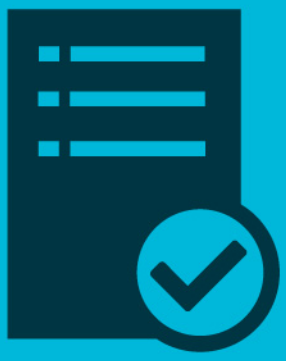

CÁTEDRA SALCEEK
INGLÉS NIVEL II

MODELOS DE EXAMEN FINAL
LIBRE / REGULAR

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EXAMEN DE INGLÉS NIVEL 2

ARGENTINA, 1930

The year 1930 opens the gateway into modern Argentina. The military coup of September 1930brought the collapse of constitutional government and initiated the long sequence of weak democracies, separated by *coups d'etat* and military dictatorships, that remained the cardinal feature of Argentine politics into the 1980s. The plunge into depression in 1930 permanently shifted the path of economic development. Yet Argentina had subsisted as an informal dependency of Great Britain, supplying Britain with meats and grains and serving as a leading market for coal, manufactured goods and, at least till 1914, capital exports.

Social change of equal magnitude, and with the same enduring consequences, paralleled the economic shifts. The population of Argentina grew from 11.8 million in 1930 to 15.3 million in1946, but the rate of growth declined. Falling rates of growth were a consequence of a substantial decline in the birth-rate, from 31.5 per thousand in 1920 to 24.7 per thousand in 1935, which contemporaries conventionally blamed on the depression. Declining population growth was also a result of the end of mass European immigration. Foreign-born men still represented 40 per cent of the male population in 1930, but only 26 per cent in 1946.

The year 1930 also marked the acceleration of a profound ideological shift — the decline of liberalism and the rise of nationalism — that later coloured the texture of Argentine politics. Anationalist awareness began to emerge before 1930 among segments of the intellectuals. But after1930 nationalism evolved into a political movement, complementing and intensifying the other changes in government and institutions, economy and society and forming part of a complex, mutually reinforcing process of change.

In the 1930s, echoes of the past combined with precursors of the future. In September 1930,'democracy' fell and 'oligarchy' returned, sustaining itself first through the army and then, for adecade or more, by electoral fraud. The conservative oligarchy of the 1930s marked a regression to the political system that had prevailed before the electoral reform of 1912 and the Radical victory of 1916, as successive governments again sought to exclude much of the eligible population from political activities.

Actividades: responder o traducir, según corresponda.

1-¿A qué se refiere el texto con “cardinal feature” (líneas 3 y 4, subrayado)? Explique.
2-Según el primer párrafo, ¿cómo era la economía argentina antes de 1930?
3-¿Qué dos razones explican la merma del crecimiento demográfico que tuvo lugar a partir de 1930?
4-¿Qué cambios se dieron en el plano ideológico? ¿Qué rol tuvo la ideología desde 1930?
5-Traducir el segmento subrayado.

No generally valid principle of legislation can be based on happiness

In 1793, the great German philosopher Immanuel Kant wrote an essay entitled "On the Common Saying: 'That may be right in theory, but it does not work in practice,'" which is often now referredto simply as *Theory and Practice*. The essay was written in a year of momentous political change: George Washington became the first president of the US, the German city of Mainz declared it selfan independent republic, and the French Revolution reached its height with the execution of King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. Kant's essay examined not only political theory and practice, but also the legitimacy of government itself. This was a topic that had become literally a matter of life or death.

In stating that "no generally valid principle of legislation can be based on happiness," Kant argues with a position taken by the Greek philosopher Plato some 2,000 years earlier. Kant's essay states that happiness does not work as a basis for law. No one can—nor should— try to define whath appiness is for someone else, so a rule based on happiness cannot be applied consistently. "For…the highly conflicting and variable illusions as to what happiness is," Kant wrote, "… make all fixed principles impossible, so that happiness alone can never be a suitable principle of legislation." What is crucial instead, he believed, is that the state ensures people's freedom within the law "so that each remains free to seek his happiness in whatever way he thinks best, so long as he does not violate the lawful freedom and rights of his fellow subjects at large."

Kant considers what would happen in a society where people live "in a state of nature," free top ursue their own desires. He sees the main problem as a conflict of interests. What do you do, for instance, if your neighbour moves into your house and throws you out, and there are no laws tos top him or give you any redress? Kant claims that a state of nature is a recipe for anarchy, in whichdisputes cannot be settled peacefully. For this reason people willingly "abandon the state of nature in order to submit to external public and lawful coercion." Kant's position follows on from the English philosopher John Locke's earlier idea of the social contract, which says that people make a contract with the state in which they each freely consent to give up some of their freedom in exchange for the state's protection.

The consent of all

Kant asserts that governments must remember that they govern only by the people's consent—not the consent of a few people, nor even a majority, but of the entire population. What counts is that no one among the population might potentially object to a proposed law. "For if the law is such that a whole people could not possibly agree to it, it is unjust; but if it is at least possible that a people could agree to it, it is our duty to consider the law just."

Kant's idea acts as an important guide for the citizen as well as the government, because he is also saying that if a government passes a law that you consider wrong, it is still your moral duty to obeyit. You might think it is wrong to pay taxes to your government to fund a war, but you should not withhold your taxes because you feel the war is unjust or unnecessary, because "it is at least possible that the war is inevitable and the tax indispensable."

However, for Kant, although subjects have a duty to obey the law, they also have to take individual responsibility for their moral choices. He says that morals have a "categorical imperative." By this, he means that an individual should only follow rules or maxims that they believe should apply to everyone. Each person, he says, must act as though they were lawmakers through each of the moral choices they make.

The will of the people

At the heart of Kant's philosophy—and applicable to both morality and politics—is the notion of autonomy. This is the idea that the human will is and must be wholly independent. Freedom is not being unbound by any law, but being bound by laws of one's own making. The link between morals and state laws is direct: the legitimacy of both morality and laws is that they are based on the rational desires of the people; the social contract is "based on a coalition of the wills of all private individuals in a nation." State laws must be literally "the will of the people." So, if we agree to be governed, we must rationally agree to obey every law the government passes. By the same token, though, the laws of an external government, such as an occupying force or colonial power, have no legitimacy. Kant asks whether a government has a role in promoting the happiness of its people. He is clear that since only an individual can decide what makes him happy, any legislation designed to improve people's situation must be based on their actual wishes, not what the government believes will be good for them. Nor should a government compel individuals to make other people happy. It cannot, for example, force you to go and see your grandmother regularly, even though it might be good for the country's general happiness if grandmothers were properly appreciated.

Lea el texto y responda las siguientes preguntas. Elabore sus respuestas utilizando información relevante:

1)¿Cómo se tituló el ensayo que escribió Kant en 1793? Según el texto, ¿se trató de un año importante?
2)Concretamente, ¿cuál fue el tema que se había convertido en una cuestión de vida o muerte?
3)¿Por qué dice Kant que la felicidad no puede ser la base de la ley? ¿Qué propone en cambio?
4)¿Qué conflicto le preocupa a Kant sobre el estado de naturaleza? ¿Cómo se resuelve?
5)¿Cuándo considera Kant que una ley no es justa?
6)¿Por qué afirma Kant que el ciudadano tiene el deber moral de obedecer una ley del gobierno?
7)¿Cómo entiende Kant el concepto de autonomía? ¿Cómo se relaciona con la libertad?
8)¿Cómo explica Kant que las leyes de un gobierno externo no tienen legitimidad?

If we Choose, we Can Live in a World of Comforting Illusion
Noam Chomsky (1928--)

Noam Chomsky was born in 1928 in Pennsylvania, USA, and was raised in a multilingual Jewish house hold. He studied mathematics, philosophy, and linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania, where he wrote a ground-breaking thesis on philosophical linguistics. In 1957, his book *Syntactic*secured his reputation as one of the leading figures in linguistics and revolutionized the field. Although continuing to teach and publish in linguistics, Chomsky became increasing lyinvolved in politics. He was a prominent opponent of the Vietnam War, which prompted him to publish his critique of US intellectual culture, *The Responsibility of Intellectuals*, in 1967. Today, he continues to write and lecture on linguistics, philosophy, politics, and international affairs.

Although originally famous for his work in linguistics, Noam Chomsky is today best known for his analyses of political power. Since the publication of his first political book, *American Power and the Mandarins*, in 1969, he has claimed that there is often a mismatch between the way that state sexert power and the rhetorical claims that they make. He maintains that rhetorical claims by governments are not by themselves sufficient for us to reach the truth about political power.Governments may speak the language of "facts" as a way of justifying their actions, but unless theirclaims are supported by evidence, then they are only illusions, and the actions to which they leadlack justification. If we are to understand more clearly how states operate, it is necessary to move beyond the battle between rival forms of rhetoric, and instead to look at history, at institutional structures, at official policy documents, and so forth.

Ethics and universality

Chomsky's ethical analyses are based on what he calls the "principle of universality." At root, this principle is relatively simple. It says that at the very least we should apply to ourselves the same standards that we apply to others. This is a principle that Chomsky claims has always been central to any responsible system of ethics. The central psychological insight here is that we are fond ofusing ethical language as a way of protesting about others, but that we are less inclined to pass judgment on ourselves. Nevertheless, if we claim to uphold any set of ethical or moral standards, and if we wish to be consistent, then we must apply to others the standards we apply to ourselves. In terms of government, this means that we must analyze our political actions rigorously, instead of allowing ourselves to be blinded by rhetoric.

This is both a moral and an intellectual imperative. For Chomsky, these are closely related. He points out that if anyone making a moral claim is also violating universality, then their claim cannot be taken seriously and should be rejected. If we are to cut through the rhetoric and examine political morality in a rigorous fashion, it seems that universality is a necessary starting point. Some of Chomsky's specific claims about the nature of global power have caused considerable controversy, but this does not invalidate his central insight. For if we wish to call his specific claims into question, then we should do so in the light of universality and of all the available evidence. If his claims turn out to be false, then they should be rejected or modified; but if they turn out to be true, then they should be acted upon.

Politics

Chomsky's political views seem to be supported to some extent by his approach to the study of language and mind, which implies that the capacity for creativity is an important element of human nature. Chomsky often notes, however, that there is only an "abstract" connection between his theories of language and his politics. A close connection would have to be based on a fully developed science of human nature, through which fundamental human needs could be identified or deduced. But there is nothing like such a science. Even if there were, the connection would additionally depend on the assumption that the best form of political organization is one that maximizes the satisfaction of human needs. And then there would remain the question of what practical measures should be implemented to satisfy those needs. Clearly, questions such as this cannot be settled by scientific means.

Although Chomsky was always interested in politics, he did not become publicly involved in it until1964, when he felt compelled to lend his voice to protests against the U.S. role in the Vietnam War(or, as he prefers to say, the U.S. invasion of Vietnam), at no small risk to his career and his personal safety. He has argued that the Vietnam War was only one in a series of cases in which the United States used its military power to gain or consolidate economic control over increasingly larger areas of the developing world. In the same vein, he regards the domestic political scene of the United States and other major capitalist countries as theatres in which major corporations and their elite managers strive to protect and enhance their economic privileges and political power.

Lea el texto y responda las siguientes preguntas. Elabore sus respuestas utilizando información relevante:

1)¿Qué logros profesionales le dieron a Noam Chomsky su gran reputación?
2)¿Qué lo motivó a escribir *La Responsabilidad de los Intelectuales*?
3)¿Qué se debe tener en cuenta al analizar el poder político y cómo funcionan los estados?
4)¿En qué consiste el "principio de universalidad"? ¿Cómo se aplica al análisis de la política?
5)¿Por qué se dice que el imperativo moral y el intelectual están íntimamente relacionados?
6)¿Por qué Chomsky encuentra una conexión "abstracta" entre sus estudios sobre el lenguaje y el entendimiento y su posición política? ¿Cómo se relaciona esto con la naturaleza humana?
7)¿Cómo caracteriza Chomsky la escena política de los Estados Unidos de América? ¿Cómo se relaciona esto con la Guerra de Vietnam?
8)¿Por qué considera que el texto se titula *"If we Choose, we Can Live in a World of Comforting Illusion"*? Responda recuperando información presentada en el texto.

To Renounce Liberty is to Renounce Being a Man
Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778)

For centuries in Western Europe, a certain style of thinking about human affairs prevailed. Under the sway of the Catholic Church, the writings of ancient Greece and Rome had been steadilystu died and rehabilitated, with outstanding intellectuals such as Augustine of Hippo and Thomas Aquinas rediscovering ancient thinkers. A scholastic approach, treating history and society asessentially unchanging and the higher purpose of morality as fixed by God, had come to dominate the ways in which society was considered. It took the upheavals associated with the development of capitalism and urban life to begin to tear this approach apart.

In his *Discourse on Inequality* of 1754, Rousseau broke with previous political philosophy. If, as heargued, society could be shaped by its political institutions, there was —in theory—no limit to the ability of political action to reshape society for the better. This assertion marked Rousseau as adistinctively modern thinker. Nobody before Rousseau had systematically thought of society assomething distinct from its political institutions, as an entity that was itself capable of being studiedand acted upon. Rousseau was the first, even among the philosophers of the Enlightenment, to reason in terms of social relations among people. This new theory begged an obvious question: If human society was open to political change, why, then was it so obviously imperfect?

Rousseau provided, again, an exceptional answer, and one that scandalized his fellow philosophers. As his starting point, he asked that we consider humans without society. Thomas Hobbes hadargued such people would be savages, living lives that were “poor, nasty, brutish, and short,” but Rousseau asserted quite the opposite. Human beings free from society were well-disposed, happy creatures, content in their state of nature. Only two principles guided them: the first, a natural self love and desire for self-preservation; the second, a compassion for their fellow human beings. The combination of the two ensured that humanity reproduced itself, generation after generation, in a state close to that of other animals. This happy condition was, however, brutally brought to a close by the creation of civil society and, in particular, the development of private property.

The arrival of private property imposed an immediate inequality on humanity that did not previously exist—between those who possessed property, and those who did not. By instituting his inequality, private property provided the foundations of further divisions in society—between those of master and slave, and then in the separation of families. On the foundation of these new divisions, private property then provided the mechanism by which a natural self-love turned into destructive love of self, now driven by jealousy and pride, and capable of turning against other human beings. It became possible to possess, and acquire, and to judge oneself against others on the basis of this material wealth. Civil society was the result of division and conflict working again sta natural harmony.

Rousseau built on this argument in *The Social Contract*, published in 1762. “Man was born free, and he is everywhere in chains,” he wrote. People could choose to forfeit their own rights to a government, handing over their full liberty to a sovereign in return for the king—in Hobbes’s account—providing security and protection. Hobbes argued that life without a sovereign pushed humanity back to a vile state of nature. By handing over a degree of liberty—in particular, liberty touse force—and swearing obedience, a people could guarantee peace, since the sovereign could end disputes and enforce punishments.

Rousseau rejected this. It was impossible, he thought, for any person or persons to hand over their liberty without also handing over their humanity and therefore destroying morality. A sovereign could not hold absolute authority, since it was impossible for a free man to enslave himself. Establishing a ruler superior to the rest of society transformed humanity’s natural equality into apermanent, political inequality. For Rousseau, the social contract envisioned by Hobbes was a form of hoax by the rich against the poor—there was no other way that the poor would agree to a state of affairs in which the social contract preserved inequality.

The social contract, instead of being a pact written in fear of our evil natures, could be a contract written in the hope of improving ourselves. The state of nature might have been free, but it meant people had no greater ideals than that of their animal appetites. More sophisticated desires could only appear outside the state of nature, in civil society. To achieve this, a new kind of social contract would be written. Where Hobbes saw law only as a restraint, and freedom existing only in the absence of law, Rousseau argued that laws could become an extension of our freedom, provided that those subject to the law also prescribed the law. Freedom could be won within the state, rather than against it. To achieve this, the whole people must become sovereign. A legitimate estate is one that offers greater freedom than is obtainable in the raw state of nature. To secure that positive freedom, a people must also be equal. In Rousseau’s new world, liberty and equality march together, rather than in opposition.

Lea el texto y responda las siguientes preguntas. Elabore sus respuestas utilizando información relevante:

1)¿A qué pensadores se menciona en el primer párrafo? ¿Por qué?
2)¿Por qué se considera a Rousseau un pensador moderno?
3)¿Cómo describe Rousseau el estado de naturaleza? ¿Cómo se garantiza la reproducción humana en este estado?
4)¿Cuál es el origen de la desigualdad según Rousseau? ¿Qué efectos produjo en la sociedad?
5)¿Qué quería decir Rousseau con la expresión *“Man was born free, and he is everywhere inchains”*?
6)¿Por qué Rousseau no estaba de acuerdo con Hobbes? ¿Qué pensaba del contrato social hobbesiano?
7)¿En qué consiste el nuevo contrato social que propone Rousseau?
8)¿Por qué considera que el texto se titula *“To Renounce Liberty is to Renounce Being a Man”*?Responda recuperando información presentada en el texto.

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