

Вэнс – речь на Мюнхенской конференции по безопасности в глазах американских рабочих и иммигрантов

Транскрипт его речи тут -
<https://singjupost.com/full-transcript-vp-jd-vance-remarks-at-the-munich-security-conference/?singlepage=1>

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Частотный список

AntConc

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Target Corpus

Name: Vance-LEMMA

Files: 1

Tokens: 2965

JD Vance Remarks.txt

KWIC

Plot

File

Cluster

N-Gram

Collocate

Word

Keyw

Types 795/795

Tokens 2965/2965

Page Size 100 hits

1 to 100

	Type	Rank	Freq	Range
1	people	19	22	1
2	our	21	19	1
3	believe	34	14	1
4	course	37	12	1
5	democracy	37	12	1
6	think	37	12	1
7	own	43	11	1
8	time	43	11	1
9	europe	47	10	1
10	citizen	53	9	1
11	election	53	9	1
12	share	58	8	1
13	value	58	8	1
14	country	68	7	1
15	european	68	7	1

Search Query

☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex

Start

Sort by

Frequency

☐ Invert Order

Progress

100%

Явно акцент на политической репрезентации, демократии и народе

Биграммы

Target Corpus

Name: Vance-LEMMA

Files: 1

Tokens: 2965

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KWIC Plot File Cluster N-Gram Collocate Word Keyw

N-Gram Types 2320 N-Gram Tokens 2964 Page Size All hits

	Type	Rank	Freq	Range
1	our share	34	4	1
2	united states	34	4	1
3	cold war	58	3	1
4	democratic mandate	58	3	1
5	own country	58	3	1
6	social medium	58	3	1
7	ballot box	124	2	1
8	cancel election	124	2	1
9	citizen suspect	124	2	1
10	democratic value	124	2	1
11	european friend	124	2	1
12	express view	124	2	1
13	our citizen	124	2	1
14	our own	124	2	1
15	own home	124	2	1

Search Query ☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex N-Gram Size 2

Open Sl

Start

Sort by Frequency ☐ Invert Order

Progress 100%

Коллокации к people

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Target Corpus
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	Collocate	Rank	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR	Range	Likelihood	Effect
1	political	12	3	1	2	1	8.696	6.507
2	represent	12	3	0	3	1	8.696	6.507
3	our	22	2	2	0	1	0.222	2.505
4	silence	22	2	2	0	1	6.895	5.752
5	people	22	2	1	1	1	0.078	2.293
6	own	22	2	1	1	1	1.237	3.293
7	think	22	2	1	1	1	1.034	3.167
8	dismiss	22	2	1	1	1	6.895	5.752
9	shut	22	2	2	0	1	4.312	4.752
10	election	22	2	2	0	1	1.751	3.583
11	country	22	2	1	1	1	2.474	3.945
12	voice	22	2	1	1	1	2.474	3.945
13	leader	22	2	0	2	1	2.952	4.167
14	elect	22	2	0	2	1	6.895	5.752
15	express	22	2	0	2	1	4.312	4.752

Collocate Types 121 Collocate Tokens 220 Page Size 100 hits 1 to 100 of 121

Search Query ☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex Window Span From 5L To 5R Min. Fre
people Start ☐ Adv Search
Sort by Frequency(LR) ☐ Invert Order
Progress 100%

Много отрицательных глаголов – заткнуть, заглушить, отвергнуть

Конкордансы к people

- it's time for all of our countries, for all of us who have been fortunate enough to be given political power by our respective peoples to use it wisely to improve their lives, and I want to say that I was fortunate in my time here to spend some
- to spend some time outside the walls of this conference over the last 24 hours, and I've been so impressed by the hospitality of the people, even, of course, as they're reeling from yesterday's horrendous attack. And the first time I was ever in Munich was with my
- who's here with me today on a personal trip, and I've always loved the city of Munich, and I've always loved its people, and I just want to say that we're very moved, and our thoughts and prayers are with Munich and everybody affected by the
- surprise, to make mistakes, to invent, to build. As it turns out, you can't mandate innovation or creativity just as you can't force people what to think, what to feel, or what to believe. And we believe those things are certainly connected. And unfortunately, when I look at

5. misinformation. Misinformation, like, for example, the idea that coronavirus had likely leaked from a laboratory in China, our own government encouraged private companies to silence people who dared to utter what turned out to be an obvious truth. So I come here today not just with an observation, but with
6. obvious truth. So I come here today not just with an observation, but with an offer. Just as the Biden administration seemed desperate to silence people for speaking their minds, so the Trump administration will do precisely the opposite, and I hope that we can work together on that. In
7. wasn't very strong to begin with. Now the good news is that I happen to think your democracies are substantially less brittle than many people apparently fear, and I really do believe that allowing our citizens to speak their mind will make them stronger still. Which of course brings
8. on both the left and the right from participating in these conversations. Now again, we don't have to agree with everything or anything that people say, but when people represent, when political leaders represent an important constituency, it is incumbent upon us to at least participate in dialogue with
9. and the right from participating in these conversations. Now again, we don't have to agree with everything or anything that people say, but when people represent, when political leaders represent an important constituency, it is incumbent upon us to at least participate in dialogue with them. Now to many
10. re defending in the first place? I've heard a lot already in my conversations, and I've had many, many great conversations with many people gathered here in this room. I've heard a lot about what you need to defend yourselves from, and of course that's important.
11. I believe deeply that there is no security if you are afraid of the voices, the opinions, and the conscience that guide your very own people. Europe faces many challenges, but the crisis this continent faces right now, the crisis I believe we all face together, is one of our
12. your own voters, there is nothing America can do for you, nor for that matter is there anything that you can do for the American people who elected me and elected President Trump. You need democratic mandates to accomplish anything of value in the coming years. Have we learned nothing
13. all the pressing challenges that the nations represented here face, I believe there is nothing more urgent than mass migration. Today, almost one in five people living in this country moved here from abroad. That is, of course, an all-time high. It's a similar number, by the way,
14. migration. Now I happen to agree with a lot of these concerns, but you don't have to agree with me. I just think that people care about their homes, they care about their dreams, they care about their safety and their capacity to provide for themselves and their children.
15. or relentlessly ignored by their leaders. It is the business of democracy to adjudicate these big questions at the ballot box. I believe that dismissing people, dismissing their concerns, or worse yet, shutting down media, shutting down elections, or shutting people out of the political process, protects nothing. In fact,
16. big questions at the ballot box. I believe that dismissing people, dismissing their concerns, or worse yet, shutting down media, shutting down elections, or shutting

- people out of the political process, protects nothing. In fact, it is the most sure-fire way to destroy democracy. And speaking up and expressing
17. nothing. In fact, it is the most sure-fire way to destroy democracy. And speaking up and expressing opinions isn't election interference, even when people express views outside your own country and even when those people are very influential. And trust me, I say this with all humor, if
 18. destroy democracy. And speaking up and expressing opinions isn't election interference, even when people express views outside your own country and even when those people are very influential. And trust me, I say this with all humor, if American Democracy can survive ten years of Greta Thunberg's scolding,
 19. their aspirations, their pleas for relief are invalid or unworthy of even being considered. Democracy rests on the sacred principle that the voice of the people matters. There's no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or you don't. Europeans, the people, have a voice. European leaders
 20. principle that the voice of the people matters. There's no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or you don't. Europeans, the people, have a voice. European leaders have a choice. And my strong belief is that we do not need to be afraid of the future.
 21. leaders have a choice. And my strong belief is that we do not need to be afraid of the future. You can embrace what your people tell you, even when it's surprising, even when you don't agree. And if you do so, you can face the future with
 22. the most extraordinary champions of democracy on this continent or any other, once said, "Do not be afraid." We shouldn't be afraid of our people, even when they express views that disagree with their leadership. Thank you all. Good luck to all of you. God bless you.

Конспект

you can't mandate innovation or creativity just as you can't force people what to think, what to feel, or what to believe. And we believe those things are certainly connected. And unfortunately, when I look at Europe today, it's sometimes not so clear what happened to some of the Cold War's winners. I look to Brussels, where EU commissars warn citizens that they intend to shut down social media during times of civil unrest the moment they spot what they've judged to be, quote, "hateful content." I look to my own country, where police have carried out raids against citizens suspected of posting anti-feminist comments online as part of, quote, "combating misogyny on the internet, a day of action."

And in the interest of comedy, my friends, but also in the interest of truth, I will admit that sometimes the loudest voices for censorship have come not from within Europe, but from within my own country, where the prior administration threatened and bullied social media companies to censor so-called misinformation. Misinformation, like, for example, the idea that coronavirus had likely leaked from a laboratory in China, our own government encouraged private companies to silence people who dared to utter what turned out to be an obvious truth.

So I come here today not just with an observation, but with an offer. Just as the Biden administration seemed desperate to silence people for speaking their minds, so the Trump administration will do precisely the opposite, and I hope that we can work together on that. In Washington, there is a new sheriff in town, and under Donald Trump's leadership, we may

disagree with your views, but we will fight to defend your right to offer it in the public square, agree or disagree.

Now the good news is that I happen to think your democracies are substantially less brittle than many [people](#) apparently fear, and I really do believe that allowing our citizens to speak their mind will make them stronger still. Which of course brings us back to Munich, where the organizers of this very conference have banned lawmakers representing parties on both the left and the right from participating in these conversations.

Now again, we don't have to agree with everything or anything that [people](#) say, but when [people](#) represent, when political leaders represent an important constituency, it is incumbent upon us to at least participate in dialogue with them.

What is the positive vision that animates this shared security compact that we all believe is so important? And I believe deeply that there is no security if you are afraid of the voices, the opinions, and the conscience that guide your very own [people](#). Europe faces many challenges, but the crisis this continent faces right now, the crisis I believe we all face together, is one of our own making. If you're running in fear of your own voters, there is nothing America can do for you, nor for that matter is there anything that you can do for the American [people](#) who elected me and elected President Trump.

You need democratic mandates to accomplish anything of value in the coming years.

And of all the pressing challenges that the nations represented here face, I believe there is nothing more urgent than mass migration. Today, almost one in five [people](#) living in this country moved here from abroad. That is, of course, an all-time high. It's a similar number, by the way, in the United States, also an all-time high. The number of immigrants who entered the EU from non-EU countries doubled between 2021 and 2022 alone, and of course it's gotten much higher since.

And we know the situation, it didn't materialize in a vacuum. It's the result of a series of conscious decisions made by politicians all over the continent and others across the world over the span of a decade. We saw the horrors wrought by these decisions yesterday in this very city.

I believe that dismissing [people](#), dismissing their concerns, or worse yet, shutting down media, shutting down elections, or shutting [people](#) out of the political process, protects nothing. In fact, it is the most sure-fire way to destroy democracy.

And speaking up and expressing opinions isn't election interference, even when [people](#) express views outside your own country and even when those [people](#) are very influential. And trust me, I say this with all humor, if American Democracy can survive ten years of Greta Thunberg's scolding, you guys can survive a few months of Elon Musk.

But what no democracy, American, German, or European, will survive is telling millions of voters that their thoughts and concerns, their aspirations, their pleas for relief are invalid or unworthy of even being considered. Democracy rests on the sacred principle that the voice of the [people](#) matters. There's no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or you don't.

Europeans, the [people](#), have a voice. European leaders have a choice. And my strong belief is that we do not need to be afraid of the future. You can embrace what your [people](#) tell you, even when it's surprising, even when you don't agree.

As Pope John Paul II, in my view, one of the most extraordinary champions of democracy on this continent or any other, once said, "Do not be afraid." We shouldn't be afraid of our [people](#), even when they express views that disagree with their leadership.

Джей Ди Вэнс в своем выступлении подчеркивает ключевую роль народа в демократии и предостерегает от попыток подавлять мнения граждан под предлогом борьбы с дезинформацией или экстремизмом. Он критикует как европейские, так и американские власти за цензуру и ограничения свободы слова, указывая, что настоящая безопасность возможна только тогда, когда лидеры не боятся голосов своего народа. Вэнс также рассматривает массовую миграцию как вызов, с которым нужно считаться, а не игнорировать, и подчеркивает, что политическая элита должна слушать народ, иначе демократическая система окажется под угрозой. В его понимании народ — это источник легитимности власти, и демократическое руководство должно не только признавать его голос, но и открыто взаимодействовать с ним, даже если мнения граждан идут вразрез с позицией правящих элит.

Коллокации к слову democra

Target Corpus
 Name: Vance-LEMMA
 Files: 1
 Tokens: 2965
 JD Vance Remarks.txt

	KWIC	Plot	File	Cluster	N-Gram	Collocate	Word	Keyword	Wordcloud
	Collocate Types	109	Collocate Tokens	170	Page Size	100 hits		1 to 100 of 109	
	Collocate	Rank	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR	Range	Likelihood	Effect	
1	mandate	5	3	0	3	1	7.844	6.294	
2	our	11	2	1	1	1	0.618	2.876	
3	share	11	2	2	0	1	2.852	4.124	
4	accomplish	11	2	1	1	1	7.870	6.124	
5	think	11	2	1	1	1	1.669	3.539	
6	destroy	11	2	1	1	1	7.870	6.124	
7	american	11	2	1	1	1	5.220	5.124	
8	value	11	2	0	2	1	2.852	4.124	
9	european	11	2	0	2	1	3.279	4.317	
10	name	35	1	1	0	1	3.930	4.124	
11	talk	35	1	1	0	1	1.892	2.539	
12	elect	35	1	1	0	1	2.605	3.124	
13	president	35	1	1	0	1	2.605	3.124	
14	trump	35	1	1	0	1	1.085	1.802	
15	win	35	1	1	0	1	1.892	2.539	

Search Query ☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex **Window Span** From 5L To 5R Min. Fr
 democra Start ☐ Adv Search

Sort by Frequency(LR) ☐ Invert Order

Progress  100%

Конкордансы

- statements are shocking to American ears. For years, we've been told that everything we fund and support is in the name of our shared democratic values. Everything from our Ukraine policy to digital censorship is billed as a defense of democracy. But when we see European courts canceling elections
- and support is in the name of our shared democratic values. Everything from our Ukraine policy to digital censorship is billed as a defense of democracy. But when we see European courts canceling elections and senior officials threatening to cancel others, we ought to ask whether we're holding ourselves
- appropriately high standard. And I say ourselves because I fundamentally believe that we are on the same team. We must do more than talk about democratic values, we must live them. Now within living memory of many of you in this room, the Cold War positioned defenders of democracy against
- talk about democratic values, we must live them. Now within living memory of many of you in this room, the Cold War positioned defenders of democracy against much more tyrannical forces on this continent. And consider the side in that fight that censored dissidents, that closed churches, that canceled elections.

5. Russia to buy social media advertisements to influence your elections. We certainly do. You can condemn it on the world stage, even. But if your democracy can be destroyed with a few hundred thousand dollars of digital advertising from a foreign country, then it wasn't very strong to begin
6. advertising from a foreign country, then it wasn't very strong to begin with. Now the good news is that I happen to think your democracies are substantially less brittle than many people apparently fear, and I really do believe that allowing our citizens to speak their mind will make
7. you, nor for that matter is there anything that you can do for the American people who elected me and elected President Trump. You need democratic mandates to accomplish anything of value in the coming years. Have we learned nothing that thin mandates produce unstable results? But there is so
8. Have we learned nothing that thin mandates produce unstable results? But there is so much of value that can be accomplished with the kind of democratic mandate that I think will come from being more responsive to the voices of your citizens. If you're going to enjoy competitive economies,
9. have to make difficult choices to enjoy all of these things, and of course we know that very well in America. You cannot win a democratic mandate by censoring your opponents or putting them in jail, whether that's the leader of the opposition, a humble Christian praying in her
10. And it's hardly surprising that they don't want to be shuffled about or relentlessly ignored by their leaders. It is the business of democracy to adjudicate these big questions at the ballot box. I believe that dismissing people, dismissing their concerns, or worse yet, shutting down media, shutting
11. media, shutting down elections, or shutting people out of the political process, protects nothing. In fact, it is the most sure-fire way to destroy democracy. And speaking up and expressing opinions isn't election interference, even when people express views outside your own country and even when those people
12. express views outside your own country and even when those people are very influential. And trust me, I say this with all humor, if American Democracy can survive ten years of Greta Thunberg's scolding, you guys can survive a few months of Elon Musk. But what no democracy, American,
13. if American Democracy can survive ten years of Greta Thunberg's scolding, you guys can survive a few months of Elon Musk. But what no democracy, American, German, or European, will survive is telling millions of voters that their thoughts and concerns, their aspirations, their pleas for relief are invalid
14. survive is telling millions of voters that their thoughts and concerns, their aspirations, their pleas for relief are invalid or unworthy of even being considered. Democracy rests on the sacred principle that the voice of the people matters. There's no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or
15. the future with certainty and with confidence, knowing that the nation stands behind each of you. And that, to me, is the great magic of democracy. It's not in these stone buildings or beautiful hotels. It's not even in the great institutions that we have built together as
16. stone buildings or beautiful hotels. It's not even in the great institutions that we have built together as a shared society. To believe in democracy is to understand that each of our citizens has wisdom and has a voice. And if we refuse to listen to that voice, even

17. voice, even our most successful fights will secure very little. As Pope John Paul II, in my view, one of the most extraordinary champions of democracy on this continent or any other, once said, "Do not be afraid." We shouldn't be afraid of our people, even when they express

Конспект

Now these cavalier statements are shocking to American ears. For years, we've been told that everything we fund and support is in the name of our shared democratic values. Everything from our Ukraine policy to digital censorship is billed as a defense of democracy.

But when we see European courts canceling elections and senior officials threatening to cancel others, we ought to ask whether we're holding ourselves to an appropriately high standard. And I say ourselves because I fundamentally believe that we are on the same team. We must do more than talk about democratic values, we must live them.

Now within living memory of many of you in this room, the Cold War positioned defenders of democracy against much more tyrannical forces on this continent. And consider the side in that fight that censored dissidents, that closed churches, that canceled elections. Were they the good guys? Certainly not.

You need democratic mandates to accomplish anything of value in the coming years.

But there is so much of value that can be accomplished with the kind of democratic mandate that I think will come from being more responsive to the voices of your citizens. If you're going to enjoy competitive economies, if you're going to enjoy affordable energy and secure supply chains, then you need mandates to govern, because you have to make difficult choices to enjoy all of these things, and of course we know that very well in America.

You cannot win a democratic mandate by censoring your opponents or putting them in jail, whether that's the leader of the opposition, a humble Christian praying in her own home, or a journalist trying to report the news. Nor can you win one by disregarding your basic electorate on questions like who gets to be a part of our shared society.

But if your democracy can be destroyed with a few hundred thousand dollars of digital advertising from a foreign country, then it wasn't very strong to begin with.

Now the good news is that I happen to think your democracies are substantially less brittle than many people apparently fear, and I really do believe that allowing our citizens to speak their mind will make them stronger still.

And if you do so, you can face the future with certainty and with confidence, knowing that the nation stands behind each of you. And that, to me, is the great magic of democracy. It's not in these stone buildings or beautiful hotels. It's not even in the great institutions that we have built together as a

shared society. To believe in democracy is to understand that each of our citizens has wisdom and has a voice.

Джей Ди Вэнс в своем выступлении выражает обеспокоенность тем, что западные демократические ценности, на которые так часто ссылаются США и Европа, могут размываться под предлогом борьбы с дезинформацией и защиты общества. Он критикует цензуру, отмену выборов и преследование оппозиционных голосов, сравнивая такие меры с практиками тоталитарных режимов времен холодной войны. Вэнс подчеркивает, что настоящая демократия требует открытого диалога с народом, а не подавления несогласных. Он также ставит под сомнение аргумент о внешнем вмешательстве, утверждая, что если демократия может быть разрушена небольшими вложениями в цифровую рекламу, значит, она изначально была слабой. В его понимании народ – это не просто избиратели, а источник политической легитимности, чья мудрость и голос должны быть услышаны, а не игнорироваться в угоду элитным интересам.

Коллокации к europ

AntConc

File Edit Settings Help

Target Corpus

Name: Vance-LEMMA

Files: 1

Tokens: 2965

JD Vance Remarks.txt

Collocate Types 110

Collocate Tokens 190

Page Size 100 hits

1 to 100 of 110

	Collocate	Rank	FreqLR	FreqL	FreqR	Range	Likelihood	Effect
1	people	12	3	2	1	1	1.376	4.259
2	democracy	17	2	2	0	1	1.382	3.379
3	believe	17	2	1	1	1	1.016	3.157
4	voice	17	2	1	1	1	2.924	4.157
5	vis	17	2	2	0	1	7.448	5.964
6	unfortunately	17	2	1	1	1	7.448	5.964
7	own	17	2	1	1	1	1.606	3.505
8	time	17	2	1	1	1	1.606	3.505
9	friend	17	2	0	2	1	4.039	4.642
10	step	17	2	0	2	1	7.448	5.964
11	administration	39	1	1	0	1	1.252	1.964
12	concerned	39	1	1	0	1	3.719	3.964
13	strike	39	1	1	0	1	3.719	3.964
14	former	39	1	1	0	1	2.408	2.964
15	our	39	1	1	0	1	0.042	-0.284

Search Query ☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex

Window Span From 5L To 5R Min. Fr

europ

Start ☐ Adv Search

Sort by Frequency(LR) ☐ Invert Order

Progress 100%

Конкордансы

1. we mean threats to our external security. I see many great military leaders gathered here today, but while the Trump administration is very concerned with European security and believes that we can come to a reasonable settlement between Russia and Ukraine, and we also believe that it's important in
2. that we can come to a reasonable settlement between Russia and Ukraine, and we also believe that it's important in the coming years for Europe to step up in a big way to provide for its own defense, the threat that I worry the most about vis-a-vis
3. Europe to step up in a big way to provide for its own defense, the threat that I worry the most about vis-a-vis Europe is not Russia, it's not China, it's not any other external actor. And what I worry about is the threat from within,
4. Russia, it's not China, it's not any other external actor. And what I worry about is the threat from within, the retreat of Europe from some of its most fundamental values, values shared with the United States of America. Now I was struck that a former European commissioner
5. retreat of Europe from some of its most fundamental values, values shared with the United States of America. Now I was struck that a former European commissioner went on television recently and sounded delighted that the Romanian government had just annulled an entire election. He warned that if things don't
6. name of our shared democratic values. Everything from our Ukraine policy to digital censorship is billed as a defense of democracy. But when we see European courts canceling elections and senior officials threatening to cancel others, we ought to ask whether we're holding ourselves to an appropriately high standard.
7. people what to think, what to feel, or what to believe. And we believe those things are certainly connected. And unfortunately, when I look at Europe today, it's sometimes not so clear what happened to some of the Cold War's winners. I look to Brussels, where EU commissars
8. may amount to breaking the law. Naturally, the government urged readers to report any fellow citizens suspected guilty of thought crime. In Britain and across Europe, free speech, I fear, is in retreat. And in the interest of comedy, my friends, but also in the interest of truth, I will
9. comedy, my friends, but also in the interest of truth, I will admit that sometimes the loudest voices for censorship have come not from within Europe, but from within my own country, where the prior administration threatened and bullied social media companies to censor so-called misinformation. Misinformation, like, for
10. from its continental neighbors. Now, as I understand it, the argument was that Russian disinformation had infected the Romanian elections. But I'd ask my European friends to have some perspective. You can believe it's wrong for Russia to buy social media advertisements to influence your elections. We certainly
11. next few years in line with some new target. And that's great, because as President Trump has made abundantly clear, he believes that our European friends must play a bigger role in the future of this continent. We don't think, you hear this term, burden sharing, but we
12. I think, you hear this term, burden sharing, but we think it's an important part of being in a shared alliance together that the Europeans step up while America focuses on areas of the world that are in great danger. But let me also ask you, how will you

13. course that's important. But what has seemed a little bit less clear to me, and certainly I think to many of the citizens of Europe, is what exactly it is that you're defending yourselves for. What is the positive vision that animates this shared security compact that we
14. believe deeply that there is no security if you are afraid of the voices, the opinions, and the conscience that guide your very own people. Europe faces many challenges, but the crisis this continent faces right now, the crisis I believe we all face together, is one of our own
15. why did this happen in the first place? It's a terrible story, but it's one we've heard way too many times in Europe and unfortunately too many times in the United States as well. An asylum seeker, often a young man in his mid-twenties, already known
16. what they did vote for? In England, they voted for Brexit, and agree or disagree, they voted for it. And more and more all over Europe, they're voting for political leaders who promise to put an end to out-of-control migration. Now I happen to agree with a
17. survive ten years of Greta Thunberg's scolding, you guys can survive a few months of Elon Musk. But what no democracy, American, German, or European, will survive is telling millions of voters that their thoughts and concerns, their aspirations, their pleas for relief are invalid or unworthy of even
18. the sacred principle that the voice of the people matters. There's no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or you don't. Europeans, the people, have a voice. European leaders have a choice. And my strong belief is that we do not need to be afraid of
19. of the people matters. There's no room for firewalls. You either uphold the principle or you don't. Europeans, the people, have a voice. European leaders have a choice. And my strong belief is that we do not need to be afraid of the future. You can embrace what

Конспект

while the Trump administration is very concerned with European security and believes that we can come to a reasonable settlement between Russia and Ukraine, and we also believe that it's important in the coming years for Europe to step up in a big way to provide for its own defense, the threat that I worry the most about vis-a-vis Europe is not Russia, it's not China, it's not any other external actor.

And what I worry about is the threat from within, the retreat of Europe from some of its most fundamental values, values shared with the United States of America.

Now I was struck that a former European commissioner went on television recently and sounded delighted that the Romanian government had just annulled an entire election. He warned that if things don't go to plan, the very same thing could happen in Germany, too.

But when we see European courts canceling elections and senior officials threatening to cancel others, we ought to ask whether we're holding ourselves to an appropriately high standard.

And that's great, because as President Trump has made abundantly clear, he believes that our European friends must play a bigger role in the future of this continent. We don't think, you hear this term, burden

sharing, but we think it's an important part of being in a shared alliance together that the [Europeans](#) step up while America focuses on areas of the world that are in great danger.

And unfortunately, when I look at [Europe](#) today, it's sometimes not so clear what happened to some of the Cold War's winners. I look to Brussels, where EU commissars warn citizens that they intend to shut down social media during times of civil unrest the moment they spot what they've judged to be, quote, "hateful content." I look to my own country, where police have carried out raids against citizens suspected of posting anti-feminist comments online as part of, quote, "combating misogyny on the internet, a day of action."

I look to Sweden, where two weeks ago the government convicted a Christian activist for participating in Koran burnings that resulted in his friend's murder. As the judge in his case chillingly noted, Sweden's laws to supposedly protect free expression do not, in fact, grant, and I'm quoting, "a free pass to do or say anything without risking offending the group that holds that belief."

And perhaps most concerning, I look to our very dear friends in the United Kingdom, where the backslide away from conscience rights has placed the basic liberties of religious Britons in particular in the crosshairs. A little over two years ago, the British government charged Adam Smith-Connor, a 51-year-old physiotherapist and an army veteran, with the heinous crime of standing 50 meters from an abortion clinic and silently praying for three minutes.

But no, this last October, just a few months ago, the Scottish government began distributing letters to citizens whose houses lay within so-called safe access zones, warning them that even private prayer within their own homes may amount to breaking the law. Naturally, the government urged readers to report any fellow citizens suspected guilty of thought crime. In Britain and across [Europe](#), free speech, I fear, is in retreat.

How many times must we suffer these appalling setbacks before we change course and take our shared civilization in a new direction? No voter on this continent went to the ballot box to open the floodgates to millions of unvetted immigrants.

But you know what they did vote for? In England, they voted for Brexit, and agree or disagree, they voted for it. And more and more all over [Europe](#), they're voting for political leaders who promise to put an end to out-of-control migration.

Now I happen to agree with a lot of these concerns, but you don't have to agree with me. I just think that people care about their homes, they care about their dreams, they care about their safety and their capacity to provide for themselves and their children.

Джей Ди Вэнс выражает обеспокоенность тем, что главная угроза для Европы исходит не извне, а изнутри — из-за отхода от фундаментальных демократических ценностей, которыми она должна делиться с США. Он критикует европейские правительства за отмену выборов, ограничение свободы слова и подавление инакомыслия под предлогом борьбы с экстремизмом и разжиганием ненависти. Вэнс также подчеркивает, что миграционная политика не отражает волю избирателей, тогда как на выборах граждане все чаще голосуют за политиков, выступающих за жесткий контроль над иммиграцией. Он считает, что свобода слова и уважение к мнению народа — основа демократии, а ограничения,

вводимые европейскими правительствами, подрывают доверие граждан и угрожают стабильности. В его понимании, настоящая безопасность Европы возможна только тогда, когда лидеры будут слушать своих граждан, а не ограничивать их права.

Джей Ди Вэнс выступает против нескольких видов цензурирования, которые, по его мнению, угрожают демократии в Европе и США:

1. **Ограничение свободы слова в интернете** – он критикует европейские власти за планы блокировать социальные сети во время гражданских волнений под предлогом борьбы с «языком ненависти». Вэнс также осуждает вмешательство правительства США в работу соцсетей, когда предыдущая администрация давила на платформы, заставляя их удалять так называемую «дезинформацию».
2. **Криминализация мнений** – он возмущен тем, что в Европе правоохранительные органы проводят обыски и аресты людей за выражение взглядов, например, за публикации антифеминистского характера или участие в сжигании Корана.
3. **Религиозная цензура** – Вэнс упоминает случаи, когда христиане подвергались судебным преследованиям за мирные акции, например, за молитву возле клиник, проводящих аборт, или даже за частные молитвы в собственных домах в Великобритании.
4. **Отмена выборов и подавление политической оппозиции** – он обеспокоен тем, что европейские суды аннулируют выборы, а чиновники открыто говорят о возможности делать это снова, что, по его мнению, противоречит демократическим принципам.
5. **Ограничение политических дискуссий** – Вэнс осуждает исключение из диалога представителей разных политических движений, даже если их взгляды спорны, утверждая, что диалог важен для демократии.

По сути, его протест направлен против любых попыток государственных структур подавлять несогласие и ограничивать право граждан на свободное выражение мнений, будь то через законы, судебные решения, давление на социальные сети или уголовное преследование.

Риторика Джей Ди Вэнса строится на защите свободы слова и критике цензуры, но в ней есть несколько слабых мест:

1. **Избирательность в защите свободы слова** – Вэнс выступает против цензуры в Европе и США, но его критика в основном направлена против цензурирования консервативных взглядов. Он не говорит о случаях, когда цензуре подвергаются другие группы или мнения, не совпадающие с его политической позицией. Это может выглядеть как защита не принципа свободы слова, а определенной идеологической позиции.
2. **Игнорирование контекста** – Он резко осуждает ограничения свободы слова, но не учитывает, что в демократических странах такие меры часто принимаются в ответ на реальные угрозы (например, разжигание насилия, террористическую пропаганду или дезинформацию, подрывающую общественную безопасность). В его выступлении не звучит альтернатива – как именно государства должны бороться с угрозами, не прибегая к ограничениям.

3. **Гиперболизация и эмоциональная подача** – Вэнс использует резкие формулировки (например, «отмена выборов», «мы боимся собственного народа», «мы движемся в сторону тоталитаризма»), которые создают ощущение кризиса и упадка, но не всегда подтверждаются реальными фактами. Это делает его аргументацию эмоционально убедительной, но менее сбалансированной.
4. **Противоречивость в отношении демократических процессов** – Он подчеркивает важность народного волеизъявления, но в то же время поддерживает политиков и решения, которые могут не соответствовать демократическим принципам (например, риторика Трампа о выборах 2020 года или вопросы вмешательства в избирательные процессы).
5. **Ограниченный взгляд на иммиграцию** – Вэнс представляет миграцию как угрозу, утверждая, что граждане не голосовали за «открытые границы», но не упоминает, что в демократических системах политика формируется не только путем референдумов, но и через сложные механизмы государственного управления. Его позиция может звучать популистски, упрощая реальные экономические и социальные последствия миграции.

В целом, его риторика эффективна для консервативной аудитории, но она избирательна, часто эмоциональна и не всегда предлагает реальные решения.

Корпусы американских рабочих и правозащитных организаций

Первый корпус: Американская федерация государственных служащих

— американский профсоюз, представляющий более 750 000 служащих федерального правительства

Объем – 2911 токенов

Статьи

<https://www.afge.org/publication/afge-president-everett-kelley-condemns-trump-administrations-mass-firing-of-federal-employees/>

<https://www.afge.org/article/judge-blocks-implementation-of-fork-directive-as-requested-by-afge-allies/>

<https://www.afge.org/article/afge-trump-has-no-authority-to-cancel-approved-union-contracts/>

<https://www.afge.org/article/afge-afscme-file-lawsuit-challenging-trumps-schedule-f-efforts-to-politicize-civil-service/>

<https://www.afge.org/article/afge-cautions-feds-not-to-be-tricked-into-resigning-you-might-not-get-paid/>

<https://www.afge.org/article/what-afge-is-doing-a-recap-of-afges-major-actions-against-trumps-attacks-on-civil-service/>

<https://www.afge.org/article/afge-members-mobilize-to-defeat-antiworker-bills/>

Сравнение корпуса Вэнса с корпусом АФГС (негативные ключевые слова – то есть, сходства в словах между ними)

AntConc

File Edit Settings Help

Target Corpus
Name: AFGE-LEMMA
Files: 1
Tokens: 2911
AFGE.txt

Reference Corpus
Name: Vance-LEMMA
Files: 1
Tokens: 2965
JD Vance Remarks.txt

Progress 100%

	Type	Rank	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref	NormFreq_Tar	NormFreq_Ref	NormRange_Tar	NormRange_Ref	K ²
1	think	7	1	12	1	1	343.525	4047.218	1.000	1.000	
2	believe	9	2	14	1	1	687.049	4721.754	1.000	1.000	
3	own	11	1	11	1	1	343.525	3709.949	1.000	1.000	
4	time	11	1	11	1	1	343.525	3709.949	1.000	1.000	
5	election	18	1	9	1	1	343.525	3035.413	1.000	1.000	
6	country	23	1	7	1	1	343.525	2360.877	1.000	1.000	
7	security	23	1	7	1	1	343.525	2360.877	1.000	1.000	
8	people	27	10	22	1	1	343.525	7419.899	1.000	1.000	
9	democracy	32	5	12	1	1	1717.623	4047.218	1.000	1.000	
10	conference	33	1	5	1	1	343.525	1686.341	1.000	1.000	
11	democratic	33	1	5	1	1	343.525	1686.341	1.000	1.000	
12	medium	33	1	5	1	1	343.525	1686.341	1.000	1.000	
13	share	41	3	8	1	1	1030.574	2698.145	1.000	1.000	
14	hear	45	2	6	1	1	687.049	2023.609	1.000	1.000	
15	gather	47	1	4	1	1	343.525	1240.073	1.000	1.000	

Search Query ☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex
people Start ☐ Adv Search
Sort by Likelihood ☐ Invert Order

Сходным словом является people – народ

Как же понимается народ у американского профсоюза?

Конкордансы

1. so employees can be fired for political reasons. Replacing the non-partisan, highly skilled federal workers with unqualified political cronies will only hurt the American people who depend on the expertise and professionalism of career federal workers. In a recent Wall Street Journal poll, more than 60% of voters said they
2. service workers and replacing them with hand-picked appointees. “AFGE is filing suit with our partner union today to protect the integrity of the American people’s government,” said AFGE National President Everett Kelley. “Together, we can stop the efforts to fire hundreds of thousands of experienced, hard-working Americans
3. politicize the non-partisan, independent federal employees who protect our national and domestic security, ensure our food and medications are safe, deliver essential services to

- people and communities everywhere, and much more is simply and clearly illegal,” said Democracy Forward President & CEO Skye Perryman. “Democracy Forward will continue to meet
4. President & CEO Skye Perryman. “Democracy Forward will continue to meet the Trump administration with legal challenges when it chooses to break the law and harm people and communities.” AFGE urges federal employees not to take the so-called ‘deferred resignation’ offer being promoted by Elon Musk, because President Trump may
 5. clarification.” Indeed, members of Congress said Trump doesn’t have the authority to even make the offer. “There’s no budget line item to pay people who are not showing up for work,” Virginia Senator Tim Kaine said on the Senate floor. “Don’t be fooled. He’s tricked hundreds
 6. who are not showing up for work,” Virginia Senator Tim Kaine said on the Senate floor. “Don’t be fooled. He’s tricked hundreds of people with that offer. If you accept that offer and resign, he’ll stiff you just like he stiffed the contractors.” Kaine was referring to
 7. with that offer. If you accept that offer and resign, he’ll stiff you just like he stiffed the contractors.” Kaine was referring to the people who have worked for Trump and his companies, such as carpenters, painters, even his own lawyers, who reported that they were not getting paid.
 8. day in office, and AFGE has been taking on the Trump administration from Day 1 to make sure civil servants can continue to serve the American people and support our communities. Here’s a recap of our major actions so far: Legally binding contracts. For years, AFGE has prepared our locals
 9. efforts. AFGE has been educating members of Congress on the real-world impact of Trump’s anti-worker directives on federal workers and the American people they serve in the hopes that they will work to nullify them through legislation. After Election Day, we began tracking statements and policy positions
 10. pay, and benefits. Public responses. AFGE continues to educate the public about the impact of these anti-worker policies on federal employees and the American people who rely on them to provide the services they have paid for and deserve. AFGE leaders have been giving interviews to the media and

Конспект

The EO will corrupt the federal government by eliminating employees’ due process rights so employees can be fired for political reasons. Replacing the non-partisan, highly skilled federal workers with unqualified political cronies will only hurt the American [people](#) who depend on the expertise and professionalism of career federal workers.

In a recent Wall Street Journal poll, more than 60% of voters said they are opposed to Trump firing career civil-service workers and replacing them with hand-picked appointees.

“AFGE is filing suit with our partner union today to protect the integrity of the American [people](#)’s government,” said AFGE National President Everett Kelley. “Together, we can stop the efforts to fire hundreds of thousands of experienced, hard-working Americans who have dedicated their careers to serving their country and prevent these career civil servants from being replaced with unqualified political flunkies loyal to the president, but not the law or Constitution.”

Democracy Forward President & CEO Skye Perryman. “Democracy Forward will continue to meet the Trump administration with legal challenges when it chooses to break the law and harm [people](#) and communities.”

“There’s no budget line item to pay [people](#) who are not showing up for work,” Virginia Senator Tim Kaine said on the Senate floor. “Don’t be fooled. He’s tricked hundreds of [people](#) with that offer. If you accept that offer and resign, he’ll stiff you just like he stiffed the contractors.”

Kaine was referring to the [people](#) who have worked for Trump and his companies, such as carpenters, painters, even his own lawyers, who reported that they were not getting paid. According to a USA Today analysis, there were 3,500 lawsuits filed against Trump for failing to pay his bills over three decades.

President Donald Trump declared war on the civil service on his first day in office, and AFGE has been taking on the Trump administration from Day 1 to make sure civil servants can continue to serve the American [people](#) and support our communities.

AFGE has been educating members of Congress on the real-world impact of Trump’s anti-worker directives on federal workers and the American [people](#) they serve in the hopes that they will work to nullify them through legislation. After Election Day, we began tracking statements and policy positions related to the federal workforce issued by President-elect Trump, congressional leaders, and think tanks supporting the incoming administration and gaming out the potential scope and impact of changes that the Trump administration and the 119th Congress could seek to make to the federal workforce.

В высказываниях Американской федерации государственных служащих (AFGE) понятие «народ» (*people*) используется в нескольких смыслах, в зависимости от контекста. Во-первых, оно охватывает *всех американцев* как граждан страны, которые зависят от работы профессиональных государственных служащих. В этом смысле «народ» — это общество в целом, которому нужен стабильный, компетентный и беспристрастный государственный аппарат. Во-вторых, термин «*American people*» может включать в себя непосредственно *государственных служащих* как часть народа, заслуживающую защиты от политических чисток и несправедливых увольнений. В-третьих, когда говорится об угрозе демократии и конституционному правопорядку, «народ» подразумевается как источник легитимности государства, чьи интересы должны защищаться от политического произвола. Таким образом, AFGE использует этот термин как риторический инструмент, подчеркивая, что защита прав госслужащих — это не только вопрос их благосостояния, но и фундаментальный интерес всего общества.

Второй корпус: правозащитные организации, которые работают с иммигрантами

Взяты названия организаций отсюда - <https://maketheroadny.org/immigrant-rights-groups-sue-trump-over-attack-on-cornerstone-of-our-democracy/>

Объем – 9612 токенов

AntConc

File Edit Settings Help

Target Corpus

Name: US-immigr-LEMMA

Files: 1

Tokens: 9630

US-immigr.txt

Reference Corpus

Name: Vance-LEMMA

Files: 1

Tokens: 2965

JD Vance Remarks.txt

KWIC

Plot

File

Cluster

N-Gram

Collocate

Word

Keyword

Wordcloud

Keyword Types

292/1494

Keyword Tokens

2436/9630

Page Size

100 hits

1 to 100 of 292 hits

	Type	Rank	Freq_Tar	Freq_Ref	Range_Tar	Range_Ref	NormFreq_Tar	NormFreq_Ref	NormRange_Tar	NormRange_Ref
1	own	3	1	11	1	1	103.842	3709.949	1.000	1.00
2	believe	4	4	14	1	1	415.369	4721.754	1.000	1.00
3	election	8	1	9	1	1	103.842	3035.413	1.000	1.00
4	think	10	4	12	1	1	415.369	4047.218	1.000	1.00
5	time	12	4	11	1	1	415.369	3709.949	1.000	1.00
6	agree	22	2	6	1	1	207.684	2023.609	1.000	1.00
7	democracy	27	12	12	1	1	1246.106	4047.218	1.000	1.00
8	vote	30	2	5	1	1	207.684	1686.341	1.000	1.00
9	express	32	1	4	1	1	103.842	1349.073	1.000	1.00
10	prayer	32	1	4	1	1	103.842	1349.073	1.000	1.00
11	result	32	1	4	1	1	103.842	1349.073	1.000	1.00
12	shut	32	1	4	1	1	103.842	1349.073	1.000	1.00
13	look	40	4	6	1	1	415.369	2023.609	1.000	1.00
14	defend	44	2	4	1	1	207.684	1349.073	1.000	1.00
15	basis	47	1	2	1	1	103.842	1011.804	1.000	1.00

Search Query

☐ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex

Start

Adv Search

Sort by

Likelihood

☐ Invert Order

Progress

100%

Материалы:

- <https://statedemocracydefenders.org/fund/federal-court-blocks-trump-birthright-citizenship-executive-order/>
- <https://statedemocracydefenders.org/fund/immigrants-rights-advocates-sue-trump-administration-over-birthright-citizenship-executive-order/>
- <https://statedemocracydefenders.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/birthright-final-complaint.pdf>
- <https://www.asianlawcaucus.org/news-resources/news/inauguration-statement-2025>
- <https://www.aclu.org/news/immigrants-rights/the-fight-for-asylum-an-american-imperative>
- <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/groups-sue-trump-administration-for-access-to-immigrants-sent-from-u-s-to-guantanamo-bay>
- <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/federal-court-blocks-trump-birthright-citizenship-executive-order>

Сравнение корпуса Вэнса с корпусом проиммигрантских правозащитных организаций США

Как видим, сходным словом является «демократия»

Если убрать названия организаций, то получим следующие конкордансы.

1. senior staff attorney at the ACLU of New Hampshire. “Today’s injunction reaffirms what we already know: that birthright citizenship is a pillar of our democracy, and no president can simply erase it from our Constitution. Our members come from all over the world with courage and resilience to make
2. of American society, even though they were born in the United States and have never lived anywhere else. “Birthright citizenship is a cornerstone of our democracy. Our members, who come from all over the world, have created vibrant communities, loving families, and built this country over generations. To deny their
3. Kim Ark won his case at the Supreme Court, birthright citizenship for all — including babies born to immigrants — has been a cornerstone of U.S. democracy. This constitutional protection has been especially vital to Asian American communities, who have faced decades of exclusionary laws. Most Americans’ own ancestors who came
4. enslaved people. This action seeks to resurrect a racialized notion of who is American in opposition to LDF’s commitment working towards a multi-racial democracy.” IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE NEW HAMPSHIRE INDONESIAN COMMUNITY SUPPORT; LEAGUE OF UNITED LATIN AMERICAN CITIZENS; and
5. won a visa reconsideration process for people harmed by the Muslim Ban, and bolstered California’s role as a beacon for sanctuary and a multiracial democracy. “ We are clear-eyed that Trump’s playbook is served by mayhem and panic - an intentional strategy that seeks to isolate vulnerable community members
6. senior staff attorney at the ACLU of New Hampshire. “Today’s injunction reaffirms what we already know: that birthright citizenship is a pillar of our democracy, and no president can simply erase it from our Constitution. Our members come from all over the world with courage and resilience to make

В высказываниях проиммигрантских и правозащитных организаций США демократия понимается как инклюзивная система, основанная на принципах равенства, справедливости и защиты прав уязвимых групп. Она тесно связана с идеей *многорасового общества* (multiracial democracy), где права и возможности предоставляются всем, независимо от происхождения. В этом контексте демократия — это не только формальные процедуры голосования и правления, но и соблюдение конституционных гарантий, таких как право на гражданство по рождению (birthright citizenship), равенство перед законом и недопущение дискриминации. Такие организации рассматривают попытки ограничить гражданские права, особенно иммигрантов и их потомков, как подрыв демократических основ США, поскольку это ведет к созданию иерархии гражданства и расовой или этнической эксклюзии. Демократия здесь понимается не как статичное понятие, а как

пространство борьбы за расширение прав и свобод, особенно для тех, кого традиционно исключали из политического процесса.

Третий корпус: высказывания ученых об отношении к демократии у правых

Корпус из 98 англоязычных книг [TUI](#). Объем – 9,8 млн токенов.

AntConc

File Edit Settings Help

Target Corpus

Name: Right-wing-RAW

Files: 105

Tokens: 9813119

KWIC Plot File Cluster N-Gram Collocate Word Keyword Wordcloud

Total Hits: 14 Page Size All hits 1 to 14 of 14 hits

File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
2016-Francisco Domin...	...n order (the extreme right), to ones that accept liberal	democracy	but oppose minority rights and the functioning of representativ
2018-... (1962-1965), accepted human rights, pluralism, and		democracy (	see C
2018-... inopluralist doctrine and acceptance of parliamentary		democracy	assoc
2018-... s. Despite the radical right's acceptance of procedural		democracy,	its id
2018-... right is best used for right-wing ideologies that accept		democracy,	i.e. p
2019-... y rule' while 'The radical right accepts the essence of		democracy,	but c
2020-... he contrary, radical right organizations oppose liberal		democracy	but a
2021-... y rule', while the radical right 'accepts the essence of		democracy,	but c
2021-... ng that even much of the radical right's acceptance of		democracy	is tac
2023-... o Mudde (2019, p. 7) does not accept "the essence of		democracy."	The
2023-... pre-vail over the rights of capital (Slobodian, 2021).9		Democracy	woul
2023-... ignty and political pluralism, the radical right accepts		democracy,	altho
2023-... it 'despite the radical right's acceptance of procedural		democracy,	its id
2025-... While actors within the extreme right are opposed to		democracy,	radic

Search Query Words Case Regex Results Set All hits Context Size

Sort Options Custom Sort 1 File ID Sort 2 Row ID Sort 3 Row ID

Progress 100%

Democracy + accept + right

1. 2016-Maik Fielitz (editor)_ Laura Lotte Laloire (editor) - Trouble on the Far Right_ Contemporary Right-Wing Strategies and Practices in Europe.txt the spectrum of far-right activism ranges from organizations that believe in creating a new authoritarian order (the extreme right), to ones that accept liberal democracy but oppose minority rights and the functioning of representative institutions (the populist radical right).5 From the organizational point of view, the far right includes
2. 2018-Jens Rydgren - The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right-2.txt II and the horrors of the Holocaust, the Catholic Church reached reconciliation with liberalism and, in the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), accepted human rights, pluralism, and democracy (see Casanova 1994, 71; Anderson 2009, 38-40). However, this does not mean that all of Christianity has come to terms with democracy, tolerance, and pluralism in the postwar
3. 2018-Jens Rydgren - The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right-2.txt racism. At least until the electoral rise of the UK Independence Party (UKIP), few parties exhibited the more "palatable" ethnopluralist doctrine and acceptance of parliamentary democracy associated with the radical right. This ideological positioning had clear repercussions. Husbands (1988, 65) notes that while far right parties in France and Germany were able

4. 2018-Jens Rydgren - The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right.txt rejects cleavages and division lines within “the people,” they are extremists primarily because they reject pluralist values. Despite the radical right’s acceptance of procedural democracy, its ideal society is ethnocracy, which in many ways runs counter to the pluralistic values of liberal democracy (Betz 2005; Minkenberg 2000). 24 As indicated by its
5. 2018-Jens Rydgren - The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right.txt articulated not “extra-systemically” but “democratically.” Thus, for political scientist Cas Mudde, “the term radical right is best used for right-wing ideologies that accept democracy, i.e. popular sovereignty and majority rule, but oppose some fundamental values of liberal democracy, notably minority rights and pluralism” (2016, 6). Fascists, if we accept
6. 2019-Duncan McDonnell, Annika Werner - International Populism_ The Radical Right In The European Parliament.txt Mudde explains, ‘The extreme right rejects the essence of democracy, i.e. popular sovereignty and majority rule’ while ‘The radical right accepts the essence of democracy, but opposes fundamental elements of liberal democracy, most notably minority rights, rule of law, and separation of powers’ (Mudde, 2019: forthcoming). Contemporary radical right populist
7. 2020-Caterina Froio, Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Giorgia Bulli, Matteo Albanese - CasaPound Italia_ Contemporary Extreme.txt organizations, in fact, reject even the minimum core features of democracy: popular sovereignty and majority rule (Mudde 2007: 138—56). On the contrary, radical right organizations oppose liberal democracy but accept popular sovereignty and the minimal procedural rules of parliamentary democracy. The most important ideology for the extreme right is fascism, a patchwork
8. 2021-Joe Mulhall - Drums In The - Niezviestnyi.txt explains that the far right ‘rejects the essence of democracy, that is, popular sovereignty and majority rule’, while the radical right ‘accepts the essence of democracy, but opposes fundamental elements of liberal democracy, most notably minority rights, rule of law, and separation of powers’.2 While that’s a useful distinction,
9. 2021-Joe Mulhall - Drums In The - Niezviestnyi.txt law, and separation of powers’.2 While that’s a useful distinction, it is worth noting that even much of the radical right’s acceptance of democracy is tactical or performative. Most but not all on the radical right can also currently be described as ‘populist’, which Mudde defines as ‘a (
10. 2023-Katherine Kondor, Mark Littler - The Routledge Handbook of Far-Right Extremism in Europe.txt that will be employed here. The other far right subcategory is the extreme right, which according to Mudde (2019, p. 7) does not accept “the essence of democracy.” The extreme right consists of a wide range of parties, groups and individuals, which sometimes participate in elections but also use extraparliamentary methods. The
11. 2023-Matías Sidel - Neoliberalism Reloaded_ Authoritarian Governmentality and the Rise of the Radical Right.txt leads to an invasion of individual liberties and to make Human Rights—in their post-war version—pre-vail over the rights of capital (Slobodian, 2021).9 Democracy would be acceptable only if it is reduced to a mode of selection of representatives that allows a nonviolent alternation of governing authorities, but
12. 2023-Matías Sidel - Neoliberalism Reloaded_ Authoritarian Governmentality and the Rise of the Radical Right.txt the values of the prevailing political system. According to Mudde, unlike the extreme right, which rejects popular sovereignty and political pluralism, the radical right accepts democracy, although it opposes central aspects of liberal democracy such as the rights of minorities, 1 Mudde (2019) traces three previous waves of post-war far-right

13. 2023-Richard Saull - Capital, Race and Space_ The Far Right from 'post-fascism' to Trumpism (2).txt or other limit. And what this amounts to in substance, as Jens Rydgren (2007: 243) has recognized, is that 'despite the radical right's acceptance of procedural democracy, its ideal society is ethnocracy, which in many ways runs counter to the pluralistic values 190 Chapter 2 of liberal democracy.' Thus, the neoliberal far-right
14. 2025-Théo Aiolfi - The Populist Style_ Trump, Le Pen and Performances of the Far Right.txt extreme right and radical right that distinguishes them based on their relationship with democracy (Mudde 2019: 7; Rydgren 2018). While actors within the extreme right are opposed to democracy, radical-right actors accept (some) of the rules of the democratic game. The far right is used as an umbrella term that includes both

Конспект

2016-Maik Fielitz (editor)_ Laura Lotte Laloire (editor) - Trouble on the Far Right_ Contemporary Right-Wing Strategies and Practices in Europe.txt

Ideologically, the spectrum of far-right activism ranges from organizations that believe in creating a new authoritarian order (the extreme right), to ones that accept liberal [democracy](#) but oppose minority rights and the functioning of representative institutions (the populist radical right).⁵

2018-Jens Rydgren - The Oxford Handbook of the Radical Right.txt

The radical right does not usually oppose democracy per se, although they are typically hostile to the way existing democratic institutions actually work. In fact, radical right-wing parties argue that they represent true democracy (in contrast to the sham democracy that they believe characterizes contemporary societies). Hence, although the radical right rejects cleavages and division lines within "the people," they are extremists primarily because they reject pluralist values. Despite the radical right's acceptance of procedural [democracy](#), its ideal society is ethnocracy, which in many ways runs counter to the pluralistic values of liberal democracy (Betz 2005; Minkenberg 2000).

Thus, for political scientist Cas Mudde, "the term radical right is best used for right-wing ideologies that accept [democracy](#), i.e. popular sovereignty and majority rule, but oppose some fundamental values of liberal democracy, notably minority rights and pluralism" (2016, 6). Fascists, if we accept that they still exist, are further to the extreme. But more than that, since fascists are fundamentally opposed to democracy, they are essentially different from right-wing radicals. There is (or so it seems) a fundamental dividing line between the two. "Most importantly," writes Mudde, "the radical right is (nominally) democratic . . . whereas the extreme right is in essence antidemocratic, opposing the fundamental principle of sovereignty of the people" (Mudde 2007, 31).

2019-Duncan McDonnell, Annika Werner - International Populism_ The Radical Right In The European Parliament.txt

As Mudde explains, ‘The extreme right rejects the essence of democracy, i.e. popular sovereignty and majority rule’ while ‘The radical right accepts the essence of democracy, but opposes fundamental elements of liberal democracy, most notably minority rights, rule of law, and separation of powers’ (Mudde, 2019: forthcoming).

2020-Caterina Froio, Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Giorgia Bulli, Matteo Albanese - CasaPound Italia_ Contemporary Extreme.txt

The differentiation between ‘radical’ and ‘extreme’ right-wing organizations ultimately rests on their hostile or oppositional attitude towards constitutional democratic principles. Extreme-right organizations, in fact, reject even the minimum core features of democracy: popular sovereignty and majority rule (Mudde 2007: 138—56). On the contrary, radical right organizations oppose liberal democracy but accept popular sovereignty and the minimal procedural rules of parliamentary democracy. The most important ideology for the extreme right is fascism, a patchwork of ideas that took different forms (Mudde 2000; Costa Pinto and Kallis 2014).

The social scientist Cas Mudde explains that the far right ‘rejects the essence of democracy, that is, popular sovereignty and majority rule’, while the radical right ‘accepts the essence of democracy, but opposes fundamental elements of liberal democracy, most notably minority rights, rule of law, and separation of powers’.² While that’s a useful distinction, it is worth noting that even much of the radical right’s acceptance of democracy is tactical or performative. Most but not all on the radical right can also currently be described as ‘populist’, which Mudde defines as ‘a (thin) ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, the pure people and the corrupt elite, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people’.³

The screenshot shows the AntConc software interface. On the left, the 'Target Corpus' list includes files like '2022-Cynthia Miller-Ic...', '2022-Emily K Carian_', '2022-Fabio Luis Barbc...', '2022-Geoff Dembicki -', '2022-Giray Gerim - Na', '2022-Marcia Pally - W', '2022-Sam Moore, Alex', '2022-Seongcheol Kim', '2023-Anthony W. Pere', '2023-Bob Altemeyer -', '2023-David Neiwert -', '2023-Fernando Brance', '2023-Francesca Scrinz', '2023-Fred Paxton - Re', '2023-Imogen Richards', '2023-José Pedro Zúqu', '2023-Judith Goetz, St', '2023-Julín Castro-Rea', '2023-Katherine Kondo', '2023-Monica Weinberg', and '2023-Monica Weinberg'. The main search area shows 'Total Hits: 2' and a table with columns 'File', 'Left Context', 'Hit', and 'Right Context'. The hits are: 1. '2018-...e an official document endorsing' with hit 'democracy' and right context 'and human rights (se...'; 2. '2023-...een the extreme right that rejects' with hit 'democracy' and right context 'and endorses violent...'. An 'Advanced Search' dialog box is open on the right, showing 'Search Query List' with 'democracy' and 'Context Search' with 'endors*', 'endors*', and 'right*'. The 'Search Query' is set to 'Words' and 'Case' is checked. The 'Window Span' is set to 'From 5L To 5R'. The 'Results Set' is 'All hits' and 'Context' is checked. The 'Sort Options' are 'Custom' with 'Sort 1 File ID', 'Sort 2 Row ID', and 'Sort 3 Row ID'. The 'Order by value' is set to 'File ID'.

Endors + democracy

2023-Katherine Kondor, Mark Littler - The Routledge Handbook of Far-Right Extremism in Europe.txt

First, Ukrainian far-right actors blur the boundary between extreme and radical right: in general, literature on the far right often distinguishes between the extreme right that rejects **democracy** and endorses violent methods towards revolutionary change, and the radical right that may criticise liberal democracy and the protection of minority rights but does not question

28
The far right in Ukraine
democracy as such (Mudde, 2019). Indeed, radical right actors operate within the established democratic constitutional order by, e.g., contesting elections and using conventional political means. While this line between extreme and radical right is pronounced in far-right movements across (Western) Europe and beyond (Minkenberg, 2019), in Ukraine, it is often less clear.

Right + democracy

The screenshot shows the AntConc software interface. The main window displays a search for the word "democracy" in a corpus named "Right-wing RAW". The search results are shown in a table with columns for "Left Context", "Hit", and "Right Context". The "Hit" column contains the word "democracy" in blue, indicating it is a match. The "Left Context" column shows the text surrounding the match, and the "Right Context" column shows the text following the match. The interface also includes a list of documents on the left, a search query list on the right, and a progress bar at the bottom.

Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1 es very loosely. Indeed, the right identifies with	democracy	only
2 e question of whether the right is committed to	democracy	only
3 cal and economic change was a limited form of	democracy,	the
4 nera as Chile's first centre-right president since	democracy'	s ret
5 and it had to make a decision: 'One leads to ...	democracy,	resp
6 3 • Lievesley 59 4 PAN Para Todos: elections,	democracy	and
7 issue of the relationship between the right and	democracy	can
8 that the puntofista regime had the trappings of	democracy (	elec
9 to encourage a process of transition to pluralist	democracy	and
10 n 1996 and 2005 to three types of grantees: (1)	democracy	and
11 1 percent (\$37.3 million) of the assistance; (2)	democracy	and
12 vards a more consolidated - and less defective -	democracy. 11 •	Lam
13 acion government. Following the restoration of	democracy,	the
14 ilitary regime and the start of the restoration of	democracy.	The
15 opposition relations following the transition to	democracy	The

Избранные конкордансы

2011-Francisco Dominguez_ Geraldine Lievesley_ Steve Ludlam (editors) - Right-Wing Politics in the New Latin America_ reaction and revolt.txt

Clearly many right-wing forces wear their democratic clothes very loosely. Indeed, the right identifies with democracy only when it suits its economic and ideological purposes.

Central to Burton's argument is the question of whether the right is committed to democracy only so long as its interests are not in danger, and whether it will revert to its pre-democratic traditions if it judges that the political climate has become threatening.

The result of this right-directed political and economic change was a limited form of democracy, where political and civil rights were restored, where there was minimal change in social and economic conditions, where welfare spending continued to fall, and where job insecurity and vulnerability rose throughout the region

Поиск приостановлен.

Правые силы в целом не отвергают демократию, но их отношение к ней зависит от того, какую ее форму они рассматривают и насколько она соответствует их идеологическим целям. Радикальные правые принимают основные принципы демократии, такие как народный суверенитет и большинство голосов, но отрицают фундаментальные ценности либеральной демократии, включая права меньшинств, разделение властей и верховенство права. Их поддержка демократии часто носит тактический или инструментальный характер, поскольку они стремятся представить себя как настоящих выразителей воли народа, противопоставляя себя «коррумпированным элитам». В отличие от них, крайние правые полностью отвергают демократические принципы и выступают за авторитарные или фашистские режимы, где народный суверенитет подменяется жесткой иерархией и насильственными методами удержания власти. В латиноамериканском контексте правые силы, как отмечают исследователи, часто поддерживают демократию лишь до тех пор, пока она не угрожает их экономическим и политическим интересам, и могут легко вернуться к недемократическим практикам, если посчитают, что их власть оказывается под угрозой. В некоторых случаях, например, в Украине, граница между радикальными и экстремальными правыми оказывается размытой, что еще раз подчеркивает, что отношение правых к демократии определяется не столько идеологической последовательностью, сколько конкретными историческими и политическими обстоятельствами.