

Name:  
ULg Student ID:

## Political Sciences

### Final Exam

Length: 3:00 hours

This examination is partly machine marked.

- Use only black or blue biro. Make sure the boxes are completely filled with ink or you will not receive credit for the answer.
- Make sure you read the questions and answer choices very carefully and remember *that the correct answer refers to what is said in the text*, so do not answer from your general knowledge.
- If you think several choices are plausible, always select the most precise and accurate one.
- Do not guess: *wrong answers are penalized*.

Put your name and student ID on both sheets as required.

Please circle your teacher's name P.Drianne– C. Hougardy

### A. Listening Comprehension

/10

#### Global power shifts

*Joseph Nye is the former assistant secretary of US defense and former dean of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. You're going to listen to one of his talks on global power shifts.*

*Listen to the extract and choose the best answers to the questions below:*

**Q1.** In his introduction, Joseph Nye does NOT state that:

1. Power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is changing.
2. Power is shifting from Western to Eastern States.
3. Power is shifting from states to non-state actors.
4. Those two changes are independent phenomena going on separately.

**Q2.** Mr Nye states that:

1. at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, less than 50% of the world's population lived in Asia.
2. at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Asian consumers represented more than half of the world's market.
3. around 1900, 50% of the world population still lived in Asia but one fifth of them had already moved abroad because of the Industrial Revolution.
4. None of the above.

**Q3.** Mr Nye's view about the 21<sup>st</sup> century is that:

1. Europe and America will remain the dominant centre of the world.
2. Asia will become the most populated area of the globe again.
3. The industrial revolution's impact on the balance of power will still be very important.
4. None of the above.

**Q4.** The price of technology...

1. ... has risen dramatically in all fields since the 1970s.
2. ... is 1000 times lower than the price of communications.
3. ... is nowadays 1000 times lower than in 1970.
4. All of the above.

**Q5.** Nowadays...

1. communication is easier than in the 70s thanks to technology.
2. more people are rich, so the access to communication had to be restricted to powerful actors.
3. everyone has access to communication, regardless of their bank account.
4. All of the above.

**Q6.** The State...:

1. is still very much involved in restricting capabilities.
2. has now to share power with other, non-governmental actors.
3. try and protect citizens against harmful non-governmental organizations such as Al Qaeda.
4. None of the above.

**Q7.** The comparison between Pearl Harbor and September 11 shows that...

1. war is not necessarily between two states anymore.
2. an attack by a non-state actor can be more harmful than an attack by a state.
3. power is not the privilege of states anymore.
4. All of the above.

**Q8.** Soft power...

1. ... has been underestimated despite its great importance.
2. ... is when you affect people to get the outcomes you want with oral threats only.
3. ... is when you get the outcomes you want by paying people.
4. All of the above.

**Q9.** If soft power was used more widely...

1. ... there would be less wars.
2. ... non-state actors would have a more important role to play.
3. ... the use of coercion and payment as means of establishing power would diminish
4. None of the above.

**Q10.** Mr Nye thinks that...

1. war is not necessary anymore, since the media have become very powerful.
2. the prevailing power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is still military power.
3. in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, being powerful is not only winning wars, but also communicating effectively.
4. All of the above.

## B. Reading Comprehension

/20

1. I just arrived in Cairo, perhaps the country changed most so far by the “Arab spring” pro-democracy movements sweeping across the Middle East, and it got me thinking about the future of authoritarian regimes back home in Asia – and most of all, China. There has been much talk about whether or not China is vulnerable to the sort of mass protests that toppled Hosni Mubarak's government here in Egypt. The Chinese leadership apparently thinks it is. In recent weeks, Beijing has engaged in a tight-fisted crackdown on any perceived form of dissent (...). The lesson Chinese officials seem to be learning is that it is dangerous to leave any potential source of anti-government activism uncrushed, no matter how harmless it may appear to be at the moment.

2. That, however, is the wrong lesson. I'm not going to claim any special powers to predict the future – who, after all, could have foreseen the “Arab spring” only a few months ago? – but I think China has little reason to worry about a similar uprising. And that is because of its superior economic performance. (...) It's that economic success that makes China different from the Middle East, and thus less susceptible to an “Arab spring”-style uprising.

3. \_\_\_\_\_ **Gap A** \_\_\_\_\_, that doesn't mean economic progress will ensure the Communist Party can keep its grip on power indefinitely. Beijing's leaders do have reason for worry that one day the Chinese people will rise up against them. But the causes will not be quite the same as those behind the “Arab spring.” The lessons China should be learning can be found much closer to home.

4. \_\_\_\_\_ **Gap B** \_\_\_\_\_, let's look at China and the Middle East. A big part of the unrest you're seeing in the Middle East is rooted in the inability of governments in that region to provide jobs and better economic opportunities for their people, especially compared to China. Just look at some stats (all from the IMF). China's GDP per capita, in real terms, has surged two-and-a-half times in the past decade; Egypt's has increased about 30%, Syria's a bit over 22%, Yemen's only 12%. More telling, China's unemployment rate, at about 4% in 2010, was way way below the level found in “Arab spring” countries. Egypt's unemployment rate was more than 9%, Jordan's stood at 12.5% and Tunisia at 13%. (...) \_\_\_\_\_ **Gap C** \_\_\_\_\_ the Middle East suffers from the highest youth unemployment rate in the world, at 25%. Is it any wonder that so many young people have taken to the streets in the region?

5. In China, on the other hand, there is a meaningful portion of the populace that is benefiting from Communist Party rule and thus has little interest at this point in **overthrowing** the current system, despite the constraints the government imposes on civil liberties and political activity. That's one reason why attempts by activists to launch a Middle East-style “Jasmine Revolution” via the Internet fizzled . \_\_\_\_\_ **Gap D** \_\_\_\_\_ in the Middle East, where only those few connected to the authoritarian governments prospered, in China, hundreds of millions are getting richer. The result is a very different political climate. (...). People in China see their lives getting better, and want to keep it that way.

6. That doesn't mean there isn't widespread discontent in China as well. Some 900 million people still live in the countryside, which hasn't experienced the great gains in income and development seen in China's major urban centers. Even in the cities, life is hard for those at low income levels. Housing has become so expensive in Beijing that some residents were forced to live underground in converted bomb shelters. China's leaders are acutely aware of the potential political **hazards** posed by the yawning gap between the haves and have-nots and has been actively trying to improve the livelihoods of the remaining poor. (...) So in China, even those currently on the sidelines of the economic boom have hope of jumping into the game. And hope if a powerful tool by which the government can maintain public support.

7. But can more money to buy TV sets and cars compensate indefinitely for a lack of political rights and civil liberties? Though I don't believe China's Communists are vulnerable to an "Arab spring," I do think they are vulnerable to a different sort of revolution, one in which those who have benefited from economic development choose to **toss out** the regime that brought those very benefits. China's leaders should learn from what happened right next door, in South Korea. I'll call it the Kimchi Revolution.

8. South Korea's dictators, who ruled almost uninterrupted from 1961 to 1987, have probably been among the most economically successful in history. In 1961, the year of the coup that brought Park Chung Hee to power, Korea was among the world's poorest nations, with GDP per capita of only \$92, according to World Bank data. By 1987, the dictators had increased that to \$3,368 – an amazing record. But that didn't save the authoritarian regime. There had been protests throughout the period of dictatorship, mainly by students, but when the housewives and office workers – the middle class who were the winners of the economic advance – joined them on the streets of Seoul, the sitting dictator could no longer maintain his **grip** on the nation. Eventually, Koreans wanted political progress to match their economic progress. The economy was reformed and increasingly modern, but politics remained unchanged and backward.

9. Korea isn't alone. The entire Asian region has become more democratic as wealth has risen. Taiwan and Indonesia went through successful democratic transitions. Malaysia, **Gap E** ruled by the same party since independence, is becoming more politically fractured and open. Even in Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew's ruling party, which has governed the island since 1959, posted its worst performance ever in recent elections.

10. So the real challenge to China's leadership is not an uprising by those frustrated with or not benefiting from the political system, as in the Middle East, but by the people the Communist Party has helped become rich. If the Communist Party wants to maintain power, it has to change. But the recent **crackdown** by Beijing shows the government is unaware of the lessons of Korea. Unreformed political regimes can't survive in reformed economies.

11. In the end, dictators lose. If they keep their people poor and isolated, they face Arab springs. If they make their people rich, they face Kimchi Revolutions.

1 - Text coherence & cohesion: Fill in the 5 gaps using appropriate linking words.

**Q11.** GapA:

- |            |              |
|------------|--------------|
| 1) However | 3) Meanwhile |
| 2) While   | 4) Although  |

**Q12.** GapB:

- |          |                 |
|----------|-----------------|
| 1) Yet   | 3) Finally      |
| 2) First | 4) Nevertheless |

**Q13.** GapC:

- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1) despite  | 3) although |
| 2) moreover | 4) yet      |

**Q14.** GapD:

- |          |            |
|----------|------------|
| 1) still | 3) unlike  |
| 2) thus  | 4) despite |

**Q15.** GapE:

- |            |                |
|------------|----------------|
| 1) despite | 3) though      |
| 2) as      | 4) in spite of |

2 - Text vocabulary: find out what the following words mean in their context

**Q16.** Which of the following is closest in meaning to "overthrowing" (§5)?

- 1) abolishing      2) maintaining      3) abusing      4) bankrolling

**Q17.** Which of the following is closest in meaning to "hazards" (§6)?

- 1) opportunities      2) chance      3) dangers      4) occasion

**Q18.** Which of the following is closest in meaning to "toss out" (§7)?

- 1) get rid of      2) support      3) back      4) promote

**Q19.** Which of the following words **CANNOT** be used instead of "grip" (§8)?

- 1) hold      2) domination      3) control      4) amendment

**Q20.** What do you think the word "crackdown" (§10) suggests?

- 1) repression      2) recession      3) election      4) reformation

3 – Reading comprehension: decide whether the following statements are true (1) OR false or irrelevant (2).

**!!!!** Correct answers refer to ***what is said in the text***, so do not answer from your general knowledge. **!!!!**

**Q21** Hosni Mubarak’s being toppled makes other authoritarian regimes, especially China, vulnerable to pro-democracy movements.

**Q22** China has already introduced repression measures, though the dissent over there hasn’t been significant.

**Q23** The author of the article thinks China should fear an “Arab spring”-style uprising because of its economic situation.

**Q24** Unlike many Middle Eastern countries China is economically healthy and thriving, as witness its GDP and unemployment rate.

**Q25** Many people in China are getting richer , which makes them unlikely to want to overthrow the current system.

**Q26** Even though China’s leaders are aware there is a huge gap between the rich and the poor in the country, they don’t fear dissent because they are used to crushing any form of uprising.

**Q27** The Kimchi revolution is the South Korean equivalent of the Arab spring revolution.

**Q28** In South Korea the economic success of the authoritarian regime didn’t prevent people benefiting from the economic advance from protesting against the dictatorship.

**Q29** Although they are better off economically, Chinese people have the same expectations as those who took part in the mass protests in the Middle East.

**Q30** Hopefully China will have learned from the Korean example that political regimes can keep thriving, unless the country’s economic situation changes for the worse.

4 – Express your opinion: Write a 3 to 5 line comment on **one** of the 2 following sentences (underlined in the text).

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If the Communist Party wants to maintain power, it has to change.(...). Unreformed political regimes can't survive in reformed economies.

**Or**

In the end, dictators lose. If they keep their people poor and isolated, they face Arab springs. If they make their people rich, they face Kimchi Revolutions.

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### C. Grammar in context

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When Frank Wisner, the U.S. diplomat and envoy of **Gap 31**, met with Hosni Mubarak on Tuesday, Feb. 1, the scene **Gap 32** familiar to **Gap 33**. **Gap 34** 30 years, American diplomats would enter one of the lavish palaces in Heliopolis, the neighborhood in Cairo **Gap 35** Mubarak ruled Egypt. The Egyptian President would receive the American warmly, and the two would begin to talk about American-Egyptian relations and the fate of Middle East peace. Then the American might gently raise the issue of political reform. The President would tense up and snap back, "If I do what you want, the Islamic fundamentalists **Gap 36** power." The conversation would return to the latest twist **Gap 37**.

It is quite likely that a version of this exchange took place **Gap 38** that Tuesday. Mubarak would surely have warned Wisner that without him, Egypt would fall prey to the radicalism of the Muslim Brotherhood, **Gap 39**. He has often reminded visitors of the U.S.'s folly in Iran in 1979, when it **Gap 40** support for a staunch ally, the Shah, only to see the regime **Gap 41** by a nasty anti-American theocracy. But this time, the U.S. diplomat had a different response to **Gap 42**. It was time for the transition to begin

And that was the message Obama **Gap 43** to Mubarak when the two spoke on the phone on Feb. 1. "It was a tough conversation," said an Administration official. Senior national-security aides gathered around a speakerphone in the Oval Office to listen to the call. Mubarak made it clear how difficult the uprising had been for him personally; Obama pressed the Egyptian leader to refrain from any violent response to **Gap 44** in the streets. But a day later, **Gap 45** had been remarkably peaceful **Gap 46** the demonstrations began — turned violent. In Cairo, Mubarak supporters, **Gap 47** wading into crowds on horseback, began battering protesters.

It was a reminder that the precise course that Egypt's revolution will take over the next few days and weeks **Gap 48**. The clashes **Gap 49** the groups supporting and opposing the government mark a new phase in the conflict. The regime has many who live off **Gap 50** patronage, and they could fight to keep their power. But the opposition is now energized and empowered. And the world — and the U.S. — has put Mubarak on notice.

Whatever happens in **Gap 51** will not change the central narrative of Egypt's revolution. Historians will note that Jan. 25 **Gap 52** the start of the end of Mubarak's 30-year reign. And now we'll test the theory that politicians and scholars have long debated. Will **Gap 53** democratic Egypt become a radical Islamic state? Can democracy work in the Arab world?

Few thought it ever would come to this. Egypt has long been seen **Gap 54** a society deferential to authority, with a powerful state and a bureaucracy that **Gap 55** backward and corrupt but nonetheless kept the peace. "This a country with a remarkable record of political stability," wrote Fouad Ajami in an essay in 1995, pointing out that in the past two centuries, Egypt has been governed by just two regimes, a monarchy **Gap 56** in 1805 and the Free Officers Movement that came to power in 1952 with Gamal Abdel Nasser. (France, by comparison, has been through a revolution, two empires, five republics and a quasi-fascist dictatorship in much the same period.) In the popular imagination, Egyptians are passive, meekly submitting to religion and

hierarchy. But by the end of January the streets of Cairo and Alexandria and other cities were filled with a different people: crowds of energetic, strong-willed men from all walks of life and even some women, all determined to shape their destiny and become masters of their own fate.

What changed? Well, Egyptians were never as docile \_\_\_Gap 57\_\_\_ their reputation suggested. Egyptian society has spawned \_\_\_Gap 58\_\_\_ political activism, from Islamic radicals to Marxists to Arab nationalists to liberals. But ever since the late 1950s, the Egyptian regime \_\_\_Gap 59\_\_\_ on its civil society, shutting down political parties, closing newspapers, jailing politicians, bribing judges and silencing intellectuals. Over the past three decades Egypt became a place where few serious books were written, universities were monitored, newspapers carefully followed a bland party line and people watched what they said in public. In the past 20 years, the war against Islamic terrorist groups — often genuinely brutal thugs — allowed Mubarak's regime \_\_\_Gap 60\_\_\_ even harder on Egyptian society in the name of security.

<b>Q31</b> 1) The American President Obama 2) American President Obama 3) american President Obama 4) the american president Obama	<b>Q32</b> 1) cannot be 2) should be 3) must have been 4) will be	<b>Q33</b> 1) the both men 2) both mens 3) boths men 4) both men
<b>Q34</b> 1) During 2) For 3) While 4) Since	<b>Q35</b> 1) at which 2) from what 3) from which 4) in that	<b>Q36</b> 1) have seized 2) are seizing 3) can't seize 4) will seize
<b>Q37</b> 1) the peace process 2) peace process 3) the peace's process 4) process of peace	<b>Q38</b> 1) on 2) at 3) – (nothing) 4) in	<b>Q39</b> 1) the Egypt's Islamist political movement 2) Egypt's political Islamist movement 3) The Egypt's Islamic politic movement 4) Egypt's Islamist political movement
<b>Q40</b> 1) withdrew 2) withdrawn 3) has withdrawn 4) had been withdrawing	<b>Q41</b> 1) replacing 2) having replaced 3) replaced 4) being replacing	<b>Q42</b> 1) the Egyptian President's arguments 2) Egyptian's President arguments 3) Egyptian President's arguments 4) Arguments of Egyptian President
<b>Q43</b> 1) has delivered 2) delivered 3) had delivered 4) was delivered	<b>Q44</b> 1) the hundreds of thousands 2) hundreds of thousand 3) hundred thousand 4) the hundred of thousand	<b>Q45</b> 1) that streets – who 2) this street – that 3) those streets – which 4) these streets - who



<b>Q46</b> 1) for 2) whereas 3) since 4) during	<b>Q47</b> 1) any of whom 2) some of them 3) none of those 4) any of those	<b>Q48</b> 1) will know 2) cannot be known 3) might know 4) should know
<b>Q49</b> 1) despite 2) against 3) between 4) for	<b>Q50</b> 1) their 2) its 3) his 4) them	<b>Q51</b> 1) next few days 2) few next days 3) the few next days 4) the next few days
<b>Q52</b> 1) has marked 2) has been marking 3) will mark 4) marked	<b>Q53</b> 1) more 2) the most 3) a more 4) most	<b>Q54</b> 1) like 2) as 3) such as 4) as much as
<b>Q55</b> 1) might have been 2) was being 3) will be 4) couldn't be	<b>Q56</b> 1) that was setted up 2) set up 3) which setted up 4) who was set up	<b>Q57</b> 1) that 2) than 3) as 4) like
<b>Q58</b> 1) many 2) a great deal 3) few 4) much	<b>Q59</b> 1) has cracked down 2) cracked down 3) cracks down 4) is cracking down	<b>Q60</b> 1) clamping down 2) to clamp down 3) clamp down 4) clamped down

## D. Vocabulary

/15

**Q61.** The parents of a young Sri Lankan woman sentenced to death in Saudi Arabia have appealed to King Abdullah \_\_\_\_\_ her.

1. to pardon    2. to principle    3. to condemn    4. to crave

**Q62.** The New Flemish Alliance, which made the \_\_\_\_\_ of Belgium a central manifesto pledge at the election, said it had "fundamental remarks" to make about the proposal before continuing negotiations.

1. break-up    2. bloodshed    3. hostilities    4. abolishment

**Q63.** The European Commission says EU member states must address the \_\_\_\_\_ in migration produced by the unrest in North Africa.

1. siege    2. surge    3. slowdown    4. fall

**Q64.** Protesters in Cairo were trying \_\_\_\_\_ President Hosni Mubarak.

1. to retire    2. to trap    3. to oust    4. to amend

**Q65.** Human Rights Watch accuses Libya of \_\_\_\_\_ the human rights of African migrants trying to enter the EU by forcibly repatriating them.

1. ousting                      2. abusing                      3. craving                      4. toppling

**Q66.** Technically North and South remain at war as the 1950-53 Korean War ended with \_\_\_\_\_, not \_\_\_\_\_.

1. a peace treaty/ an armistice                      2. an armistice/ a truce  
3. an armistice/ a peace treaty                      4. a peace treaty/ a truce

**Q67.** Protesters are angry about corruption and unemployment, and want the president \_\_\_\_\_

1. to topple                      2. to ratify                      3. to resign                      4. to impeach

**Q68.** The African Union has given Ivory Coast President Mr Gbagbo until 24 March to organise \_\_\_\_\_ of power but he shows no signs of stepping down.

1. an impeachment    2. an election                      3. a handover                      4. an uprising

**Q69.** Senior ACN (the Action Congress of Nigeria) figures have faced accusations of corruption, so it will be very difficult for Mr Ribadu to allow this party \_\_\_\_\_ his campaign for the presidency.

1. to finance                      2. to shield                      3. to cast                      4. to pull out

**Q70.** The strategy \_\_\_\_\_ how the Scottish government is working to support the sector, including improving skills, increasing investment and improving access to finance and international markets.

1. gives up                      2. sets out                      3. wipes off                      4. pulls out

**Q71.** Yemen, the Arab world's most impoverished nation, is one of about a dozen countries in the Middle East to have seen anti-government \_\_\_\_\_ this year.

1. unrest                      2. ballot                      3. downside                      4. ratification

**Q72.** Indian PM Manmohan Singh has said no member of his Congress party or government bribed MPs to survive a crucial \_\_\_\_\_ of confidence in 2008.

1. bill                      2. law                      3. amendment                      4. vote

**Q73.** King Albert II has picked a new mediator in a bid to end the \_\_\_\_\_ over forming a government after the June 2010 election.

1. undertaking                      2. proxy war                      3. deadlock                      4. treaty

**Q74.** The incident is apparently the latest in \_\_\_\_\_ being carried out by Chechens resisting Russia's attempt to control the province by force.

1. parliamentary    2. a coalition                      3. a guerrilla war                      4. a slowdown

**Q75.** Royal Marine Mark Jackson has been awarded the Conspicuous Gallantry Cross (CGC) after he picked up and threw back an enemy grenade before lying on a comrade \_\_\_\_\_ him from the blast.

1. to shield                      2. to besiege                      3. to crave                      4. to pin down

## E. Writing

### I. Compare and contrast:

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1. anarchism/ liberalism

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2. unitary system /federal system of government

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### II. Give definitions or explanations (choose 2 out of the following 4):

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- political science
- balance of power
- constitution
- international politics

1. 

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2. 

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