course of its own self-expression and self-realization?
3. Where is the study of politics in the Western tradition first found?
4. Where can the antecedents of politics be traced back to in ancient India?
5. Have you ever heard about Kautilya?

6. Discuss the following with your fellow students

1. This is the story of a kingmaker, strategist, and statesman of the third century BCE who remains relevant even today. Chanakya, the driving force behind Chandragupta who founded the Mauryan empire, is one of those brilliant minds of Indian history about whom very little written material of that time is available. Even *Arthashastra*, his famous treatise on statecraft and an important source of information about the early

Mauryan period, came to light only in 1905. Yet Indian as well as western scholars have acknowledged him as a genius, often compared with Machiavelli. The difference is that while the Italian statesman believed in employing any means to preserve the king's powers for his own sake, Chanakya required the ruler to serve and protect his subjects if he is to be deemed worthy of being the king or the ruler.

2. It deals with a variety of subjects, almost every aspect of theory and practice of governance. It describes the duties of the king and those of his ministers, besides listing different departments of government.

3. It deals with diplomacy and issues of war and peace. It gives details of the vast army of Chandragupta, consisting of infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants and points out that mere numbers are not enough. Without discipline and proper leadership, they can become a burden. While discussing weapons of war, *Arthashastra* mentions machines that can destroy a hundred men at one time. It also refers to fortifications and trench warfare.

4. Other matters that it deals with are trade and commerce, law and law courts, municipal government, social customs, marriage and divorce, rights of women, taxation and revenue, agriculture, irrigation and waterways, census operations, passports and jails. It recognizes widow remarriage.

5. Slaves were not as common in ancient India as in other civilizations, partly because the lower castes were forced to take on voluntarily many unsavory tasks that would have been performed by slaves elsewhere. However, they did exist, and Kautilya's regulations governing them are among the most liberal in history. Note how upper-caste slaves are protected from demeaning labor that was reserved for the lowest castes, and how the chastity of female slaves is protected (even ancient Judaism and Islam explicitly allowed a master to have sex with his slave women). It is unknown how widely observed these idealistic regulations were.

7. Read the text. Divide it into logical parts. Find the key sentence in each part

TEXT

NOT JUST EUROPEANS

North Africa, China, and India, produced brilliant political thinkers long before their European counterparts. Unknown in the West until relatively recently, it is unlikely that their ideas influenced the development of Western political theory. It does suggest that the political nature of humans is basically the same no matter what the cultural differences, and that great minds come to similar conclusions on how to deal with politics.

Two millennia before Machiavelli and Hobbes, the Indian writer Kautilya in the fourth century BCE arrived at the same conclusions. Kautilya (also known as Kautilya, Chanakya, Chanakya, or Vishnugupta) (active c. 300 BCE) is a Hindu statesman, philosopher, and writer of *the Arthashastra*, the classic ancient Hindu political text. Kautilya was the chief political adviser to Chandragupta, ruler of the Magadha empire from 320 BCE to c. 297 BCE.

Under Kautilya's guidance, Chandragupta consolidated his dynasty, defeated Seleucos Nicator's attempt to claim the heritage of Alexander 'the Great' in India, and expanded his empire. However, Kautilya is more important for the political theories expounded in *the Arthashastra*.

There are several versions of Chanakya's meeting with Chandragupta, but all lack authentic historical evidence. Accounts vary widely, but all agree that Chanakya was the real power behind the Maurya throne. There is no doubt that Chanakya was a teacher at the university of Takshashila (now Taxila). From there he watched the impact of foreign invasions and concluded that the Indian rulers had to dissolve their differences and face the invaders united. He also knew that the intriguing and squabbling rulers would never unite. The answer was one strong Indian ruler.

He saw in Chandragupta a man who had the ability to fulfill his dream. He took the young man under his wings, taught him at Takshashila and finally guided him first to harass the outlying territories of the Magadha kingdom and finally installed him on the throne of Magadha. Then Chandragupta swept through the small kingdoms of the North-West. Chanakya's job was completed when he found Chandragupta a group of loyal persons to assist him and he returned to the Spartan life of a teacher at Takshashila. The setting up of the Mauryan empire was an achievement, but his biggest legacy to posterity is *the Arthashastra* which political scientists find relevant even today.

How perilously close *the Arthashastra* came to never being known is evident from the way it was found. An unknown priest of a small temple in Tanjore went to the government library of the then state of Mysore with a frayed Sanskrit manuscript. The librarian, Mr R. Shama Shastri, recognized the worth of the manuscript and translated it into English and Chanakya's work exploded on the world in 1905 and was hailed by scholars all over the world as a discovery as significant as *the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

Yet, controversy has dogged this document. It is argued that while some parts might have been written in the third century BCE, variations in language and style indicate that some parts have been added to it in the succeeding centuries. Even if scholars have updated it from time to time, its spirit and message have remained consistent. It shows that the original document was the product of a single mind.

The central idea of Kautilya's doctrine was the prosperity of king and country and the king's struggle for victory against his rival neighbouring states. The king had to try to defeat all his enemies one after another.

Kautilya identified seven factors of power, which affected his ability to do so. These factors were first, the qualities of the king, then of his ministers, his provinces, his city, his treasure, his army, and his allies. The aim of *the Arthashastra* was to instruct the king on how to improve the qualities of these fac-

tors and undermine those of his enemies. He provided detailed instruction for spies and agents and showed great understanding of the weakness of human nature, earning himself comparison with Machiavelli.

The Arthashastra is most simply translated as *Economics*. Literally, it is variously translated from the Sanskrit as *Science of Wealth*, *Science of Material Gain* or *Science of Polity* (i. e. of civil government or state). It explores the demands of statecraft in the prosperous but unsettled Mauryan Empire under Chandragupta Maurya. As such, it can be considered a precursor to Machiavelli's *The Prince*. Centrally, *the Arthashastra* argues for a benevolent autocracy managing an efficient and solid economy. It discusses the ethics of economics and the duties and obligations of a king. Many of the topics discussed are still prevalent in political philosophy and economics.

The scope of *the Arthashastra* is, however, far wider than statecraft, and it offers an outline of the entire legal and bureaucratic framework for administering a kingdom, with a wealth of descriptive cultural detail on topics such as mineralogy, mining and metals, agriculture, animal husbandry and medicine. Although he wrote in a period of absolute rule by emperors, Chanakya also focuses on issues of welfare (for instance, redistribution of wealth during a famine) and the collective ethics that hold a society together.

AFTER-READING TASKS

1. Translate the Text of the Unit into Russian

2. Give Russian equivalents of the following

European counterparts
it is unlikely that
the political nature of humans
to come to similar conclusions
to arrive at the same conclusions
to deal with politics

to expound political theories
to lack authentic historical evidence
intriguing and squabbling rulers
the setting up of the empire
his biggest legacy to posterity
to find relevant even today
a frayed Sanskrit manuscript
to recognize the worth of
to be hailed as
its spirit and message
the original document
rival neighbouring states
to affect one's ability
to instruct smb on smth
to provide detailed instruction
to explore the demands of statecraft
to be considered a precursor to
the duties and obligations
to be still prevalent in
redistribution of wealth during a famine

3. Find the equivalents of the following Russian phrases in the text

человеческая природа
до сравнительно недавнего времени
приходить к похожим выводам
укрепить династию
притязать на наследие
не иметь документального подтверждения
преодолеть различия
завершить работу
создание империи Маурьев
до сих пор сохранять свое значение
старая
понять значение ч.-л.
было названо

считается, что
в последующие века
дух и содержание
принадлежать одному и тому же человеку
соседние враждующие государства
усовершенствовать качество
дать подробные инструкции
слабость человеческой натуры
буквально
отстаивать монархическое правление
эффективная и крепкая экономика
обсуждаемые темы
сфера применения выходит за рамки
общественная мораль

4. Fill in the blanks with appropriate words and word combinations from the box

The Principles of Material Well-Being
a well-run kingdom
the realist school of statecraft
to secure his kingdom domestically
The Arthashastra

Kautilya, a prime minister and adviser to an Indian monarch, wrote in ... (translated as ...) that well-being comes from living in Like Hobbes, Kautilya posited a state of nature that meant anarchy. Monarchs arose to protect the land and people against anarchy and insure their prosperity. Like Machiavelli, Kautilya advised his prince to operate on the basis of pure expediency, doing whatever it takes ... and against other kingdoms. Kautilya thus could be said to have founded both political economy and

5. Answer the following questions

1. Is it likely from your point of view that brilliant political thinkers from North Africa, China, and India long before their

European counterparts produced ideas that influenced the development of Western political theory?

2. Similar to whose conclusions did Kautilya arrive at in the fourth century BCE?

3. What is Kautilya?

4. What do you know about his career?

5. In what way was *the Arthashastra* revealed to the modern world?

6. Is there any controversy about *the Arthashastra*?

7. What is the central idea of Kautilya's doctrine?

8. What are the seven factors of power identified by Kautilya?

9. What areas of life does *The Arthashastra* explore?

10. What is the significance of *The Arthashastra* in your opinion?

6. Complete the following sentences without looking into the text

1. North Africa, China, and India, produced ...

2. Kautilya (also known as Kautalya, Canakya, Chanakya, or Visnugupta) (active c. 300 BCE) is ...

3. There is no doubt that Chanakya was ...

4. He saw in Chandragupta a man ...

5. Chanakya's work exploded ...

6. Under Kautilya's guidance ...

7. The central idea of Kautilya's doctrine was ...

8. It is argued that while ...

9. Literally, it is variously translated from the Sanskrit as ...

7. Explain the meaning of the following

1. Where the Indian mind differs most from the average mind of modern Europe is in its view of the value of philosophy. In Europe and America the study of philosophy is regarded as an end in itself, and as such it seems of but little importance to the ordinary man. In India, on the contrary, phi-

losophy is not regarded primarily as a mental gymnastic, but rather, and with deep religious conviction, as our salvation (*moksha*) from the ignorance (*avidya*) which for ever hides from our eyes the vision of reality. Philosophy is the key to the map of life, by which are set forth the meaning of life and the means of attaining its goal. It is no wonder, then, that the Indians have pursued the study of philosophy with enthusiasm, for these are matters that concern all.

2. There is a fundamental difference between the Brahman and the modern view of politics. The modern politician considers that idealism in politics is impractical; time enough, he thinks, to deal with social misfortunes when they arise. The same outlook may be recognized in the fact that modern medicine lays greater stress on cure than on prevention, i. e., endeavours to protect against unnatural conditions rather than to change the social environment. The Western sociologist is apt to say: "The teachings of religion and philosophy may or may not be true, but in any case, they have no significance for the practical reformer." The Brahmans, on the contrary, considered all activity not directed in accordance with a consistent theory of the meaning and purpose of life as supremely impractical.

3. All political effort lacking a philosophical basis becomes merely opportunist. The problem of modern Europe is to discover her own aristocracy and to learn to obey its will.

8. Summarize the Text of the Unit using the key sentences and expressions

9. Translate the following into English

В «Артхашастре» явное предпочтение отдается практической пользе «артхе». Именно полезность выступает в этом исследовании в качестве определяющей основы и ведущего принципа политических действий, соответствующих задачам сильной, карающей власти и целям сохранения существующей социальной системы. В «Артхашастре» просматриваются теоретико-прикладные

аспекты политического управления в условиях царской власти, элементы макрополитического и макроэкономических подходов.

Рефреном во всем трактате проходит мысль о том, что власть и богатство следует приобретать, отстаивать и увеличивать всеми средствами как хорошими, так и дурными, когда последние оказываются более надежными или единственно возможными. Через полтора тысячелетия этот принцип рассмотрит и разработает выдающийся флорентийский политолог Никколо Макиавелли (1469–1527) в своей знаменитой работе «Государь».

Во внешней политике государства следует применять шесть методов:

- мир, предполагающий заключение договора, связывающего враждующие стороны;
- войну, как причинение вреда противнику;
- выжидательное положение как пребывание в безразличном состоянии;
- наступление, т. е. принятие мер к нападению на противника;
- поиски союза с кем-то на стороне, с другим государством;
- двойственную политику, как использование то войны, то мира.

Основой индийской традиционной политики было понятие «дхармы»: божественный закон, долг, обычай, традиции, которым должны следовать все слои населения. Эта идеология развивалась в рамках брахманизма, она отражала необходимость доосевой, традиционной организации политики. Например, основной задачей царей являлась функция защиты системы «варн» (каст) и всех, следующих своей дхарме.

В «Артхашастре» наряду с традиционным пиететом к «дхарме» и признанием того, что «закон основан на истине», предпочтение отдается практической пользе «артхе». Именно полезность выступает в книге в качестве определя-

Конец ознакомительного фрагмента.

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