Still a Long Way to Go After 64 Years

1. The June 24, 1932 (2475), Revolution was staged in the name of democracy, but 64 years after the historic event Thai politics still has a long way to go before it can be called truly democratic.

2. What has been achieved so far is largely symbolic. Governments survive because they command a majority vote in Parliament, not because of their administrative skills and devotion to society.

3. Since the last coup was staged on February 23, 1991 (2534), followed by the Black May incident a year later, the parliamentary system has taken root. But the politically attentive public seem not to be satisfied with the government they have.

4. The fundamental problem of Thai politics--both under military and elected civilian regimes--is that those in power do not truly represent the people's interests.

5. In the first four decades after the June 24, 1932, event, Thai politics was plagued with violence and conflicts between the reformist group and the conservatives who largely consisted of royalists and aristocrats.

6. Coups and coup attempts were not uncommon, and military governments were in power until the October 14, 1973 (2516) incident, which brought down the Thanom-Prapass dictatorial regime.

7. Since the military came to power through use of force, they ignored the people's demands, and ran the country according to their acquainted dictatorial style rather than using compromise and allowing mass participation.

8. There was no check-and-balance system under military-run governments, which only led to corruption. Needless to say, public discontent grew as the military held on to power.

9. But elected civilian governments have their own problems. The biggest problem is that they cannot fulfill their promises made to the electorate.
10. Maybe the promises are too difficult to fulfil, or the politicians themselves do not take their promises seriously. Their true intention in entering politics might be to make personal gain in the first place, and serving the public is of secondary importance.

11. Many politicians are willing to spend huge sums of money campaigning in an election, or buy their ways into Parliament because they hope they can gain honour and privileges once they have assumed public office.

12. Huge sums of money were reportedly spent in the July 2, 1995 general election, which gave rise to the coalition government of Prime Minister Banharn Silpa-archa. Because the election followed a big land reform scandal that brought down the Chuan Leekpai government, members of the public pinned their hopes on Banharn to bring good and capable men into his Cabinet.

13. Crisis and solutions: It may be said that Thai politics is in crisis. It can neither find well-qualified persons to run the country’s affairs, nor a good system to control the politicians.

14. Thai politics is becoming a commercial enterprise where people invest their money and seek personal gain out of it. How can we have a government that is effective, not corrupt and democratic? There is no easy answer.

15. Some suggest amending the electoral system by introducing proportion representation. Some say the prime minister should be directly elected to separate the executive from the legislative branch.

16. Some call for abolition of regulations that force parliamentary candidates to join a political party, and political parties to field candidates as many as one-quarter of the total number of MPs in the Lower House.

17. Perhaps we can learn from other countries as well. In the United States, people choose a party candidate in an election through a system of primary elections. There’s a national convention for a political party to choose its presidential
candidate. States and local governing units manage their own affairs. By doing so, the political system is able to meet the people's needs and demands.

19. In England, representation is strengthened through mass political parties; that is, political parties represent the general masses in controlling the legislative and executive branches. In addition, strong interest groups exist to lobby parliamentarians and the government.

20. Thus, England's politics is more susceptible and sensitive to the people's needs and demands.

21. In Canada, there's a strong party system and political decentralisation. These measures, along with referendums, are designed to make the political system more responsive to the people's needs.

22. It may be wise for Thailand to adopt some of the above-mentioned measures. For example, a primary or a national convention may be adopted by political parties to select their parliamentary candidates instead of keeping the selection power in the hands of the party chief or executive board.

23. A strong local government system may be set up to allow more popular participation in local affairs. There should be a strong mass party system as well as interest groups and associations to oversee the people's interests. People should be allowed to express their opinions through a referendum or a public hearing.

24. Because such measures are seldom used in Thailand, the elected civilian regime is vulnerable to people's discontent and, therefore, tends to lose its legitimacy easily.

Niyom Rathamarit. “Still A Long Way To Go After 64 Years”. The Sunday Post
**Vocabulary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Thai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>coup, coup d'état</td>
<td>รัฐประหาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regime, civilian</td>
<td>รัฐบาลพลเรือน</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regime, dictatorial</td>
<td>รัฐบาลเผด็จการ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decade</td>
<td>a period of ten years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reformism (n.)</td>
<td>the practice or advocacy of reform esp. political or social reform การปฏิรูป การเมือง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reformist n., adj.</td>
<td>นักปฏิรูป</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conservatives</td>
<td>อนุรักษนิยม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coup attempt</td>
<td>การพยายามที่จะก่อรัฐประหาร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>checks and balances</td>
<td>การควบคุมอำนาจ, การควบคุมอำนาจต่างๆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>checks-and-balance system</td>
<td>ระบบควบคุมอำนาจต่างๆ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coalition government</td>
<td>รัฐบาลผสม</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land reform scandal</td>
<td>เรื่องอุปสรรคเรื่องการปฏิรูป (สน. 4-01)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commercial enterprise</td>
<td>วิสาหกิจการพัฒนา, การพัฒนา</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amending the electoral system</td>
<td>ปฏิรูประบบเลือกตั้ง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abolition of regulations</td>
<td>ยกเลิกกฎหมาย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parliamentary candidates</td>
<td>ผู้สมัคร</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political decentralisation</td>
<td>การกระจายอำนาจทางการเมือง</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interest group</td>
<td>กลุ่มผลประโยชน์</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>referendum</td>
<td>การลงประชามติ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public hearing</td>
<td>ประชามติ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulnerable (adj.)</td>
<td>open to attack or damage ถูกโจมตีได้ง่าย</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legitimacy</td>
<td>ความชอบด้วยกฎหมาย</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Directions: Read the passage and answer the following questions.

1. Which incident marked the beginning of Thailand as a democratic country?
   a. The June 24, 1932, Revolution.
   c. The October 14, 1973, incident.

2. The author stated that the fundamental problem of Thai politics is
   a. the parliamentary system
   b. the coup d'état
   c. the government that does not truly represent people's interests
   d. the dictatorial regime

3. According to the passage, the military government
   a. did not allow checks and balances
   b. ignored the people's demands
   c. ran the country in a dictatorial style
   d. All are correct

4. The word “corruption” means ______.
   a. decay
   b. inducement by bribery to do wrong
   c. morality
   d. virtue and integrity

5. Sentence 12 implies that this article was written during ______ government.
   a. Chuan Leekpai’s
   b. General Chavalit Yongchaiyudh’s
   c. Banharn Silpa-archa’s
   d. Anand Panyarachun’s
6. Why is Thai politics in crisis?
   a. No well-qualified person to run the country’s affairs.
   b. No good system to control the politicians.
   c. No investment in the commercial enterprises.
   d. 1 and 2 are correct.

7. What are suggested solutions?
   a. The electoral system amendment.
   b. A system of primary elections for presidential candidates.
   c. Mass political parties.
   d. All are correct.

8. To oversee the people’s interests there should be ______.
   a. a strong local government system
   b. a strong mass party system
   c. interest groups and associations
   d. All are correct

9. The elected civilian regime easily lost legitimacy because of ______.
   a. the lack of good measures in the elections
   b. people’s support through referendum and public hearings
   c. insufficient budget to run the government’s affairs
   d. All are correct.

10. To lobby is to ______.
    a. try to influence a member of a legislative body towards an action
    b. stay in a small entrance hall
    c. stay in an anteroom of a legislative chamber where members go to vote during a session.
    d. associate with a group of people engaged in lobbying.
East Asia Will Return as Engine of Growth

Careless lending and reckless borrowing are causing Thailand great economic pain, but as the address below given by Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai to delegates at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, last night makes clear, the Kingdom is well positioned to stage a dramatic recovery.

I wish to take this opportunity to offer you the perspective of an Asian on the current economic crisis in the region. I shall not attempt to look too far into the future but will concentrate mostly on the current situation in Thailand and East Asia and, more importantly, the direction in which we shall be moving.

The last year has seen East Asia’s reversal of fortune. Not all that long ago the East Asian economies were so successful and so consistent in their economic performance that they were regarded by the World Bank as a “miracle”.

ADDRESS / CHUAN AT WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM
In the space of a few months, however, as the region's financial crisis takes hold, a question being asked with ever greater frequency is, has the success story come to an end?

It is a fact that East Asia's growth was unrivalled by other regions. East Asia succeeded because it had indeed has strong economic fundamentals. East Asia has a population of nearly 2 billion, or one person in nearly every three on Earth. This pool of human resources is young, hard-working and enterprising. With their rising effective demand and purchasing power, these people have also made East Asia a growing market for their own as well as the world’s products.

In addition, East Asia has the world’s highest savings rate. Averaging around 30 percent of GDP, these savings have helped finance the region's investments and capacity for further growth.

East Asia is well endowed with natural resources. From minerals in the ground to resources in the sea, East Asia has energy and fuel as well as the foodstuffs to feed its industries and people.

All these factors, combined with outward-looking economic policies, integration into the global economy and a dynamic private sector have allowed East Asia to capitalise on its comparative advantage, producing the synergy that propelled the region's economies to success.

Thailand is no exception. Furthermore, although never colonised, Thailand has always been receptive to new ideas and adaptable to change. Our democratic institutions have evolved for over 65 years and are stable. Our society of 60 million people is cohesive and united, with one of the freest presses in the world.

Over the past two decades, the Thai economy has been one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Indeed, Thailand is one of the world's five and Asia’s only net exporter of food. While we remain the world's largest
exporter of rice, natural rubber and tapioca, manufactured products now account for over 70 percent of our total exports. Our people are more prosperous and are enjoying a better quality of life, and world investors have received high returns on investment. Indeed a few years ago, The Economist magazine predicted that Thailand would become the world’s eighth-largest economy by the year 2020.

In the midst of a regional environment of rapid economic growth, Thailand along with other East Asian economies liberalised her trade, investment and financial regimes. The economic potential of Thailand served as a strong magnet that drew in huge flows of foreign capital. Such flows led to the rapid expansion of the financial, capital and property markets in Thailand.

The resulting wealth effects led to spending and investment that were not always prudent. There was careless lending and ever more reckless borrowing. We realised that such a situation could lead to a bubble economy and had to be rectified speedily. However, mismanagement occurred, especially in using our reserves in a futile attempt to defend our currency and in using public money to rescue non-viable finance companies.

In a globalised world, such mismanagement is quickly disciplined by the markets. At the same time, because of the linkages and similar problems in other economies in the region, the crisis spread rapidly. In just over half a year, the region’s stock markets and currencies have plummeted. Indeed, since the beginning of the crisis in July, the Indonesian rupiah has lost over 80 percent of its value, the Thai baht 52 percent and the Korean won 47 percent.

Given the so-called “contagion effect” and the severity of the problems, the international community cannot afford to be complacent. In this globalised era, no country can completely avoid being affected by what happens halfway around the world. International repercussions are inevitable given that East Asia now accounts for around one-third of the world’s GDP and trade.
30 percent of US exports go to East Asia, while the figure for the European Union is almost 10 percent.

Major economies must **recognise** that their conduct of macroeconomic policies will inevitably have an impact upon other countries as well as the global economy as a whole.

The maintenance of currency stability in China is a critical factor in sustaining the stability of other currencies in Asia. The effective stimulation of Japan’s domestic economy will provide an engine for recovery in the region as a whole. Continued and expanded market access to Europe and North America will be equally important. These issues should receive prompt attention by the major industrialised economies, in particular from the G-7 countries, working in concert with other large economies such as China.

If countries in other regions remain aloof or pursue policies that further deteriorate the situation in Asia, we shall face not only recession on a global scale but will raise fundamental questions about the value of the economic liberalisation which we all desire. This would be deeply regrettable.

Liberalisation, I believe, is the right approach, is consistent with changes that are shaping our world, and is in the common interest of all. Indeed, I am pleased that President Clinton, in his recent State of the Union address, **recognised** these points and underlined the security dimension of the issue.

In the medium and long term, we should think collectively of how we can strengthen the international financial and monetary system in order to prevent a similar crisis from arising and spreading in the future. We must be able to cope with the volatility of capital flows in today’s world. The advent of the euro will be another important factor that will have to be taken into account, particularly given its potential to affect the international payments system.
Leaders in many regions of the world have come to recognise the imperative to act, and initiatives have been taken, such as the Manila Framework agreed to by the Asia and Pacific deputy finance ministers and endorsed by the Apec leaders in Vancouver. I am confident that at the Asia-Europe summit in London this April similar attention will be given to the financial crisis in Asia, with a view to establishing an early-warning system, collective surveillance of monetary systems as well as measures to strengthen the IMF’s capacity to respond to financial crises.

In addition, developed economies must fully recognise the differences in levels of development and preparedness among developing economies and should stand ready to provide technology, expertise and experience in order that all countries can respond effectively to the imperatives of liberalisation and globalisation.

Notwithstanding cooperative endeavours at the regional and international levels, affected economies must address their own problems by relying on their own efforts. They must improve their economic policies and make their environment more conducive to the strengthening of their economic systems, both in the short and long term.

In Thailand’s case, the government and the IMF have been working together closely and have agreed upon the need to strengthen our fiscal and monetary discipline, as well as take tough and decisive actions to restructure our financial institutions.

This we have already done by closing more than half of our finance companies and we will continue to strengthen our commercial banking system. We have also been able to meet all the targets set and, in some cases, have even exceeded them. These reforms, however, entail a painful adjustment process and in the short term will affect our rate of economic growth.
As these reforms may also have social impacts, the government has worked with the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank to strengthen our existing social safety net that has long relied upon the cushion provided by our traditional extended family network and the absorption capacity of our rural agricultural sector.

It is also crucial for us to display our firm commitment and determination to undertake such reforms. Equally importantly, I believe we must also use this opportunity to push through other economic and social reforms, in addition to those already addressed under the framework of the IMF.

Indeed, the importance of good governance must be recognised. Disclosure of information to the public must be carried out efficiently and transparently. Both the public and private sectors must undertake policies and measures that are consistent with and support one another. Bureaucratic reform and the judicial system must be strengthened to make them more efficient and effective.

All of the above are indispensable if we are to strengthen our institutions so that they can cope with global changes. Everything, from accounting practices to the supervision and regulation of financial institutions, must be done according to international standards. Increased competition through liberalisation must also be allowed to continue.

These reforms will only succeed, however, if the people understand their importance and cooperate. And this is possible only through good governance on the basis of democratic principles. Governments must be ready and willing to provide the public with facts. They must also be ready to urge their people to share part of the pain so as to achieve a better future.

Reform, rejuvenation and recovery will take time to complete. Confidence-first of all needs to be restored. This is the crux of the problem. But I see no reason why the countries of East Asia cannot surmount the
obstacles. Similar reform policies have been pursued in the past to reinforce our comparative advantages, and to address our deficiencies. The fundamentals that underpinned our growth are still there.

The severity of this economic crisis is unprecedented. It cannot be resolved overnight. We have to accept reality and work hard, and go through a painful process of structural adjustment.

But as the track record shows, the peoples of East Asia are fast learners, and we are pragmatic. With determination and perseverance, and with the support of our friends, we can remake ourselves to meet the challenges of this fast-changing world.

I firmly believe that in not too long a time, East Asia will resume its place as one of the engines of world growth. We shall endeavour to remain a strong partner in prosperity into the 21st century for Europe, North America and other regions of our global community.


Vocabulary
reckless borrowing  = การทุจริตเงินอย่างไม่ระวัง, ไม่คำนึงถึงผลที่จะเกิดขึ้น
deleagtes  = ผู้แทน, ตัวแทน
the World Economic Forum หรือ WEF = การประชุมเวทีเศรษฐกิจโลก
economic crisis = วิกฤติการณ์ทางเศรษฐกิจ, วิกฤติเศรษฐกิจ
dramatic recovery = striking in effect
unrivalled = การฟื้นคืนสู่สภาพเดิม
human resources = ทรัพยากรบุคคล
to be enterprising (adj)  = มีความทะเยอทะยานที่จะแสวงหาความ ท้าทายในการดำเนินกิจการ, กล้าโตกล้าเสี่ยง, มีความกล้าตั้งใจในการ ประกอบธุรกิจ

GDP  = gross domestic product
ผลิตภัณฑ์มวลรวมภายในประเทศ
คือผลิตภัณฑ์ผลิตและบริการของประเทศที่ผลิตโดยผู้ประกอบการภายในประเทศ ไม่รวมรายได้สุทธิจากต่างประเทศ

natural resources  = ทรัพยากรธรรมชาติ
outward-looking economic policies  = การดำเนินนโยบายเศรษฐกิจที่มองออก สู่ภายนอก
a bubble economy  = ภาวะเศรษฐกิจฟองสูญ
our reserves  = เงินทุ่มเสถียร, เงินคงคลัง
public money  = เงินของรัฐ

to rescue non-viable finance companies  = ช่วยเหลือการขาดสภาพคล่อง ในสถาบันการเงิน
“contagion effect”  = "ผลกระทบที่ล้วนกระทบ", อธิบายเป็นแนว กระจายอุกשל
.to be complacent  = สาพองใจ, อิ่งอยอึมใจ, นิ่งนอนใจ
to be affected  = เกิดผลกระทบ
international repercussions  = การสะท้อนกลับ, การตอบสนอง, การเกิดผลกระทบไปทั่วทุกภูมิภาค

to be inevitable  = ไม่อาจหลีกเลี่ยงได้, unavoidable
the G-7 countries  = Group of 7, กลุ่ม 7 คือกลุ่มประเทศ มหาอำนาจทางเศรษฐกิจของโลก 7 ประเทศ ได้แก่ สหรัฐอเมริกา อังกฤษ เยอรมนี แคนาดา ฝรั่งเศส อิตาลี และ ญี่ปุ่น ได้ประกาศร่วมมือกันเพื่อรักษา
remain aloof (adj) = stay distant in sympathy and interest, etc; reserved and cold

deteriorate (ν +, ν) = ทำให้ดิ้น, เสื่อมโทรม, เสื่อมด้อย

recession = การตกต่ำ, เศรษฐกิจตกต่ำ

economic liberalisation = การเปิดเสรีทางเศรษฐกิจ

the volatility of capital flows = ความอ่อนไหวของการไหลเวียนของเงินทุน

to be taken into account = ให้รับการพิจารณา

surveillance = การควบคุม, การตรวจสอบให้เห็นในสายตา

collective surveillance of monetary systems = รวมกันสอดส่องกำกับดูแลระบบการเงินในระดับต่าง ๆ

expertise = ความเชี่ยวชาญ

the imperatives of liberalisation and globalisation = การเปิดเสรีและโลกยุคโลกาภิวัตน์

cooperative endeavours = ความร่วมมือร่วมกัน

monetary discipline = สร้างเสริมวินัยทางการเงินและการคลัง

to restructure our financial institutions = ปรับโครงสร้างระบบสถาบันการเงิน

to strengthen our fiscal and monetary discipline = การปฏิรูป (การเมือง, เศรษฐกิจและสังคม)

the reform = การบริหารจัดการที่มีประสิทธิภาพ

social impacts = ผลกระทบทางสังคม
governance = วิธีการปกครอง
good governance = ปฏิรูประบบราชการ

bureaucratic reform
judicial system
efficient
effective
rejuvenation (n.)
recovery
to be restored
the crux of the problem

surmount the obstacles
the severity of this exonomic crisis is
unprecedented

we are pragmatic (adj.)
determination and perseverance

= กระบวนการยุติธรรม
= มีประสิทธิภาพ
= สัมฤทธิผล
= การฟื้นคืนกลับสู่สภาพเดิม
gaming
= การฟื้นคืนสภาพเดิม, หายเป็นปกติ
gaming
= การฟื้นคืนสภาพเดิม
= จุดที่ยาก, ปัญหาที่ยากลำบากที่สุด
= ประกาศปัญหาที่สำคัญที่สุด
= เอาชนะ, ฝีหัดอุปสรรคทั้งปวง

= ความรุนแรงของวิกฤตเศรษฐกิจนี้
= ไม่มีใครคาดคิดมาก่อน
= skilled in business, practical,
= ความแน่วแน่, อดทน และอุตสาหะ

= ความแน่วแน่, อดทน และอุตสาหะ

บรรยาย

บทที่ 6 ทักษะการตกลงเรื่อง และเอกสารวิชาการ ให้เข้าใจได้ง่าย นักศึกษาได้ มีกิจกรรมสืบเสาะเพื่อหาข้อมูลจากเรื่องแบบ และโครงสร้างของหนังสือต่างๆ และอีกส่วน text เพื่อ
หาคำตอบจากในสำราญ แล้วเอกสารวิชาการ ประกอบด้วยการอ่านบทความที่คิดเห็น
ตามวารสารหรือหนังสือพิมพ์ ซึ่งเป็นบทความที่มีความคิดเห็นของผู้เขียนแสดงทางไปในข้าง
จริง นักศึกษาต้องอ่านโดยใช้การณ์เห็นต้องดิน และสรุปความเห็นของตนเองได้ว่า เห็นด้วย
กับผู้เขียนหรือไม่

นอกจากนี้ นักศึกษาบางที่ได้แยกออกจากความในสุนทรภณฑ์ของบุคคลสำคัญ ในการที่เป็นประเด็นวิกฤติของประเทศชาติ ทำให้สิทธิ์แนวการเขียนภาษา และลักษณะการนำเสนอประเด็นปัญหา ตลอดจนแนวทางหรือแนวทางแก้ไขปัญหา

เอกสารสำคัญทั้งหมดนี้ เป็นเรื่องราวในแนวของนักวิชาศาสตร์ที่จะประสบในปัจจุบัน
และอนาคตได้เสมอ
I. Directions: Read the Prime Minister’s address at the World Economic Forum and answer the questions.

1. (P. 1) The Prime Minister would like to emphasize-.
   a. the current economic crisis in Thailand
   b. the economic crisis in East Asia
   c. the economic growth in the Southeast Asian region
   d. 1 and 2 are correct.

2. (P. 2) East Asia used to _____.
   a. have strong economic fundamentals
   b. be regarded as an economically successful region
   c. be economically unrivalled by other regions
   d. All are correct.

3. (P. 2) They were regarded by the World Bank as a “miracle”.
   a. East Asia.
   b. The East Asian economies.
   c. Thailand’s economy.
   d. The World Bank.

4. (P. 5) What are East Asia’s strong-points?
   a. 1/3 of the world’s human resources.
   b. The world’s highest saving rate.
   c. Natural resources.
   d. A. are correct.

5. (P. 9-13) What was/were the cause(s) of Thailand’s economic crisis?
   a. Demand and purchasing power.
   b. Financial mismanagement.
   c. Non-viable finance companies.
   d. The stock market.
6. (P.14) What is “contagion effect”?
   a. A dangerous disease called “Tom Yum Kung”.
   b. A bad influence that tends to spread.
   c. Imitated customs.
   d. Uncontrollable corruption.

7. (P. 14-17) In this globalised era, no countries can completely avoid being affected by what happens halfway around the world.
   a. Stock markets.
   b. Rapid expansion of foreign capital.
   c. Severe economic crisis.
   d. Economic liberalisation.

8. What will provide an engine for recovery in the East Asian region?
   a. The maintenance of currency stability in China.
   b. The effective stimulation of Japan’s economy.
   c. Market access expansion to Europe and North America.
   d. All are correct.

9. (P. 18) According to the Prime Minister’s address, President Clinton—
   a. remained impartial and stayed aloof
   b. recognised Asian’s economic crisis
   c. promised to help strengthen Asian economies
   d. disregarded the issue of the financial crisis in Asia

10. (P. 19-26) The Prime Minister makes clear that—
   a. cooperative endeavours at the regional and international levels are not sought after
   b. the United States should be responsible for the economic crisis
   c. the affected economies must also rely on their own efforts to reform their economic policies and disciplines
   d. the government takes good care of the reforms without any social impacts
11. (P. 27-32) The reforms call for-
   a. good governance
   b. people's cooperation
   c. democratic principles
   d. All are correct

12. (P. 33) East Asia will resume its place as one of the engines of world growth.
   a. Become.
   b. Return.
   c. Remain.
   d. Replace.

II. Directions: Study the model and answer the questions. Scan the model for the key words (13-18) and match them with the category (a-e) they belong to.
Politcs Without Sovereignty

International politics is quite a bit different from the domestic politics we have been studying. Domestic politics generally occurs within a sovereign entity—what we call a state or nation—whereas international politics occurs among such entities. Sovereignty means being boss on your own turf, the last legal word within a country. The concept grew up in the sixteenth century, when absolutist monarchs were strengthening their positions and sought legal justification for it. Sovereignty is the dominant force within a country. Criminals, rebels, and breakaway elements are, in theory, controlled or crushed by the sovereign, who now, of course, is no longer a king or queen but the national government. Sovereignty also means that foreign powers have no business intruding into your country’s affairs; their reach—again in theory—stops at your borders.
So much for theory. In practice, nothing is so clear-cut. Just because a nation is legally sovereign does not necessarily mean it really controls its own turf. Witness poor Lebanon: its territory occupied by outside forces (Syria, Israel, and several Arab or Islamic organizations), its weak government propped up by friendly forces (the United States, France, and Italy), unable to stop the violence among its several politico-religious private armies. At the same time, there was much more peace and order among the sovereign states of Europe who formed the Common Market. They had agreed to settle their economic differences by negotiating and politicking at the Common Market headquarters in Brussels.

This important difference between domestic and international politics sometimes exasperates skilled practitioners of one when they enter the realm of the other. President Johnson was a master of domestic politics; whatever he wanted from Congress he got. But he couldn’t make skinny little Ho Chi Minh back down, for Ho was boss on his own turf. What worked domestically for Johnson-deals, threats, persuasion-flopped internationally. Some have suggested that it was Nixon’s use of the “dirty tricks” of international politics that brought about the Watergate scandal and his downfall. Nixon was indeed a clever statesman; he simultaneously improved ties with the Soviet Union and China. But his deviousness and penchant for secrecy served him ill in dealing with a delicate domestic problem. **International politics is not just domestic politics on a grander scale.** Without a world sovereignty to establish rules and authority, international politics is wilder and more complex.
Lacking the sovereignty that prevails in most domestic situations, international relations depend a lot on power. The late, great Hans Morgenthau held that power is the basic element of international politics and that idealists ignore it at their peril.

Without sufficient power, a country cannot survive, let alone prevail, in a tumultuous world. One should bear in mind that power is not the same as force. Force is the specific application of military might; power is a country’s more general ability to get its way. Power includes military, economic, political, and psychological factors. Power is tricky to calculate. Whole departments of the CIA spend millions trying to figure out how much power various countries have. Some elements of power—such as a country’s geography, natural resources, population, and economy—are tangible or calculable. Some of the most important factors, however—such as a country’s military capability, the quality of its political system, and its psychological determination—cannot be learned until it is involved in a war. The war then provides—at a terrible price—the answer about which side has more power.

M.G. Roskin et al., *Political Science.* 381-382.

**Politics Without Sovereignty:**

19. What is the main idea of paragraph (I)?

20. What is domestic politics?

21. What is international politics?
22. What is sovereignty?

23. What is the main idea of paragraph (2)?

24. What is the topic sentence of paragraph (3)?

Politics as Power:

25. What is the topic sentence of paragraph (4)?

26. What is power?

27. What is force?

28. What is Margenthaus's definition of politics?

29. Where is this reference found?