

Global Trends and Challenges

English for International Relations and Regional Studies

COURSEBOOK

Upper-Intermediate



Tomsk

2019

УДК 811.111:327(075.8)

ББК 81.432.1+66.4я73

С34

- Сидорова Т.Б., Головачева Л.Р., Андреева Т.Л., McDonald W.A., Командакова М.С.**
С34 Global Trends and Challenges : English for International Relations and Regional Studies : Coursebook. Upper-Intermediate. – Томск : Издательский Дом Томского государственного университета, 2019. – 152 с.
ISBN 978-5-94621-863-4

Учебное пособие разработано на основе ФГОС 3++ для программ магистратуры направлений 41.00.00 «Политические науки и регионоведение» и нацелено на развитие общепрофессиональных коммуникативных компетенций, а также универсальных компетенций критического мышления. Пособие рассчитано на обучающихся со средне-продвинутым уровнем владения английским языком Upper-Intermediate (B2) и выше.

Тексты и видеоматериалы пособия формируют общие представления о глобальных тенденциях и вызовах, с которыми сталкиваются все страны и экономики мира. Тренировочные упражнения позволяют обучающимся осваивать новое знание за счет опоры на знакомые контексты, собственный опыт, критическое мышление, аргументацию и групповые дискуссии. Упражнения направлены на развитие умений перефразировать и кратко излагать ключевые идеи экспертов, а также выражать собственное мнение по теме, расширять понятийный аппарат и накапливать профессиональную лексику.

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Рецензенты:

Е.В. Савкович, доктор исторических наук, Томский государственный университет

Н.А. Спицына, кандидат филологических наук, Дальневосточный Федеральный университет

**Пособие выполнено в рамках грантового конкурса для преподавателей
магистратуры благотворительного фонда В. Потанина,
заявка номер ГК 180000164**

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ISBN 978-5-94621-863-4

INTRODUCTION

Предлагаемое учебное пособие относится к категории «Английский язык для профессиональных целей» (ESP) и ориентировано на обучающихся уровня магистратуры, направление 41.00.00 «Политические науки и регионоведение». Отличительной особенностью данного направления является наличие на программах магистратуры выпускников самых разных направлений бакалавриата, многие из которых не имеют базовых знаний в области международных отношений и регионоведения, но при этом хорошо владеют английским языком и нацелены связать свою профессиональную деятельность с международными экономическими, гуманитарными и экологическими проектами регионального развития.

Междисциплинарный контингент обучающихся обусловил выбор содержания пособия. Практически полностью отсутствуют базовые элементы и понятия, характерные для бакалавриата 41.00.00, чтобы избежать дублирования образовательного контента для определенной категории магистрантов. Наоборот, выбор содержания сделан в пользу самой широкой рамки верхнего уровня – *глобальные тенденции и вызовы*. Это так или иначе затрагивает всех людей и все области знаний и позволяет в общем поле вызовов через опору на частный опыт и экспертизу каждого магистранта выстраивать совместную дискуссию, ведущую к пониманию комплексности и многогранности развития регионов и стран.

Пособие рассчитано на 144 часа практической работы (4 зачетные единицы) и направлено на формирование следующих универсальных и общепрофессиональных компетенций:

Категория	Код	Наименование
Системное и критическое мышление	УК-1	Способен осуществлять критический анализ проблемных ситуаций на основе системного подхода, вырабатывать стратегию действий
Коммуникация	УК-4	Способен применять современные коммуникативные технологии, в том числе на иностранном языке, для академического и профессионального взаимодействия
Межкультурное взаимодействие	УК-5	Способен анализировать и учитывать разнообразие культур в процессе межкультурного взаимодействия
Профессиональная коммуникация на иностранном языке	ОПК-1	Способен выстраивать профессиональную коммуникацию на иностранном языке по профилю деятельности в мультикультурной среде на основе применения различных коммуникативных технологий с учетом специфики деловой и духовной культуры России и зарубежных стран

В содержательном плане пособие представлено двумя модулями, каждый из которых имеет завершенную структуру и может использоваться самостоятельно. Основные элементы вводятся чередующейся последовательностью текстов и видео, позволяя развивать, усложнять и проблематизировать ту или иную тему.

Модули начинаются цитатами выдающихся личностей из разных областей. Каждое высказывание отражает суть модуля под определенным углом зрения и с опорой на определенный экспертный опыт. Обучающиеся получают возможность сделать первое

приближение к модулю с разных экспертных позиций и увидеть нечто новое в каждом высказывании. Это формирует установку на раскрытие собственно опыта.

Модули пронизаны упражнениями 'agree / disagree', побуждающими выражать собственное мнение по теме. Причем материалы подобраны так, что единственно правильных мнений или решений нет. Магистранты могут предлагать и обосновывать собственные решения, наиболее подходящие для того или иного региона или страны, для той или иной проблемы, тенденции, вызова, концепта.

Особое внимание в пособии уделяется развитию умений перефразировать и кратко излагать высказывания экспертов, отражая ключевую мысль или главную идею. И, наоборот, разворачивать высказывания экспертов за счет поиска иллюстрирующих примеров, опоры на смежные области знаний и пр. Это позволяет магистранту демонстрировать глубину понимания материала, расширяет лексический запас, побуждает к оживленным групповым дискуссиям.

Большое количество упражнений нацелены на работу с альтернативными высказываниями по типу «что сказал эксперт». Ставится задача внимательно прочитать два варианта и аргументированно обосновать, какой из вариантов вероятнее всего использовал бы эксперт. Затем обучающийся читает или слушает, что в действительности сказал эксперт. Этот тип упражнений формирует навык внимательного отношения к нюансам в высказываниях экспертов, помогает лучше запоминать материал, усваивать профессиональную лексику.

Предлагаются также задания по схематизации, когда обучающиеся изображают концептуальное понятие – например, «глобализацию» – в виде схемы и отмечают связи между ключевыми акторами глобализации, а затем устно описывают свою схему. В междисциплинарных группах такие виды заданий не только мотивируют к дискуссиям и проблематизируют концепты, но и способны кардинально менять представления о связях между процессами и явлениями, а также приучают будущих специалистов-регионоведов и международных разговаривать с партнерами не только на языке слов и жестов, но и на языке схем и образов.

В языковом плане пособие опирается на принцип функциональности. Тренируются конструкции, наиболее частотные для выражения глобальных трендов, вызовов, их причин и последствий, а также конструкции, позволяющие формулировать аргументированные высказывания. Это различные виды сложносочиненных и сложноподчиненных предложений с акцентом на разнообразие логических связей внутри и между предложениями. Помимо этого, каждый модуль нацелен на знакомство и закрепление наиболее употребительной профессиональной лексики. (Минимум 150 – 200 лексических единиц / модуль). Практическая ориентация пособия реализуется также за счет современности и универсальности текстов и видео и за счет анализа реальных кейсов международной и макрорегиональной направленности.

Формы текущего контроля могут быть реализованы за счет оценивания заданий языкового характера, которые присутствуют в каждом смысловом блоке «текст – видео – упражнения». При этом следует с осторожностью оценивать задания-рассуждения, где обучающиеся выражают собственное мнение. В качестве рекомендуемого формата для этой части можно предлагать написание кратких рефлексивных эссе, позволяющих обучающимся самостоятельно анализировать собственную деятельность и намечать план саморазвития. Опираясь на план саморазвития магистрантов, преподавателям, как правило, легче модерировать групповые дискуссии на занятиях.

Форму промежуточной аттестации каждый преподаватель выбирает на свое усмотрение. При этом можно использовать последнее задание в каждом модуле, которое позволяет обобщить пройденный материал в устной или письменной форме.

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MODULE 1

GLOBALISATION AND GLOBAL POWER SHIFTS

This module considers the development of globalization and how it has evolved to shape the current world order. You'll explore the main actors and key technologies that influence and shape global and regional policy today. You'll learn how different states have responded to globalisation and how decisions made in one region influence events that occur in another.



BRIEF QUOTATIONS

Activity 1. The following quotations deal with political, economic and cultural issues discussed in this module. Working with a partner or in a small group, choose and discuss any three quotations.

1. *"Effective foreign policymaking requires an understanding of not only international and transnational systems, but also the intricacies of domestic politics in multiple countries."* — Joseph Nye, a political scientist
2. *"National boundaries these days are not that important because of transformative technological development. Now we are talking about the fourth industrial revolution."* — Ban Ki-moon, the eighth Secretary-General of the UN
3. *"The revolution here is from hierarchical to lateral power. That's the power shift. And it is going to change the way we live, the way we educate our children, and the way we govern the world."* — Jeremy Rifkin, an American economic and social theorist, writer, public speaker, political advisor, and activist
4. *"The corporate world would be much better off with more chief critical thinking officers rather than chief mystic officers."* — Izabella Kaminska, editor of the Financial Times' blog
5. *"The essence of the independent mind lies not in what it thinks, but in how it thinks."* — Christopher Hitchens, a British-American author, columnist, essayist, orator, journalist, and social critic
6. *"One ship drives East and other drives West by the same winds that blow. It's the set of the sails and not the gales that determines the way they go."* — Ella Wheeler Wilcox, a journalist and popular American poet in the late 19th and early 20th century

AGREEING AND DISAGREEING

Activity 2. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 Industrial Revolutions can greatly affect countries and regions, but they do not affect _____ ordinary peoples` lives.
- 2 New technologies are able to blur the lines between the physical, the digital, and the _____ biological spheres.
- 3 Governments are not struggling to keep up with the fast pace of technological change; they _____ are accelerating the pace.
- 4 Ordinary people benefit the most from breakthrough innovations. _____
- 5 A “winner-takes-all” economy is only for highly skilled workers. _____
- 6 Artificial Intelligence can eliminate many professions, such as a shop assistant or a teacher. _____
- 7 Food and retail industries are not collecting personal data about their customers, but a _____ banking industry is definitely doing this.
- 8 Privacy is the main priority for tech companies, and they are very successful in protecting _____ personal data.

Activity 3. Watch the video about the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) – a hot topic among academics, politicians, and business leaders – that was first introduced during the World Economic Forum. In what way does the information in the video broaden your knowledge about 4IR?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v9rZOa3CUC8>



The **World Economic Forum** was established in 1971 as a not-for-profit international organization focused on promoting public-private cooperation. The Forum engages political, business, and other community leaders to shape global, regional and industry agendas.

The Forum is aimed at demonstrating entrepreneurship in the global public interest while upholding the highest standards of governance. The Forum employs over 700 people and is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, with additional offices in New York, San Francisco, Beijing and Tokyo.

Activity 4. Identify the words and phrases you came across in the video. Recall the contexts in which they were mentioned. Share your thoughts with a group mate.

a vision
a shared future
artificial intelligence
autonomous vehicles
the Internet of Things
technological revolution
physical, digital, and biological spheres
voice-activated virtual assistants
face ID recognition
healthcare sensors
a major invention
the steam engine

ecological constraints
mass production
new industries
the semiconductor
personal computer
a breakthrough innovation
open markets
international community
innovators
investors
stakeholders

investment strategies
inequality
competition among countries
a “winner-takes-all” economy
winners and losers
a high-skilled worker
sovereignty
privacy concerns
insecurity
a productive global dialogue
shareholders

SUMMARISING

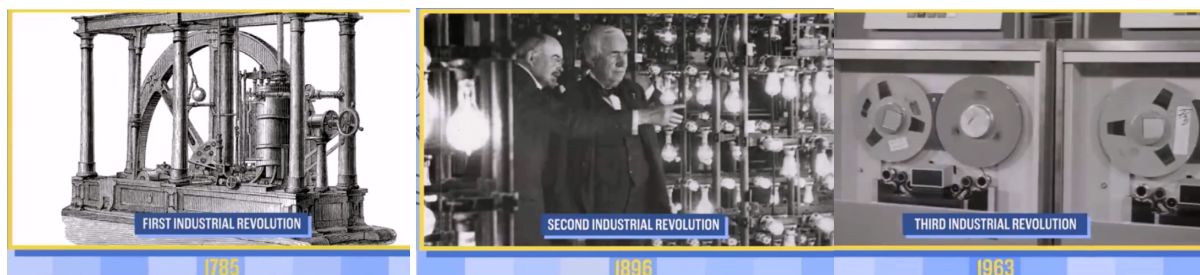
1

Making oral summaries is a common activity; for example, when describing a video or an article. In academic writing, summarising is a vital skill that allows the writer to condense lengthy sources into a concise form. Summarising is a flexible tool that aims to **reduce** information to a suitable length in one’s own words. You can summarise to give a one-sentence synopsis of a video or an article, or to provide much more detail, depending on your speaking or writing needs.

Activity 5. Read the following summary to see how the first three Industrial Revolutions can be described in a brief and simple way. Watch again the part of the video that explains the first three Industrial Revolutions. While watching, try to spot the differences between the summary you’ve just read and the descriptions given in the video. In what way do they differ?

Summary

The First Industrial Revolution used water and steam power to mechanize production. The Second used steel, oil, and electric power to create mass production. The Third used electronics and information technology to automate production.



The most common technique for summarising is generalization. Generalizations are powerful because they are simple and easy to understand. But they must be used with care, to avoid being inaccurate or too simplistic. The most common ways to generalize are:

Using the plural forms - *Computers have transformed the way we live.*

Avoiding absolute phrases – *Young children learn second languages easily. (not: All young children)*

Categorising – a vehicle is a more general word than a car or a bus, etc.

Activity 6. Compare the columns. While the first one is easier to understand and remember, the second is more accurate and specific. Identify general and specific pieces of information. Write a two-sentence summary for each industrial revolution using phrases from the both columns. Decide when accuracy and details are necessary, and when a generalization will be acceptable.

The First Industrial Revolution used water and steam power to mechanize production.

The First Industrial Revolution started in Great Britain around 1760 and spread to Europe and North America throughout the early 1800s. It was powered by a major invention – the steam engine. The results? New manufacturing processes, the creation of factories and a booming textile industry.

The Second used steel, oil, and electric power to create mass production.

From the late 1800s, the Second Industrial Revolution was marked by mass production and new industries like steel, oil and electricity. A light bulb, telephone and internal combustion engine were a few of the major inventions of this era.

The Third used electronics and information technology to automate production.

The Third Industrial Revolution – sometimes known as the Digital Revolution – occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. In just a few decades, we saw the invention of the semiconductor, personal computer and the Internet.

PARAPHRASING

1

Paraphrasing and summarising are normally used together in speaking or in writing. While summarising aims to reduce the information, paraphrasing attempts to **restate** it. A good summary or paraphrase shows that a person – a student, a researcher, or a professional analyst – is able to understand information, draw connections, and reorganise ideas for particular aims or needs.

An effective *paraphrase* usually:

- ✓ *has different main words vocabulary*
- ✓ *has a different structure from the original*
- ✓ *retains the same meaning*
- ✓ *does not attempt to paraphrase every word, since some have no true synonym (e.g. demand, economy, energy, industrial revolution or eighteenth century).*

Examples:

The growth of the car industry parallels the development of modern capitalism.

The rise of the automobile industry matches the progress of contemporary capitalism.

Activity 7. Look through the video script below. Practice the following techniques for paraphrasing.

a) *Changing vocabulary by using synonyms:*

Examples: argue > claim, eighteenth century > 1700s, wages > labour costs, economise > save

WHAT IS THE FORTH INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION?

The term **was coined** by the founder of the World Economic Forum Klaus Schwab. This is an era **marked by** a “Technological revolution that is **blurring the lines** between the physical, digital, and biological spheres.” Technologies like artificial intelligence, **autonomous vehicles**, or the Internet of Things are becoming **ingrained** in our **day-to-day lives**, and even our bodies. Think of voice-activated **virtual assistants**, face ID recognition, or healthcare sensors.

So, what **separates** the Fourth Industrial Revolution from the Third? **Experts** say the main difference is that technology **is merging** more and more with humans’ lives and that technological **change** is happening faster than ever. Today you can have a hip replacement from a 3D-printed bone or use a 3D-printed bionic arm. This new era of technology **is driving** a lot of innovation. The number of patents **related to** the Fourth Industrial Revolution – for things like 3D printing or AI – has been **climbing up** and up since **early 2000**. **Organizations are embracing** new technologies to make their **businesses** more efficient similar to how they embraced the steam engine during the First Industrial Revolution.

b) *Changing word class:*

*Examples: explanation (n.) > explain (v.),
mechanical (adj.) > mechanise (v.),
profitable (adj.) > profitability (n.)*

But some companies and governments **are struggling** to keep up with the fast pace of technological change. Research shows innovators, investors, and shareholders **benefit** the most from innovation. The **risk** is that the Fourth Industrial Revolution is making **inequality**, which is already a big issue, even worse.



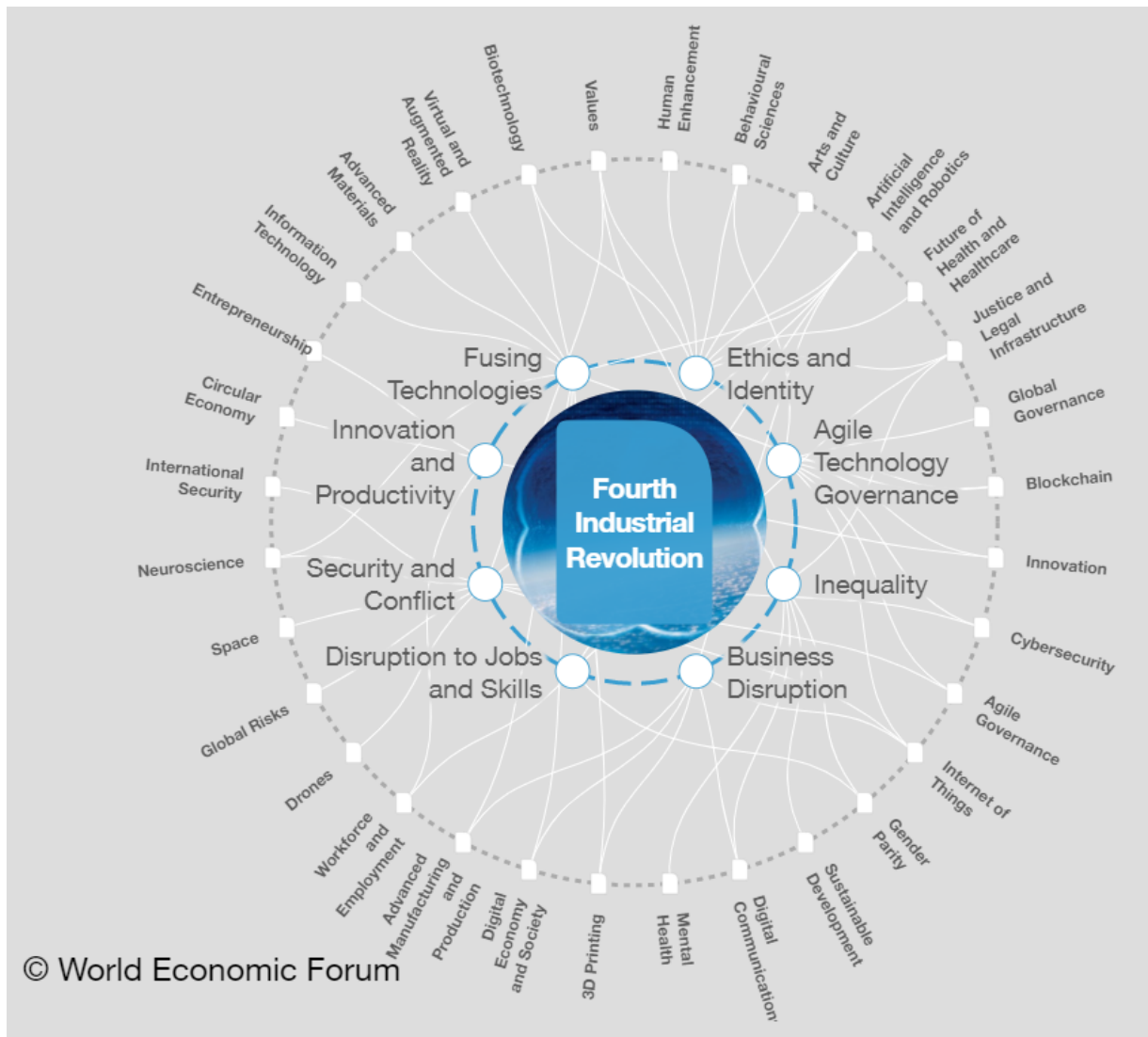
One study found billionaires have driven almost eighty percent of the forty main breakthrough innovations over the last forty years. That’s a problem when the richest one percent of households already owns nearly half of the world’s **wealth**. Experts **warn** we are in a “winner-take-all” economy where highly skilled workers **are rewarded** with high pay and the rest are left out. Studies **confirm** technologies like AI will **eliminate** some jobs and **create** a demand for new **skills** that many workers don’t have.

c) *Changing word order:*

Example: ... the best explanation for the British location of the industrial revolution is found by studying demand factors. A focus on demand may help explain the UK origin of the industrial revolution.

Privacy concerns are another issue as the Fourth Industrial Revolution turns every company into a tech company. Industries from food to retail to banking are going digital, and they are collecting a lot more data about their customers along the way. Users are starting to worry that companies know too much about their private digital lives. The majority of leaders don’t have confidence that their organizations are ready for the changes associated with the Fourth Industrial Revolution. With tech changing fast every day - it’s time to catch up!

Activity 8. Study the following concept map and read the summary of 4IR below. Write a paraphrase of the summary using some phrases from 'Activity 8' and some concepts from the concept map. Use the concepts as examples to illustrate ideas. Compare your versions with your partner.



The forthcoming **Fourth Industrial Revolution** is characterized by a fusion of technologies blurring the distinctions among physical, digital, and biological spheres. There are three reasons why today's transformations represent not merely a prolongation of the Third Industrial Revolution but rather the arrival of a Fourth and distinct one: velocity, scope, and systems impact. The speed of current breakthroughs has no historical precedent. When compared with previous industrial revolutions, the Fourth is evolving at an exponential rather than a linear pace. Moreover, it is disrupting almost every industry in every country. The breadth and depth of these changes herald the transformation of entire systems of production, management, and governance.



VARIOUS CONTEXTS & VARIOUS VOICES

Activity 9. Scan the vocabulary items in various contexts. Grab more ideas about 4IR. Speculate about benefits and threats of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

1. Many brand new words, and new senses of familiar words (which quickly become the stuff of everyday communication) are relatively recent *coinages*, so they were not included in earlier editions of the Oxford English Dictionary.
2. A UK company Babylon Health is testing an *artificially intelligent* medical chatbot in Rwanda.
3. Rwanda does not have the abundant natural resources enjoyed by so many other African countries, so it has decided to focus on being a hub for the so-called fourth revolution - *the revolution in technology* - in order to develop its economy.
4. *The "Internet of Things"* is all about connecting objects to a network and enabling them to collect and share data.
5. Whichever direction companies will take to explore the concept of *the Internet of Things*, the opportunities are endless, says Constantine Valhouli of the Hammersmith Group.
6. "By bringing together our Nobel Prize winning scientists, our world-class companies, and our entrepreneurial start-ups, we can *drive innovation* and create the economic dynamism Britain needs to win in the global race", says George Osborne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, UK.
7. When it comes to *embracing new technology*, Ms Wambugu, the owner of a restaurant in Kenya, describes herself as "a crypto-currency pioneer".
8. In a *"winner-takes-all" economy*, the worst performing regions can be locked in a vicious cycle of underdevelopment.
9. Earlier this week, Google's former chief Eric Schmidt told the BBC that he did not believe predictions of mass job losses would occur. "There will be *some jobs eliminated* but the vast majority will be augmented," he explained.
10. With regard to *privacy concerns*, Dr Shirley-Ann Jackson, an adviser to President Obama on big data, said: "There are many *concerns about privacy considerations*, people, corporations, entities knowing so much about where we go and what we do."
11. "Our expanding footprint in China demonstrates our *lasting confidence* in the Chinese market and our long-term commitment to China and our partners," said Airbus Commercial Aircraft President Guillaume.

Activity 10. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 The Global Village is the reality we live in. _____
- 2 The world is becoming more interconnected as the result of the technological advancements. _____
- 3 Globalisation is about transnational markets and commerce, not about education and culture. _____
- 4 Thanks to globalisation, people speak the same language, which makes understanding other cultures easy. _____
- 5 Globalisation leads to losing cultural identity because of the westernization of the world. _____
- 6 Since cultural intelligence cannot be taught, clashes of cultures are inevitable. _____
- 7 The Global Village is 'a marketplace' where more fortunate countries help less fortunate ones. _____
- 8 The evolution of a global village raises conflicts between cultures and leads to cultural domination by more developed countries. _____

Activity 11. Watch the video where Peter Alfandary talks about 'the Myth of Globalisation'. Do your viewpoints differ? Before watching, read the following vita Peter Alfandary wrote about himself.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=12&v=xUYNB4a8d2U

PETER ALFANDARY

I was educated at the French Lycée in London, received my BA in Law from the University of Kent at Canterbury in 1974 and my LLM from the London School of Economics in 1976.

I qualified as a Solicitor in London with Lovell White & King. I was then in-house Counsel in the automotive industry before becoming one of 4 co-founders of Warner Cranston, a firm which grew from 4 lawyers to 70 before eventually merging with Reed Smith which has over 1600 lawyers spread across 22 offices globally.

Throughout my career I have been highly active in the field of business development, at the strategic level, in winning and developing large client relationships and in training lawyers. I have taught extensively on the subject for many years.

My background and experience over the past 30 years has led me to become passionate about cross cultural issues and their importance in building successful business and client relationships. I now lecture regularly on cross-cultural awareness and on comparative business culture to professional firms and to multi-national corporations. <https://www.pra-development.com/about-peter-alfandary>



Activity 12. In the article on the next page, the founder of the World Economic Forum Klaus Schwab speaks about 'Globalisation 4.0'. Try to predict what sets of words Klaus Schwab will choose to discuss Globalisation 4.0 and what he might say with these sets.

Klaus Schwab, born in 1938, the Founder and Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum.

Professor Klaus Schwab holds doctorates in: Economics from the University of Fribourg; Engineering from the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology; and a Masters of Public Administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

Klaus Schwab has been at the centre of global affairs for over four decades.

In his well-known book, *The Fourth Industrial Revolution*, Schwab writes that new technologies are fusing the physical, digital and biological worlds, affecting all disciplines, economies and industries, and even challenging ideas about what it means to be human.



1. build a shared future	1. enhance nationalism
2. the time of total stability and general contentment	2. an era of widespread insecurity and frustration
3. prioritize the global order over national interests	3. prioritize national interests over global order
4. remain open to the world	4. close off economies through protectionism
5. rapid growth of environmentally induced economic activity	5. rapid emergence of ecological constraints
6. the return of the bipolar international order	6. the advent of a multipolar international order
7. rising inequality	7. emerging signs of equality
8. control the public sector	8. harness the private sector
9. environmental sustainability and social inclusiveness	9. environmental degradation and social indifference
10. closed markets and lack of competition	10. open markets and increased competition
11. capitalize on the new opportunities	11. stick to conventional methods
12. take a win-win approach	12. take a win-lose approach
13. think beyond one's own short-term institutional and national considerations	13. prioritise national interests
14. cling to an outdated mindset	14. adopt a new cooperative approach

Activity 13. Read the article for the main ideas.

GLOBALIZATION 4.0 – WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

¹ After World War II, the international community came together to build a shared future. Now, it must do so again. Owing to the slow and uneven recovery in the decade since the global financial crisis, a substantial part of society has become disaffected and embittered¹, not only with politics and politicians, but also with globalization and the entire economic system it underpins². In an era of widespread insecurity and frustration, populism has become increasingly attractive as an alternative to the status quo.

² But populist discourse eludes³ – and often confounds – the substantive distinctions between two concepts: globalization and globalism. Globalization is a phenomenon driven by technology and the movement of ideas, people, and goods. Globalism is an ideology that prioritizes the neoliberal⁴ global order over national interests. Nobody can deny that we are living in a globalized world, but whether all of our policies should be “globalist” is highly debatable.

³ After all, this moment of crisis has raised important questions about our global-governance architecture. With more and more voters demanding to “take back control” from “global forces,” the challenge is to restore sovereignty in a world that requires cooperation. Rather than closing off economies through protectionism and nationalist politics, we must forge⁵ a new social compact between citizens and their leaders, so that everyone feels secure enough at home to remain open to the world at large. Failing that, the ongoing disintegration of our social fabric could ultimately lead to the collapse of democracy.

⁴ Moreover, the challenges associated with the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) are coinciding with the rapid emergence of ecological constraints, the advent of an increasingly multipolar international order, and rising inequality. These integrated developments are ushering in a new era⁶ of globalization. Whether it will improve the human condition will depend on whether corporate, local, national, and international governance can adapt in time.

⁵ Meanwhile, a new framework for global public-private cooperation has been taking shape. Public-private cooperation is about harnessing the private sector and open markets to drive economic growth for the public good, with environmental sustainability and social inclusiveness always in mind. But to determine the public good, we first must identify the root causes of inequality.

¹ become disaffected and embittered - *become dissatisfied or frustrated with the people in authority and no longer willing to support them*

² underpin the economic system – *support or form the basis for the economic system*

³ the discourse eludes and confounds the distinctions between two concepts - *the distinctions between two concepts are not clear and contradict each other*

⁴ neoliberal - *a modified form of liberalism tending to favor free-market capitalism*

⁵ forge - *create*

⁶ usher in a new era - *cause or mark the start of a new era*

⁶ For example, while open markets and increased competition certainly produce winners and losers in the international arena, they may be having an even more pronounced⁷ effect on inequality at the national level. Moreover, the growing divide between the precariat and the privileged⁸ is being reinforced by 4IR business models, which often derive rents from owning capital or intellectual property. Closing that divide requires us to recognize that we are living in a new type of innovation-driven economy, and that new global norms, standards, policies, and conventions are needed to safeguard the public trust.

⁷ The new economy has already disrupted and recombined countless industries, and dislocated millions of workers. It is dematerializing production, by increasing the knowledge intensity of value creation. It is heightening competition within domestic product, capital, and labor markets, as well as among countries adopting different trade and investment strategies. And it is fueling distrust, particularly of technology companies and their stewardship⁹ of our data.

⁸ The unprecedented pace of technological change means that our systems of health, transportation, communication, production, distribution, and energy – just to name a few – will be completely transformed. Managing that change will require not just new frameworks for national and multinational cooperation, but also a new model of education, complete with targeted programs for teaching workers new skills. With advances in robotics and artificial intelligence in the context of aging societies, we will have to move from a narrative of production and consumption toward one of sharing and caring.

⁹ Globalization 4.0 has only just begun, but we are already vastly underprepared for it. Clinging to an outdated mindset and tinkering with our existing processes and institutions will not do. Rather, we need to redesign them from the ground up, so that we can capitalize on the new opportunities that await us, while avoiding the kind of disruptions that we are witnessing today.

¹⁰ As we develop a new approach to the new economy, we must remember that we are not playing a zero-sum game¹⁰. This is not a matter of free trade or protectionism, technology or jobs, immigration or protecting citizens, and growth or equality. Those are all false dichotomies¹¹, which we can avoid by developing policies that favor “and” over “or,” allowing all sets of interests to be pursued in parallel.

¹¹ To be sure, pessimists will argue that political conditions are standing in the way of a productive global dialogue about Globalization 4.0 and the new economy. But realists will use the current moment to explore the gaps in the present system and identify the requirements for a future approach. And optimists will hold out hope that future-oriented stakeholders will create a community of shared interest and, ultimately, shared purpose.

⁷ *pronounced - very noticeable*

⁸ *the precariat - a social class formed by people suffering from precarity, i.e. lacking in predictability, job security, material or psychological welfare*

⁹ *stewardship – management*

¹⁰ *a zero-sum game – a game in which each participant's gain or loss is exactly balanced by the losses or gains of the other participants*

¹¹ *dichotomy - a contrast between two things that are opposed or entirely different*

¹² The changes that are underway today are not isolated to a particular country, industry, or issue. They are universal, and thus require a global response. Failing to adopt a new cooperative approach would be a tragedy for humankind. To draft a blueprint for a shared global-governance architecture, we must avoid becoming mired¹² in the current moment of crisis management.

¹³ Specifically, this task will require two things of the international community: wider engagement and heightened imagination. The engagement of all stakeholders¹³ in sustained dialogue will be crucial, as will the imagination to think systemically, and beyond one's own short-term institutional and national considerations. These will be the two organizing principles which will convene under the theme of "*Globalization 4.0: Shaping a New Architecture in the Age of the Fourth Industrial Revolution*". Ready or not, a new world is upon us.

MAIN IDEAS

Activity 14. What are the main points the author makes in the article? Summarize his central ideas in three sentences. Use your own words and some vocabulary items from the article. Begin writing with the sentence: *In his article 'Globalisation 4.0 – what does it mean?', Klaus Schwab speaks about...* Discuss your summaries with your groupmates.

FACTS VS OPINIONS

When reading or listening to any piece of information, it is important to distinguish between:

Fact – *Rice grows in warm wet climates. (true/false)*

Opinion – *Women like rice. (agree / disagree)*

Advice – *We should eat rice. (follow / not to follow)*

Prediction – *We might suffer from rice scarcity if it doesn't rain soon. (trust / not to trust)*

Warning – *Follow me, otherwise you can suffer – Warning = Advice + Prediction (trust and follow / or not)*

In complex political and international contexts, it is difficult to separate facts from opinions, especially when facts are hidden or not well known. While checking facts is important, a better way is to choose experts wisely and refer to them as a source of information.

Activity 15. Compare the following sets of statements. Which of them are more reliable? Do they show a fact, an opinion, a piece of advice, a prediction, or a warning? Watch the video about 4IR again to check what the speaker said. (See 'Activity 3')

1. Innovators, investors, and shareholders benefit the most from innovation.
Research shows innovators, investors, and shareholders benefit the most from innovation.

¹² mired - involved

¹³ stakeholders - people with an interest or concern in something

2. Billionaires have driven almost eighty percent of the forty main breakthrough innovations over the last forty years.
One study found billionaires have driven almost eighty percent of the forty main breakthrough innovations over the last forty years.
3. We are in a “winner-take-all” economy where high-skilled workers are rewarded with high pay and the rest are left out.
Experts warn we are in a “winner-take-all” economy where high-skilled workers are rewarded with high pay and the rest are left out.
4. Technologies like AI will eliminate some jobs and create demand for new skills that many workers don’t have.
Studies confirm technologies like AI will eliminate some jobs and create demand for new skills that many workers don’t have.

Activity 16. Look through the article ‘Globalisation 4.0 – what does it mean?’ again. Complete the table with the examples from the article. Compare your variants with those of your groupmates.

Fact	
Opinion	
Advice	
Prediction	
Warning	

Activity 17. Read the following summary of the article. Match the paragraphs in the summary to the corresponding paragraphs in the article. Choose one or two paragraphs in the summary to explain the paraphrasing and summarising techniques used.

¹ In his article *Globalization 4.0 – what does it mean?* Klaus Schwab, the founder and Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum, gives a number of recommendations for meeting the challenges associated with globalization.

² The major task for the international community, according to Schwab, is “to build a shared future again”, just like it did after World War II. Although a considerable part of society has become frustrated with globalization, restoring sovereignty in the world which needs cooperation will be a hard job and may result in disintegration and ultimately in the collapse of democracy.

³ Schwab argues that protectionism and nationalist politics would make it easy to give control back to the state, but it would also mean eliminating trade activity with outside economies. In order for states to remain open to the world, citizens and their leaders must form a new type of social agreement.

⁴ Schwab believes that to secure public trust it is vital to identify the root causes of inequality and to close the divide between the precariat and the privileged. To close this divide, we have to admit that we are living in an innovation-driven world, which has new global norms, standards, and policies.

⁵ Managing familiar systems such as health, transportation, communication, production, distribution, and energy, when these are transformed by technological change, will call for a new kind of organization based on national and multinational cooperation, as well as a new model of education. The idea of production and consumption will have to be replaced with the idea of sharing and caring.

⁶ Existing processes and institutions should be redesigned so that we can take advantage of these new opportunities.

⁷ Because the changes we are witnessing today are universal, they require a global response. The international community should adopt a cooperative approach whereby all stakeholders can participate in creating a community of shared interests that go beyond short-term institutional and national considerations.

THE COMPLEX SENTENCE

Many sentences, especially in written language, are complex. They make narration more connected and concise. They are formed by linking simple sentences together: one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses or elements.

If a subordinate clause precedes the main clause, a comma before the main clause is necessary.

If a subordinate element precedes the main clause, a comma before the main clause is optional.

Complex sentences can be formed in two ways:

1) By joining a subordinate clause with *conjunctions*:

that	if,	as soon as,	when, where, why,	although, though, however,	because,
	unless,	after, before,	which, who, what,	whereas, while, whatever,	due to,
	in case	till, until	whom, how	so that	as, since

- A. We must remember **that** we are not playing a zero-sum game **as / when** we develop a new approach to the new economy.
- B. **As / when** we develop a new approach to the new economy, we must remember **that** we are not playing a zero-sum game.
- C. **As / Since** we want to develop a new approach to the new economy, we have to think beyond short-term institutional and national considerations.
- D. **Whatever** people may say, we must remember we are not playing a zero-sum game.
- E. **However** smart a new approach may be, we must remember that we are not playing a zero-sum game.
- F. We develop a new approach to the new economy **so that** people can benefit.
- G. In order that people might benefit, we develop a new approach to the new economy
- H. People benefit **due to** a new approach to the new economy.
- I. **Due to** a new approach to the new economy (,) people benefit.

2) By using infinitive, participial, or gerundial constructions:

- A. *Developing / While developing / When developing* a new approach to the new economy, we must remember **that** we are not playing a zero-sum game.
- B. We must remember we are not playing a zero-sum game *when developing* a new approach to the new economy.
- C. To develop a new approach to the new economy, we must remember that we should capitalize on the new opportunities.

Activity 18. Join the following conditional sentences so that they make sense. Do the sentences show facts, opinions, advice, predictions, warnings, or something else?

- 1. **As long as** more and more voters demand to “take back control” from “global forces,”
- 2. **Given** the unprecedented pace of technological change,
- 3. **Provided** we redesign our existing processes and institutions from the ground up,
- 4. **In the event that** we harness the private sector and open markets to drive economic growth for the public good,
- 5. **On condition that** we recognize that we are living in a new type of innovation-driven economy, and that we need new global norms, standards, policies, and conventions to safeguard the public trust,
- A. we will be able to capitalize on the new opportunities, while avoiding the kind of disruptions that we are witnessing today.
- B. we will have to restore sovereignty in a world that requires cooperation.
- C. we will close the growing divide between the precariat and the privileged.
- D. we will completely transform our systems of health, transportation, communication, production, distribution, and energy – just to name a few.
- E. we will create a new framework for global public-private cooperation.

Activity 19. Use the following fragments to make complex sentences.

- 1. (Due to) ... unprecedented pace of technological change ...
- 2. (So that) ... redesign existing processes and institutions ...
- 3. (Since) ... harness the private sector to drive economic growth for the public good ...
- 4. (Whereas) ... recognize that we are living in a new type of innovation-driven economy...
- 5. (Although) ... capitalize on the new opportunities...
- 6. (However) ... avoid the kind of disruptions we are witnessing today ...
- 7. (While) ... restore sovereignty in a world that requires cooperation...
- 8. (As soon as) ... close the growing divide between the precariat and the privileged...
- 9. (As) ... completely transform our systems of health, communication, and distribution...
- 10. (Because) ... create a new framework for global public-private cooperation...

Activity 20. Replace the following expressions with active vocabulary items from ‘Globalisation 4.0’.

Although a substantial part of society has become disillusioned with globalization and the **(1) whole economic system it supports**, the purpose of **(2) all the countries in the world** in the 21st century is to try and **(3) create a future that we will all enjoy**. People feel insecure and frustrated, so it is not surprising that populism is becoming an attractive **(4) substitute for the current state of affairs**.

There are substantive distinctions between the concepts of globalization and globalism. Globalization is **(5) a phenomenon brought about by the development of technology** and the movement of ideas, people, and goods while globalism is an ideology that believes that **(6) the neoliberal global order is more important than national interests**.

So, while nobody can deny that we are living in a globalized world, it does not mean that all policies should be “globalist”. The global-governance architecture of today is open to question.

Instead of closing off economies, the states must **(7) make a new social agreement** between citizens and their leaders, otherwise the ongoing disintegration of the social structure could **(8) in the end result in the democratic societies falling down**.

The challenges associated with the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) include a lot of **(9) combined processes which are bringing into being a new phase of globalization**. Among these are the **(10) fast development of ecological conditions that limit human activity** and the advent of an increasingly multipolar international order. Open markets and increased competition do produce winners and losers in the international arena, but they seem **(11) to be having an even more noticeable impact** on inequality at the national level.

To drive economic growth for the public good, a new framework for global public-private cooperation has been taking shape, where the private sector and open markets **(12) are being controlled** to fight inequality and the growing divide between **(13) those suffering chronic uncertainty and insecurity and those having special rights and advantages**.

(14) Sticking to an obsolete way of thinking and **(15) trying to improve our existing processes and institutions** will not help us to prepare for Globalisation 4.0. Managing the **(16) speed of technological change that never happened before** will require a new model of education, **(17) complete with programs aimed at** teaching workers new skills.

As a new approach to the new economy is being developed, we must remember that **(18) we are not playing a game in which an advantage that is won by one side is lost by the other**. New policies must be created that will allow **(19) all sets of goals to be achieved**.

The **(20) changes are in progress**, and they are not isolated to a particular country, industry, or issue. They are universal, and thus require a global response. The **(21) involvement of all those interested** is crucial, as is the imagination to think systemically, and beyond one’s own **(22) temporary institutional and national interests**.

Activity 21. Paraphrase the sentences changing word order and predicate from passive into active.

1. Globalization is a phenomenon which **is driven** by technology and the movement of ideas, people, and goods.
.....
2. The private sector and open markets **are being harnessed** to fight inequality and the growing divide between the precariat and the privileged.
.....
3. As a new approach to the new economy **is being developed**, we must remember that we are not playing a zero-sum game.
.....
4. New policies allowing all sets of interests to be pursued **must be created**.
.....
5. A new social compact between citizens and their leaders **must be forged**.
.....
6. To determine the public good, first the root causes of inequality **must be identified**.
.....
7. The growing divide between the precariat and the privileged **is being reinforced** by 4IR business models, which often derive rents from owning capital or intellectual property.
.....
8. The unprecedented pace of technological change means that our systems of health, transportation, communication, production, distribution, and energy **will be completely transformed**.
.....

Activity 22. Do you believe:

- that experts in politics, economics, education and other spheres always get things right?
- that people should always trust experts / decision-makers? If not, what else can people do?
- that globalisation is inevitable?

THE AGENDA – CHRISTINE LAGARDE ON GLOBALIZATION



Christine Madeleine Odette Lagarde a French lawyer and a politician. She was Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund from June 2011 to July 2019.

Headquartered in Washington, D.C., the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an international organization of 189 countries. The IMF is aimed at promoting global monetary cooperation, financial stability, international trade, sustainable economic growth, and poverty reduction around the world.

<https://en.wikipedia.org>

Activity 23. Watch the interview for the main ideas. Compare your answers with those of Christine Lagarde's. How does the information in the video influence your idea of experts and their expertise?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o7HfPJN6Rg4>

Activity 24. Christine Lagarde was asked the following questions. Her answers are paraphrased. Read a question and two answers. Which paraphrase do you think correctly reflects her answer? If you think that neither variant is correct, explain why. Watch the interview again if necessary.

1. Is there a risk that the experts are now somewhat discredited, and people say “Oh, you’re just the experts, and the experts always get things wrong”?

1. Yes, people tend to blame experts. Still, I hope as sensible people we can assess the facts, draw the conclusions, apply the analytical process, and then come to policy recommendations. This is our job and we have to be as honest as is possible in order to offer our advice.
2. Yes, people do say things like that. But being experts, we have the expertise. We have the capacity to understand the message and come up with policy recommendations whenever they are needed.

2. In a year of political upheaval, is globalization under threat?

1. Globalization as the product of open markets, open borders, and communications technologies has resulted in immense prosperity and reduction of poverty. But it has also produced massive instability through financial crises. We seem to be moving toward globalization's self-destruction.
2. Although globalization now seems a dirty word, it is not going to be stopped. With the corporate world interconnected through supply chains, with services provided on a global basis nowadays, with capitals moving around – it is not going to happen.

3. Is globalization inevitable?

1. I think globalization is now inevitable. It is becoming more difficult for countries to limit the influence of globalization. People enjoy the ease of communication, travel, and cheaply manufactured goods. This, however, is good for developed countries that have great influence on developing countries.
2. It is a very big claim to state that globalization is inevitable. Globalization is the exchange of ideas -cultural, technological, economical, financial - between nations that have allowed people from all parts of the world to become more interconnected. As a social construct, globalization is dependent on the world's conscious choices and efforts.

4. How do we need to remake globalization? Where will you be putting the emphasis now?

1. I think there are simple solutions like protectionism, isolation and nationalism. Leaders should make an effort to reform national institutions. The stronger the state, the better the whole world will be.
2. I think efforts have to be made. We should have greater public investment in education, re-training, and facilitating occupational and geographic mobility.

5. For the last two decades it has been an American-led global world order. Is that going to continue?

1. I hope that any international institutions can play a role. The IMF can certainly contribute with macroeconomic analysis and policy recommendations. Globalization has been incredibly efficient and beneficial in eliminating a lot of poverty around the world and improving the standard of living of many people. But we need to make sure that it works for all.
2. The current world order operates under US dominance. Political democracy and capitalism market economy are the most important characteristics, with the United States supporting democratic movements and globalization that strengthens ties and fosters respect for the rule of law both within and among countries.

Activity 25. Rewrite the sentences using a different structure and word class while retaining the original meaning.

1. I hope most sensible people have no alternative but to assess the facts, to draw the conclusions, to apply the analytical process, through which you can then come to policy recommendations.
2. The way the corporate world has interconnected itself through supply chains – the way in which services are provided, the way in which capitals move around – is not going to be stopped.
3. We need to adopt the right narratives, the right language, the right stories in order to demonstrate that globalization has to work for all, and globalization cannot be confiscated by some happy few or only a handful of countries.
4. The IMF can certainly contribute with its macroeconomic analysis and policy recommendations.
5. Globalization has been incredibly efficient and beneficial in order to eliminate a lot of poverty around the world, in order to improve the standard of living of many people.
6. We need to emphasize and implement remedies to make sure that works for all, and that we prepare people to actually address not just globalization, but technology changes that are going to be far more disruptive than just globalization.

Activity 26. Good speakers use examples to support, clarify, illustrate, or strengthen their claims. A relevant example makes a speech more comprehensible and helps to avoid a long explanation. Read the statements below and add suitable examples to complete the statements.

- A. technology changes
- B. Instagram, 3D printing, and driverless cars
- C. deeper inequality, jobs' elimination
- D. international trade, movement of people
- E. supply chains, services, and moves of capital
- F. personal computer, the Internet
- G. travel, work, transact, move, and get cheap products
- H. **businesspersons, politicians, and representatives of INGOs**
- I. to assess facts, draw conclusions, and give policy recommendations

Example 1: Davos brings together various leaders, such as **businesspersons, politicians, and representatives of INGOs**, to discuss issues of common concern.

Example 2: Leaders **such as politicians** come to Davos to discuss issues of common concern.

1. As Ch. Lagarde mentions, globalization brings a lot of benefits for people, for example_____.
2. However, globalization has to work for all countries, especially for _____.
3. Ch. Lagarde assumes that globalization does not work for all countries; however, certain processes can be more disruptive. A case in point is _____.

4. In the constantly changing environment IMF experts have many obligations, for instance_____.
5. Many economic and social processes, such as _____ have led to greater interconnectedness among countries.
6. The Forth Industrial Revolution has given rise to many inventions, particularly to _____ .
7. There are some risks that a “winner-take-all” economy may have serious implications, for instance _____.
8. Nowadays technologies are progressing at a faster pace than ever, for example_____.

Transform some of the sentences above according to the following model:

- A. Globalization has to work for all countries – it is a common wealth.
- B. Globalization has to work for all countries: it is a common wealth.
- C. The Forth Industrial Revolution has given rise to many inventions: Instagram, 3D printing, and driverless cars.

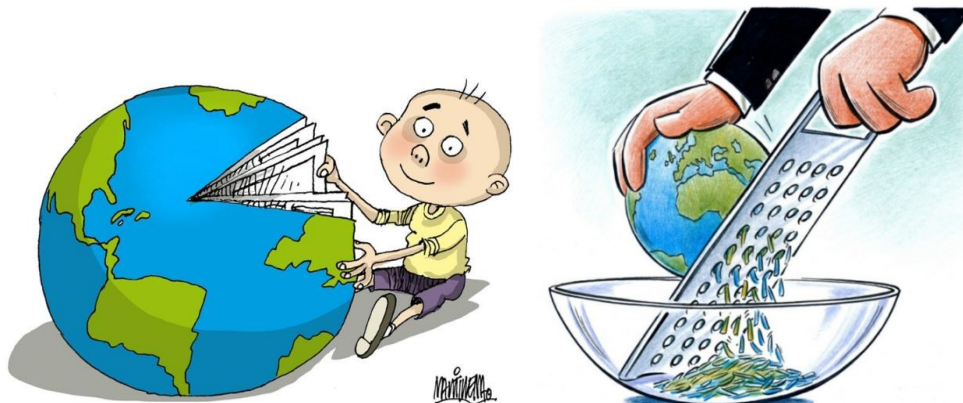
MAKING CONNECTIONS

Activity 27. Suggest two more working principles to address Globalisation 4.0 relating to all the core readings and videos you have studied in this module:

1. Dialogue is critical and must be multistakeholder-based.
2. Globalization must be responsible and responsive to regional and national concerns.
3. International coordination must be improved in the absence of multilateral cooperation.
4. Addressing the biggest global challenges requires the collaborative efforts of business, government and civil society.
5. Global growth must be inclusive and sustainable.
6. ...
7. ...

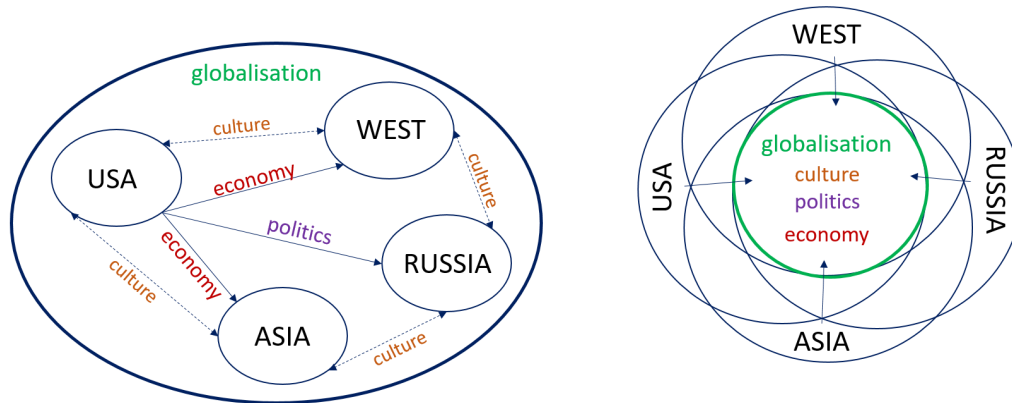
DISCUSSION 1

Activity 28. Choose the picture that better illustrates your perception of ‘Globalisation’ and give your interpretation of the image in the picture.



DISCUSSION 2

Activity 29. Look at the following conceptual schemes. They contain circles, connectors, and concepts (globalisation, states or regions, and their activities). Do these schemes correctly deliver the idea of Globalisation? If they don't, make a conceptual scheme that reflects your understanding of Globalisation. Add more concepts if necessary. Describe your conceptual scheme to a partner. Discuss the differences between your scheme and your partner's.



GLOBAL POWER SHIFTS

Activity 30. Read the following passage for detail and use proper punctuation marks where necessary. Discuss your variants with a partner. Look through the passage again and speculate about the role of a private persona with no official political status that can leave a lasting impact globally. Can we call it a power shift?

ALL LEVELS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED

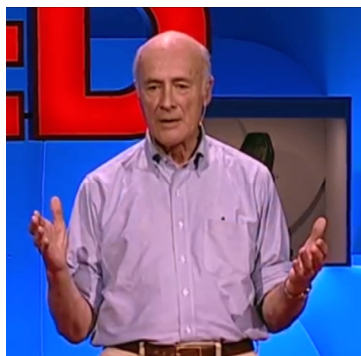


Some experts look deeply into what exactly it is inside states that contributes to what happens in the global sphere. Such a look seems welcome if we think of how crucial the influence of individual actors can be that do not officially represent or act on behalf of states. An example of this is the activist Julian Assange who spearheaded a widely publicised whistleblowing campaign leaking government secrets via the website WikiLeaks. Another example is Osama Bin Laden who built a global terrorist network Al Qaeda based on his own religious and political visions. Both Assange and Bin Laden although very different in nature have had a lasting impact on top-level global politics from the position of a private persona with no official political status or role. If we look at the world around us state borders do not seem to delimitate global affairs. The majority of global interactions be they related to global finance production education personal and professional travel labour migration or terrorism no longer occur via state channels.

Summarise the passage above in two complex sentences. Discuss your versions with a partner.

Activity 31. Watch the video in which an American expert Dr. Joseph Nye talks about global power shifts. Summarize orally his main points in 4-6 sentences.

https://www.ted.com/talks/joseph_nye_on_global_power_shifts



Joseph Samuel Nye Jr., born in 1937. An American political scientist. A former Dean of the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he currently holds the position of University Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus. Served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, Chair of the National Intelligence Council, and Deputy Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance, Science and Technology.

Nye is also a member of the American Academy of Diplomacy. He pioneered the theory of soft power and developed the notion of smart power.

<https://www.hks.harvard.edu/faculty/joseph-nye>

Activity 32. Explain what the words below mean. Fill in the blanks with these words.

payments
power
power diffusion
military power

persuading
to prevail
affect
policy

soft power
big shifts
power transition

deals with
threats or coercion
politics

1) is simply the ability to 2) others to get what you want. And you can do that in three ways. You can do it with 3) - sticks. You can do it with 4) - carrots. Or you can do it with attracting others and 5) them to want what you want; that is what is called 6)

There are really two 7) that are going on globally in terms of power in the 21st century. One is 8) which is a shift of power among states. In this case it's largely from West to East. The other is 9) which is the movement of power away from states or governments to non-governmental actors.

Some of these actors are good – Oxfam, which 10) poverty overseas. Some of them are bad - al-Qaeda. But it is worth noticing that they can make a big change in terms of what 11) looks like. Al-Qaeda, a non-state actor, was able to kill more Americans in 2011 than the government of Japan did at Pearl Harbor in 1941. That is the privatization of war; that is a different kind of international politics.

Power transition, sometimes called “The Rise of Asia”, is going to continue through this century, and our ability to respond to it and cope with it is going to be one of the great challenges for foreign 12) in the 21st century.

Traditionally, in international politics, we thought of power as primarily 13), the capacity 14) in war. But in an information age, such as we live in, it's not just whose army wins, it's also whose story wins. And the ability to develop a narrative that attracts others with soft power may be as important as the ability to use hard power.



Oxfam is a confederation of 20 independent charitable organizations focusing on the alleviation of global poverty, founded in 1942 and led by Oxfam International. It is a major nonprofit group with an extensive collection of operations. Oxfam's programmes address the structural causes of poverty and related injustice and work primarily through local accountable organizations, seeking to enhance their effectiveness.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxfam>

Activity 33. Match the beginnings to their endings so that short passages make sense. Make two statements about 'power' using some phrases from the passages and let your partner agree or disagree with your statements. Change the roles.

1. Power is changing, and there are two types of change: one is power transition.
2. The way power is moving from all states West or East to non-state actors...
3. Power is the ability to affect others to get the outcomes you want, ...
4. A great power has traditionally been defined as a country which is able to prevail in war, ...
5. Goldman Sachs has projected that the Chinese economy will surpass that of the U.S. by 2027.
6. Fear is the greatest danger we have of managing the power transition toward the East.

a. is power diffusion. With the barriers to entry going down thanks to the extraordinary information revolution that has been going on in the last half century there are a lot more actors that can play in the game.

b. When describing it, we often talk about the rise of Asia, which is gradually returning to being more than half of the world's population and producing more than half of the world's products.

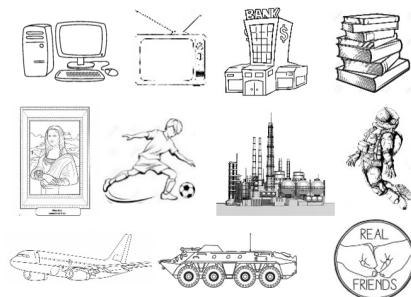
c. and that ability has been much neglected and much misunderstood, and yet it's tremendously important. We call it soft power.

d. But the greatest thing we have to fear is fear itself. We don't have to fear the rise of China or the return of Asia.

e. but to understand power in the 21st century we have to develop a narrative that attracts others with soft power, which may be as important as the ability to use hard power.

f. but such predictions may not give you an accurate picture. It's a linear, one-dimensional projection that takes into consideration total economic size, but not per capita income.

Activity 34. Look at the pictures and read the statements below. Think critically about the statements and decide if they are 'true' or 'false'. Compare your answers to those of your partner. Give arguments to support your viewpoint.



To achieve specific goals, a smart foreign policy may take different resources or tools and use them in various ways.

	true	false
1 The same resources can be potential sources of the opposite kinds of power: hard or soft.		
2 Military units produce only hard power because they fight and win and prevail and coerce an opponent.		
3 The international reputation of a country is equal to the scale and number of resources it has.		
4 The overall activities of a country cannot give that country the outcomes that are greater than the amount of resources it has.		

THE COMPLEX SENTENCE: RELATIVE CLAUSES

There are two kinds of relative clauses in the written language:

- 1) Defining. Provide essential information. Used without commas.
- 2) Non-defining. Provide additional information, which can be left out. Used with commas.

Compare:

- 1) The narrative that / which produces soft power attracts people.
- 2) Soft power, which relies on culture, norms, and values, is an important tool for politicians.
Soft power – which relies on culture, norms, and values – is an important tool for politicians.
Soft power (which relies on culture, norms, and values) is an important tool for politicians.

Activity 35. The sentences below are either defining or non-defining relative clauses. Read the sentences. Which of them requires the use of a comma before *which*?

1. Indeed, people were over-enthusiastic in the early 2000s, thinking America could do anything **which** led us into some disastrous foreign policy adventures, and now we're back to decline again.
2. Let me tell you a little bit about the other shift that I'm talking about **which** is power diffusion.
3. What happened? The Industrial Revolution **which** meant that all of a sudden, Europe and America became the dominant center of the world.
4. And if we have policies **in which** we take it in that larger historical perspective, we're going to be able to manage this process.
5. There are ways to define our interests in **which**, while protecting ourselves with hard power, we can organize with others in networks to produce, not only public goods, but ways that will enhance our soft power.

Activity 36. Circle the correct part of the sentences below, bearing in mind the use of commas in relative clauses. Then make two defining and two non-defining sentences using vocabulary from the sentences.

1. Power is changing, and there are two types of changes: one is power transition. When describing it, we often talk about the rise of **Asia which / Asia, which / Asia, that** is gradually returning to being more than half of the world's population and producing more than half of the world's product.
2. The way power is moving from all states West or East to non-state actors is power diffusion. With the barriers to entry going down thanks to the extraordinary **information revolution, that / information revolution, which / information revolution that** has been going on in the last half century, there are a lot more actors that can play in the game.
3. A great power has traditionally been defined as **a country, that / a country which / a country, which** is able to prevail in war, but to understand power in the 21st century we have to think much more in terms of narratives and whose narrative is going to be effective.
4. The ability to develop **a narrative, that attracts others / a narrative that attracts others / a narrative, which attracts others** with soft power may be as important as the ability to use hard power.

5. Goldman Sachs has projected that the Chinese economy will surpass that of the U.S. by 2027. But such predictions may not give you an accurate picture. It's a linear, one-dimensional **projection, that takes into consideration / projection that takes into consideration / projection, which takes into consideration** total economic size, but not per capita income.

Activity 37. Read the interview with Dr. Joseph Nye. Select the vocabulary items the expert might use to communicate his ideas. Compare your answers with those of your partner. Explain your choice.

E-International Relations: We're kicking off with an interview with Joseph S. Nye, Jr., a University Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard University, where he has been a faculty member since 1964. Dr. Nye has been named a top global thinker by Foreign Policy and the 2011 TRIP survey of international relations scholars.

e-IR: Where do you see the most exciting research or debates happening in contemporary IR?

Nye: I have always thought the most interesting work 1) **lies on the boundaries and interstices of established fields and theories / is where established fields and theories meet:** for example, between domestic and systemic politics; between economics and politics; between regional studies and IR theory....

e-IR: What is the most important advice you could give to young scholars of IR?

Nye: Follow your 2) **intellectual curiosity / go after your desire to learn new things** rather than the 3) **present-day / current** fashion of the field. Look for anomalies and puzzles that you would like to think about. That way you may discover something interesting, and even more important, you will never be bored.

e-IR: ...How has social media changed the ability of states as well as non-state actors to project soft power?

Nye: Soft power is the ability 4) **to obtain preferred outcomes / to get the result you want** through attraction and persuasion rather than 5) **coercion / arm-twisting** or payment, and it is well suited to the cyber 6) **territory / domain**. In the world of information, control of 7) **narrative / explaining things** becomes 8) **increasingly / more and more** important, and struggles over soft power 9) **complement / go with** struggles over hard power...Twitter is a good case in point.

e-IR: Can soft power ever be threatening, and if so, is China's soft power a threat?

Nye: Like any form of power, soft power can be 10) **benign / harmless** or threatening, depending on the context and how it is used. It is not necessarily better to twist minds than to twist arms. If China uses its soft power as part of 11) **a campaign to expel / an operation to throw out** the US from East Asia, that would be threatening. If Chinese soft power grows in the US and American soft power grows in China so that it becomes easier to manage conflicts, then it is a joint gain situation.

e-IR: What role can or does soft power play in the Israel-Palestine conflict?

Nye: 12) **Neither side / none of them** has been successful in using soft power 13) **to obtain outcomes / reach the goal** by attracting or persuading their opponent, but both use it to try 14) **to win the help / to attract the support** of third parties.

Activity 38. Work in pairs. Prepare five questions on Global Power Shifts and interview your partner. Then change the roles.

Activity 39. Draw a conceptual scheme to deliver the idea of Global Power Shifts. Use circles, connecting lines, and concepts (the West, the East, state actors, and non-state actors). Add more concepts if necessary. Describe your conceptual scheme to a partner. Compare and discuss your schemes.

EXPERTS TALKING TO A GENERAL AUDIENCE

Keep it simple, especially if you are going to give a talk to a general audience. Build your speech from *an emotional place rather than from the content. Talk to persuade, not just to inform.*

The tools successful speakers use to involve their audience:

Using personal language: *I don't know about you, but I am NOT ready for a driverless bus.*

Using questions instead of statements: *Are we prepared to truly lead by example?*

Asking questions and answering them: *Does the entire Middle East fall apart? No!*

Using interjections: *Oh my god!*

Using conversational language: *So, it's sort of interesting if you want to look at how the US looks.*

Using idioms: *He's increasingly calling the shots.*

Activity 40. Listen to the lecture. What makes it engaging? What kind of message does the expert want to deliver?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WnyhoOhfIFc>



Ian Arthur Bremmer, born in 1969. An American political scientist. Specializes in U.S. foreign policy, states in transition, and global political risk. The president and founder of Eurasia Group, the leading global political risk research and consulting firm. Eurasia Group provides analysis and expertise about how political developments and national security dynamics move markets and shape investment environments across the globe.

He is also the president and founder of GZERO Media, a Eurasia Group company, which provides the public with the coverage of global affairs. Often expresses his views on political issues in public speeches, television appearances, and top publications, including 'Time Magazine', where he is the foreign affairs columnist and editor-at-large.

<https://www.eurasiagroup.net/people/ibremmer>

ACADEMIC TONE

1. *First- and second-person pronouns, such as I, you, we, make the tone subjective and informal, and so should be avoided in academic writing. To create a more objective and formal tone, follow these sentence structures:*

- × I mean we spent two trillion dollars on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- ✓ Two trillion dollars was spent on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- × We have large numbers of middle and working classes in the USA.

- ✓ There are large numbers of middle and working classes in the USA.
- 2. *Another way to make the tone of writing more objective and formal is to use less emotional words:*
- ✗ There is no single country or alliance that can meet the challenges of global leadership, and this is wonderful.
- ✓ There is no single country or alliance that can meet the challenges of global leadership, and this may lead to positive outcomes.
- 3. *Avoid extremes and absolute phrases:*
- ✗ You know everyone is talking about driverless cars these days.
- ✓ People are talking about driverless cars these days.
- ✓ There have been some concerns about driverless cars recently.
- 4. *Avoid 'empty' words that do not change or add to the meaning:*
- ✗ Ian Bremmer, who has given this lecture, is a widely respected person.
- ✓ Ian Bremmer, who has given this lecture, is widely respected.
- ✓ Ian Bremmer, who has given this lecture, is a widely respected expert.

Activity 41. Rewrite the following sentences from the lecture to make them more formal.

1. If you think that the Russians were antagonized by the US and Europe expanding NATO right up to their borders and the EU encroaching them, just wait until the Chinese put hundreds of billions of dollars in every country around Russia.
2. But the leaders in Asia do not feel the need to wave the flag, to go xenophobic, to actually allow escalation of the geopolitical and cross-border tensions.
3. And if the world were truly becoming flatter and more Americanized, that would be less of a problem.
4. Core Europe around Germany and France and others will still work, be functional, stable, wealthy, integrated, but the periphery countries, like Greece and Turkey and others, will not look that good at all.
5. It's going to be Africa's decade, finally; in a G-Zero world, it is absolutely an amazing time for a few African countries - those governed well, with a lot of urbanization, a lot of smart people, women really getting into the workforce, entrepreneurship taking off.
6. So, really we are going to see an extreme segregation going on between the winners and the losers across Africa.
7. I do think we have to recognize, my fellow campers, that when you are being chased by the bear in the global context, you need not outrun the bear, you need only to outrun your fellow campers.
8. Here's the challenge - in a G-Zero world the way you lead is by example. The election process this year is not proving a good option for leading by example.
9. Even though the US is not in decline, it is getting objectively harder for the Americans to impose their will, and even to have a greater influence on the global order.
10. We need to see that the hollowing out of inequality, the challenges that are growing and growing in the United States are themselves urgent enough to force our leaders to change.

Activity 42. Summarise the following parts of the lecture to one sentence. Use sentence starters from the list below. Make the tone of your summaries formal. The first paragraph has been done for you.

The expert	argues	insists	stresses
	asserts	posits	suggests
	claims	explains	recommends
	states	points out	demonstrates
	contends	criticizes	illustrates
	maintains	emphasizes	expresses concern over

1. You come to TEDx, you always think about technology - the world changing, becoming more innovative. Think about the driverless -- you know there's everyone talking about driverless cars these days. And I love the concept of a driverless car, but when I go in one, you know, I want it really slow. I want access to the steering wheel and the brake. Just in case, right. I don't know about you. I am NOT ready for a driverless bus. I'm not ready for a driverless airplane. How about a driverless world? And I ask you that because we're increasingly in one.

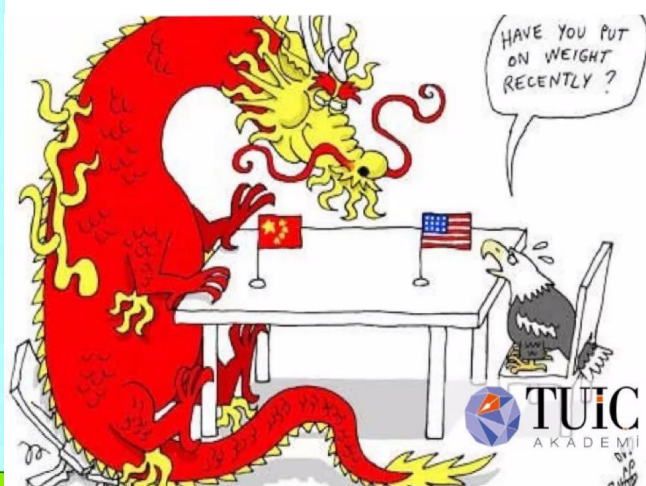
The expert expresses his concern over **today's world having no leader, which is dangerous and may result in chaos.**

2. I mean it's not supposed to be that way - we're number one. The United States is large and in charge, right. Americanization and globalization for the last several generations have basically been the same thing, right? I mean, whether it's the World Trade Organization, or it's the IMF, the World Bank, the Bretton Woods Accord on currency -- these were American institutions. Our values, our friends, our allies, our money, our standards - that was the way the world worked.
3. Later on, in the G20, well, there's Obama, "Hi, George", "Hi, Norman". They look like they're about to get into a cage match, right, and they did; it was 90 minutes long and they talked about Syria - that's what Putin wanted to talk about. He's increasingly calling the shots, he's the one willing to do stuff there. I mean, there's not a lot of mutual like, or trust. But it's not as if the Americans are telling him what to do. Well, how about when the whole twenty are getting together, then, surely, when the leaders are all on stage, then the Americans are pulling their weight.
4. You see, and it's not the problem, as it's not a G20. The problem is, it's a G-Zero world that we live in. A world order where there is no single country or alliance that can meet the challenges of global leadership. The G20 doesn't work. The G7 - all of our friends - that's history. So, globalization is continuing -- goods and services, and people, and capital are moving across borders faster and faster than ever before, but Americanization is not.
5. So, why? What do they implicate? Why are we here? Well, we're here because the United States... right, I mean, we spent two trillion dollars on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that were failed. We don't want to do that anymore. We have large numbers of middle and working classes that feel like they've not benefited from promises of globalization, so they don't want to see it particularly. And we have an energy revolution, where we don't need OPEC or the Middle East the way we used to. We produce all that right here in the United States. So, the Americans don't

want to be the global sheriff for security, or the architect of global trade. The Americans don't want to even be the cheerleader of global values.

6. Well, then you look to Europe. And the most important alliance in the world has been the transatlantic relationship. But it is now weaker than it has been at any point since World War II - all of the crises, the Brexit conversations, the hedging going on between the French and the Russians, or the Germans and the Turks, or the Brits and the Chinese. China does want to do more leadership, they do, but only in the economic sphere. And they want their own value standards currency in competition with that of the US. The Russians want to do more leadership. You see that in Ukraine, in the Baltic States, in the Middle East, but not with the Americans; they want their own preferences in order. That's why we are where we are.
7. So, what happens going forward? Let's start easy, with the Middle East. You know, I left a little out but you get the general idea. Look! There are three reasons why the Middle East has had stability such as it is. One is because there was a willingness to provide some level of military security by the US and allies. Number two -- it was easy to take a lot of cheap money out of the ground because oil was expensive. And number three was no matter how bad the leaders were the populations were relatively quiescent. They didn't have the ability and many didn't have the will to really rise up against. Well, I can tell you in a G-Zero world all three of those things are increasingly not true, and so failed States, terrorism, refugees, and the rest.

Activity 43. Look at the images. Do they correctly illustrate the main ideas the expert tries to deliver? If not, in what way would you change the images to make them more relevant to the expert's message? Think of your own images. Describe them to a partner; share insights.



MULTILATERALISM OF THE FUTURE

AGREEING AND DISAGREEING

Activity 44. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 Leaders of the nation-states trust multilateral institutions such as the United Nations. _____
- 2 When addressing the General Assembly, many world leaders often deliver their messages for their home audience. _____
- 3 The Iran nuclear deal is a successful example of multilateralism. _____
- 4 Climate change is the main priority for the current UN Secretary-General. _____
- 5 To meet domestic targets, the positions of states' federal governments, local sub-national governments, and the business sector always go in line and do not contradict one another. _____
- 6 Multilateral institutions do not work with refugees as these issues can be solved only by the nation-states and their internal policies. _____
- 7 Multinational institutions such as the UN have their own troops to provide military counterterrorist operations. _____

Activity 45. Watch the video 'Multilateralism of the Future' in which the spokesperson for the UN Secretary General Stephane Dujarric speaks about the effectiveness of the UN and other multilateral institutions. Do your viewpoints differ?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P9Ch2onGuEs>



Stephane Dujarric de la Rivière, born in 1965. The Spokesperson for the United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres. He graduated Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service; joined the United Nations in 2000 as an Associate Spokesman; served as Spokesman for United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan from 2005 to 2006, then Deputy Communications Director for Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon from 2006 to 2007.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St%C3%A9phane_Dujarric

Activity 46. Choose the correct meaning from among those in a, b, and c.

1. to tout his policy of nationalism

- a. to explain his policy
- b. to impose his policy
- c. neither a nor b

2. to tackle the problems

- a. to find the problems
- b. to look for problems
- c. neither a nor b

3. respect the sovereignty

- a. to believe that a state has the right to freely and without external interference determine its political status and to pursue its economic, social and cultural development
- b. to believe that a state has the right to interfere with the political system of another state
- c. neither a nor b

4. a big setback

- a. huge failure
- b. something that prevents a process from developing
- c. neither a nor b

6. deliver on the needs of people.

- a. to satisfy people's requirements
- b. to deliver what people need
- c. neither a nor b

8. existential threat

- a. threat to human existence
- b. essential threat
- c. neither a nor b

5. to enact the policies

- a. to enforce the law
- b. to bring policies into force
- c. neither a nor b

7. under the auspices of

- a. with support from
- b. under the pressure of
- c. neither a nor b

Activity 47. During the interview, Stephane Dujarric was asked the following questions. His answers are paraphrased. Read a question and two answers. Which paraphrase do you think correctly reflects his answer? If you think that neither variant is correct, explain why. Watch the interview again to see whether your answers were correct. Then summarise his answer to each question in one complex sentence.

1. How effective is the United Nations in the face of increased criticism and protectionism?

1. We're seeing the world over questioning of multilateralism attacks, of multilateralism, and it's really a crisis of trust. People are doubting institutions at the global level, at the national, at the local level and we need to rebuild that trust. I think member states themselves have to come together and understand that the only way to tackle the problems that we're seeing in the world today, whether it's the climate change, whether it's health pandemics, whether it's migrants and refugees on the move, is through Global Solutions, all the while respecting the sovereignty of each of our 193 member states.
2. We're seeing the world over questioning of multilateralism attacks, of multilateralism, and it's really a crisis of trust. I think it's not about one person or one president. People are doubting institutions at the global level and we need to rebuild that trust. And so I think the Secretary General, the Secretariat has to understand that the only way to tackle the problems that we're seeing in the world today, whether it's the climate change, whether it's health pandemics, whether it's migrants and refugees on the move, is through respecting the sovereignty of each of our 193 member states.

2. When you hear the kind of sentiments that Donald Trump made in the General Assembly Hall here, how do you see it? Do you see it as a big setback for the organization or is it just a bump in the road?

1. The United States is a founding member of this organization, a critical partner, the largest donating funder in terms of assessed contributions. The Secretary General has a very productive and a very constructive relationship with the president of the United States, but the sentiments that Donald Trump made in the General Assembly Hall is a challenge to global diplomacy. The UN has to ensure that the Secretariat is as effective as it can be in delivering on the needs of people.
2. The United States is a founding member of this organization, a critical partner, the largest donating funder in terms of assessed contributions. Overall, we have a very constructive

relationship with the US. But the challenge to global diplomacy is really coming from many different quarters, and the UN has to ensure that the Secretariat is as effective as it can be in delivering on the needs of people.

3. One of the most successful examples of multilateralism was the Iran nuclear deal, which was completed under the auspices of the United Nations. Then we have the United States pull out of that deal. How much of a blow was that to the UN?

1. That deal was signed outside of the UN, with the Europeans and the Americans, and the Iranians. It then came to the Security Council. The Security Council voted and approved it. The secretary-general who was not a party to negotiation however views that JCPOA as a critical victory for diplomacy, also against nuclear proliferation. And he believes that we should do whatever we can to support the agreement and ensure that it survives.
2. Well, for the Secretary General, that deal was signed outside of the UN, with the Europeans and the Americans, and the Iranians. The UN, through the International Atomic agency has certain responsibilities. The secretary-general was not a party to negotiation, so he cannot view that JCPOA as a critical victory for diplomacy, although he believes that we should do whatever we can to support the agreement and ensure that it survives.

4. What are the priorities for the Secretary-General for the General Assembly?

1. I think it's climate change and the fact that we are reaching a point of no return, unless countries live up to the commitments they've made in Paris. Some of the horrible crises we're dealing with, whether it's conflict, whether it's health pandemic, refugee crisis, can actually at some point be solved through political will. If we don't show the political will to tackle climate change, at some point none of us will be able to do anything about it.
2. I think it's climate change and the fact that we are reaching a point of no return because countries do not live up to the commitments they've made in Paris. Some of the horrible crises we're dealing with today, whether it's conflict, whether it's health pandemic, refugee crisis, cannot be solved through political will. None of us will be able to do anything about it. It is Mother Nature in a sense, and you don't negotiate with Mother Nature.

5. One of the big functions of the United Nations is peacekeeping. The United States contributes 25% of the peacekeeping budget, but it says it's not going to go over that. Is that a problem for you?

1. Traditionally, peacekeeping was there to help cement the peace between two parties, but today we're seeing peacekeeping missions that are really doing counter terrorism work, that are fighting armed militias with which you can't always negotiate. So we don't have the troops that we need with the equipment that we need and the training we need. We need to ensure the troops are well trained and well equipped.
2. The problem with peacekeeping operations is the fact that often the mandates that we are given by the Security Council are not always adapted to the places where we work. Peacekeeping is there to do counter terrorism work, to fight armed militias with which you can't negotiate. So today we have the troops that we need with the equipment that we need and the training we need. We need to ensure the troops are well trained and well equipped.

Activity 48. Join the parts of the sentences. Choose 'If' or 'Unless' so that the sentences make sense.

1. **If / Unless** member states themselves come together and understand that the only way to tackle the problems that we're seeing in the world today is through Global Solutions, all the while respecting the sovereignty of each of our 193 member states,
 2. **If / Unless** the Secretary-General did not have a very constructive relationship with the US,
 3. **If / Unless** countries live up to the commitments they've made in Paris and solve some of the horrible crises we're dealing with through political will,
 4. **If / Unless** we don't show the political will to tackle climate change,
 5. **If / Unless** we push and pull the parties to the negotiation table,
- a) the Secretariat would not be effective in delivering on the needs of people.
 - b) the Secretary-General fears reaching a point of no return.
 - c) people will doubt institutions at the global level, at the national, at the local level and we won't be able to rebuild that trust.
 - d) the political parties involved will not find a political solution.
 - e) at some point none of us will be able to do anything about it.

THE COMPOUND SENTENCE

Complex ideas can be expressed by linking simple sentences together in one compound sentence. Not all ideas can form a compound sentence, but only those with *similar grammatical structures or with ideas that develop, support, contrast, limit, or clarify each other*.

A compound sentence is formed by joining two independent clauses in several ways:

1) By using a coordinating conjunction preceded by a comma.

Note: A comma is necessary because both clauses have different subjects and predicates. If we have one common subject or one common predicate, a comma is not used with conjunctions that unite ideas, but used with conjunctions that show contrast or alternatives. In this case, we have a simple sentence, not a compound one.

to add an idea:	and; both...and; not only...but also/as well/too; and then
to contrast ideas:	but; yet
to show a choice:	or; neither... nor; either... or
to introduce a cause:	for
to introduce a result:	so

1. People are doubting institutions at the global, national, and local levels, **so** we need to rebuild trust.
2. The UN plays a stabilizing role in the region, **but** it is not responsible for finding political solutions.
3. **Both** people and the UN have to do something to rebuild the trust.
4. The UN is not responsible for finding political solutions, **but** can assist with it.
5. The UN neither plays a stabilizing role in the region, **nor** is responsible for finding political solutions.
6. The UN is not responsible for **either** finding political solutions **or** rebuilding trust.
7. In fact, the UN doesn't play a stabilizing role, **and** it is not responsible for finding political solutions.
8. The UN is not responsible for finding political solutions, **yet** it can play a stabilizing role.

2) Without a coordinating conjunction by using a semicolon:

Note: Only similar grammatical structures with similar ideas can be connected in this way. The second part gives emphasis or further develops the idea mentioned in the first sentence.

1. People are doubting institutions at the global, national, and local level; they are questioning multilateralism.
2. The UN is not responsible for finding political solutions; it doesn't even play a stabilizing role.

3) Without a coordinating conjunction by using a semicolon followed by a connecting *adverb* with a comma:

to add or develop an idea,	moreover, furthermore, besides, in addition,
to introduce an example	for example, for instance
to contrast ideas	conversely, however, nevertheless, instead, still, in contrast, on the other hand
to show a choice or consequence	otherwise, instead, consequently, therefore, thus, accordingly, hence

1. People are doubting institutions at the global, national, and local level; **therefore**, we need to rebuild trust.
2. The UN plays a stabilizing role in the region; **however**, it is not responsible for finding political solutions.
3. People are doubting institutions at the global, national, and local level; **moreover**, they are questioning multilateralism.

Activity 49. Connect the following sentences to make compound ones.

1. The United Nations is an organization of 193 member states. It is really as strong as the collective will of the member states wants it to be in dealing with global problems.
2. All horrible crises can actually be solved through political will. The business sector and local sub-national governments are very much committed to meeting these targets.
3. The only way to tackle the problems we are seeing in the world today is through global solutions. The political parties involved need to talk and find these solutions.
4. Traditionally, peacekeeping was there to help cement the peace between two parties. We are seeing peacekeeping missions do counterterrorism work.
5. To stop the movement of people who are fleeing conflict is to stop those conflicts. We are trying to push and pull the parties to the table to find that political solution.
6. The challenge to global diplomacy is coming from many different quarters. The Secretary-General has a role to play in ensuring that the Secretariat is as effective as it can be in delivering on the needs of people.

WILL CHINA DOMINATE SCIENCE?

Activity 50. Discuss the following questions with your partner.

- Do you think China is a scientific superpower?
- Should the world be worried about China's scientific power?
- How can the world benefit from China's scientific power?
- Can science change China?

Activity 51. Watch the video 'Will China dominate science?' in which Edward Carr speaks about China's scientific potential. In what way do your viewpoints differ?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGO26c5G90w>



Edward Carr is a writer and commentator on global strategic affairs and business. Graduated Cambridge University; provides the editorial leadership for *The Economist* on international affairs; has had numerous live and recorded radio and television appearances; regularly chairs seminars and debates for Economist Conferences and other top-level events.

<http://mediadirectory.economist.com/people/carr-edward/>

Activity 52. Choose the correct meaning: a, b, or c. If you choose c, suggest your version of the meaning:

1. to signal China's soaring ambitions

- a. to indicate that China has ambitions which are rising very quickly to a very high level
- b. to show that China is losing ambitions
- c. neither a nor b

2. to put a huge effort into becoming a leader

- a. to invest a lot of money into becoming a leader
- b. to make a lot of trouble for others to become a leader
- c. neither a nor b (to try very hard to become a leader)

3. hinder scientific progress

- a. to impede scientific progress
- b. to facilitate scientific progress
- c. neither a nor b

4. to have leading edge science

- a. to have advanced equipment to do research
- b. to be able to make breakthroughs in science
- c. neither a nor b

5. to question authority

- a. to ask questions at the press conference
- b. to ask authorities to give account of what they do
- c. neither a nor b (to express doubts about the value of authority)

6. have an incentive to follow the rules

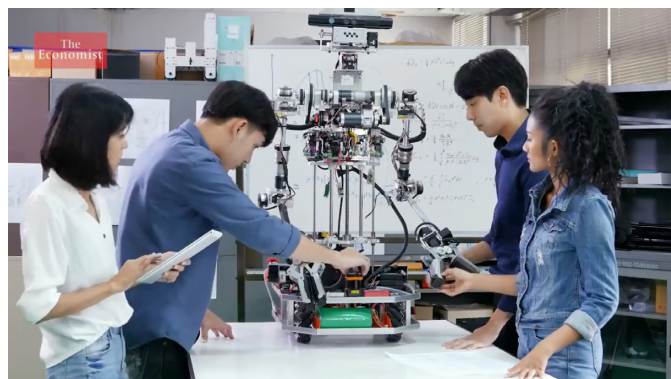
- a. to be committed to the rules
- b. to have motivation to abide by the rules
- c. neither a nor b

7. to pour many millions of dollars into research

- a. to donate millions of dollars to research institutions
- b. to waste millions of dollars on doing research
- c. neither a nor b (to invest millions of dollars into research)

8. to take ethical shortcuts

- a. to choose a quicker, more morally acceptable way of doing something
- b. to disregard ethical principles
- c. neither a nor b



Activity 53. What do you remember from the video?

A. Choose the correct option:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Why does China pour many millions of dollars into research? | 1. Because it wants to land a rover on the far side of the moon.
2. Because it wants to become a scientific superpower.
3. Because it wants to take ethical shortcuts. |
| b. Scientific theft and copying and fraud mean that ... | 1. China wants to take ethical shortcuts.
2. China has soaring ambitions in science.
3. China is in a rush to get ahead because it knows that a strong science base is essential if it is to be a first class economic and military power. |
| c. If China wants to be cutting edge, | 1. it will cut itself off as a nation.
2. it will hinder its own scientific progress.
3. it will collaborate with other countries and follow the rules. |
| d. Science cannot develop without ... | 1. critical thinking and making judgements about the world.
2. democrats' questioning authority.
3. increasing the stranglehold on society. |

B. Match the parts of the sentences to show how they are connected:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Science involves critical thinking, questioning authority, empiricism, making judgments about the world. | Hence , they are pouring many millions of dollars into research. |
| 2. China has soaring ambitions in science, space being just one area in which they are interested. | Consequently , in about 10 or 15 years China will become a scientific superpower. |
| 3. China is putting a huge effort into becoming a leader. | thus , they only hinder their own scientific progress. |
| 4. In the rush to get ahead, Chinese scientists sometimes take ethical shortcuts. | Therefore , president Xi may have to give his scientists the freedom and risk the consequences. |
| 5. Some states try to cut themselves off as a nation; | As a result , scientific theft, copying and fraud is rampant. |

C. Match the words from the two columns and make five compound sentences:

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 a rover on the far side of the moon | A. pour many millions of dollars into |
| 2 taking ethical shortcuts | B. signal China's soaring ambitions |
| 3 artificial intelligence | C. put a huge effort into |
| 4 being cutting edge | D. go to all these efforts |
| 5 cutting yourself off as a nation | E. hinder one's own scientific progress |

Activity 54. Read Edward Carr's answers to the questions. Fill in missing punctuation marks. Identify complex and compound sentences.

1. Is China a scientific power?

We are used to China's growing power in almost every field from trade to geopolitics and now it is the turn of science. On January the 3rd China landed a rover on the far side of the moon. It was the first country to do so and it signaled China's soaring ambitions in science. Space is just one area in which they are pouring many millions of dollars into research. Genomics quantum communications materials in all these areas China is putting a huge effort into becoming a leader. And it is about 10 or 15 years before China becomes a scientific superpower.

2. Should the world be worried?

China knows that a strong science base is essential if it is to be a first class economic and military power. But in the rush to get ahead Chinese scientists sometimes take ethical shortcuts. Last year He Jiankui an Associate Professor from Shenzhen genetically modified two embryos without proper regard to their welfare when they were born. At a time of growing competition between the United States and China the West is worried what this growing scientific Chinese power really means. It is not just a question of Chinese weapons but also how they might use science to oppress their own people for instance. Already China is using artificial intelligence to have real time facial recognition of its people. What is it to have a scientific superpower wrapped up in a one-party dictatorship?

3. How can the world benefit?

Chinese research has a lot to offer the world in say battery technology or the cures to diseases or fundamental discoveries into for instance dark matter. And the nature of science itself may help make China a better scientific actor. For one thing science is collaborative. If you try and cut yourself off as a nation you will only hinder your own scientific progress. If it wants to be cutting edge China will benefit from working with other countries and that means in order to collaborate and have access its scientists will have an incentive to follow the rules. But the most interesting questions of all is whether science might end up changing China.

4. How will science change China?

President Xi Jinping is betting that he can have leading edge science at the same time as the Communist party increases its stranglehold on Chinese society. But is he right about that? Of course not all scientists are Democrats but science itself involves critical thinking questioning authority empiricism making judgments about the world and all of these things threaten autocrats who survive by controlling the way that people think. So president Xi could face a tough choice. If he wants his scientists to be cutting edge he may have to give them the freedom and risk the consequences. In that sense he is running the biggest experiment of all.

Activity 55. Look at the following images. Do they correctly illustrate the main ideas of the video? If not, in what way would you change the images to make them more relevant to the message in the video? Think of your own images to illustrate the main ideas.



Activity 56. Case Study 1. A. Read the following statements about the Chinese tech company Huawei and discuss them with your partner. Do you think they are true or false?

Founded in 1987, Huawei is a leading global provider of information and communications technology (ICT) infrastructure and smart devices.

1. The word 'Huawei' literally means 'China is achieving'.
2. Huawei is a private company wholly owned by its employees.
3. Huawei operates in 193 countries around the world.
4. Huawei has nearly 188,000 employees.
5. Huawei serves more than three billion people around the world.

B. Scan briefly Huawei's official internet site to find information about the statements above:
<https://www.huawei.com/en/about-huawei/corporate-information> Find two interesting facts about Huawei and tell them to your partner. Discuss your overall impression about Huawei.

Activity 57. Watch the following video in which a Western journalist talks about Huawei. Is your opinion about the company changed after watching the video? Is there anything that you particularly liked or disliked?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8HgbPBRiS4>



Activity 58. Below there are two categories of sentence starters and vocabulary fragments from the video. Use some of them to write three complex sentences so that they correctly or incorrectly reflect the context of the video. Give them to your partner for a written response in which he / she can agree or disagree with your claims.

Use the following starters for your situations:

- 1) As far as I understood...
- 2) Now I can say with confidence that...
- 3) Thanks to the video, I can say that...
- 4) According to the video, ...
- 5) Am I right that... ?
- 6) Correct me if I'm wrong, but ...
- 7) As I see, ...

Use the following starters for your responses:

- 1) I'd say the opposite, namely, that...
- 2) I'm afraid I disagree...
- 3) I'm not sure, but...
- 4) It's highly debatable / (un)likely...
- 5) I'm in complete agreement with you...
- 6) I can only agree with what you are saying...
- 7) This is exactly how I see it...

- A. to build a 5G network you need a new type of telecom skill
- B. to make the most advanced 5G and make some governments nervous
- C. to visit this Disney-World-like project
- D. to grow a company from a small workshop to a global tech giant
- E. huge spending on research
- F. to enjoy huge success with revenues in excess over a hundred billion dollars
- G. to face some serious issues
- H. the US is coming for Huawei in a big way
- I. to have access to unlimited capital from the government
- J. cyber spying, cyber espionage
- K. to raise suspicions about somebody's links to the state
- L. to be a pawn of some authorities
- M. to pass the national intelligence law
- N. to help the government to assist national intelligence efforts
- O. an effort to safeguard somebody's security
- P. the future warfare is not in traditional armies
- Q. the future warfare is most likely going to be cyber
- R. without firing a shot to take a country out
- S. to order somebody to build secret back doors in a 5G network
- T. to leave the country vulnerable to a nation-wide cyber attack

Activity 59. Read the world leaders' opinions on Huawei. Discuss with your partner what reasons or motives might lie behind each opinion. Speculate about the positive and negative sides of being a leading transnational tech company.



"It is very important to recognize that there can be significant benefits to investment from overseas in this country, and Chinese companies are welcome as much as any other companies, but you would not expect the UK to do anything to compromise its vital national security infrastructure, and you would not expect me as prime minister to do anything to compromise the ability of our fantastic intelligence services to share information as they do, particularly with our five eyes partners, so that is the principle that will guide us," said the UK Prime Minister Boris Johnson.

<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-leader-quotes-highlights/uks-boris-johnson-on-hong-kong-huawei-iran-and-brexid-idUSKCN1TY1H0>



French President Emmanuel Macron poured cold water on the idea of implementing protectionist measures on tech companies like Huawei. Asked about U.S. pressure on the Chinese telecommunications giant, he said: "We have some restrictions, but totally focused on what is related to this national security, nothing more. There is no over-protectionism vis-a-vis any of the big global tech firms because we need them to fertilize our ecosystem, we want to be stronger and stronger and create maximum jobs."

<https://www.cnn.com/2019/05/16/frances-macron-on-huawei-over-protectionism-not-the-answer.html>



Angela Merkel has said that her government will not exclude Huawei or any other company from helping to develop 5G in Germany simply because they come from China, in a clear rebuke of Washington's stance on the issue. "We should not exclude just one participant from the 5G development just because it came from China." Merkel's comments come a week after she stated that Germany would define its own security standards for a new 5G mobile network.

<https://www.virwire.com/trending/a/germany-merkel/merkel-on-huawei-germany-won't-exclude-5g-providers-just-because-they-come.html>



"Huawei is something that's very dangerous. You look at what they've done from a security standpoint, from a military standpoint. It's very dangerous. So it's possible that Huawei even would be included in some kind of a trade deal. If we made a deal, I could imagine Huawei being possibly included in some form of or some part of a trade deal", said the USA President Donald Trump. <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4799844/trump-huawei>

"At the request of our High Tech companies, and President Xi, I agreed to allow Chinese company Huawei to buy product from them which will not impact our National Security. Importantly, we have opened up negotiations...", @realDonaldTrump <https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1145097776658812929>



"The new generation of information technology, represented by the internet, big data and artificial intelligence, is booming at present and has significant and profound impacts on the economic development, social progress and people's lives of all countries. China is willing to share opportunities of the digital economy's development with other countries and jointly explore new growth drivers and development paths by exploring new technologies, new business forms and new models", said Chinese President Xi Jinping.

<http://news.flanders-china.be/president-xi-calls-for-cooperation-to-develop-the-internet-big-data-and-ai>



"The action against China's Huawei by Western countries led by the United States is an attempt to push it out of the global market, which can be seen as the start of a technological war. Destructive practices have not only struck traditional markets, but also migrated to emerging industries. The situation around Huawei, for example, against which an attempt is made not only to push it aside, but unceremoniously push it out of the global market, is even called by some circles the first technological war of the coming digital era," said Russian President Vladimir Putin.

http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-06/08/c_138125199.htm

Based on the leaders' opinions above, consolidate your own viewpoint and share it with a partner.

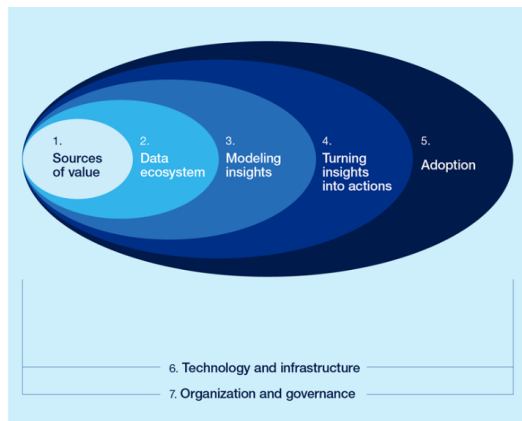
McKinsey & Company

Activity 60. Case Study 2.

- A. Read the following information about 'McKinsey & Company' to have an overall understanding of their mission and activities. Then look at the blue circles. This conceptual scheme shows their working approach. What kind of activities may lie behind the concepts in the circles? Write 7 sentences to predict what the company is doing. Discuss your versions with a partner to share ideas and insights.



McKinsey & Company was founded in Chicago in 1926 by James McKinsey, a professor of accounting at the University of Chicago. He conceived the idea after witnessing inefficiencies in military suppliers while working for the U.S. Army Ordnance Department. The firm called itself an "accounting and management firm" and started out giving consulting on using accounting principles as a management tool.



Now, the company helps organizations across the private, public, and social sectors create the change that matters: "We have always helped our clients identify and set the direction toward their most important goals. We meet our clients anywhere they are in their journey to become data-driven, providing everything from specific expertise on discrete issues to holistic transformations spanning strategy design. Our iterative, end-to-end approach starts with the identification of opportunities and culminates in broad adoption of new ways of working, all while ensuring that the underpinning technology and organizational model are optimized for each client's specific needs."

- B. Below you see how the company describes their working approach. Read what they do within each circle and compare with the 7 sentences you have prepared in 'A'. Summarise in one sentence what exactly they do at every stage.

1. Identify sources of new business value

Every analytics project starts with identifying specific opportunities for revenue growth and performance improvements. We then develop a road map based on a broad range of potential solutions.

2. Expand the data ecosystem

We work with clients to build extensive data ecosystems. We assess the sources of data that are available both inside and outside a client's organization, and we enable the creation of new data using affordable technologies such as the Internet of Things and smart sensors.

3. Build models for trusted insight

Working within integrated client-service teams, our data scientists select the best models and approaches – ranging from basic forecasting to advanced machine learning – and then customize and improve them for the specific client situation, applying deep functional and industry knowledge.

4. Integrate user-friendly tools

We ensure that the tools we develop allow users at all levels to intuitively connect with data to make new discoveries. Starting with the delivery of mobile visualization techniques and robust self-service environments, we help clients create cultures of curiosity that foster innovation.

5. Manage adoption

We help clients understand how these new tools work so they can use them consistently. We heavily invest in training people across the organization. By working to ensure that they have the right data-governance strategies in place, we help foster trust in the quality of the data and the resulting insights.

6. Create technologies and infrastructure

Our team of software engineers, data engineers, scientists, visualization experts, and consultants can work either within a client's existing environment or on Nerve, our cloud-based platform. Nerve delivers capabilities and solutions in a highly secure and encrypted environment affordably and effectively.

7. Optimize organization and governance

We help clients build the IT architecture, data governance, and organizational capabilities to capture the potential of big data and advanced analytics, and we work to ensure that analytics is adopted seamlessly across the overall organization.

Activity 61. You are going to watch the interview in which McKinsey's expert Dominic Barton speaks about global trends and challenges their clients face. During the interview, Dominic Barton was asked the following questions. His answers are paraphrased. Read the sets of questions and answers below. Which paraphrase do you think correctly reflects his answer? If you think that neither variant is correct, explain why.



Dominic Barton

Based in London, Dominic Barton, global managing partner emeritus, leads the firm's focus on the future on capitalism and the role of business leadership in this volatile world.

1. What do you see as the trends that clients are focusing on the most?

1. I think there is a lot of them going on right now because of all the big, underlying shifts that are happening in the world: re-rise of Asia, Africa, technology shifts, aging and all of that. The biggest trends I see are business model redesign, organization change, delayering, flattening, the introduction of advanced analytics and digital into organizations, building resilience.
2. I think there is a lot of them going on right now. I would say that the biggest trends I see are the big, underlying shifts that are happening in the world, for example the re-rise of Asia, Africa, technology shifts, aging and all of that. Those are probably the four things that I see the most.

2. We see an incredible amount of unrest, geopolitical uncertainty. How are clients starting to think about that, and how does McKinsey work with them to manage economic and social uncertainty? What are some of the things that are done?

1. I think there are two ways that we try and do it. One is that it is very important to have a scenario of what you think it might be. That is, one dimension is being prepared on the scenario side for where it is. Since we assume that geopolitics is something that you work with within a box, you can pick one place, and be sure that it will work somewhere else.
2. I think there are two ways that we try and do it. One is that it is very important to have a scenario of what you think it might be. You also need to have resilience. If something goes pear shaped in one area, you have got to be able to have a supply chain, for example, that will work somewhere else.

3. So turning to leadership, what do you view as the key traits that we can help to develop in our employees, our students, or our clients to become great leaders? What is needed today?

1. I think one is actually the global mindset. You just have to understand what is happening in different parts of the world. You need to understand different cultures. The second, it is very important to have a global network. The other part is around character. You need to be resilient. You need to have purpose. You need to be able to compartmentalize issues. You have to be short term and long term at the same time.
2. I think one is actually this global mindset. You need to understand different cultures and that people act and operate in different ways. I think the second is you actually have to know some people in those places who can help you. So, building relationships. I think it is very important to have a global network. You have to visit them all the time. You cannot be global locally.

4. As you think about the world and business, what makes you the most optimistic and what worries do you have about the business world?

1. Overall, I am optimistic, even though there is a lot of volatility. I think technology is going to unleash more creativity in humans. More people will participate in the global economy through digitization. Even with conflict, people or scientists can actually work together to do something for the future. What I am worried about is that the world changed fundamentally. I worry about how democracy works and whether we will be able to pick leaders who can lead.
2. Overall, I am not optimistic, since there is a lot of volatility. I think technology is not going to be able to unleash any creativity in humans. There is a huge demographic boom in the markets like Africa, Indonesia, India, and so forth. Our institutions globally are not fit for purpose. The world has changed fundamentally. And I worry about how democracy works and whether people can actually work together to do something for the future.

Activity 62. Watch the interview to know D. Barton's variants of the answers.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fifgSXa0vxs>

The Four Trends Impacting McKinsey Clients: C-Suite Insights with McKinsey's Dominic Barton

C-suite *noun* [C, usually singular]

- the group of the most important managers in a company, for example those whose titles begin with the letter C, for 'chief': *CEOs and other C-Suite executives*

What ideas or advice would you like to adopt in your future professional life and career?

Activity 63.

- A. Watch the beginning of the video again where D. Barton is introduced by his colleague Scott Beardsley, the Dean of Darden School of Business, University of Virginia. Look at the following model for introducing experts.

Name of the person:	<i>Hello, today we are having Dominic Barton.</i>
His / her position:	<i>He is a global managing partner of consulting powerhouse McKinsey & Company.</i>
What he / she does:	<i>Dominic leads the firm's focus on the future of capitalism and the role of business leadership creating social and economic value.</i>
His / her achievements:	<i>He is a prolific author and expert on business in many regions of the world, particularly in Asia.</i>
Additional details:	<i>I also had the privilege of being his colleague at McKinsey for 26 years.</i>
Introduction to a question:	<i>Dom, at a global consulting firm like McKinsey, you get incredible insight into the trends happening around the world.</i>
A question:	<i>What do you see as the trends that clients are focusing on the most?</i>

- B. Look through this module. Several experts have been mentioned in the videos and texts. Introduce them according to the model above to practice the skill of introducing experts.
- C. How would you like to be introduced? What kind of expert would you like to be in the future? Use your imagination and make a written introduction of yourself. Exchange your introductions with your partner and prepare three questions to interview each other. In your class, act out an interview in which you are being introduced and asked questions.

Activity 64. Look at the picture and look through the vocabulary items on the following pages that have been studied within this module. Speak about probable outcomes of today's global trends.



VOCABULARY LIST

What is the Forth Industrial Revolution?

1. to coin something
2. to blur the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres
3. artificial intelligence
4. autonomous vehicles
5. the Internet of Things
6. to become ingrained in day-to-day lives
7. voice-activated virtual assistants
8. face ID recognition
9. healthcare sensors
10. to present one's vision of
11. to merge with humans' lives
12. to sign up 100 million users
13. fast-paced technology
14. to drive a lot of innovation
15. to embrace new technologies
16. to keep up with the fast pace of technological change
17. to benefit the most from
18. a "winner-takes-all" economy
19. to eliminate jobs
20. to create demand for new skills
21. to go digital
22. to catch up

Christine Lagarde on Globalization

1. to suffer from fiscal indiscipline
2. a wakeup call
3. to be in charge of one's destiny
4. to assess the facts
5. to draw the conclusions
6. to apply the analytical process
7. to come to policy recommendations
8. to interconnect itself through supply chains
9. to provide services on a global basis
10. advanced economies
11. improvement of living standard
12. to adopt the right narratives
13. macroeconomic analysis
14. to give policy recommendations
15. to eliminate poverty
16. to implement remedies
17. disruptive

There are No More Global Superpowers

1. to be in charge
2. to meet the challenges of global leadership
3. to have large numbers of middle and working classes
4. to benefit from promises of globalization
5. to be the global Sheriff for security
6. to be the architect of global trade
7. to be the cheerleader of global values
8. to expand NATO right up to Russian borders
9. to consolidate enormous power
10. to focus on long-term economic stability and growth
11. the concerns of populism across all of the European states
12. a new legitimate president
13. a lot of urbanization
14. women get into the workforce
15. entrepreneurship is taking off
16. the sparring over smth

Globalization 4.0 – what does it mean?

1. to build a shared future
2. to become disaffected and embittered
3. to underpin an economic system
4. an era of widespread insecurity and frustration
5. an alternative to the status quo
6. a phenomenon driven by technology
7. to prioritize the neoliberal global order over national interests.
8. to restore sovereignty
9. to close off economies through protectionism and nationalist politics
10. to forge a new social compact
11. the rapid emergence of ecological constraints
12. the advent of an increasingly multipolar international order and rising inequality
13. to usher in a new era of globalization
14. to harness smth
15. to drive economic growth for the public good
16. to have a pronounced effect
17. the precariat and the privileged
18. innovation-driven economy
19. to compete with targeted programs
20. to cling to an outdated mindset
21. to tinker with existing processes and institutions
22. to play a zero-sum game
23. to pursue all sets of interests
24. future-oriented stakeholders
25. short-term institutional and national considerations

Power Shifts

1. power transition
2. power diffusion
3. non-state actors
4. the rise of Asia
5. the dominant center of the world
6. barriers to entry
7. non-governmental actor
8. threats or coercion
9. get the outcomes you want
10. soft power, hard power, smart power
11. to prevail in war
12. a new narrative
13. per capita income
14. large areas of underdevelopment
15. to take smth in a larger historical perspective
16. a multi-polar world, a unipolar world
17. a zero sum game
18. to empower
19. to keep balances
20. to keep an open trading system
21. to keep a monetary stability
22. to produce global public goods
17. the view of how the world is run
18. escalation of the tensions
19. to hollow out
20. to lead by example

VOCABULARY LIST

The Future of Multilateralism

1. to tout one's policy of nationalism
2. to tackle the problem
3. to respect the sovereignty
4. a big setback for
5. a founding member of some organization
6. to enact the policies
7. to deliver on the needs of people
8. to be under the auspices of the United Nations
9. nuclear proliferation
10. to reach a point of no return
11. to live up to the commitments
12. to make a commitment
13. to be solved through political will
14. to show the political will to tackle climate change
15. existential threat to smb
16. to be committed to meeting targets
17. to raise over two hundred million on
18. to push and pull the parties to the table to find a political solution
19. to host the vast majority of refugees
20. to be critically underfunded
21. peacekeeping missions around the world
22. to help cement the peace between two parties
23. to do counterterrorism work
24. the credibility of the council rests on

Huawei

1. a new type of telecom skill
2. a global tech giant
3. to make the most advanced 5G gear
4. to enjoy huge success
5. revenues in excess over a hundred billion dollars
6. to face some serious issues
7. to come for Huawei in a big way
8. to have access to unlimited capital
9. cyber spying
10. cyber espionage
11. cyber warfare
12. to raise suspicions about
13. a pawn of the Chinese authorities
14. to pass the national intelligence law
15. to safeguard smb's security
16. to supply a country's 5G network
17. to be run by computers
18. the future warfare
19. without firing a shot you can take a country out
20. to leave the country vulnerable to
21. a nation-wide cyber attack

Will China Dominate the Science?

1. to signal soaring ambitions
2. to pour many millions of dollars into research
3. to put a huge effort into becoming a leader
4. to go to all these efforts
5. to take ethical shortcuts
6. scientific theft, copying and fraud
7. to cut oneself off as a nation
8. to hinder one's own scientific progress
9. to collaborate and have access
10. to have an incentive to follow the rules
11. to have leading edge science
12. to increase one's stranglehold on
13. to question authority
14. to make judgments about the world
15. to be cutting edge

The Four Trends Impacting McKinsey Clients

1. to have/get incredible insight into the trends
2. underlying shifts
3. re-rise of Asia
4. business model redesign
5. to add value at a more fundamental level
6. organization change
7. layering
8. flattening
9. the introduction of advanced analytics and digital into organizations
10. to build resilience
11. an incredible amount of unrest
12. geopolitical uncertainty
13. to manage economic and social uncertainty
14. to go pear shaped
15. to be prepared on the scenario side for smth
16. a trade war
17. underlying models of society
18. societal issues
19. a pivot point
20. a societal shift
21. to place tremendous emphasis on
22. the key traits
23. global mindset
24. to have a global network
25. to be global locally
26. to compartmentalize issues
27. to be short term and long term at the same time
28. volatility
29. to unleash creativity in humans
30. the indigo economy
31. to participate in the global economy through digitization
32. financial inclusion
33. to triple human computing power
34. a huge demographic boom
35. to be fit for purpose
36. to change fundamentally
37. to share prosperity

MODULE 2

INSECURITY AND DISRUPTIVE FORCES

This module considers new forms of insecurity and disruptive forces and their ability to magnify or demean ecological, economic, and political problems. You'll explore the main factors that can reshape the global landscape. Engaging with these issues, you'll learn how states, multinational corporations and civil society are trying to manage instances of insecurity and various disruptors; how they identify threats and opportunities, how they apply innovative thinking and agility.



BRIEF QUOTATIONS

Activity 1. The following quotations deal with political, economic, and technological issues discussed in this module. Working with a partner or in a small group, choose and discuss any three quotations.

1. *"Knowing others is intelligence; knowing yourself is true wisdom. Mastering others is strength; mastering yourself is true power."* – Laozi
2. *"Let me offer you my definition of social justice: I keep what I earn and you keep what you earn. Do you disagree? Well then tell me how much of what I earn belongs to you - and why?"* – Walter E. Williams
3. *"Today, more than ever before, life must be characterized by a sense of Universal responsibility, not only nation to nation and human to human, but also human to other forms of life."* – Dalai Lama
4. *"Change is inevitable, and the disruption it causes often brings both inconvenience and opportunity."* – Robert Scoble
5. *"The brick walls are there for a reason. The brick walls are not there to keep us out. The brick walls are there to give us a chance to show how badly we want something. Because the brick walls are there to stop the people who don't want it badly enough. They're there to stop the other people."* – Randy Pausch
6. *"Being challenged in life is inevitable, being defeated is optional."* – Roger Crawford

AGREEING AND DISAGREEING

Activity 2. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 Sovereignty is the most important element that distinguishes state from other _____ entities.
- 2 Sovereignty means that within the borders of the state the government has _____ complete authority.
- 3 The sovereignty of a state can be limited by international law as well as policies and _____ actions taken by the neighboring states.
- 4 Cultural, environmental, and economic influences do not respect sovereign borders _____ of a state.
- 5 Limitations to sovereignty in the contemporary world stem from globalization. _____
- 6 Globalization with its advances in information technology and business organization, _____ communications revolution, and open economies does not promote sovereignty.
- 7 Even if the government of a sovereign state is not capable of offering basic services _____ to its population, it should not seek for help of other states.



Activity 3. Watch the video in which Richard N. Haass, the President of 'Council on Foreign Relations', speaks about 'Sovereignty'. Do your views about sovereignty differ?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IATwxFgTNvk>

Activity 4. Which sets of words did you hear in the video? Discuss them with your partner. Watch the video again to check if you have selected the right variants.

1. representation of sovereignty / presentation of sovereignty
2. has to complete authority / has complete authority
3. have control over the resources / have controlled all the sources
4. on the legitimately used force / on the legitimate use of force
5. that's all legitimate representatives of the country / the sole legitimate representative of the country
6. have supranational arrangements / have super national arrangements
7. won't readily give up certain powers / voluntarily give up certain powers
8. and treaties that don't recognize the legitimate role of the state / entities that don't recognize the legitimate role of the state
9. now to massacre / not to massacre
10. to fulfill its allegations / to fulfill its obligations

Activity 5. Choose the correct meaning: a, b, or c. If you choose c, suggest your version of the meaning.

1. states are the representation of sovereignty

- a. states substitute for a sovereign
- b. states serve as a symbol of sovereignty
- c. neither a nor b

2. to have complete authority

- a. to have all the power to influence thought, opinion, or behavior
- b. to have the right to start a war
- c. neither a nor b

3. to have a monopoly on the use of force

- a. to have exclusive control over the use of force
- b. to have legal privileges when using force
- c. neither a nor b

4. supranational arrangements

- a. arrangements transcending national boundaries or interests
- b. arrangements existing below a national level relating to a group or region
- c. neither a nor b

5. entities like ISIS, drug cartels, pirate organization

- a. enemies
- b. individuals
- c. neither a nor b

6. to be conditional on whether a government is willing to do something

- a. to make a condition that a government do something
- b. to be doubtful whether a government will do something
- c. neither a nor b

Activity 6. Look at the following sets of words. If you were asked to explain the concept of 'sovereignty', which sets of words would you choose? If you think that the synonym in the set sounds more professional, learn it and practice in the activities that follow.

1. representation of sovereignty / an example of sovereignty
2. has all the authority / has complete authority
3. have control over the resources / control the resources
4. on the lawful use of force / on the legitimate use of force
5. the only legitimate representative in the country / the sole legitimate representative of the country
6. willingly give up certain powers / voluntarily give up certain powers
7. actors that don't accept the legitimate role of the state / entities that don't recognize the legitimate role of the state
8. not to kill / not to massacre
9. to fulfill its duty / to fulfill its obligations

Activity 7. Fill in the blanks with active vocabulary from the video.

Sovereignty is in some ways the most basic idea of modern international relations. States are the 1. _____. The hundred ninety plus states are the principal actors in the world.

Sovereignty means that within the borders of a state, that government 2. _____. The people who control a country are able to decide what kind of a political system they want to have. They 3. _____. They have a monopoly 4. _____. They are meant to control what goes in and what comes out. They are 5. _____ as a whole. And states agree to recognize these rights of other states. So essentially sovereignty is a set of understandings.

Sovereignty is being challenged in some ways as never before. From above. If you look at Europe for example, you 6. _____. The European Union is a challenge to sovereignty, where governments 7. _____ to Brussels. Sovereignty is being challenged from below. Groups like ISIS, drug cartels, pirate organizations, these are 8. _____. Sovereignty is being challenged from the side. When particles of carbon or emails travel, they don't say, "Oh, I have to stop at the border because that's a sovereign state."

When we talk of sovereignty we often talk in fairly absolute terms that what goes on within a country's borders is its business alone. And that idea, while still embraced by some governments, has been challenged throughout the modern era. In the mid-nineties, after the genocide in Rwanda, a movement grew up to say sovereignty can't be absolute.

We're seeing an idea take hold, what's called the responsibility to protect, that sovereign governments not only have rights, but responsibilities. One of the responsibilities is 9. _____ their own people, or not to allow their own people to be 10. _____ or victims of genocide. And when a government is unable or unwilling to protect its own people, the international community has a certain right to step in. What this suggests is that sovereignty has become a little bit conditional on whether a government is willing or able 11. _____. The challenge is how to introduce this wrinkle without undoing some of the good things of sovereignty, which have essentially kept the world from constantly being at war with itself.

Activity 8. IR / RS specialists often have to briefly explain professional terms. The following table shows how to explain a term in a concise way. Fill in the table with vocabulary items from the activities above to explain what 'sovereignty' means. Discuss your versions with a partner.

1. Illustrate the importance of the term to catch the reader's attention:	1. <i>Sovereignty is one of the most essential features of the state in modern international relations; it distinguishes states from any other entities and associations.</i>
2. Define the term by giving its key characteristics:	2. <i>Sovereignty means...</i>
3. Clarify some characteristics, if necessary:	
4. Give some illustrations, examples, explain the main challenges:	
5. Summarise:	

Activity 9. Use the table above and write a brief explanation of what 'intelligence' means. What can you write about intelligence? Compare and discuss your versions with a partner.

Activity 10. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 Intelligence is designed to collect information that will help the government form _____ home policy decisions.
- 2 Human intelligence is about recruiting agents who will intercept conversations and _____ infiltrate military installations.
- 3 Policy makers can form policy decisions provided intelligence gives them information _____ that isn't available anywhere else.
- 4 Since Intelligence operations are clandestine activities designed to gain access to _____ something that someone else wants to keep hidden, they are illegal and punishable by law.
- 5 Digitalisation poses the greatest threat to the intelligence community because it is _____ impossible to prioritise and evaluate information provided by social media.

Activity 11. Choose the correct meaning. Discuss it with a partner.

1. If you give somebody an edge

- a. you give them an advantage
- b. you give them information

3. to infiltrate a facility

- a. to gain access to a facility
- b. to insulate a facility

2. clandestine activities

- a. secret activities
- b. intelligence operations

4. to recruit a human asset

- a. to recruit new people
- b. to become an asset to a company

INTELLIGENCE

Activity 12. Watch the video in which a former Deputy Director for Intelligence (CIA) Jami Miscik explains what ‘intelligence’ means. Try to spot the differences between your explanation of intelligence in ‘Activity 9’ and the explanation the expert provides.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Oo8nZH579F0>



Activity 13. Use the words in the table to complete the following passage.

human intelligence an edge to recruit geospatial evolving	to gain access signals intelligence infiltrate a facility to thwart and disrupt plots
---	--

Intelligence is designed to give a policy maker 1. _____, to give him information that isn't available anywhere else that will help him form policy decisions. There is 2. _____, which is basically running agents, finding people who can tell you what you need to know. There is 3. _____, which is designed to intercept conversations.

Another key type of intelligence is satellite imagery, or 4. _____. Intelligence operations are clandestine activities designed 5. _____ to something that someone else wants to keep hidden. It can be organizing an operation 6. to _____, perhaps a military installation, or it could be to infiltrate a group, or it could be 7. _____ a human asset.

The intelligence community is always 8. _____, and always faces new challenges. The biggest successes of the intelligence community really are in its ability to protect citizens on a daily basis, 9. _____. The failures of the intelligence community usually become public.

Activity 14.

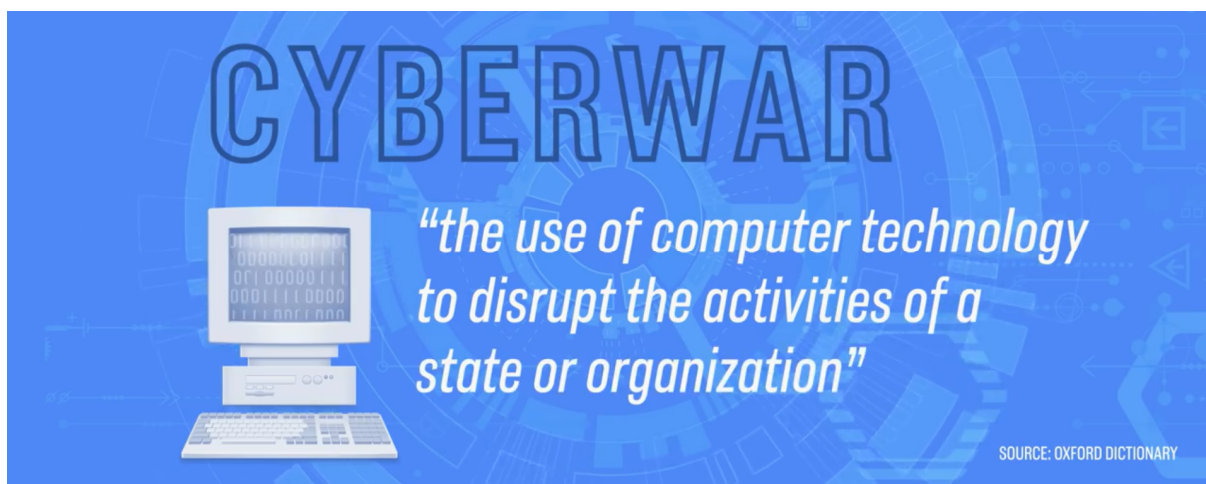
A. Read the following passage about intelligence for detail and fill in proper punctuation marks where necessary. Discuss your variants with a partner.

It is likely that during the Cold War some national intelligence systems especially those in the major countries grew beyond their optimal size. Some countries also have experienced problems controlling their intelligence systems. In both democracies and authoritarian societies these organizations are in a position to demand that their operations and the information they collect be kept secret not only from the public but also from most government officials. The need for secrecy obviously makes adequate oversight difficult to achieve. Moreover secret services historically have been used as vehicles of political conspiracy and intrigue. In part because of rapidly advancing technology intelligence systems are likely to grow in power and autonomy in the 21st century. In order to avoid becoming their virtual prisoners legislative and executive bodies must be cognizant of the need for effective policy controls.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/intelligence-international-relations/National-intelligence-systems>

B. Look through the passage again. Decide what kind of information it gives. The table in Activity 8 can help you categorize the sentences. Does this information fit the purposes of a brief explanation? What pieces of information can you take from this passage for a brief explanation of intelligence? Discuss your variants with a partner.

Activity 15. Work in pairs. Speculate about the threat of a cyberwar. Can you give examples of cyberattacks?



Watch the video in which the speaker describes a cyberattack in Estonia. Do you agree with her interpretation of the events? Can you give arguments to support or refute her statements?

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MXWyQZ-2qB8>

Activity 16. Read the script of the video. Use some of the vocabulary items in bold and transform the script into a brief neutral explanation of 'what cybersecurity is' or 'how to prevent cyberattacks'.

HOW DO YOU STOP A CYBERWAR? CNBC EXPLAINS

Estonia **suffered a massive cyberattack** more than 10 years ago. The event was **a defining moment for the country** and the world's approach toward **cybersecurity**. And it all started with this statue. From the 'WannaCry' **ransomware attack** to **election meddling**, cyberattacks are becoming increasingly common, and costly, around the world.

Global spending on information security products and services is expected to reach \$124 billion in 2019. But that hasn't been enough **to stop cyberattacks from becoming one of the global economy's biggest threats**. So how can governments **keep hackers out**? The short answer is they can't. But that doesn't mean they're not trying. One of the leaders in this space has been the tiny Baltic country of Estonia, which **gained independence from** the Soviet Union in 1991. For years, this Bronze Statue stood in the center of Tallinn as a Soviet War memorial. Then in 2007, the Estonian government decided to move it here to a less prominent location. The move **sparked protests and riots from** Estonia's ethnic Russian population that wanted the statue to stay in place. Then, within days, Estonian institutions **were crippled by** a series of cyberattacks. Parliament, government ministries, banks, and newspapers **went offline**. And though it hasn't ever been confirmed, it's widely believed that Russia was behind the attacks.

The 2007 attack on Estonia has been called the first cyberwar, which is defined as “the use of computer technology **to disrupt the activities** of a state or organisation.” The cyberattack was a **wake-up call for** Estonia, which at the time was already one of the world’s most advanced digital societies. The country decided it needed **to take steps to protect data online** and **prevent future cyberattacks**. But how? The first step was building a strategy that would allow the government **to keep systems up and running** during a cyberattack. IT experts in the public and private sectors worked together **to make systems more resilient against hackers**. One part of Estonia’s strategy is a voluntary ‘Cyber Defence League’ made up of hundreds of civilians, including IT professionals and young people who would mobilize during an attack. Estonia also decided **to store copies of its information in a data embassy** in Luxembourg, as a backup in case there was a cyberattack on home soil. Which brings us to another **key deterrent for** cyber threats -- international cooperation. NATO, the military alliance between North American and European countries, was a good place to start.

In 2008, the 'NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence' opened here in Tallinn. Its goal? **To enhance** NATO’s cyber **defense capabilities**. The center **conducts large-scale cyber defense drills**, sort of like digital military training, though it’s not technically a NATO operational unit. It also put together a guide called the Tallinn Manual, which analyzes how to apply existing international law to cyber operations. In 2016, NATO allies agreed that a cyberattack on a member country could **trigger** the same **military response** as an attack in the air, on land, or at sea. EU-wide regulation has also **upped the penalties against data breaches**. The General Data Protection Regulation, or GDPR, that went into effect in 2018, gave EU regulators the power to fine companies that don’t protect user data. And, unlike in the past, the fines can be massive, up to 4% of global annual turnover or €20 million, whichever is bigger. Still, many countries have not taken steps to prepare for cyber threats.

The United Nations found half of its member states **don't have a cybersecurity strategy in place**. The UN ranks Estonia as the European country most committed to cybersecurity and fifth worldwide after Singapore, the United States, Malaysia, and Oman. But even Estonia isn’t **hacker-proof**. Authorities still responded to more than 10,000 cybersecurity incidents in 2017, one third more than the year before. Which brings us to one final big step in preventing a cyberattack, **getting the public on board**. This can be as simple as **using two-factor authentication** or changing your password from, well, “password.” Research found only one out of every four internet users in Europe changes his or her password regularly because of security and privacy issues. In Estonia, it took an unprecedented cyberattack for the country to become a leader in online security. Other countries might want to take note as the threats of cyberattacks only become bigger and more complex.

Activity 17. Read the following abstract for the main ideas and do the activities on the next page.

In his article “Foreign policy responses to international cyber-attacks”, Sico van der Meer, a Research Fellow at the Clingendael Institute, analyzes the governmental response that followed a cyber-attack in Estonia in 2007 when the websites of ministries, political parties, and banks were temporarily paralyzed. In the spring of 2007, three weeks of globally Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) cyberattacks, apparently the spontaneous acts of pro-Russian individuals and groups, targeted Estonian governmental, political, financial, and other websites and e-services including the Estonian largest banks Hansabank and SEB Eesti Uhisbank. The web-interfaces for internet-based services of the two biggest banks in Estonia were offline for about 45-90 minutes, and foreign money transfers

were temporarily unavailable. Citizens were denied access to financial services and Estonia was isolated from the world in terms of flows of finance. (Jason Richards, "Denial-of-Service: The Estonian Cyberwar and Its Implications for U.S. National Security," *International Affairs Review*, 4 April 2009)

<http://www.iar-gwu.org/node/65>

- a) Two sources of information – *the video about Tallinn and the abstract "Foreign policy responses to international cyber-attacks"* – say that it were pro-Russian hackers who committed the cyberattack in Tallinn. If you do not believe this information, explain why.
- b) If you do believe this information, choose from the reasons below why you believe it:
1. Because these are independent sources of information, which are not afraid to tell the truth.
 2. Because the speakers are experts who tend to do research to provide evidence for their arguments.
 3. Not because the sources of information are independent – just because the evidence is obvious.
 4. Because two sources wrote about it, and I'm sure we can find much more evidence on the Web.
 5. Everyone knows they were Russians.
 6. Other (give your example).
- c) Discuss with a partner or in a group what might stand behind your choices and viewpoints.

Activity 18. In the text 'Propaganda' select the techniques that were used in the video to convince people that it were pro-Russian hackers who made the cyberattacks in Tallinn in 2007.

PROPAGANDA

Propaganda is a method of communication used to influence large numbers of people so that they support a particular cause or belief. Propaganda emphasizes the benefits of one idea or group while simultaneously distorting the truth or suppressing the counter-argument.

Propaganda comes in a wide variety of forms. To derive desired outcomes from people it uses persuasive and emotional means.

The most easily identifiable and understandable use of propaganda is during times of war, in which victory or defeat can depend a great deal on public support. It is widely used in the political arena, particularly during elections, and for commercial purposes - the vast majority of us are targets in advertisers' propaganda war.

Propaganda Techniques

1 – Transfer or association

Qualities of a well-known person are associated with an idea or a product to promote or demote it. Linking an item to a respected person is positive transfer. Creating an analogy between a disliked person and a product is negative transfer. An example of common use of this technique in for the President to be filmed or photographed in front of the country's flag.

2 – Repetition

The product name is repeated many times during an advertisement. This technique may use a jingle, which is appealing to the masses and fits in their minds.

3 – Get on the Bandwagon

People have a desire to fit in, to follow-the-herd mentality. Bandwagon propaganda is all about persuading the target audience to take action. It's about creating an urge amongst people to become «a part of the crowd». Everyone else is doing it, and so should you. The bandwagon effect can strongly influence undecided voters to vote in favor of the person “expected to win.”

4 – Testimonial

Testimonial propaganda uses celebrity figures to endorse ideas, products and services. Just a photograph of a movie star at political rally can generate more interest in a candidate. The target audience trusts the recommendation of the celebrity figure, and feels that if the celebrity thinks the product is good, it actually will be good. Some brands may also use figures like doctors and engineers to promote their products and services.

5 – Plain Folks

Common people are attracted on the basis of their common values. The language of the target audience is often used - so errors are made on purpose to give the feeling of spontaneity. Presidents try to appear to be "common folks": for example, Bill Clinton eating at McDonald's or Ronald Reagan chopping wood. Many brands use ordinary folks to promote their products and services as opposed to celebrities: the product is for everybody and will provide value to everyone.

6 – Creating a false dilemma

An example of false dilemma is where two choices are offered as if they are the only two options. George W Bush used this trick after 9/11: “Either you're with us, or you're with the terrorists.”

7 – Name calling

Also called stereotyping or labeling. This involves using derogatory phrases to create a negative opinion, labelling an opponent as unreliable and untrustworthy. A political advertisement may label an opposing candidate a "loser", "warmonger», or «flip-flopper». The brand may speak negatively about an idea. For instance, a company that sells plant-based products may talk about how inhumane it is to kill animals. For this purpose, they may also criticize fast food chains businesses.

8 – Glittering generalities

Using emotionally appealing and vague statements. Glittering generalities are very commonly used in politics by politicians to convince the people to trust them and eventually elect them. A simple example is 'Vote for change'. Or presidents using glittering words like *hope*, *progress*, *change* in their campaigns. Advertising agencies use phrases like “100% organic”, or 'it gives you morning refreshment'. This makes the product look more appealing. The result is better sales.

9 – Demonizing the enemy

Aimed to inspire hatred toward the enemy, to preserve and mobilize allies and demoralize the enemy. It makes the people with an opposing standpoint appear inferior. The use of the term 'gooks' for NLF (*National Liberation Front*) soldiers during the Vietnam War-era is an example of this type of propaganda.

Activity 19. Watch the following videos with examples of propaganda. Recall the examples from your experience. Discuss them with a partner.

1. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qQT_eNip1AY&feature=youtu.be
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9HYHg5TCg-o&feature=youtu.be>
- 3.

Activity 20. Write a short paragraph using the frame below (100 words).

'Intelligence and propaganda'

Use the following sentence starters:

"I have always thought that intelligence is"

"I have never thought that propaganda is..."

In the middle of your paragraph use Implied Conditionals:

"Without these class discussions (texts, videos), I wouldn't know that propaganda is ..."

Summarize the main ideas and show your plan to facilitate your professional growth. Use 'otherwise' structures:

"I need to be cognizant of otherwise I won't be able to"

Activity 21. Case Study 1.

Climate Change Challenges

Watch the following four videos to get an overall idea of what the global leaders think of and do with ecological crisis. Discuss the videos with your partner.

1 Climate Change Challenges

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pUqmhipWvzA>



3 Trump Pulls US out of Paris Climate Accord Deal

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jP55meWILt4>



2 US and China Ratify Paris Climate Accord Deal

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=11&v=Mf4kgXebY3U&feature=emb_logo



4 EU and China Agree on Joint Climate Change Action

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dOCFGMcgrUs>



Activity 22. What is your position on climate change? The following sentences are taken from the videos above. Transform these sentences to formulate your viewpoint (orally or in writing). Add any ideas to support your argument.

1. The Paris accord is very unfair.
2. Cutting emissions today can be costly, but failing to cut emissions today can be even costlier down the road in terms of climate damages.
3. The agreement imposes draconian financial and economic burdens on our country.
4. Poorer countries insist that richer countries have a big historical obligation because of their past emissions to do more in cutting emissions today.
5. Countries have a host of dilemmas that they face when they're trying to address climate change.
6. The Paris climate accord leaves workers and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories and vastly diminished economic production.
7. Emissions anywhere affect people everywhere. So in order to cut into the problem and reduce it, we need action from pretty much everyone.
8. What matters most is that countries not only commit to ambitious actions, but actually successfully follow through with those.
9. The ratification is a key step in efforts to bring the deal into force.
10. When one country takes strong efforts to cut emissions and another doesn't, it can disadvantage that first country in its industrial competitiveness.
11. The Paris agreement will ultimately prove to be a turning point for our planet.
12. A low carbon future is where the world is heading.
13. The Paris climate accord is simply the latest example of entering into an agreement that disadvantages some countries to the exclusive benefit of other countries.
14. The deal punishes the world leaders in environmental protection while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world's leading polluters.

Activity 23. Read the following sets of words. Predict what sets the expert will choose to discuss "THE UNAVOIDABILITY OF JUSTICE – AND ORDER – IN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE POLITICS". Discuss your predictions with a partner.

1. prioritize order over justice	1. believe that achieving global justice is more important than maintaining order
2. prioritize the interest of the most powerful states over those of the most vulnerable states	2. emphasize the interest of the least powerful states
3. distinguish between 'subsistence emissions' and 'luxury emissions'	3. treat emissions from poor countries differently than those from rich countries

4. superior economic capacity	4. underdevelopment
5. take a lead in reducing greenhouse gas emissions	5. hold back environmental protection efforts
6. establish a strict divide between industrialized and developing countries	6. bring together industrialized and developing countries for a common purpose
7. exempt developing countries from any emission cuts	7. push the burden of mitigating pollution onto developed economies
8. emerging economies gain in economic strength	8. industrialized countries slow down economic growth and reduce emissions

Activity 24. Read the following article. Underline the fragments that support, develop, enrich, contradict, or alter your viewpoint that you formulated in 'Activity 22'. Discuss with your partner how your viewpoints have changed.

Robert Falkner is the Research Director of the Grantham Research Institute on Climate Change and the Environment and an Associate Professor of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). At LSE, he serves as the Academic Director of the TRIUM Global Executive MBA, an alliance between LSE, NYU Stern School of Business and HEC Paris (ranked #2 by *Financial Times* EMBA survey in 2018). Previously, he held academic positions at the universities of Oxford, Kent and Essex and was a visiting scholar at Harvard University. In 2018, he was appointed as Distinguished Fellow at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs.
<http://www.robertfalkner.org/>



**"THE UNAVOIDABILITY OF JUSTICE – AND ORDER – IN INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE POLITICS:
FROM KYOTO TO PARIS AND BEYOND" (2019)**

Robert Falkner

¹ In an anarchic international environment, international society prioritized order over justice, and the interest of the most powerful states over those of the most vulnerable states. Today politicians tend to distinguish between 'subsistence emissions' and 'luxury emissions' – they have established the normative principle that emissions from poor countries should be treated differently than those from rich countries. They believe that because of their historical responsibility for climate change and superior economic capacity, industrialised countries are morally obliged to take a lead in reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions and supporting developing countries with their adaptation costs, mainly through financial and technological transfers.

² But it is impossible to translate universal ethical principles into political action. In international relations the need to maintain order takes precedence over morality and the desire to achieve global justice. International order is maintained by mechanisms such as diplomacy, balance of power, war that privilege the mighty at the expense of the weak, and they usually leave little room for the pursuit of higher normative ambitions.

³ Powerful vested interests continue to hold back environmental protection efforts, whether at the national or international level. The same can also be said of the international politics of climate change.

⁴ Demands for fairness in sharing the burden of climate change mitigation have been a central feature of the international climate negotiations right from their start in the late 1980s. Developing countries and civil society groups, in particular, have routinely referred to historical responsibilities and the unequal distribution of climate impacts as the basis for determining the distribution of international commitments. The *United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)*, an international environmental treaty adopted on 9 May 1992, established differentiation as the core principle for defining how countries ought to reduce emissions and contribute to international climate finance and technology transfer.

⁵ The 1997 Kyoto Protocol to the UNFCCC established a strict divide between industrialised and developing countries, with only the former committing to legally binding and quantified emission reduction targets. In less than ten years of international negotiations, developing countries had scored one of their biggest diplomatic victories. They had pushed the mitigation burden entirely onto developed economies while exempting themselves from any emission cuts.

⁶ Recent shifts in the international politics of climate change have led to a partial unraveling of the foundations on which the international climate regime has been built.

⁷ First, emerging economies have gained in economic strength throughout the 2000s. China's emissions doubled between 1990 and 2005, and soon after the country overtook the United States to become the world's largest GHG emitter. As industrialised countries' emissions began to peak and even decline in the 2010s, it was emerging economies such as China and India that increasingly came to determine the future trajectory in global emissions. This transformation in the global emissions profile had profound consequences for how international climate responsibility would be defined in the climate regime.

⁸ Second, the United States and other industrialised countries are strongly opposed to the exempting all developing countries from tackling their rising emissions. American negotiators consistently emphasised the need to base the global mitigation effort on the widest possible cooperation of all countries.

⁹ And third, non-state actors assumed a more important role as contributors to the mitigation effort and providers of transnational climate governance outside the UNFCCC climate regime. The growing involvement of a wide variety of non-state actors has been noted at least since the early 2000s, with municipalities, cities, private actors and civil society organisations taking on voluntary emission reduction targets and providing governance functions for both mitigation and adaptation. The contributions that non-state actors can make have also been increasingly recognised within the inter-governmental regime, and the UN and other international organisations have embarked on sustained efforts to mobilise non-state climate actions.

¹⁰ These emerging approaches try to take into account structural inequalities and injustices that exist not just between nation-states but also within societies, and they also move beyond international distributional conflict towards questions of participation and recognition. They raise questions about how to apply the principle of differentiation to non-state actors, such as the fossil fuel industry, and how to account for the different responsibilities and contributions of the growing variety of actors involved in climate governance.

¹¹ The move towards an expanded global governance framework for climate change, in terms of the diffusion of climate responsibilities to emerging economies as well as to non-state actors, marks a strengthening of international society's and world society's commitment to tackling both the global mitigation and adaptation challenge.

Activity 25. Join the parts of sentences. Paraphrase the sentences using the tools for paraphrasing.

1. Politicians have to distinguish between 'subsistence emissions' and 'luxury emissions'...
2. Industrialised countries are morally obliged to take a lead in reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions - ...
3. Emerging economies have gained in economic strength throughout the 2000s...
4. Diffusion of climate responsibilities to emerging economies as well as to non-state actors is important...
5. The new approaches are important...
 - a. **inasmuch as** they take into account structural inequalities and injustices that exist not just between nation-states but also within societies.
 - b. **because** emissions from poor countries differ from those from rich countries and should be treated differently.
 - c. **for** it means expanding global governance framework for climate change.
 - d. **as** it is them who were responsible for climate change in the first place.
 - e. **since** they pushed the mitigation burden entirely onto developed economies while exempting themselves from any emission cuts.

Activity 26. Case Study 2.

Challenges for Europe

In the following video, Robert Falkner gives his expert opinion about overall positioning of the European Union. He speaks from historical, economic, and political perspectives. Before watching the video, do the tasks below:



- A. What sets of words will the expert use to answer these questions? Explain your choice.

What is the future of the European Union's relations with its border regions?

- A1. Challenges are coming from its neighboring regions.
A2. Threats are coming from its neighboring regions.
B1. The EU has to define and coordinate a joint response.
B2. Each EU country has to define and coordinate a joint response.
C1. Europe faces migrants' intervention on its eastern borders.
C2. Europe faces Russia's intervention on its eastern borders.

D1. Europe faces a challenge with migrants coming in large numbers more than ever before.
D2. Europe faces a challenge with the Chinese coming in large numbers more than ever before.

E1. Europe faces civil wars on its borders.
E2. Europe faces trade wars on its borders.

F1. Europe needs to stick to its traditions to face these challenges.
F2. Europe needs new thinking to face these challenges.

What do you think about European Union's positioning within 10 years?

A1. Europe has a strong position as an economic powerhouse.
A2. Europe loses its position as an economic powerhouse

B1. Europe is a major source of economic growth, employment, innovation and exports to the neighbouring regions.

B2. China is a major source of economic growth, employment, innovation and exports to the neighbouring regions.

C1. Europe needs to be in a position where its own economic strength can be translated into political strength.

C2. Europe has a strong position where its own economic strength is translated into political strength.

What will be the most important tensions within next 10 years?

A1. Looking ahead Europe faces a great deal of certainty in a number of areas.
A2. Looking ahead Europe faces a great deal of uncertainty in a number of areas.

B1. The rise of Asia is the big story in international politics.
B2. The rise of China is the big story in international politics.

C1. That is an opportunity for Europe.
C2. That poses certain risks for Europe.

D1. The voice of Europe may no longer be heard as loudly and clearly in the world.
D2. The voice of Europe will always be heard loudly and clearly in the world.

E1. Europe may face new geopolitical security risks as tensions arise as a consequence of the shifting power balance.

E2. Rising countries may face new geopolitical security risks as tensions arise as a consequence of the shifting power balance.

F1. In this context Europe needs to think very hard about what its common interests are in a global context and how it can play a meaningful and influential role.

F2. In this context Europe needs to think very hard about what its common interests are in its regional context and how it can play a meaningful and influential role.

G1. Europe is ready to face that challenge.
G2. Europe is not ready yet to face that challenge.

H1. Europe wants to be a leading player in global governance context.
H2. Europe does not deem necessary to be a leading player in global governance context.

I1. Redefining it's contribution on the global arena will be one of the long-term challenges Europe faces.

I2. Upholding it's leading position on the global arena will be one of the long-term challenges Europe faces.

B. Watch the video to check what sets of words the expert will use for his answers.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Xbk7Mq6F7oY>

C. Use the words below to summarise what range of challenges Europe faces.

- a) to come from neighboring regions
- b) to face new challenges
- c) to be in the evolution of its foreign policy
- d) to take some strategic decisions
- e) to define and coordinate a joint response
- f) to be caused by domestic strife / the flows of people
- g) to be an economic powerhouse
- h) to be a major source of economic growth
- i) to pose certain risks
- j) to face a diminished role
- k) to face new geopolitical security risks

Activity 26. Case Study 2 continued.

China's Influence in Europe

A. Watch the video on China's investment in Europe. Summarise the main ideas in 3 complex sentences. Compare and discuss the results with your partner

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7cV3OZGovWk>

B. Below you are given the script of this video. Fill in the gaps with the proper words from the box. Summarise the script in 3 complex sentences.

C. Compare the two sets of sentences (from A and from B). Do they differ? Discuss with your partner how to make a good summary without having the script of an a video.



China's Influence in Europe

A. makes a good ally	G. stand up to China
B. driving Europe apart from	H. threaten national security
C. resist Chinese protectionism	I. to find something of a middle path
D. to be watchful over	J. to buy political influence
E. it's bought stakes in	K. condemning an international tribunal's finding against
F. sponging off	L. rising economy

Our cover this week focuses on China's investment in Europe, which over the past few years has increased hugely into everything from industrial companies to airports and infrastructure, and to

football clubs and media. Much of this is for profit, it's private, and it's harmless. But sometimes it's used 1) _____. For example, Greece and Hungary have worked together to stop Europe from 2) _____ China in its plans in the South China Sea.

China, like any 3) _____, wants to invest money abroad so 4) _____ Heathrow and other airports, and in industrial companies like PSA, which makes Citroen and Peugeot cars. Some China boosters think that it 5) _____ in areas such as climate change where China's president Xi Jinping is standing with Europe and America's president Donald Trump isn't. But others worry that China may be 6) _____ America because it exploits its links with certain countries to make foreign policy hard in areas such as human rights.

We argue that actually both extremes are wrong, both the naive extreme and the hostile extreme. Instead, Europe needs 7) _____. It should 8) _____, not mimic it, but remain open because openness is a strength. But at the same time it needs 9) _____ Chinese investments to make sure that they do not 10) _____. We also need transparency to see when China is giving money to political parties, to departments in universities, to media, or think tanks.

And America has a role in this too. At the moment, under President Donald Trump it tends to look at Europe as a free rider that's 11) _____ American power.

In fact, Europe is a useful and vital ally in areas such as trade, intellectual property and security. China sometimes has a policy of divide and rule. But if Europe speaks as one then it can 12) _____ for decades to come. A prosperous, united Europe can make the world more stable. A divided weakened Europe spells trouble.

Activity 27. Case Study 2 continued.

Read the following abstract on 'How China is Buying its Way into Europe'. Choose and write down 10 phrases that can help you retell the abstract in a short and concise way. Retell the abstract.

How China is Buying its Way into Europe

By Andre Tartar, Mira Rojanasakul and Jeremy Scott Diamond

Published: April 23, 2018

Bloomberg

¹ For more than a decade, Chinese political and corporate leaders have been scouring the globe with seemingly bottomless wallets in hand. From Asia to Africa, the U.S. and Latin America, the results are hard to ignore as China has asserted itself as an emerging world power.

² Less well known is China's diffuse but expanding footprint in Europe. China has bought or invested in assets amounting to at least \$318 billion over the past 10 years. The continent saw roughly 45 percent more China-related activity than the U.S. during this period, in dollar terms, according to available data.

³ Chinese state-backed and private companies have been involved in deals worth at least \$255 billion across the European continent. Approximately 360 companies have been taken over, from

Italian tire maker Pirelli & C. SpA to Irish aircraft leasing company Avolon Holdings Ltd., while Chinese entities also partially or wholly own at least four airports, six seaports, wind farms in at least nine countries and 13 professional soccer teams.

⁴ Importantly, the available figures underestimate the true size and scope of China's ambitions in Europe. They notably exclude 355 mergers, investments and joint ventures for which terms were not disclosed. Bloomberg estimates or reporting on a dozen of the higher-profile deals among this group suggest an additional total value of \$13.3 billion.

⁵ Nowhere is China's buying spree more evident than in the British capital, where it has gobbled up around a dozen office towers in the City of London and Canary Wharf financial districts. The Chinese have participated in deals worth \$70 billion in the U.K. But it is at the periphery where China has made some of its biggest infrastructure plays, such as purchasing Greece's largest port, in Piraeus.

⁶ The picture of China's financial investment in Europe wouldn't be complete without taking a look at the following Chinese interests: building nuclear reactors in Romania and Bulgaria, a Swedish port, taking over Czech vehicle maker Skoda Transportation AS, an Ireland-based oil and gas producer, a German electricity grid operator, and providing financing for a bridge in Croatia and a Budapest-Belgrade rail link.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

Is Africa is Becoming China's China?

Activity 28. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 Political alliances manifest themselves on the voting floor of the United Nations _____ General Assembly; so what happens in this room is the physical materialization of the world's politics.
- 2 It is impossible to 'buy' a country to make it an ally, even if the buyer is one of the _____ richest superpowers in the world.
- 3 Rich countries can give poor countries no-interest loans so that poor countries can _____

build roads, dams and do other projects. All the money can be given with no obligation to return it.

- 4 Rich countries have been using worldwide infrastructure investments to affect _____ worldwide politics.
- 5 China is a fast growing economy. _____
- 6 Africa is a fast growing economy. _____

Activity 29.

Watch the video 'How Africa is Becoming China's China' which explains the role of foreign investment in the world of politics.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zQV_DKQkT8o

A. Was there anything in the video which made you change your viewpoint?



Activity 30. In the video 'How Africa is Becoming China's China' you came across the following words and phrases. Recall the contexts in which they were mentioned. Share your thoughts with a group mate.

a rightful government
have a strong political and military alliance with
abstain or vote "no"
political ties
be economically and politically aligned with
give low-interest or no-interest loans
charge interest
high risk of default

run out of growth potential
make the shift from industrializing to industrialized
natural resource exploitation
kickstart growth
\$48 billion worth of goods
affect worldwide politics
privately owned companies
state-run companies

Sanctions

Types of Economic Sanctions

Currently, there are numerous economic sanctions programs that target countries, persons, entities, and organizations:

1. The traditional type of economic sanctions are country-based sanctions, which prohibit virtually all activity and transactions involving a certain country.
2. The U.S. government has begun to use other kinds of sanctions known as list-based sanctions. List-based sanctions (also known as smart sanctions), target particular persons, entities, and organizations, rather than an entire nation or regime.
3. In the last five or so years, the U.S. has been implementing a new kind of supplementary sanction, known as secondary sanctions, which target third country actors doing business with targeted regimes, persons, and organizations.

AGREEING AND DISAGREEING

Activity 31. To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Fill in each blank with SA (strongly agree), A (agree), U (undecided), D (disagree), or SD (strongly disagree). Then share your responses with a partner.

- 1 Sanctions is a useful tool of foreign policy. _____
- 2 Sanctions limit the ability of a sanctioned country to implement an independent strategy (domestic and foreign policies). _____
- 3 Sanctions imposed on one country can exacerbate volatility and vulnerability in the global financial system. _____
- 4 Sanctions is a part of a rules-based international order. _____
- 5 Sanctions distort a rules-based international order. _____
- 6 Only superpowers are capable of imposing sanctions on other smaller states and entities. _____

Activity 32. Read the following text for the main ideas. Pay attention to the words in bold.

Meeting the challenge of secondary sanctions

Ellie Geranmayeh & Manuel Lafont Rapnouil
<https://www.ecfr.eu>

¹ In recent years, the US executive and legislative branches have increasingly **resorted to sanctions** in ways that limit choices for European governments and companies. A growing number of voices in Europe's commercial and policy spheres caution that the US is likely to often use secondary sanctions in ways that have "damaging consequences" for European commercial and security interests.

² Europe's **exposure to US secondary sanctions** is a major foreign policy challenge for which there is

no easy solution. The Trump administration's withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) and **imposition of such sanctions** have harmed European countries' interests in nuclear non-proliferation and laid bare their limited ability **to implement an independent strategy** on Iran.

³ Although Europe and the United States continue to closely coordinate their sanctions policies in other situations, disagreements between them – such as on the JCPOA – have led to not only **a sharp divergence in their approaches** to sanctions but also a clash between their respective foreign policies.

The likely development of secondary sanctions

⁴ US officials have suggested that they could enforce the secondary sanctions, the Trump administration imposed on Iran in November 2018 in a draconian manner; with National Security Advisor John Bolton noting that “it’s possible” the US will target European companies with the measures. These firms take such threats extremely seriously. The US has, in some rare instances, added European entities to its SDN list¹⁴, leading to their **assets being frozen** and effectively **disconnecting them from global financial markets**. Such designations could have a tenuous justification¹⁵ that goes beyond the reasonable *due diligence* expected of a company. For example, the Trump administration surprised many in Europe by adding Parsian Bank, a well-known Iranian private company, to its SDN list for allegedly¹⁶ having links with the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. This forced European banks **to sever**¹⁷ their ties to the institution.

⁵ In future, the US could, in theory, add any European entity, including central banks and SWIFT, to its SDN list. The US could also impose travel bans or asset freezes on Europeans who **facilitate forms of trade subject to** US secondary sanctions.

⁶ So far, US sanctions on Iran have had limited economic consequences for Europe. But if Washington were **to impose secondary sanctions on** a far more important European trade partner, such as Russia or China, the hit to Europe would be far harder.

⁷ Washington maintains that its secondary sanctions are not extraterritorial but rather present foreign companies with a choice between access to markets in the US or in the targeted country.

⁸ The importance of the US market, in both absolute and relative terms, is enough to change the business decisions of most major European companies. But even small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that may **have no direct exposure to** the US market still need to use banks that want to retain access to the US dollar, US financial markets, and their US clients. As a consequence, Europe is also vulnerable due to the integration of its financial markets with the much larger US one – and not just through its extensive trade, investment, and technological relationship with the US.

⁹ Other aspects of the financial system – such as the role in transactions of Visa, Mastercard, and other US companies – only **exacerbate this vulnerability**.

¹⁰ However, Europe is not alone in feeling the pressure of US secondary sanctions. For decades, China, India, Russia, and Turkey have attempted **to bypass the impact** of such US unilateral measures.

The risk for Europe: a test for European foreign policy autonomy and credibility

¹¹ The EU has struggled to determine its economic and strategic relationship with Iran. What is at stake here is not Europe's relationship with the US – at least, no more than in any case in which the EU protects its trade interests or imposes its competition policy decisions on US companies. Rather, this is

¹⁴ Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons list

¹⁵ weak explanation

¹⁶ supposedly

¹⁷ cut off

about Europe's **ability to freely determine its foreign policy without being coerced**, or seeing its economic actors being coerced, into following another power's policy.

¹² In responding to secondary sanctions, the Union needs to understand how it can use interdependence to rebalance the relationship **without undermining transatlantic relations**, and to share risks between member states in a fashion that promotes European unity. Should it fail to uphold one of its major foreign policy achievements, the JCPOA case would **set a terrible precedent** for the EU's ambition to be an autonomous and credible actor.

¹³ The transatlantic **dispute over Iran** has already diminished Europe's diplomatic influence: third countries **are now liable to ask** why they should negotiate with European capitals if Washington, through its secondary sanctions, has the final say on European policy. Accordingly, the EU's sanctions will lose some of their value as an autonomous foreign policy tool – if it cannot effectively **lift**¹⁸ them when its goals and conditions are met – even as it increasingly adopts such measures.

¹⁴ Meanwhile, OFAC has continued to add Russian entities to its list of targets of secondary sanctions. This can have a significant impact on European companies. Washington's focus on Moscow is particularly worrying for an EU that **engages in roughly ten times more trade** with Russia than the US does, and that includes member states that see the Russian-owned Nord Stream 2 pipeline as important to their energy security. Recent US threats to disconnect Russia from SWIFT over its role in the Ukraine conflict have alarmed at least some EU member states.

¹⁵ Finally, the risk for Europe would not only be that of direct tension with the US. One can **envision a scenario** in which similar **economic statecraft**¹⁹ could be used against European interests by other powers, including those without the same level of economic and financial integration. China could try **to leverage economic asymmetries or dependencies** against Europe through **trade restrictions** (on, for example, products such as rare earths). Europeans should take this risk all the more seriously because China, while denying that it uses sanctions, already resorts to several types of coercive economic measures – de facto and informally, at least.

¹⁶ Europe would also be especially vulnerable to a sanctions war between great powers due to its reliance on the global economy and a **rules-based international order**. The EU may well have been naive to assume that this order and the economic relationships it **underpins** could be insulated from great power competition and coercive strategies. However, the EU must now recognise that persistent international tension over US sanctions and other extraterritorial measures – such as those that have been developed in the fight against corruption or financial crime, or to control foreign investments – can harm long-term European interests. Such a scenario would both lead to the fragmentation of the global economy and weaken collective security and multilateral cooperation, especially if most or all major powers began to use secondary sanctions.

Activity 33. Main Ideas

Look through the words in bold again and summarise the main idea of the text in 3-4 sentences.

Activity 34. Read the following arguments the authors of the article give to support their position. Compare two sets of arguments. Do they differ? If they do, which set of arguments looks stronger?

¹⁸ Put an end to

¹⁹ the skill and art of governing a country. E.g.: using sanctions as a foreign policy tool

Authors' position:

Europe's exposure to US secondary sanctions is a major EU foreign policy challenge for which there is no easy solution.

Supporting arguments:

Set 1

The secondary sanctions the US uses can have damaging consequences for European commercial and security interests. For example, the US has added European entities to its SDN list, leading to their assets being frozen and effectively disconnecting them from global financial markets.

Disagreements between Europe and the United States may lead to a clash between their respective foreign policies. For example, the mere threat of US secondary sanctions on European entities has led to an exodus of EU companies from Iran and undercut a nuclear deal that once stood as a signal achievement of European foreign policy.

Set 2

The Trump administration's withdrawal from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) and imposition of sanctions have harmed European countries' interests in nuclear non-proliferation and laid bare their limited ability to implement an independent strategy on Iran.

Europe would be especially vulnerable to a sanctions war between great powers due to its reliance on the global economy and a rules-based international order since this order and the economic relationships it underpins cannot be insulated from great power competition and coercive strategies.

Do the sets differ?

Note: To sound or write persuasively, the author *takes a position* on an issue and *presents an argument* to convince the reader that the position is acceptable. The argument needs to include:

- 1) **logically explained opinions**
- 2) **authoritative evidence** (e.g., facts, examples, statistics)
- 3) **counter-arguments** (possible objections to the author's argument)
- 4) **rebuttals** (reasons why the counter-arguments are not correct or weaker)

Activity 35. Scan the article again. Find more arguments the authors give to support their position. What makes the arguments sound convincing? Discuss your ideas with a partner.

Activity 36. Complete the text below with the words from the list.

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| a) <i>exposure to US secondary sanctions</i> | g) <i>sanctioned country</i> |
| b) <i>resorted to sanctions</i> | h) <i>a sanctioned entity</i> |

- | | |
|--|---|
| c) <i>imposition of such sanctions</i> | i) <i>closely coordinate their sanctions policies</i> |
| d) <i>sanctioning country</i> | j) <i>has enforced</i> |
| e) <i>lift sanctions</i> | k) <i>to impose secondary sanctions</i> |
| f) <i>uses secondary sanctions</i> | |

In recent years, the US has have increasingly 1. _____ in ways that limit choices for European governments and companies.

A growing number of politicians caution that if the US 2. _____ often, it might have “damaging consequences” for European commercial and security interests.

Europe’s 3. _____ is a major foreign policy challenge for which there is no easy solution. The 4. _____ has already harmed European countries’ interests in nuclear non-proliferation. Although Europe and the United States continue to 5. _____, disagreements between them have led to not only a sharp divergence in their approaches to sanctions, but also a clash between their respective foreign policies.

While primary sanctions prohibit companies and individuals in the 6. _____ from engaging with their counterparts in the 7. _____, secondary sanctions are generally directed towards foreign individuals or companies if they engage in certain conduct with 8. _____, even if none of that activity touches the United States directly.

So far, the sanctions the US 9. _____ have had limited economic consequences for Europe. But if Washington were 10. _____ on a far more important European trade partner, such as Russia or China, the hit to Europe would be far harder.

The transatlantic dispute over Iran has already diminished Europe’s diplomatic influence. The EU will lose an autonomous foreign policy tool, if it cannot effectively 11. _____ when its goals and conditions are met.

Activity 37. Add a rebuttal to the counter arguments suggested below. Use the information from the article ‘Meeting the challenge of secondary sanctions’.

1. Some politicians claim that the secondary sanctions the US uses do not effect European commercial or security interests. Nevertheless, _____

2. It is argued that it is unlikely that disagreements between Europe and the United States will lead to a clash between their foreign policies. However, _____

3. There is a view that Europe's dependence on the global economy and a rules-based international order does not make it vulnerable to a sanctions war between great powers. Still, _____

Activity 38. Transform the sentences below using 'Noun clause as the subject' to make the sentences more emphatic.

E.g.: What is at stake here is not Europe's relationship with the US. Rather, this is about Europe's ability to freely determine its foreign policy without being coerced, or seeing its economic actors being coerced, into following another power's policy.

Transform:

1. Disagreements between Europe and the United States have led to a sharp divergence in their approaches to sanctions. _____

2. Secondary sanctions threaten to cut off foreign individuals or companies from the U.S. financial system if they engage in certain conduct with a sanctioned entity. _____

3. The US sanctions have lead to disconnecting European companies from global financial markets. _____

4. The US could impose travel bans or asset freezes on Europeans who facilitate forms of trade subject to US secondary sanctions. _____

5. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) that have no direct exposure to the US market need to retain access to the US dollar, US financial markets, and their US clients. _____

Activity 39. Transform the sentences using 'If smb were to do...' / 'Should smb do...' to imply the situations which might happen, but which are unlikely.

Model:

(The structure of the conditional sentences below suggests that the situation is highly hypothetical)

But if Washington were to impose secondary sanctions on a far more important European trade partner, such as Russia or China, the hit to Europe would be far harder.

Should it fail to uphold one of its major foreign policy achievements, the JCPOA case would set a terrible precedent for the EU's ambition to be an autonomous and credible actor.

1. These measures threaten to cut off foreign individuals or companies from the U.S. financial system if they engage in certain conduct with a sanctioned entity, even if none of that activity touches the United States directly. _____

2. Accordingly, the EU's sanctions will lose some of their value as an autonomous foreign policy tool if it cannot effectively lift them when its goals and conditions are met. _____

3. Such a scenario would both lead to the fragmentation of the global economy and weaken collective security and multilateral cooperation if most or all major powers began to use secondary sanctions. _____

4. Europe would also be especially vulnerable to a sanctions war between great powers if it relied on the global economy and a rules-based international order. _____

5. If OFAC continues to add Russian entities to its list of targets of secondary sanctions, this can have a significant impact on European companies. _____

Activity 40. Write a brief explanation of 'secondary sanctions' (100 words).

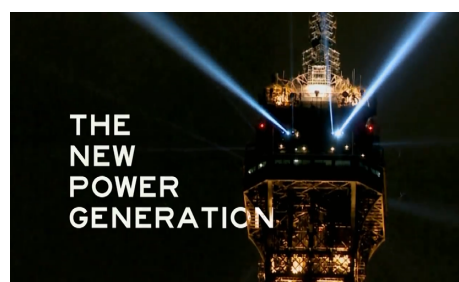
Activity 41. Look at the following video screenshots.

Facing Major Technological Disruption

What do you think this video is about?

Share your ideas with a partner and then watch the video to check if your predictions were correct.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJ38SiVOD78>



Activity 42. Choose the correct meaning: a, b, or c. If you choose c, suggest your version of the meaning.

1. the core product

- a) a typical product
- b) the product of the major industries
- c) neither a nor b

2. to reduce carbon footprint

- a) to make the footprint smaller
- b) to reduce carbon dioxide emissions
- c) neither a nor b

3. renewable sources of energy

- a) forms of energy that can be produced as quickly as they are used
- b) forms of energy that should be produced as quickly as they are used
- c) neither a nor b

4. renewable revolution

- a) raising the cost of wind and solar power rapidly
- b) significant advances in energy use
- c) neither a nor b

5. to commit to something

- a) to do something illegal
- b) to give one's loyalty, time, money etc to something
- c) neither a nor b

6. to spin off the majority share of the fossil fuel assets

- a) to transfer the biggest part of the company fossil fuel business to another company
- b) to acquire 51 percent of the company shares
- c) neither a nor b

7. to steal a march on new rivals

- a) to get an advantage over new competitors by acting before they do
- b) to attract more rivals
- c) neither a nor b

8. to hedge one's bets

- a) to make investments
- b) to plant a line of trees or bushes
- c) neither a nor b

9. to secure one's place in the world

- a) to make certain one's position is protected from risk
- b) to feel confident and free from worry
- c) neither a nor b

10. to draw on experience

- a) to build upon the experience
- b) to get experience
- c) neither a nor b

Activity 43. Read the text. Then replace the words in bold with the words given below the text.

Although technologies aimed at **1. removing fossil energy** have changed over the decades, **2. the key products** themselves have never been challenged until now. **3. The pressure to cut CO2 emissions** is **4. threatening the future of the largest oil and gas companies** encouraging the growth of alternative methods to generate and distribute power. Across the world, old industries are facing **5. the danger of being destroyed** on **6. an unexampled** scale.

Many companies **7. are relying on new ways** to clean up an old process. Norwegian oil and gas giant Statoil **8. became rich** in the North Sea in the late 1960s. Over four decades later, at its Sleipner gas rig the company is attempting to make fossil fuel production cleaner. Statoil's business still relies on the harmful burning of fossil fuels by its customers. But the company is trying **9. to reduce the amount of carbon dioxide it produces**. It's transformed some of its offshore rigs with technology that enables engineers to separate the carbon dioxide and pump it underground.

Statoil's Sleipner gas rig is the world's first offshore carbon capture storage plant. Other fossil fuel giants, including Shell, Exxon, and Total are also starting **10. to protect themselves against loss** with a range of investments in biofuel batteries, solar, and wind. By embracing these alternative technologies now, **11. wise and sensible** oil and gas companies might just be able **12. to bear the disruption** caused by the renewable revolution.

- | | |
|--|---|
| a) the core products | g) to extract fossil fuels |
| b) an unprecedented | h) struck it rich |
| c) to hedge their bets | i) disruption |
| d) to reduce its carbon footprint | j) forward-thinking |
| e) to withstand the disruption | k) are banking on new methods |
| f) pressure to reduce carbon emissions | l) putting the future of fossil fuel giants in jeopardy |

Activity 45. Paraphrase the following sentences to show present, past or future possibility.

Note: 'May' and 'might' are used to show possibility and probability, with 'might' implying a smaller chance of something happening.

E.g.: By embracing these alternative technologies now, forward-thinking oil and gas companies **might just be able** to withstand the disruption caused by the renewable revolution.

May / might + do = present, future

May / might + be doing = present

May / might + have done = past

1. Gas is a reliable source of energy.
2. Producing your own energy with solar panels isn't revolutionary.
3. Renewable energy is a realistic option.
4. This industry is facing a seismic shift.
5. Pressure to reduce carbon emissions is putting the future of fossil fuel giants in jeopardy.
6. Technologies to extract fossil fuels have changed over the decades.

7. The core products have never been challenged until now.
8. Old industries will be facing disruption on an unprecedented scale.
9. Countries will agree to reduce carbon emissions *in a sustainable manner*.
10. Technology will enable engineers to separate the carbon dioxide and pump it underground.
11. Prioritizing gas over more harmful fossil fuels will further reduce global warming.

Activity 46. Below you will find the vocabulary items that have been studied within this module. Use them to speak about new forms of insecurity and disrupting forces and their ability to magnify or demean ecological, economic, and political problems.

Vocabulary List

Sovereignty

1. representation of sovereignty
2. to have complete authority
3. to have control over the resources
4. legitimate use of force
5. legitimate representative
6. to recognize rights
7. to have supranational arrangements
8. to voluntarily give up certain powers
9. entity
10. to recognize the legitimate role of the state
11. to talk in fairly absolute terms
12. to massacre
13. victim of genocide
14. to have a certain right to step in
15. to be conditional on
16. to fulfill obligations

Intelligence

1. to give somebody an edge
2. human intelligence
3. signals intelligence
4. to intercept conversations
5. satellite imagery (geospatial)
6. clandestine activities
7. to infiltrate a facility
8. to recruit a human asset
9. to put something into a broader context
10. to evolve
11. digitalization
12. to prioritize and evaluate information
13. to pose a threat
14. to thwart and disrupt plots

How do you stop a cyberwar?

1. to suffer a massive cyberattack
2. a defining moment
3. cybersecurity
4. ransomware attack
5. to meddle in election
6. to stop cyberattacks from becoming one of the global economy's biggest threats
7. to keep hackers out
8. to gain independence from
9. to spark protests and riots from
10. to be crippled by
11. to go offline
12. to disrupt the activities
13. a wake-up call
14. to take steps to protect data online
15. to prevent future cyberattacks
16. to keep systems up and running
17. to make systems more resilient against hackers

Climate Change

1. to increase the odds
2. to face a host of dilemmas
3. to address climate change
4. to cut emissions
5. down the road
6. in terms of climate damages
7. to take strong efforts
8. to disadvantage somebody in industrial competitiveness
9. to exacerbate
10. to prioritize order over justice
11. to distinguish between 'subsistence emissions' and 'luxury emissions'
12. superior economic capacity,
13. to take a lead
14. to reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions
15. to take precedence over morality
16. to privilege the mighty at the expense of the weak

18. to store copies of information in a data embassy
19. key deterrent for
20. to enhance NATO's cyber defense capabilities
21. to conduct large-scale cyber defense drills
22. to trigger military response
23. to up the penalties against data breaches
24. to have a cybersecurity strategy in place
25. hacker-proof
26. to get the public on board
27. to use two-factor authentication

17. to hold back environmental protection efforts
18. to share the burden of climate change mitigation
19. to exempt oneself from emission cuts
20. to gain in economic strength
21. to peak and decline
22. to determine the future trajectory in global emissions
23. to tackle rising emissions
24. to take on voluntary emission reduction targets
25. to embark on sustained efforts
26. diffusion of climate responsibilities

What is the future of the European Union's relations with its border regions?

1. to face a whole range of new challenges
2. evolution of foreign policy
3. to take some strategic decisions
4. to define and coordinate a joint response
5. domestic strife
6. economic and social dislocation
7. joined up approach
8. economic powerhouse
9. major source of economic growth
10. flow of people
11. to match economic presence with political presence
12. global power shift
13. the rise of Asia
14. to pose certain risks
15. to face a diminished role
16. to face new geopolitical security risks

China's influence in Europe

1. to condemn an international tribunal's finding
2. rising economy
3. to buy stakes in
4. to make a good ally
5. to find something of a middle path
6. to resist protectionism
7. to be watchful
8. to threaten national security
9. think tanks
10. free rider
11. to sponge off power
12. policy of divide and rule
13. to stand up to something
14. to spell trouble

How China is buying its way into Europe

1. to scour the globe
2. to assert oneself as an emerging world power
3. diffuse but expanding footprint
4. in dollar terms
5. to be involved in deals worth \$255 billion
6. to invest in assets amounting to
7. merger
8. joint venture
9. to participate in deals worth \$70 billion
10. state-backed companies
11. to take over
12. entity
13. buying spree
14. slew of deals
15. greenfield developments

Africa is China's China

1. to administer
2. to be a rightful government
3. to have a strong political and military alliance with
4. to side with
5. to condemn the situation
6. to abstain or vote "no"
7. political ties
8. to be economically and politically aligned with
9. give low-interest or no-interest loans
10. to charge interest
11. high risk of default
12. to run out of growth potential
13. to make the shift from industrializing to industrialized
14. natural resource exploitation
15. to kickstart growth
16. to profit off growth
17. to trade a similar value of goods

18. \$48 billion worth of goods
19. to affect worldwide politics
20. to tout the fact that
21. privately owned companies
22. state-run companies
23. to inch forward

Meeting the challenge of secondary sanctions

1. to resort to sanctions
2. exposure to secondary sanctions
3. imposition of sanctions
4. to implement an independent strategy
5. sharp divergence in approaches
6. sanctioning country
7. sanctioned country / entity
8. to freeze assets
9. to have a tenuous justification
10. due diligence
11. to sever ties
12. to facilitate forms of trade subject to secondary sanctions
13. to have no direct exposure to the market
14. to exacerbate vulnerability
15. to bypass the impact
16. to be exposed to sanctions
17. to have exposure to sanctions
18. to undermine relations
19. to set a precedent
20. to lift sanctions
21. to engage in trade
22. to envision a scenario
23. economic statecraft
24. to leverage economic asymmetries or dependencies
25. trade restrictions
26. rules-based international order
27. to underpin economic relationships

Oil and gas companies: technological disruption

1. to extract fossil fuels
2. core products
3. to reduce carbon emissions
4. to put the future of fossil fuel giants in jeopardy
5. alternative methods
6. to generate and distribute power
7. to face disruption on an unprecedented scale
8. survival of the fittest
9. to reduce carbon emissions
10. seismic shift
11. to bank on new methods
12. to strike it rich
13. take a proactive stand on something
14. to do in a sustainable manner
15. to reduce carbon footprint
16. to make extraction less carbon intensive
17. to prioritize gas over more harmful fossil fuels
18. to reduce global warming
19. renewable sources
20. to make renewable energy a realistic option
21. to turn renewables into a credible energy supply
22. to commit to the renewable revolution
23. to spin off the majority share of assets
24. to secure a place
25. to draw on experience
26. to steal a march on rivals
27. to hedge one's bets
28. forward-thinking companies
29. to withstand the disruption

ADDITIONAL READING 1

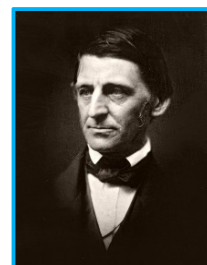
PEOPLE OF INFLUENCE

Activity 1.

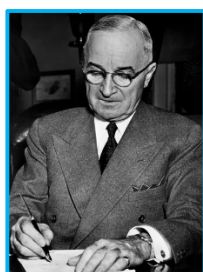
- A. Read the following quotes. What kind of message do the authors try to convey? Discuss the questions below to share your ideas.



"The key to successful leadership today is influence, not authority." - Kenneth Blanchard



"Who shall set a limit to the influence of a human being?" - Ralph Waldo Emerson



"Men make history and not the other way around. In periods where there is no leadership, society stands still. Progress occurs when courageous, skillful leaders seize the opportunity to change things for the better." - Harry Truman



"Innovation distinguishes between a leader and a follower." - Steve Jobs

1. Who do you think influences people's lives? Parents? Politicians? Hollywood stars? Innovators?
2. Is influence determined by a position of a person? Or by personal qualities and competences?

- B. Have you ever heard of servant leaders? Watch the following video to see what makes a person a servant leader.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcdgODauNZg&t=38s>

- C. Watch again and tick the appropriate box in the table below. Discuss your versions with a partner.



		Servant-leaders in general	Wendy's father	Eleanor Roosevelt
1	...that had a profound influence on me...			
2	...felt equally, if not more committed, to ensuring that there were no more wars...			
3	...the sense of giving back to the world, and the sense that it takes everybody to get something done...			
4	...breaking barriers, taking risks, making sure that we don't go backwards...			

		Servant-leaders in general	Wendy's father	Eleanor Roosevelt
5	...just feeling this incredible sense that here was an important person...			
6	...example certainly had an effect on me...			
7	...is really the champion of the universal declaration of human rights...			
8	...you have to give back, you have to engage in the world...			
9	...that gives you a responsibility to act...			
10	...sometimes you act at expense to yourself, to your family, but it's worth it...			

D. Do the following "true / false" quiz. Explain the expressions underlined.

		True	False
1	Wendy Sherman, Under Secretary of State, speaks about her parents as the people who <u>made a profound influence on</u> her because they had privileges.		
2	Wendy's father participated in creating the UN Veterans Committee <u>to assure that young men would learn</u> how to fight in a war.		
3	Wendy's father had been <u>committed to ensuring</u> that there would be no more wars.		
4	Wendy's parents participated in the conference because <u>her father was an influential person.</u>		
5	Eleanor Roosevelt's example <u>had an effect on</u> Wendy because Eleanor Roosevelt had a halo around her when she was on stage at the New York Sheraton.		
6	Eleanor Roosevelt was <u>the champion of the Declaration</u> of Human Rights.		

E. Recall the contexts in which Wendy Sherman said the following. Describe them to your partner.

1. I am very proud to have done that.
2. That's what my parents worried about at the founding of the UN.
3. For women of my generation, she was a role model.
4. Which all of us as diplomats use all of the time around the world.
5. It's worth it. Because of the lessons that you learn. Because of the contribution you can make.
6. I remember it with great vividness, of how profound it was.

Activity 2. Read the following text for the main ideas.

SERVANT LEADERSHIP

In 1970s, Robert Greenleaf brought servant leadership – though long heard in sacred circles – to management and diplomacy. This term states:

A servant leader is one that wants to serve, to serve *first*. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. That person is sharply different from one who is *leader* first, perhaps because of the need to assuage an unusual power drive or to acquire material possessions. The leader-first and the servant-first are two extreme types. Between them there are shadings and blends that are part of the infinite variety of human nature.

The servant leader understands that a strategy or tactic, no matter how well planned, will never outpace the people charged with accomplishing it. Servant leaders give their lives to equipping others to succeed. They see people as people, not pawns to help the leader accomplish his or her personal goals. As humans, we all come pre-equipped with emotions, freewill, and our own goals. This isn't an available-option-package a hirer or leader can exclude. This unique human wiring is essential to success and our possession of these attributes is why robots cannot fulfill a majority of organizational roles. We need all that it means to be human brought to the challenges and needs at hand.

Tasks and actions don't happen by themselves. People create and accomplish them. Therefore, building people is the means to better tactics and actions and ultimately organizational success. If you don't like people, don't get into leadership. And if your team doesn't have members on it who challenge you because their competence, talents and abilities exceed yours, then you have the wrong people on the bus. Great servant leaders aren't afraid to bring highly talented onto the team. Many dictatorial leaders fear anyone that has the potential to rise above them, and thus, they fail to develop any people who are perceived threats, even quashing other potential because of perceived rivalry and their own insecurities. Servant leaders realize that growing a person to the point where they surpass the leader IS the measure of success. And this rarely leads to less influence for the servant leader. People that grow others tend to be cherished by the organization, because everyone perceives the value of a more effective team.

Sometimes you can hear that servant leaders are weak, but this is far from the truth. In fact, much strength is required to challenge and push people toward their full potential even before the recipient of the challenge is often a willing participant. It has been said, "A servant leader believes in us before we believe in ourselves." This requires in the servant leader a level of risk that those being equipped might never believe in ourselves or rise to expectations.

Robert Greenleaf said becoming a servant leader is more a state of mind than a set of directions. Outward actions without the inward desire to serve are quickly recognized for what they are, attempts to manipulate through false appearances. Your team members will have an innate sense of whether you truly care about their personal and professional wellbeing. They'll pick up on this by subtle actions.

Best servant leaders become the shapers of history and the catalyst of others' life significance. Jesus, Gandhi, Martin Luther King are the vivid examples who served others in a sacrificial manner. And, there are many examples of such leaders in our everyday life.

Discuss these questions with your partner:

How can one be a leader and a servant at the same time?

Is there anything in the article that surprised or amazed you, something you did not know about?

ADDITIONAL READING 2

Activity 1. Read the following statements. Do you agree with them? Give reasons to support your viewpoint.

1. The more friends or co-workers look up to you, the harder it will become to change your mind. And if you do change your mind, it will be seen as weak & negative.
2. I never change my mind. Because if a client hires me as a design professional, how does it look if I change my mind half way through the project? Isn't the saying that "real men keep their word"?
3. People who are right a lot often change their minds. Smart people revise their decisions because they gathered new information that wasn't there before.
4. It takes courage to change your mind but it makes sense.
5. I only change my mind when I have new data available that supports my new thinking, or strong emotional experiences that altered my opinion.

Activity 2. Read the following text for the main ideas. Discuss the statement below.

STEVE JOBS'S AND ELON MUSK'S COUNTERINTUITIVE LEADERSHIP TRAITS

Part 1

History's best leaders have mastered these traits:

A friend of mine recently left Tesla, the renowned electric car maker, saying both, "It was incredible," and "I'd never work there again."

His sentiment echoed that of several former employees of another of today's most celebrated companies, SpaceX, when I interviewed them for my 2014 book on innovation. Direct quotes include, "We were in the presence of brilliance" and, "It scared me."

These two companies share much in common. Aside from the billion-dollar valuations and ambitious technology they produce, they share a chief executive: the infamous Elon Musk, a polymathic self-made billionaire who also founded Zip2 and PayPal and currently chairs the energy company Solar City. If anyone in our generation has the chance of being remembered 200 years from now for his or her work, it is probably Musk. Ironically, the thing that makes his companies and inventions so impactful is also the thing that makes him frustrating to work with.

One former employee told me that for example an engineer might spend nine months working 100 hours a week on something because Musk has pushed him to, and then out of nowhere Musk will change his mind and scrap the project.



Give pros or cons of the following statement:

"Both Innovative leaders and servant leaders have a great influence on shaping our world."

"Commitment is important, but it is adaptability that leads innovators to success."

Part 2

The Blessing and Curse of an Opinionated Leader:

A good leader needs to be extremely persuasive to get people to follow him, and to push people hard to stretch what's possible. That persuasion comes with expressing strong opinions. Think of the best leaders in history—Mandela, Churchill, King, etc. – and you'll see a pattern: they tell great stories, with boldness, absolutely convinced that they are right. They both inspire and grab attention.



Winston Churchill

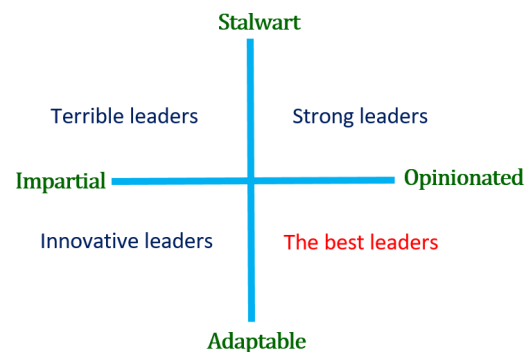
Says Dolly Singh, a former HR head at SpaceX: “The thing that makes Elon Elon is his ability to make people believe in his vision.” Jim Cantrell, SpaceX’s first engineer, adds, “The guy is pure ambition. He’s three or four steps ahead ... Most of us can’t conceive these things working; he can’t conceive it failing... This is the hallmark of an opinionated leader.”

The problem with opinionated leaders is that even the smartest people get things wrong, and many leaders fear changing course once they’ve expressed an opinion for fear of appearing weak.

And yet, the hallmark of innovative thinking is the ability to be open and adaptable. Continuing on a path just because you’ve committed to it is not a formula for success (or happiness, for that matter). The fastest-climbing people and companies are willing to deviate from their original business or career plan. Whereas a strong leader needs to be resolute and persuasive, an innovative leader needs to be open to changing his mind.

Look through the text again.

What kinds of leaders do you think would fit into each quadrant? Explain your viewpoint.



Part 3

Opinionated but Humble

Apple’s Steve Jobs, like Musk, lived in the bottom right quadrant. He was fiercely opinionated in his vision, highly charismatic in his delivery, and often abrasive with those who didn’t agree. But when he changed his mind about something, he became fiercely opinionated in the opposite direction.

Most of us are not Steve Jobs. We should be humble enough to admit that we’re not right about everything. But most leaders who invoke Jobs when passing down orders forget that he was humble enough to change his mind and double down. Being strong-willed alone didn’t make Apple successful. Only when the company combined a strong point of view with the willingness to change did it succeed – after years of middling performance in the ‘90s.

It’s for this reason I’m convinced that one of the best things we can do for children is sign them up for

debate class. Debate trains you to be opinionated and persuasive about a topic, and then to turn right around and be just as opinionated on the other side of that topic. It trains you to let go of ego and jump into deep water with both feet.

There's stigma associated with leaders who change their minds. Yet the best presidents of the United States were the ones who changed their minds and their careers the most. We forget that Hillary Clinton was a staunch conservative before she was a zealous Democrat.

And Ronald Reagan in the other direction. We forget that Nokia used to be a paper mill and Twitter was a podcast company before it about-faced and went all in on social networking. If my own company hadn't shifted its business model and jumped into a new pool with both feet, we wouldn't have 1/10th of the impact we have today.



You need an open mind to invent, and a strong will to execute. We don't have to be insufferable to make that happen. It is possible to be opinionated, adaptable, and tactful. But innovation does require both elements. So perhaps we shouldn't be so quick to dismiss flip-floppers. They're the ones, it turns out, who change the world.

Activity 3. Self-assessment questionnaire. Answer the following questions. Discuss them with your partner.

1. If a biography were to be written about me, what would be my most kind, selfless acts towards others?
2. What would be my most selfish or disinterested acts?
3. How conscious am I of a desire or lack of desire to serve others today? What fuels that desire?
4. What are my chief frustrations?
5. How much time have I given to reflecting on the past to help clearly declare the future?
6. Am I so bombarded with tasks I have failed to take the longer look forward so needed by a leader?
7. Do I promote the-ends-justify-the-means or people-first perspective?
8. What emotional and spiritual life-giving activities do I participate in?
9. Do I make this decision because it is simply the easiest and most self-serving or is this truly the best end-game decision for all parties involved?
10. Have I exhibited the H.O.P.E. acronym today (Help One Person Everyday)? Who? What? When? Where? How? Why?
11. Do those who can give me nothing back benefit from my leadership (or at least not feel further deprived)?
12. Are there external personal factors shaping my responses to others?
13. What framework do we have in place to determine how to handle an ethical decision?

ADDITIONAL READING 3

INFLUENCING WITHOUT AUTHORITY

Activity 1.

A. Discuss the following question with your partner:

How can you hold a person accountable if he or she does not report to you?

B. Look through the table below and choose the approaches that can help influence people without having authority over them. Explain advantages and disadvantages of the following approaches.

1	Alliance building	Finding supporters to help influence someone else.
2	Appealing to values	Making an emotional appeal. The best technique for building commitment. A frequent technique of religious leaders, politicians, and some business leaders.
3	Avoiding	Forcing others to act against their best interest by avoiding responsibility, by behaving passive-aggressively.
4	Being real	Approach to a colleague and say, "I need your help. It's going to take time, will bore you to tears, will never help your career, and you'll get absolutely nothing except my thanks. Interested?" They usually laugh, and help. People like honesty – and humor.
5	Caring	If all you know about the other party is what they can do for you, you're missing the foundation of influence. We're all human – and most of us give attention to those who show interest. Find out something they enjoy unrelated to work and ask about it. Demonstrating that you care – and meaning it.
6	Consulting	Engaging or stimulating people by asking questions. Involving people in the problem or solution. Works well with smart, self-confident people who have a strong need to contribute ideas.
7	Exchanging	Negotiating or trading for cooperation. Most effective when it is implicit rather than explicit.
8	Intimidating	Imposing oneself on others, forcing people to comply by being loud, overbearing, arrogant, abrasive, or insensitive.
9	Legitimizing	Appealing to authority. It will work with some people and can result in quick compliance, for a short period of time.
10	Logical persuading	Using logic to explain what you believe. The most frequently used tool, but it doesn't work with everyone and in some circumstances will not work at all.

11	Manipulating	Influencing through lies, deceit, swindles, and cons. Intentionally withholding information others need to make the right decision.
12	Modeling	Behaving in ways you want others to behave; being a role model.
13	Moving beyond compliance	Not barking orders. Rather creating an environment where people want to take action.
14	Offering help	Spending one extra hour a week helping out others with a deadline. Demonstrating that you're a team player. People will help you if you've helped them.
15	Socializing	Getting to know the other person, finding common ground, being open, complementing people.
16	Stating	Asserting what you believe or want. Effective when you are confident. Can cause resistance.
17	Stopping wishing for control	If you think being someone's manager will make things easier, think again.
18	Swimming with champions	Investing real time with people who also care and want to grow their careers too. You'll raise each other up.
19	Thanking people in public	When someone takes time to help, thank them. Maybe mention it at the next staff meeting – or thank them in an email and copy their manager or team.
20	Threatening	Threatening to harm others if they do not comply.

- C. Choose three approaches to influencing without authority that you would like to adopt. Discuss your choice with a partner.

INFLUENCING WITHOUT SAYING A WORD

Activity 1. Read the following questions and share your ideas with a partner.

- What if you could learn how to influence without saying a word?
- What if you could control conversations, meetings, and all sorts of interactions among the people around you?
- What if you could walk into a room and effortlessly or apparently effortlessly take charge of it?
- What if you could switch on charisma at will, making all heads swivel in your direction when you walk into that room?
- What if you could become the natural leader — the go-to person — of most of the groups that you join?
- What if you could learn the essential power cues that will enable you to master any situation where you want to be in control?

Would that be worth the effort?

Activity 2. Give your interpretation to the following quotes in the context of communication.

Cheshire Cat:



- 1) *...You may have noticed I`m not all here myself...*
- 2) *...It doesn`t matter If you believe me or not. But common sense doesn`t really work here...*
- 3) *...A reflection sometimes exposes more reality than the object it echoes...*
- 4) *...I`m not crazy. My reality is just different from yours...*

Activity 3. Read the texts below for the main ideas.

Alice Got Here Before You Did

Welcome to Wonderland:

Most of what we think about the way people communicate is wrong, yet the reality is much stranger and more astonishing than we can even imagine.

A series of recent breakthroughs in science have overturned the accepted wisdom about how we express ourselves to others, how we interpret what they say to us, and how we decide whether or not to follow another's leadership. These scientific studies not only allow us to understand communication in a new way, but also reveal how to become much more persuasive and successful without changing a single word we say.

Take the following recent findings from brain research:

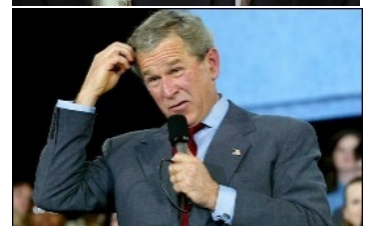
Our important communications are neither verbal nor conscious. You gesture before you think consciously about what you're doing.



You have mirror neurons that fire when you witness someone else experiencing an emotion – and they give you the exact same emotion.



Your measurable nonverbal signals concerning your confidence in a negotiation predict success or failure far more accurately than the relative merits of your position or what you say. We don't need words—well, only a little bit; mostly, we need gesture and sound.



Part 3

Here's what is really going on

*No one gets led anywhere they don't want to go.
Leadership is not manipulation, not in the long run.
It's alignment – the leader with the group and
the group with the leader – what humans really want.*

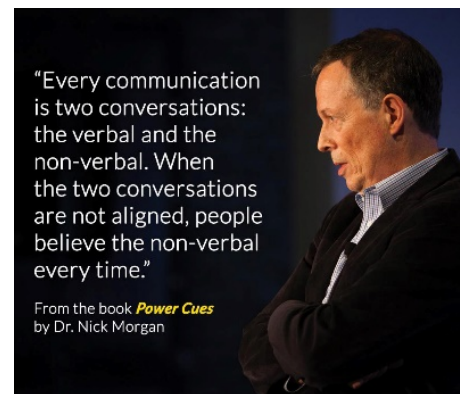
We humans are much more communal than we realize. It's something we've forgotten, as we tune in separately to our thousand channels of entertainment and news using devices that isolate us even as they offer pseudo-connections to the group through music or headlines or games.

We only remember our communality when we get together as a group to hear a speech, attend a concert, or root for a sports franchise. But when we get together in groups, we become a tribe again, and we instinctively want to have a leader.

That's why an audience is so eager for a speaker to succeed, and so disappointed when one fails. We choose a leader to make us feel safe and to give us a group purpose or direction. The unconscious signals that the speaker sends out to the audience must create trust and credibility or else the audience gives up, disappointed, and looks elsewhere for another leader.



Activity 4. Consolidate ideas from the readings above and discuss the following quote.



ADDITIONAL READING 4

DIPLOMACY AND INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Activity 1. Questions to consider:

1. How do you think culture influences communication?
2. What cultural mistakes do diplomats and negotiators tend to make?
3. What is it necessary to do to avoid diplomatic faux pas?

Part 1

By Yoav J. Tenenbaum

Diplomacy deals with culturally diverse groups by means of interactions and negotiations. The negotiation style of each participant is formed by one's own cultural "program." As different cultural groups communicate differently, the culture of a negotiation party influences its negotiation style. Therefore, the probability of mistakes and misunderstandings increases when the interaction is cross-national. While sovereignty and equality are the rational backbones of international relations, culture is its distinctive emotional differential, the hidden dimension which projects as much impact as political or economic power on decision-making.

Let us go back to the year 1969. The then United States President, Richard Nixon, held a meeting with the then Japanese Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato. One of the problems besetting US-Japanese relations at that time had to do with the bilateral commercial relations between the two countries. To put it in simple terms: Japan was exporting considerably more to the US than it was importing from it. So, President Nixon asked Prime Minister Sato to adopt a pro-active policy aimed at reducing Japanese exports and increasing US imports. Sato replied: "*ZENSHO SHIMASU*," which literally means 'I will do my best.' Weeks and months elapsed and nothing happened. Nixon was furious. Didn't Sato say that he will do his best? Yes, he did. However, the question Nixon should have asked himself was not what did Sato say, but what did he actually mean?

The Japanese Prime Minister's answer was an evasive reply. In fact, it is a polite way of avoiding any commitment, preferred to the explicit negative, which is considered rude in Japanese culture.

This case reflects a fundamental problem that exists in intercultural communication, in general, and in international diplomacy, in particular: on the one hand, we have the intention of the person conveying the message, and on the other the interpretation of the person receiving it.

Sato intended to say no, without actually saying no or anything that might even resemble a negative reply, as this would have been deemed to be rude. Nixon, for his part, interpreted Sato's words literally, and wouldn't have accorded it any other meaning, deriving his interpretation from a different cultural setting.

Problems in intercultural communication may be reflected verbally as well as in non-verbal manifestations. The aforementioned case is, of course, an example of intercultural communication problems as manifested in verbal terms. There are numerous examples of such intercultural linguistic misunderstandings.

Let us dwell on an example of intercultural communication problems in international diplomacy as reflected in a non-verbal manner. Two years ago, Sweden appointed a new ambassador to Iran, Peter Tejler. The newly appointed ambassador presented his credentials to the then Iranian President, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Following the official presentation of credentials, Ahmadinejad invited the Swedish ambassador to sit down and have a chat. The conversation went well until the ambassador

crossed his legs and thus showed the sole of his shoe to the Iranian President. Ahmadinejad and all those present in the meeting were stunned. They couldn't believe what they were seeing.

What happened? In Muslim cultures showing the sole of one's shoe to someone is considered to be rude and offensive. In order to demonstrate how offended he was, the Iranian President decided, in response, to cross his legs and show the sole of his shoe to the ambassador....

This whole episode led to a mini-crisis in relations between the two countries; a mini crisis, to be sure, that was soon resolved, but could have been avoided had the ambassador been more aware of the cross-cultural dimensions of his mode of conduct.

What is particularly interesting in this case is that it involves a professional diplomat. One would expect a professional diplomat to be singularly aware of culture-related sensitivities. After all, professional diplomats are taught to be adept at intercultural communication.

Well, to be sure, professional diplomats ought to be more aware than others about the problems that might emerge in intercultural communication, and to be able to overcome them if necessary. That, of course, does not mean that they always are. Even professional diplomats, as we have seen in the case of the newly appointed Swedish ambassador to Iran, can fail in this regard.

Certainly, diplomats can serve as facilitators in intercultural communication by clarifying and explaining the intention of one party to another so as to avoid as far as possible any mistaken interpretation.

Glenn Fischer, a former US diplomat, who has devoted his time to studying this topic, has said, based both on his diplomatic experience and academic studies, that the greater the cultural differences of the parties involved in a diplomatic dialogue, the greater the risks of intercultural communication problems.

Professor Raymond Cohen, one of the foremost experts on this topic, wrote that US diplomats who have served in countries such as Britain, France or Germany tend to stress problems arising from intercultural communication to a considerably lesser extent than diplomats who have served in countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan or China. In other words, the wider the cultural gap of the country a US diplomat has served in with the United States, the greater the stress he or she would place on problems in intercultural communication in diplomacy.

Activity 2. What questions would you ask the author of the article above, if you attended his course?

***Yoav J. Tenenbaum** is a lecturer at the graduate Diplomacy Program (Political Science Department), Tel Aviv University, Israel. He holds a doctorate in Modern History from Oxford University and a master's degree in International Relations from Cambridge University.*



Start your questions with:

1. What / why / when would you say smb does / did / etc ?
2. Would you say smb does / did / etc ... ?

Let your partner answer the questions.

Activity 3. What recommendations do you think would help diplomats to succeed in negotiating? Based on the article write the most important hints.

Part 2

Activity 4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. A protocol in the field of diplomacy is an absolute must since it describes how diplomatic activities should be performed.
2. Protocol is just about having good manners. Without good manners, people get offended or hurt. Bad manners lead to wars between countries when official protocol is ignored.
3. Protocol helps diplomats get a better understanding of multicultural manners, which helps them avoid embarrassing situations.
4. Protocol is, in effect, the frame for the picture rather than the content of it.
5. International protocol is a result of old traditions, when in the early days of civilization hospitality was extended to an arriving guest.

Activity 5. While reading the article, note in the margin the sentences that support or oppose your position on the statements you discussed in Activity 1.

A Few Words on Protocol: We All Make Mistakes

By Stephanie Kanowitz

Rules were made to be broken, even in the case of protocol. Of course, when foreign diplomacy is at stake, slipups, no matter how unintentional, can lead to international incidents — but mostly these faux pas put a few gray hairs on protocol officers' heads and give the public a chance to see their leaders as human.

Remember when President Barack Obama presented England's Queen Elizabeth with an Apple iPod during his first official visit with her in April? Protocol officers blanched — and then gasped when his wife Michelle hugged the queen in what became the embrace felt around the world. Touching the queen, after all, is a serious breach of royal protocol. Neither gesture pitted the American and British militaries against each other, but media coverage put protocol front and center, even overshadowing the main purpose of the visit, the G-20 summit.

"A major faux pas in international protocol is to give an inappropriate gift to your guest," said Pamela Eyring, president and director of the Protocol School of Washington. "We have to do our homework. We can't just assume that a product that we purchase at Best Buy will be a great gift for the queen of England."

Protocol exists to help. The word is of Greek origin, *protos*, meaning "first," and *kolla*, meaning "glue." "The point of protocol is to connect something to another thing," such as creating a relationship between two people or two countries, said Shelby Scarbrough, founder of Practical Protocol, an international special events management and business protocol training organization.

"It is the rules that govern our society so that we can behave in a more civilized way," Eyring added. "If we didn't have protocol rules, rules of engagement, rules of business, rules in society, we'd be back in the caveman days."

"I think the presence of a protocol professional is an insurance policy that things will go smoothly," observed Anita McBride, former chief of staff to first lady Laura Bush.

But despite everyone's best efforts and planning, things go awry.

Gifting is one of the biggest problem areas, Eyring said, whether it involves a badly chosen present or omitting one completely.

At a meeting with an ambassador, the governor of Georgia was left empty-handed despite plans for a gift exchange, recalled Chris Young, the state's chief of protocol and president of Protocol and Diplomacy International – Protocol Officers Association. "Oftentimes, we'll tell the visiting person's staff what we're giving so that we can make sure that there's not a disparity in the level of gifts or any kind of embarrassment," Young said.

The plans were set and the governor presented his guest with a gift. "Lo and behold, the other person didn't have a gift and didn't even have anything ... couldn't open up their coat pocket and take out a nice pen or something," Young remembered.

Embarrassment and apologies ensued — and a gift made its way to the governor later.

"The mistakes, they're always called accidents — they're never called on-purposes," said Nicole Krakora, director of special events and protocol at the Smithsonian Institution. "It's not really the mistake that you make. It's how you recover from the mistake."

It could be through an apology or sometimes with a crafty cover-up. Krakora once watched as a host received a gift from a visiting delegation and had nothing to give in return. "The host — the receiver of the gift — immediately on stage said, 'Thank you very much. We are going to include this as part of our corporation's collection,'" Krakora said. "Fortunately, the event that they were celebrating was a partnership that was being launched with several organizations from that country. They were celebrating the product that was coming out of it, so the person at the microphone was able to spin it to say, 'Thank you for this gift commemorating our partnership.' It didn't look like it needed to be a gift exchange."

Seating is another faux pas breeding ground, the protocol experts agree. People are sensitive to their seat because of their rank, Eyring noted. Still, no amount of place cards and seating charts can insure against unforeseen events.

At a black-tie dinner at the presidential palace in Panama, Krakora was seated between a government minister and a Panamanian businessman who wanted to do business with the minister. "Throughout the dinner he spoke across me to the minister in Spanish," Krakora recalled. "When he wasn't speaking to the minister, he was on his BlackBerry, texting and making phone calls and just generally doing all of the things you'd never want to have happen."

As the table host, the official tried in vain to get the man to stop talking shop by offering to speak with him privately after the meal. "I ended up listening to the conversation, wishing I had learned Spanish," Krakora said. "It put the minister in a terrible position."

Sometimes the problem arises before anyone is seated. At a luncheon where several heads of state were the guests of honor, Krakora rushed from the anteroom to the main room when it was announced that lunch was served. "Being a protocol officer, I assumed that we all needed to hurry and get into position because then the guests of honor, the heads of state, would be announced into the room as is proper," she said. "I walked into the lunch, and I nearly died."

The problem? The heads of state had been shown into the room already and were standing at their seats behind their chairs waiting for everybody to arrive. "The proper thing to do is have everybody in place and then you announce the guests of honor into the room and they make an entrance."

Seating and gifting may be two of protocol's biggest mine fields, according to Eyring, but any event has the potential for problems.

Scarborough relayed the story of a protocol officer who saw the words "Made in Taiwan" on the bottom of a piece of china laid out at the State Department before a Chinese delegation was expected to arrive for lunch. "The relationship between China and Taiwan is very strained, so it would not have been good," she said. "They rushed and got another set of china — it was probably British china or

something — and brought it out and changed it on the head table, but they couldn't get to the rest of the party."

Announcements are not immune to issues, either. When Chinese President Hu Jintao visited President Bush toward the end of his administration, "during the arrival ceremony on the South Lawn of the White House, the house announcer, instead of saying, 'Ladies and gentleman, the national anthem of the People's Republic of China,' said, 'Ladies and gentlemen, please rise for the national anthem of the Republic of China' — a very different place," Young said, referring to Taiwan's official name. "Every protocol officer that initially hears that has one of those cringing feelings and the hairs on the back of your neck stand up. What can you do? There's nothing you can do, right? You've just got to smile and go on."

The offenders don't even have to be human. In 2003, during a visit to England, the Bushes hosted a dinner for Queen Elizabeth at Winfield House, the residence of the U.S. ambassador to the United Kingdom. "The dinner was beautiful, I mean absolutely exquisite, every detail paid attention to," said McBride, who now works as a protocol consultant. "Then, just as Her Majesty was giving her toast, our ambassador's dog started barking."

The White House social secretary quickly and quietly scooped up the dog and carried it out of the room.

"Protocol and diplomacy really is no longer limited to the highest level of government, but it's for state and local leaders and business executives," McBride added.

No one needs to remind Young of that.

When Coretta Scott King, wife of civil rights activist Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., died on Jan. 30, 2006, Georgia Gov. Sonny Perdue asked her family if they wanted her to lie in honor at the state Capitol. "This had an enormous amount of symbolism: She would be the first woman, she would be the first African American, and it also would be a very interesting juxtaposition to what happened in Georgia when her husband was assassinated almost four decades earlier, when the governor wouldn't even put the flags at half-staff," Young explained.

Before the public began arriving to pay their respects, Young noticed the company name on the portable toilets set up outside City Hall. "We were expecting a crowd of about 25,000 — turns out we had a crowd of about 50,000 come through — so you had to have somewhere for people to use the restroom," he said. "That's not abnormal except guess where the portable toilets came from. They came from the King Portable Toilet Co."

Having someone make the wrong association was not an option. "So what do we do? We go out there with poster board and electrical tape on a frigid early February morning to rectify the situation," Young said.

Flexibility is crucial for protocol officials. "We're all human and these kinds of things are going to happen," Young said.

Take ownership for mistakes that can't be avoided, and make sure the victims know no offense was intended, Scarbrough advises. "If it's a cultural mistake, you hope that you know you did it," she added. "Most times most people won't say anything because they, depending on the culture, would not want to shame you or offend you by pointing it out to you."

"A faux pas is one little thing," Krakora concurred. "If the rest of your exchange and the rest of your dealings and the rest of your visit show courtesy and respect, sincerity is palpable."

ADDITIONAL READING 5

TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCEMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Activity 1. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Share your responses with a partner.

1. It was less the scientific breakthroughs than their military applications that determined the impact on political structures and configurations.
2. Innovation is fundamental to maintaining superiority. Innovation has the propensity to diffuse towards “peripheral” nations shifting the node of power away from established civilizations.
3. Although the United States continues to be the dominant and most prestigious state in the system, it no longer has the power to “govern” the system as it did in the past.
4. Technological progress and decline is reflected in fluctuations in the influence and power of states. Powers that achieved world dominance during the industrial revolution now experience a corresponding decline in the modern period.
5. Science and technology have become a major influence in society.
6. It is the new technologies that create an alternative universe presenting a governance challenge to traditional institutions, laws, and concepts of territoriality?
7. The modern media has a significant influence in furthering peace, increasing understanding, and fostering confidence among nations and peoples.
8. Although the twenty-first-century world has an emphasis on communications and supportive satellite and internet infrastructure, international relations will concentrate on the possession of knowledge and weapons that provide a military advantage.

Activity 2. Read the article. Which of the statements above support the ideas expressed in the article?

The Impact of Technology on Foreign Affairs: Five Challenges

By Artur Kluz and Mikolaj Firlej

A currently debated topic is the impact of unprecedented advancements in breakthrough technologies on various areas of public policy. Optimists praise how technology changes our lives through enhanced communication, empowering individuals, raising awareness and spreading democracy throughout the world. Pessimists stress the repercussions of technological advancements: tottering digital security, and the rise of inequality—especially in countries exposed to progressive technologies.

In the areas of foreign policy and diplomacy, technology has brought about a tremendous amount of change. As Hillary Clinton once said during her tenure as Secretary of State: “Just as the internet has changed virtually every aspect of how people worldwide live, learn, consume and communicate, connection technologies are changing the strategic context for diplomacy in the 21st century.”

The impact of breakthrough technologies on foreign affairs can be seen through accelerating transformation in five significant areas: security, institutions, participation, dialogue and leadership.

Security: *Geopolitics online*

The widely proclaimed shift from state-centric politics to non-governmental identities described as “shadowy networks of individuals” was first addressed openly by U.S. President George Bush in his 2002 National Security Strategy. It is true to some extent, that traditional underlying influences of state power are no longer the dominant catalysts at play. Indeed, the evolution of technology has empowered individuals and created new commanding media capable of challenging existing national supremacy, while directing a new world order. Although powerful-by-technology individuals play an important role, international relations are still mostly dependent on geographical variables and interests.

In the Information Age it is certain that the ever-increasing amount of global data and online storage of valuable information will bring incommensurable and occasionally conflicting value systems into ever closer contact. The proximity of country and entity online systems is increasingly hazardous.

In this era of fast information transfer, along with the rapid development of new-generation technologies, international relations among states are conflicting more so than a decade ago. However, states are much weaker and less capable of mitigating arising challenges in controlling security, popular discontent and cultural fragmentation.

The recent U.S.-China Summit on cybersecurity exposed all of the aforementioned problems. Tensions between these two countries concerned recent cyberattacks, mainly against U.S. government computers. Presidents Barack Obama and Xi Jinping agreed that their governments refrain from online theft of intellectual property for commercial gain, but Obama emphasized that he might still impose sanctions if the Chinese continue to sponsor cyber-intrusions.

The Summit showed, however, that technology can bring concurring values or interests into constant confrontation without clear and sufficient evidence of particular guilt and responsibility. It also presented how individuals like Edward Snowden—empowered by technology—can bring another dimension to state relations. The notorious whistleblower overshadowed evidence of the last U.S. cyber-espionage attack against China before the Summit and thus changed the negotiating position of the U.S. government.

Institutions: *Redefining actions by institutions and alliances*

International organizations (IOs) and alliances such as North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) benefit hugely from data-driven technologies enabling them to deliver better service and exchange large volumes of information in real time. One may ask though, whether current IOs and alliances are prepared to tackle complex threats such as financial, development, online security and climate change challenges?

There is a growing concern that IOs founded after WWII, such as the United Nations (UN), International Monetary Fund, and NATO are out-of-date, stagnant and with ineffective decision-making processes to handle arising challenges. One cannot deal with today’s war-mongering neurotics with passive and verbose institutions, only “considering sanctions” as a means of mitigation. Many IOs are increasingly losing their ability to govern and implement necessary measures to oversee the unregulated realms that technology has created.

Participation: *Social media and online platforms drive profound change in foreign policies*

Although many observers note how the social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter change global connectivity, the reality is that new technologies do not necessarily create democratic evolution online.

First of all, new technologies empower individuals but can breed clusters of extremism, abuse, xenophobia and violence expressed on a number of online media and channels. One recent example is the enormous number of fake and distorted images of refugees with mocking memes that have circulated online as a kind of response to the widely proclaimed action of welcoming refugees (*#welcomerefugees*).

Secondly, authoritarians including countries and separate individualist entities benefit from technology. For instance, in Syria the internet is another weapon of war. The control of connections and website content gives the government great power during the ongoing conflict. Authoritarian governments are able to control technologies and use them to undermine social activism, thus gaining new forms of control and power.

Thirdly, the ineffective implementation of technology can be both a harmful and costly endeavor. It was the case of Healthcare.gov in the U.S., where even supporters of so-called “Obamacare” described the platform as a faulty and extremely overpriced governmental tech launch. Indeed, governments and institutions often grapple with poorly developed and protected platforms that cause more challenges than benefits.

The risks of both adapting and managing new technologies are as profound as not evolving to technological advancements. A number of countries have experienced major repercussions from either not adapting or not adequately managing technological evolution in recent times. With five billion more people set to join the digital world, these challenges shall remain on political and global agendas for years to come.

Dialogue: *The art of diplomacy and international policy is not vanishing but being reinvented*

Breakthrough technologies enable instant contact and thus create ease in managing diplomacy and organizing political dialogue. Referring back to traditional 18th or 19th century diplomacy, formal representatives had to wait for weeks or even months to receive relevant instructions and courses of action. As such, the points on agendas covered only the most important items needing to be addressed.

Nowadays, new technological channels have replaced outdated forms of communication. Officials have continuous access to instantaneous and live networks empowering not only organizational dialogue, but providing international communications enhancing responsiveness, action and regulation. That being said, currently most ambassadors and politicians use Twitter to interact with officials, policymakers and citizens.

So called “Twitplomacy” has been seen as a form of public diplomacy as it has been used not only by officials but also millions of citizens across the globe. “Twitter has two big positive effects on foreign policy: It fosters a beneficial exchange of ideas between policymakers and civil society and enhances diplomats’ ability to gather information and to anticipate, analyze, manage, and react to events,” writes former Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Terzi in his preface to the book entitled *Twitter for Diplomacy*. Indeed, 140 characters have changed drastically the way officials communicate with each other.

Another profound example is the Virtual Embassy of the United States to Tehran in Iran. The Virtual Embassy was developed by the U.S. State Department after the closure of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran. This Embassy has the same status as other traditional U.S. Embassies apart from one significant detail: diplomacy operates on a virtual level.

These are only two examples, whereas in different parts of the world, so-called ‘digital diplomacy’ has grown enormously in popularity, and this trend is likely to continue. However, as significant and

impactful new progressive communication channels may be, a need still exists for fostering and strengthening official communication between countries and international entities.

There is an absence of effective digital platforms that could be used to assist in critical decision-making processes between different governments. Authorities often struggle to cooperate on the most essential issues during regular summits, formal gatherings and multilateral forums. Critical information exchanged is rarely archived and translated into actionable communication. A prime opportunity presents itself here for creating sustainable and prominent platforms for dialogue and decision making to enhance global governance and responsiveness.

Leaders: *The human factor is still important but more complex*

Although technologies serve leaders across the world as new sources of both power and governance, they require an increasingly complex formulation of regulations and rules of conduct, which can be difficult to structure and enforce. Political leaders constantly are critiqued and assessed by analysts and pundits on their responsiveness to new technologies. In particular, the prominence of public opinion in political domains is a significant point for discussion. New technologies add another dimension to the classical dilemma faced by politicians—how to propose and implement effective policies while mitigating public popularity.

Henry Kissinger was right when he pointed out that “the mindset for walking lonely political paths may not be self-evident to those who seek confirmation by hundreds, sometimes thousands of friends on Facebook.” In this age of new breakthrough technologies, politicians and leaders do not require simply the authoritative support of policies by respective experts. Such support also very often is advocated by prominent online influencers having little or no direct linkage to political realms: celebrities, online commentators and corporations.

In today’s world, being a politician is more than just “taking a stand and being passionate” with a sense of devotion and responsibility for personal actions as Max Weber wrote a long time ago. Politicians need to be pop-stars, too. New technologies bring another dimension into classical political dilemma—how to mitigate popularity and at the same time make tough decisions. In a world that is disseminating public opinion to the masses at an increasing rate and prominence, understanding the role of technology and its importance in political popularity has never been so complex.

Technology may be seen as a driver for both power and legitimacy in the areas of foreign affairs and diplomacy. What we need today are leaders who not only understand the complexities of technology, but who also use this technology to promote a global culture of human encounter that meets the legitimate needs of all peoples.

Activity 3. Use the following vocabulary to discuss ‘*The Impact of Technology on Foreign Affairs*’.

1. enhanced communication
2. technological advancements
3. technology has brought about
4. to empower individuals
5. national supremacy
6. to tackle complex threats /challenges
7. have major repercussions
8. foster (exchange of ideas)
9. take a stand
10. disseminate public opinion

Activity 4. Complete the sentences below with the following words.

- a) to tackle complex subjects
- b) to empower individuals
- c) enhanced communication
- d) take a stand
- e) technological advancement
- f) technology has brought about
- g) racial or national supremacy
- h) country and entity
- i) major repercussions
- j) exchange of ideas

1. One of the commentators emphasized that consensus-building and _____ with other Member States would enhance the legitimacy and accountability of the Council.

2. Rapid economic globalization, as a result of _____ and liberalization of international trade, finance and investment, has led to an expansion of global economic growth and development

3. We have seen how _____ change in many countries and how it continues to affect developments around the world.

4. The explosive growth of social networking technologies is continuing _____ - and to have highly unpredictable political consequences.

5. The right to freedom of opinion and expression of all citizens of the Republic without limitation on racial or national grounds does not mean that they are able to express opinions or convictions propagating _____.

6. Every _____ should be allowed to participate in international organizations that contribute to the realization of children's rights, if we are to create a world fit for all children.

7. A General Assembly resolution should not attempt _____ that were under discussion by expert trade negotiators in another forum.

8. The shortage of affordable financing will also have _____ for infrastructure spending, which is critical for longer-term sustainable development.

9. Nations that once reached out to each other tentatively, seeking to ease tensions and *foster* hope, can now move forward decisively with a free _____ and material goods.

10. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is _____, as appears below, on provisions it considers should be improved.

ADDITIONAL READING 6

TECHNOLOGICAL AMBIVALENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Activity 1. A pre-reading question to consider:

What do you understand by ambivalent impact?

Read the article for more information:

By Stefan Fritsch

Technology is linked to many key phenomena of international relations, including conflict, economics, and culture. The link between technology and (global) politics has been and remains underappreciated. For millennia, though, technological evolution has deeply impacted global politics, security, economics, culture and the environment. For example, introduction of the Swiss pikemen during the Renaissance initiated an incremental shift towards standing armies, which in turn could only be maintained by modern states with vastly improved administrative and organizational capabilities. Rapid evolution of shipping technology and navigation during the sixteenth century provided European states with pivotal technological advantages to accelerate their colonial overseas endeavors against the resistance of primarily Arab maritime merchants. Technological superiority over colonized territories was finally achieved with the help of vastly improved firearms, cannons and new medical discoveries to cope with tropical diseases.

Modernity is deeply connected to technological progress. For instance, the invention, improvement and diffusion of the steam engine in the industrial revolution subsequently contributed to British hegemony during the 19th century. Prussia's adaptation of railroad technology for military purposes and subsequent victories against the Habsburg Empire and France demonstrated the advantages of rapid and orderly troop relocations via efficient transportation networks. Nuclear weapons and the Cold War symbolized globalization of military power-projection capabilities of a limited number of states paired with the prospect of nuclear annihilation of humankind. Such weapons rendered direct military confrontation between the superpowers virtually unthinkable. During the late 20th and early 21st century, information and communication technologies (ICTs) encouraged transitions from industrial to post-industrial information societies that are characterized by new forms of transnational production and distribution processes, the pervasive application of ICTs in an expanding range of products and services, as well as conflict forms that are cyber-, drone- or robot-dependent. State as well as non-state actors have developed new strategies, policies and tools to cope with these technology-driven challenges, to shape technological evolution itself, or to capitalize on new opportunities in realizing their specific goals. This selection of examples demonstrates that technology indeed does matter for global affairs.

The Ambivalent Impact of Technology on Global Affairs

Different actors can use the same technology for very different purposes. In their global totality, large sociotechnical systems, especially in their advanced development stages, take on quasi-actor qualities in that they profoundly shape systemic interaction capacities and opportunities, time-space relations, and the ability of various actors to act as well as react in this increasingly techno-mediated world. Within this general development path towards growing complexity, various actors (states, companies, NGOs, individuals) can use or try to shape technology in different ways, depending on their own interests, needs and wants within technology-based limitations, thereby furthering the ambivalence of technology in global affairs.

Take for example the ambivalent impact of information and communication technologies (ICTs) on education and individuals' ability to interact with each other, share ideas and coordinate political

activities more efficiently on the global level. ICTs also are used extensively by other non-state actors, such as terrorist groups, to coordinate, plan, and execute attacks and for new member recruiting. The increasing asymmetry of conflicts between states and non-state actors has ironically also extended the lifetime of older technologies such as video or music tapes, which are harder to locate than mobile phones. Even older communication forms such as human messengers have seen a renaissance in various conflicts. The higher the level of asymmetry, the stronger the imperative of the technologically weaker conflict party to rely on low-tech tools.

Future Research Avenues

Ethical, legal and other issues of governance in relation to the increasing use of robots and potentially autonomous weapon systems on the postmodern battlefield raise normative and ethical questions about human control of human-made technology. These questions are also important to address in emerging policy areas such as the large scale and systematic collection and exchange of citizens' communication data by national security agencies as well as in analyzing the constantly evolving political and regulatory relationship between government agencies and private actors over access to data, the shaping of critical national infrastructure and related security architectures.

One of the most pressing issues is the rise of Big Data, the large-scale application of statistical analysis to a wide range of increasingly quantifiable dimensions of humanity (social, economic, political, etc.) in order to better understand events and improve decision-making and prediction. While Big Data technology has the potential to positively impact many aspects of human life, it also creates new vulnerabilities for humanity (e.g. privacy, transparency etc.). The availability of data, either publicly or via collaboration with private enterprises, also creates new opportunities as well as challenges for economic research (methodology; privacy/confidentiality). The Internet of Things, the convergence of ICTs with other sociotechnical systems such as energy production and distribution, transportation, as well as the production of goods and services, remains in its early stages.

The prevailing economics of global information and communication have enabled the development of new business models collectively known as the "sharing economy." E-commerce businesses such as the taxi service Uber or virtual market places like Airbnb represent examples of "collaborative consumption," which is based on the peer-to-peer access to information, goods and services. Such new developments initiate rounds of "creative destruction" that challenge traditional notions of capitalist exchange and economic governance processes in an information economy that is currently dominated by certain states and companies. The intensifying distributional conflicts created by such techno-economic developments will likely remain a hot topic for the IR community.

Activity 2. Share insights with a partner. Was there anything in the article that surprised you or anything you did not know about?

Activity 3. Complete the passage with prepositions.

_____ the past several years advances _____ information technology have increased the power _____ non-state actors to influence events _____ making it easier _____ them to gather and exchange information and to coordinate their activities, most dramatically _____ the case _____ Al Qaeda. Even _____ September 11, the spread _____ the mass media and the Internet limited the control _____ governments _____ the flow _____ information _____ their borders and enabled political movements _____ remote areas to bring their case to the attention _____ world public opinion. _____ states, the spread _____ information technology has created pressures _____ governance _____ the direction _____ a more open society and decentralized political power and economic structures. These pressures are being resisted _____ a number _____ authoritarian states, and the final balance is still evolving.

Part 2

Activity 4. Read the title of the article and guess what it might be about. Share your ideas with a partner. Then read the article for detail.

The impact of (big) data on geopolitics, negotiations, and the diplomatic modus operandi

By Jovan Kurbalija

Throughout history, humanity has relied on different critical resources. Oil was one such resource, which spurred economic growth, as well as conflicts over access and control. Today data is the new oil. It is at the core of modern developments, and is increasingly shaping political and economic lives. As more data is stored and processed digitally, the governance of this data is having an impact on diplomacy, just as the politics of oil has been doing over the past 100 years.

How does data impact diplomacy?

First, data impacts the environment in which diplomats operate. The flow of data shapes the flow of money. It influences and creates new data-driven geopolitics and geo-economics.

Second, data brings new topics to the negotiation and policy-making tables, from privacy and data protection, to digital commerce and trade. Third, data provides diplomats with new tools to make diplomatic activities more efficient and effective, including data mining and artificial intelligence.

Environment: Emerging data geopolitics and geo-economics

‘Conflicts over control of oil have scarred the world for decades. No one yet worries that wars will be fought over data. But the data economy has the same potentials for confrontation.’ This is how *The Economist* set the stage for a discussion on data geopolitics, centred on the question of national security, and, increasingly, geo-economics – defined as the promotion of national interests through economic means.

Internet cables are a tangible aspect of data geo-politics. Damage to cables can disconnect an entire country from the Internet, which can have profound economic and political consequences. In 2008, the cutting of the main Internet cables near Alexandria (Egypt) gave us the first glimpse of the consequences for users and businesses in the Gulf region and India.

Global geopolitical and geo-economical relationships depend heavily on access to the main Internet cables carrying Internet traffic between countries and continents. Presently, more than 90% of all global Internet traffic flows through submarine cables, which mostly follow the old geographical routes used by telegraph cables in the nineteenth century.

Data is now central for economic growth as well. In addition to the Internet’s fast-growing economic platforms, manufacturers are increasingly shifting towards providing services via digital means, and using new digitally supported business models. For example, Rolls Royce does not sell aircraft engines any more, but charges for the use of the engines, and utilises extensively the data collected from their use.

Soon, competitive manufacturing will not be possible without smart industrial platforms, such as General Electric’s Predix, or Siemens’ MindSphere, which are digitalising traditional industries. Global production chains rely on extensive data flows. The interplay between artificial intelligence (AI) and the Internet of Things (IoT) will make us further dependent on data.

This dependence on data makes countries highly vulnerable to any disruption of data flows. Maintaining data flows worldwide is vital for countries’ social stability, economic wellbeing, and

growth. For example, the disruption of e-commerce, e-banking, and platform services such as Airbnb and Uber, could cause great economic disruption.

Key strategic points, such as the Suez Canal and Malacca, remain as relevant today as they were in the past. For example, most of the data traffic between Asia and Europe goes via Egypt (Alexandria, the Suez Canal). Other critical points include Luzon and Hormuz. The diversity of data traffic routes is increased via terrestrial cables. Submarine cables are growingly supplemented by terrestrial ones. The Digital Silk Road, part of China's 'One Belt – One Road' initiative, aims to span Euro-Asia with fibre-optic cables laid along newly built railroads and energy pipelines.

Access to data and its effective use will determine countries' positions in emerging data-driven geopolitics and geo-economics. The role of diplomacy will be very important. Diplomats will increasingly have to deal with the inherent paradox of protecting sovereignty, one of the core functions of diplomacy, while at the same time promoting countries' participation in global data integration, and thereby reducing sovereignty. This generates a diplomatic Catch 22, one that will require new skills and diplomatic innovation. It will also be the major determinant of diplomatic success in the emerging data-era.

New topics: Data at the centre of diplomatic negotiations

The more relevant data becomes for countries worldwide, the higher it rises on diplomatic agendas. Data is rapidly moving to the 'premier league' of global diplomacy, alongside the more traditional issues of disarmament, health, trade, migration, and human rights. As a multidisciplinary policy area, data is being addressed from economic, security, technological, legal, and human rights perspectives. This is known as data diplomacy. Data diplomacy is also a multi-level issue, addressed on bilateral, regional, and global levels. One of the main bilateral negotiations, between Europe and the USA, centres on the status of European citizens' data in the USA. The transfer of data across the Atlantic Ocean is one of the main data 'highways' in the world.

On a regional level, European organisations such as the Council of Europe and the European Union are particularly active in developing data protection policies and rules.

At a global level, data is addressed by a wide range of organisations. Within the World Trade Organization (WTO), data flows are often referred to in policy discussions on e-commerce. The UN Government Group of Experts on Developments in the Field of Information and Telecommunications in the Context of International Security – the key global cybersecurity forum – is addressing the issue of the protection of data from cyber-attacks. Various public and private organisations work on data standards to ensure interoperability in the data ecosystem. The UN Human Rights Council focuses on privacy protection and other digital rights.

New tools: Data in diplomatic activities

Data, together with information and knowledge, is at the heart of diplomacy. In their daily work, diplomats collect, analyse, and communicate data, information, and knowledge.

Data-driven changes are already affecting the main functions of including representation, the protection of nationals and consular assistance, negotiations, information gathering, and promoting friendly relations (Article 3 of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations).

Although data has always been part of diplomacy, the advent of digital technology has created new forms of data, most notably big data, web-data, satellite data, and crowd-sourced data, which provides opportunities for diplomatic activities and could make them more efficient, effective, and inclusive.

For example, data provides opportunities for diplomatic reporting, one of the core activities of diplomatic services, and part of a diplomat's daily routine. Diplomats report to the UN and other organisations on their respective country's performances in almost any field of multilateral activity, including health, security, and human rights. This puts pressure on both producing and analysing reports. An effective use of open data and data-mining could make countries' reporting more efficient and effective.

In addition, internal reporting from missions, visits, and negotiations are the lifeblood of diplomatic services. Any important activity and meeting is recorded in written reports and sent to the capital. With the use of data, diplomats can make reports more evidence-based, challenging assumptions and biases. They can also use data-mining to identify patterns and correlations that can, in turn, trigger new initiatives and diplomatic actions.

Although the use of (big) data in diplomatic reporting is still relatively novel, ministries of foreign affairs (MFAs) have already started to use new forms of data for other activities. Consulates manage large databases to issue e-visas and monitor nationals abroad. These databases also enable them to timely assist citizens in emergency settings. In public diplomacy, MFAs are increasingly adopting big data tools to understand the public image and discourse related to their country on social media platforms, and to be able to craft targeted messages to different key audiences. In development co-operation and humanitarian aid, big data has enormous potential as an early warning system, and to better target aid and deliver it more expediently.

Activity 5. Ask your partner questions about the article using the following phrases.

1. have profound economic and political consequences
2. cause great economic disruption
3. data diplomacy
4. the advent of digital technology
5. the lifeblood of diplomatic services

Activity 6. Complete the passage below with the following words:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| A. diplomatic activities | E. economic growth |
| B. modern developments | F. diplomats |
| C. the negotiation and policy-making tables | G. political and economic |
| D. new data-driven | H. on diplomacy |

Throughout history, humanity has relied on different critical resources. Oil was one such resource, which spurred 1. _____, as well as conflicts over access and control.

Today data is the new oil. It is at the core of 2. _____, and is increasingly shaping 3. _____ lives. As more data is stored and processed digitally, the governance of this data is having an impact 4. _____, just as the politics of oil has been doing over the past 100 years.

How does data impact diplomacy? First, data impacts the environment in which 5. _____ operate. The flow of data shapes the flow of money. It influences and creates 6. _____ geopolitics and geo-economics.

Second, data brings new topics to 7. _____, from privacy and data protection, to digital commerce and trade. Third, data provides diplomats with new tools to make 8. _____ more efficient and effective, including data mining and artificial intelligence.

ADDITIONAL READING 7

Activity 1. Read the article and summarise the main points concerning the work of a diplomat in the digital world.

Simply by engaging in social media spaces, foreign ministries are entering a world more different than many realise, and changing, possibly even unwittingly, how public diplomacy will work. In the pre-digital world, diplomats had worked in rarefied places – high-ceilinged, chandeliered rooms to meetings to which only other diplomats were invited: what the US State Department’s Alec Ross used to define as “men in black suits, white shirts and red ties talking to other men in black suits, white shirts and red ties.” The rest of us weren’t invited.

But digital and social media isn’t the preserve of the diplomatic classes. The rules of engagement of diplomacy are not shared by a Twitterati for whom news travels round the world in seven seconds flat.

So instead of the rest of us peering through the windows at diplomats’ summits, it was they who were coming to us – ties loosening, brogues creaking – at our party. And, like anyone at a party, they suddenly found themselves talking awkwardly to people who weren’t really their type.

The big shift that digital diplomacy gives us is not that governments are discussing policy on new platforms, it’s that they are discussing with new people. At the same time, those digital platforms have given birth to new networks, new groupings of people that were determined by something other than the traditional sense of nationhood. Some might be yoked together by region, rather than nation, or by religion, by economics, by gender, or by ideas. In the digital sphere, these groupings are every bit as legitimate, and often more vocal, than groupings decided by borders and flags.

Many can still dismiss these groups as ‘interest groups’. Or fanatics. Or extremists. But this is the real, and growing, challenge of digital diplomacy. A diplomat’s clients are changing. Post-digital, post-9/11, post-Arab Spring, a diplomat is looking at groups which are based around a whole new set of values and loyalties that are not related to those borders drawn hundreds of years ago. Indeed, some members of those interest groups/fanatics/extremists are in your own country. In Woolwich for example. Those with whom the diplomat must engage have shape-shifted and hard diplomacy is difficult with people who don’t share the same view of the rule of law: soft power is harder when faced with Al Qaeda members in Arsenal shirts, and digital diplomacy is harder when groupings are fluidly forming in public and hidden areas of the web.

But a diplomat has to engage with these groups – because they are possible challenges to the nation that he/she represents. There are a few challenges – you have to find them first. And you have to engage with them when they have no duty to engage with you. A diplomat’s job description, effectively, includes ‘speak to other diplomats, foreign ones included’ in amongst the list of core tasks. But a fluid group of people who have gathered round an abstract idea don’t have any contract or job description, they don’t wear white shirts and red ties, and they may not want to respond or converse in the way you want to. Where’s the treaty, the protocols, the agreements, the furniture of diplomacy?

While we are in a period of change, it’s only just beginning; the notion of nation still remains hugely strong. A diplomat can legitimately call on that concept as their main job. But it’s altering and the speed of change is increasing. A diplomat is facing a different set of challenges and dealing with them will require a different skill-set. Some will have it, some do have it – but many do not. Digital diplomacy will no longer be about a certain élan on Twitter, it will be about identifying non-state actors and the channels of their choice, with which to monitor and engage with them to form new relationships. The biggest foreign policy challenges do not just lie with rogue states, but with rogue ideas (and the links between the two). Dealing with that is a lot more complicated than it used to be, sitting around the table. And it’s going to get a whole lot harder.

ADDITIONAL VOCABULARY FOCUS
POLICY, POLITICS, POLITICAL, POLITICIAN

Activity 1. In the sentences below, choose the correct word.

1. Local media reported he is the 10th **politician** / **politic** in Guerrero to be killed during this year's political campaign.
2. Two main career paths are prevalent among **politics** / **politicians** in modern democracies: there are those who work in the **political** / **politics** sector until retirement, and those who leave **politics** / **policy** before retirement and work in the private sector).
3. "Prime Minister Trudeau discusses the **policies** / **politic** his government is putting in place to improve the lives of everyday Canadians—and why that matters around the world," a post by Daniel Roth reads.
4. It is a unique initiative that brings together key voices representing government, industry, academia and civil society. It aims to create **policy** / **political** recommendations and norms of responsible behaviors that are coherent and broadly supported by all stakeholders to enhance the stability and security of cyberspace.
5. Since 2008-2009, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has had a proactive communication **policy** / **politics** on social networks.
6. The diplomatic world is considered to be one of protocol and discretion, yet an increasing number of foreign **politic** / **policy** officials and diplomats are conducting their business in the most public way possible, on Twitter.
7. After the initial article and the launching of the investigation, other **politics** / **politicians** came forward and admitted that they had been asked to do the same and the problem is much more widespread and more **policy** / **political** parties are involved.
8. The thinkers, together with the public, discussed topics such as global justice, knowledge and its relationship to **policy** / **politics**, philosophy and contemporary world problems, war and reconciliation.
9. The fight to have it recognized was closely linked to the fight for indigenous peoples' rights and the entry into **politics** / **policy** of President Morales, who had once been head of a coca-leaf producers' union.
10. There were some 250 NGOs working specifically on women's rights, as well as a network of schools comprising of more than 50 NGOs that prepared women for positions of authority; and a new project launched in 2010 created regional clubs for women in **politics** / **policy**.
11. Switzerland stated that the State understands that security **policy** / **politics** must be paired with full respect for human rights and international law.

Activity 2. Complete the sentences with the words from the box. You may use any word more than once.

political
politics
politicians
policy
policies

The law prohibited religious organizations from taking part in (1) _____ activities, for example by creating (2) _____ parties, backing candidates or taking part in election campaigns, but in reality it seemed that there was not such a clear separation between religion and (3) _____ and that a risk existed of exploiting religion for (4) _____ purposes.

In Cameroon, meeting on the culture of peace and UNESCO in November 1998 enabled (5) _____ , teachers, social workers, journalists, women’s associations, young people and intellectuals to meet around the ideals of the culture of peace.

A much broader array of digital diplomacy activities takes place in thousands of diplomatic negotiations, (6) _____ initiatives, and crisis management actions every day worldwide – and they all depend heavily on digital technologies.

The Section also prepared the publication of “Empowering youth through national (7) _____: UNESCO’s agenda”, a document on youth national (8) _____ which is intended to support Member States’ initiatives in this domain and to be used as a guide to answering the sort of questions that will be asked when governments consider creating a credible youth national (9) _____ .

At the sixty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the President of Turkmenistan stated that the main goal of the country’s foreign (10)_____remained unchanged: comprehensive assistance to the world community in its efforts to support and strengthen a global security system, to identify and neutralize threats of conflict and to provide conditions for the stable and sustainable development of States and peoples and for broad and constructive international cooperation.

ECONOMY, ECONOMICS, ECONOMIC, ECONOMICAL

Activity 3. In the sentences below, choose the correct word.

1. To that end, a strategy based on human and **economic / economical** development projects had been developed; the FATA Development Authority.
2. Indeed, the responsibility attributed by the 1951 Convention is attributed to the Governments themselves, and UNHCR has just a monitoring and supplementary role when Governments have not the capacity — namely, the **economics / economic** capacity, in many parts of the world — to provide protection and assistance to the refugees.

3. In particular, the programme places an emphasis on the sustainable development of the rural economy (agriculture, food industry, forestry), including the introduction of new **economy / economic** and social activities and the protection of environmental resources (especially water, air and living natural resources) so to pass them on to future generations while at the same time using them to meet the needs of present generations.
4. The objectives and expected accomplishments are expected to be achieved on the assumption that: (a) the developments in the airline and shipping industries will continue to enable the negotiation of favourable contracts, (b) there are no sudden or unexpected political, **economical / economic** or technological changes that adversely affect the scope of services and (c) the United Nations entities in Nairobi serviced by the Office and the host country extend their full cooperation.
5. While features such as intricately carved furniture, architectural features and decorative elements served to enhance the aesthetic appeal of the places where people lived, they also demonstrated a person's relative socio-**economic / economical** status and well-being.
6. All these efforts, she said, supported the equity approach championed by UNICEF, which will help to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and national goals for children in a faster and more **economical / economic** way.
7. The consultants emphasized two fundamental facts of Armenia's political and **economical / economic** life, which had a direct and powerful impact on the country's competition law and policy: (a) Armenia's status as an economy in transition that was until recently a centrally planned economy within the Soviet Union; and (b) the geopolitical situation in the South Caucasus.
8. The 2009 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development (A/64/93) dealt with the theme of women's control over economic resources and access to financial resources including microfinance, a particularly timely subject in the current period of crisis and very relevant to the Third Committee because it demonstrated the interdependence of **economy / economic** and social development.
9. There are two types of higher education institution, the University type, which offers studies in humanities; science; medical science; **economics/ economy**; the arts; pedagogy and military studies and the professional type, which educates students in specific professional areas preparing them for practising a profession.
10. Many benefits accrue from strengthening capacities in host communities, enhancing self-reliance, providing access to education and health care and stimulating the local **economics / economy**.

Activity 4. Complete the sentences with the words from the box. You may use any word more than once.

economy
economics
economic
economical

1. The Government of Pakistan had established a system for the accreditation of madrasas and redefined their curriculums so that students would learn skills in areas that would help them find work easily, such as information technology, mathematics, _____ and accounting.
2. Efficiency gains in buildings are likely to provide the greatest energy reductions and in many cases will be the most _____ option.
3. Through an interaction with art, the exhibition aimed at drawing the policy-makers and general public's attention to the rights of Chinese migrant workers and at highlighting their contribution to the Chinese _____, society and culture.
4. It can be said that the implementation of the programme will contribute to reduction of ecological conflicts existing in this area, to better and more _____ usage of environmental resources.
5. The Committee is concerned that the rapid pace of economic growth — of unprecedented proportions in Asia — that has turned the country into the twelfth-largest _____ has not been matched by greater fulfilment of economic, social and cultural rights, in particular for the most disadvantaged and marginalized individuals and groups.
6. Major themes have been the promotion and application of the UNESCO Conventions on Cultural Heritage, the Declaration on Cultural Diversity and _____ and Culture.
7. This contribution to a sustainable future will increase if the principles, policies and practices of sustainable forest management are applied and if forest products and ecosystem services assume more importance in the global _____.
8. In particular, the programme places an emphasis on the sustainable development of the rural _____ (agriculture, food industry, forestry), including the introduction of new economic and social activities and the protection of environmental resources (especially water, air and living natural resources) so to pass them on to future generations while at the same time using them to meet the needs of present generations.
9. Thus the _____ crisis observing in the world had an effect not only on the country but also on respondents themselves too.
10. It recognized the country's achievements in science and technology, culture, politics, _____ and international cooperation as testimony to Iran's commitment to human rights.

MODULE 1: VIDEO SCRIPTS

Video 1

What is the Fourth Industrial Revolution?

CNBC's Elizabeth Schulze:

It was in these Swiss mountains that the world was first introduced to the phrase "The Fourth Industrial Revolution", and it's been a hot topic among academics, politicians, and business leaders ever since. But what exactly does it mean?

The term «Fourth Industrial Revolution» was coined by the founder of the World Economic Forum, a former professor named Klaus Schwab. Schwab wrote a book with that title to describe an era marked by a "Technological revolution... that is blurring the lines between the physical, digital, and biological spheres."

Let's break that down. Technologies like artificial intelligence, autonomous vehicles, or the Internet of Things are becoming ingrained in our day-to-day lives, and even our bodies. Think of voice-activated virtual assistants, face ID recognition, or healthcare sensors.

Schwab first presented his vision of the Fourth Industrial Revolution at the World Economic Forum's annual meeting here, in Davos, in 2016. But to understand the idea, we need to go much further back in history to Industrial Revolution Number One.

The First Industrial Revolution started in Great Britain around 1760 and spread to Europe and North America through the early 1800s. It was powered by a major invention – the steam engine. The results? New manufacturing processes, the creation of factories and a booming textiles industry. From the late 1800s, the Second Industrial Revolution was marked by mass production and new industries like steel, oil and electricity. A light bulb, telephone and internal combustion engine were a few of the major inventions of this era.

The Third Industrial Revolution – sometimes known as the Digital Revolution – occurred in the second half of the twentieth century. In just a few decades, we saw the invention of the semiconductor, personal computer and the Internet.

So, what separates the Fourth Industrial Revolution from the Third? Experts say the main difference is that technology is merging more and more with humans' lives and that technological change is happening faster than ever. Consider this! It took 75 years for 100 million users to adopt the telephone. Instagram signed up 100 million users in just two years. A 'Pokemon Go' caught that amount in one month. 3D printing is just one example of fast-paced technology in the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

The industry has gone from a business idea to big business, with 3D printer shipments expected to increase from just under 200,000 in 2015 to 2.4 million in 2020.

Today you can have a hip replacement from a 3D-printed bone or use a 3D-printed bionic arm. Talk about blurring the line between humans and technology, right? This new era of technology is driving a lot of innovation. You can see in this chart the number of patents related to the Fourth Industrial Revolution, for things like 3D printing or AI has been climbing up and up since early 2000. Organizations are embracing new technologies to make their businesses more efficient similar to how they embraced the steam engine during the First Industrial Revolution.

But some companies and governments are struggling to keep up with the fast pace of technological change. Research shows innovators, investors, and shareholders benefit the most from innovation. The risk is that the Fourth Industrial Revolution is making inequality, which is already a big

issue, even worse. One study found billionaires have driven almost eighty percent of the forty main breakthrough innovations over the last forty years. That's a problem when the richest one percent of households already own nearly half of the world's wealth. Experts warn we are in a "winner-take-all" economy where highly skilled workers are rewarded with high pay and the rest are left out. Studies confirm technologies like AI will eliminate some jobs and create demand for new skills that many workers don't have.

Privacy concerns are another issue as the Fourth Industrial Revolution turns every company into a tech company. Industries from food to retail to banking are going digital, and they are collecting a lot more data about their customers along the way. Users are starting to worry that companies know too much about their private digital lives. The World Economic Forum says the majority of leaders don't have confidence their organizations are ready for the changes associated with the Fourth Industrial Revolution. With tech changing fast every day - it's time to catch up.

Video 2

The Agenda – Christine Lagarde on globalization – The Economist

Every January global leaders gather in Davos for the World Economic Forum. With populism on the rise, is the Davos elite out of touch?

- Those people who suffer most from fiscal indiscipline are generally the poor people. Christine Lagarde is the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund.

- *Christine Lagarde, thank you for joining me. We are here in Davos, the annual gathering of global leaders, in some sense the kind of Mecca for the globalised world order, and yet outside we have Donald Trump about to become president, we have Britain heading out of the European Union. The world is changing – is that a wakeup call for the Davos elite?*

- I really hope that it's a wakeup call to all policymakers of the world. If the message is not clear when you have voters clearly saying "No, we don't feel in charge of our destiny" – that's a really serious call.

- *That message is now being heard loud and clear. Is there a risk that you, the IMF, the experts are now somewhat discredited in this debate because you are seen as being at the heart of this establishment, so even if you have the right message, people say: "Oh, you're just the experts, and the experts always get thing wrong"*

- You know, I have no alternative, and I hope most sensible people have no alternative but to assess the facts, to draw the conclusions, to apply the analytical process, through which you can then come to policy recommendations. This is our job and we have to be as honest as is possible in order to offer our advice and we will continue doing that.

- *We have, particularly in the United States, we have a president who believes in economic nationalism. We have a growing sense that it's now the politics of 'in' or 'out' and that globalization or globalism, as its critics call it, is now deemed a dirty word.*

- You know, no country is an island, and the way the corporate world has interconnected itself through supply chains, the way in which services are provided on, you know, a global basis nowadays, the way in which capitals move around and are needed, in that respect it's not going to be stopped.

- *So, globalization is inevitable, that element of it?*

- Globalization is now sort of embedded in the way in which a lot of people around the world work, transact, move, are used to international music, are used to travelling around the world, are

used to getting cheap products, and I'm talking here about the advanced economies because one big part of the world that we are not talking about enough is the 3.6 billion people, who constitute 50% of the global economy and whose improvement of living standard depends massively on international trade, on movement of people, on, eh, you know, participating in the global economy. We cannot go ahead without them.

- *And you and the IMF are an important part of getting out the message of "what is the right focus? How do we need to remake globalization?" Where will you be putting the emphasis now? What are your main priorities for really shifting that debate?*

- I think we need to adopt the right narratives, the right language, the right stories in order to demonstrate that globalization has to work for all, and globalization cannot be confiscated by some happy few or only a handful of countries, but it has to work for all. And to do that efforts need to be made, investments need to be held, and a particular identification of where it hurts, how it can be sorted out, what training programs need to be in place, what new education schemes will work, how the private sector will contribute to that because if they have the benefit of an improved manpower, they need to be part of the process and they need to invest in that.

- *For the last 17 years it's essentially been an American-led global world order. Is that going to continue?*

- I would hope that any international institutions, operating at a multilateral level, can play a role. I don't pretend that the IMF will lead the exercise, but we can certainly contribute with our macroeconomic analysis and our policy recommendations.

- *And that analysis tells you broadly that globalization works? That it's the best system we have, but we need to do more to help those people who have been losers and to make sure it's inclusive.*

- It tells us that globalization has been incredibly efficient and beneficial in order to eliminate a lot of poverty around the world, in order to improve the standard of living of many people. But it's not worked for all, and we need to emphasize and implement remedies to make sure that it works for all, and that we prepare people to actually address not just globalization, but technology changes that are going to be far more disruptive than just globalization.

- *And do you sense the willingness now in people to listen?*

- Well, there've certainly been the wakeup calls to say: "Watch out, this is what we are concerned about, help us".

- *Christine Lagarde, thank you very much.*

- Thank you.

Video 3

Joseph Nye. Power Sifts

I'm going to talk to you about power in this 21st century. And basically, what I'd like to tell you is that power is changing, and there are two types of changes I want to discuss. One is power transition, which is change of power amongst states. And there the simple version of the message - it's moving from West to East. The other is power diffusion, the way power is moving from all states West or East to non-state actors. Those two things are the huge shifts of power in our century. And I want to tell you about them each separately and then how they interact and why, in the end, there may be some good news.

When we talk about power transition, we often talk about the rise of Asia. It really should be called the recovery, or return of Asia. If we looked at the world in 1800, you'd find that more than half

of the world's people lived in Asia and they made more than half the world's product. Now fast forward to 1900: half the world's people -- more than half -- still live in Asia, but they're now making only a fifth of the world's product.

What happened? The Industrial Revolution, which meant that all of a sudden, Europe and America became the dominant center of the world. What we're going to see in the 21st century is Asia gradually returning to being more than half of the world's population and more than half of the world's product. That's important and it's an important shift.

But let me tell you a little bit about the other shift that I'm talking about, which is power diffusion. To understand power diffusion put this in your mind: computing and communications costs have fallen a thousandfold between 1970 and the beginning of this century. Now that's a big abstract number. But to make it more real, if the price of an automobile had fallen as rapidly as the price of computing power, you could buy a car today for five dollars. Now when the price of any technology declines that dramatically, the barriers to entry go down. Anybody can play in the game. So in 1970, if you wanted to communicate from Oxford to Johannesburg, to New Delhi, to Brasilia, and anywhere simultaneously, you could do it. The technology was there. But to be able to do it, you had to be very rich -- a government, a multinational corporation, maybe the Catholic Church -- but you had to be pretty wealthy. Now, anybody has that capacity, which previously was restricted by price just to a few actors. If they have the price of entry into an Internet cafe -- the last time I looked, it was something like a pound an hour -- and if you have Skype, it's free. So capabilities that were once restricted are now available to everyone. And what that means is not that the age of the state is over. The state still matters. But the stage is crowded. The state's not alone. There are many, many actors. Some of that's good: Oxfam, a great non-governmental actor. Some of it's bad: Al Qaeda, another non-governmental actor. But think of what it does to how we think in traditional terms and concepts. We think in terms of war and interstate war. And you can think back to 1941 when the government of Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbor. It's worth noticing that a non-state actor attacking the United States in 2001 killed more Americans than the government of Japan did in 1941. You might think of that as the privatization of war.

So we're seeing a great change in terms of diffusion of power. Now the problem is that we're not thinking about it in very innovative ways. So let me step back and ask: what's power? Power is simply the ability to affect others to get the outcomes you want, and you can do it in three ways. You can do it with threats or coercion, "sticks," you can do it with payments, "carrots," or you can do it by getting others to want what you want. And that ability to get others to want what you want, to get the outcomes you want without coercion or payment, is what I call soft power. And that soft power has been much neglected and much misunderstood, and yet it's tremendously important. Indeed, if you can learn to use more soft power, you can save a lot on carrots and sticks.

Traditionally, the way people thought about power was primarily in terms of military power. For example, the great Oxford historian who taught here at this university, A.J.P. Taylor, defined a great power as a country able to prevail in war. But we need a new narrative if we're to understand power in the 21st century. It's not just prevailing at war, though war still persists. It's not whose army wins; it's also whose story wins. And we have to think much more in terms of narratives and whose narrative is going to be effective.

Now let me go back to the question of power transition between states and what's happening there. The narratives that we use now tend to be the rise and fall of the great powers. And the current narrative is all about the rise of China and the decline of the United States. Indeed, with the 2008 financial crisis, many people said this was the beginning of the end of American power. The tectonic plates of world politics were shifting. And president Medvedev of Russia, for example, pronounced in

2008 this was the beginning of the end of the United States power. But in fact, this metaphor of decline is often very misleading. If you look at history, in recent history, you'll see that the cycles of belief in American decline come and go every 10 or 15 years or so. In 1958, after the Soviets put up Sputnik, it was "That's the end of America." In 1973, with the oil embargo and the closing of the gold window that was the end of America. In the 1980s, as America went through a transition in the Reagan period, between the Rust Belt economy of the Midwest to the Silicon Valley economy of California, that was the end of America. But in fact, what we've seen is none of those were true. Indeed, people were over-enthusiastic in the early 2000s, thinking America could do anything, which led us into some disastrous foreign policy adventures, and now we're back to decline again. The moral of this story is all these narratives about rise and fall and decline tell us a lot more about psychology than they do about reality. If we try to focus on the reality, then what we need to focus on is what's really happening in terms of China and the United States. Goldman Sachs has projected that China, the Chinese economy, will surpass that of the U.S. by 2027. So we've got, what, 17 more years to go or so before China's bigger. Now someday, with a billion point three people getting richer, they are going to be bigger than the United States. But be very careful about these projections such as the Goldman Sachs projection as though that gives you an accurate picture of power transition in this century.

Let me mention three reasons why it's too simple. First of all, it's a linear projection. You know, everything says, here's the growth rate of China, here's the growth rate of the U.S., here it goes -- straight line. History is not linear. There are often bumps on the road, accidents along the way. The second thing is that if the Chinese economy surpasses the U.S. economy in, let's say, 2030, which it may, that will be a measure of total economic size, but not of per capita income -- won't tell you about the composition of the economy. China still has large areas of underdevelopment and per capita income is a better measure of the sophistication of the economy and that the Chinese won't catch up or surpass the Americans until somewhere in the latter part, after 2050, of this century. The other point that's worth noticing is how one-dimensional this projection is. You know, it looks at economic power measured by GDP. Doesn't tell you much about military power, doesn't tell you very much about soft power. It's all very one-dimensional. And also, when we think about the rise of Asia, or return of Asia as I called it a little bit earlier, it's worth remembering Asia's not one thing. If you're sitting in Japan, or in New Delhi, or in Hanoi, your view of the rise of China is a little different than if you're sitting in Beijing. Indeed, one of the advantages that the Americans will have in terms of power in Asia is all those countries want an American insurance policy against the rise of China. It's as though Mexico and Canada were hostile neighbors to the United States, which they're not.

So these simple projections of the Goldman Sachs type are not telling us what we need to know about power transition. But you might ask, well, so what in any case? Why does it matter? Who cares? Is this just a game that diplomats and academics play? The answer is it matters quite a lot. Because, if you believe in decline and you get the answers wrong on this, the facts, not the myths, you may have policies which are very dangerous. Let me give you an example from history. The Peloponnesian War was the great conflict in which the Greek city state system tore itself apart two and a half millennia ago. What caused it? Thucydides, the great historian of the Peloponnesian War, said it was the rise in the power of Athens and the fear it created in Sparta. Notice both halves of that explanation. Many people argue that the 21st century is going to repeat the 20th century, in which World War One, the great conflagration in which the European state system tore itself apart and destroyed its centrality in the world, that that was caused by the rise in the power of Germany and the fear it created in Britain. So there are people who are telling us this is going to be reproduced today, that what we're going to see is the same thing now in this century. No, I think that's wrong. It's bad history. For one thing, Germany had surpassed Britain in industrial strength by 1900. And as I said earlier, China has not surpassed the United States. But also, if you have this belief and it creates a sense of fear, it leads to overreaction. And the greatest danger we have of managing this power transition of the shift toward

the East is fear.

To paraphrase Franklin Roosevelt from a different context, the greatest thing we have to fear is fear itself. We don't have to fear the rise of China or the return of Asia.

And if we have policies in which we take it in that larger historical perspective, we're going to be able to manage this process. Let me say a word now about the distribution of power and how it relates to power diffusion and then pull these two types together. If you ask how is power distributed in the world today, it's distributed much like a three-dimensional chess game. Top board: military power among states. The United States is the only superpower, and it's likely to remain that way for two or three decades. China's not going to replace the U.S. on this military board. Middle board of this three-dimensional chess game: economic power among states. Power is multi-polar. There are balancers -- the U.S., Europe, China, Japan can balance each other.

The bottom board of this three-dimensional chess game, the board of transnational relations, things that cross borders outside the control of governments, things like climate change, drug trade, financial flows, pandemics, all these things that cross borders outside the control of governments, there nobody's in charge. It makes no sense to call this unipolar or multi-polar. Power is chaotically distributed. And the only way you can solve these problems -- and this is where many of our greatest challenges are coming in this century -- is through cooperation, through working together, which means that soft power becomes more important, that ability to organize networks to deal with these kinds of problems and to be able to get cooperation. Another way of putting it is that, as we think of power in the 21st century, we want to get away from the idea that power's always zero sum -- my gain is your loss and vice versa. Power can also be positive sum, where your gain can be my gain. If China develops greater energy security and greater capacity to deal with its problems of carbon emissions, that's good for us as well as good for China as well as good for everybody else. So empowering China to deal with its own problems of carbon is good for everybody, and it's not a zero sum, I win, you lose. It's one in which we can all gain.

So as we think about power in this century, we want to get away from this view that it's all I win, you lose. Now I don't mean to be Pollyannaish about this. Wars persist. Power persists. Military power is important. Keeping balances is important. All this still persists. Hard power is there, and it will remain. But unless you learn how to mix hard power with soft power into strategies that I call smart power, you're not going to deal with the new kinds of problems that we're facing.

So the key question that we need to think about as we look at this is: how do we work together to produce global public goods, things from which all of us can benefit? How do we define our national interests so that it's not just zero sum, but positive sum. In that sense, if we define our interests, for example, for the United States the way Britain defined its interests in the 19th century, keeping an open trading system, keeping a monetary stability, keeping freedom of the seas -- those were good for Britain, they were good for others as well. And in the 21st century, you have to do an analog to that. How do we produce global public goods, which are good for us, but good for everyone at the same time? And that's going to be the good news dimension of what we need to think about as we think of power in the 21st century. There are ways to define our interests in which, while protecting ourselves with hard power, we can organize with others in networks to produce not only public goods, but ways that will enhance our soft power.

So if one looks at the statements that have been made about this, I am impressed that when Hillary Clinton described the foreign policy of the Obama administration, she said that the foreign policy of the Obama administration was going to be smart power, as she put it, "using all the tools in our foreign policy tool box." And if we're going to deal with these two great power shifts that I've described, the power shift represented by transition among states, the power shift represented by

diffusion of power away from all states, we're going to have to develop a new narrative of power in which we combine hard and soft power into strategies of smart power.

And that's the good news I have. We can do that.

Thank you very much.

Video 4

There are no more global superpowers

When you come to TEDx you always think about technology - the world changing, becoming more innovative. Think about the driverless -- you know, there's ..everyone's talking about driverless cars these days. And I love the concept of a driverless car, but when I go in one, you know, I want it really slow. I want access to the steering wheel and the brake. Just in case, right. I don't know about you. I am NOT ready for a driverless bus. I'm not ready for a driverless airplane.

How about a driverless world? And I ask you that because we're increasingly in one. I mean it's not supposed to be that way; we're number one. The United States is large and in charge, right. Americanization and globalization for the last several generations have basically been the same thing, right? I mean, whether it's the World Trade Organization, or it's the IMF, the World Bank, the Bretton Woods Accord on currency -- these were American institutions. Our values, our friends, our allies, our money, our standards - that was the way the world worked.

So, it's sort of interesting if you want to look at how the US looks. Here it is. This is our view of how the world is run. President Obama has got the red carpet, he goes down Air Force One and he feels pretty good, he feels pretty comfortable. Well, I don't know how many of you saw the China trip last week, and the G20. Oh my God! I mean, this is how we landed for the most important meeting of the world's leaders in China. The National Security Advisor was actually spewing expletives on the tarmac. No red carpet, kind of left out the bottom of the plane along with all the media and everybody else. Later on, in the G20, well, there's Obama, "Hi, George", "Hi, Norman". They look like they're about to get into a cage match, right, and they did: it was 90 minutes long and they talked about Syria - that's what Putin wanted to talk about. He's increasingly calling the shots, he's the one willing to do stuff there. I mean, there's not a lot of mutual like, or trust. But it's not as if the Americans are telling him what to do.

How about when the whole twenty are getting together, then, surely, when the leaders are all on stage, then the Americans are pulling their weight. Uh-oh! Xi Jinping seems fine, Angela Merkel has, she always does that look, but she always does that. But Putin's telling Turkish President Erdogan what to do and Obama's like, "What? What's...What's going on over there?" You see, and it's not the problem, as it's not a G20. The problem is, it's a G-Zero world that we live in. A world order where there is no single country or alliance that can meet the challenges of global leadership. The G20 doesn't work. The G7 - all of our friends - that's history. So, globalization is continuing -- goods and services, and people, and capital are moving across borders faster and faster than ever before, but Americanization is not.

So, if I've convinced you of that, I want to do two things with the rest of this talk. I want to talk about the implications of that for the whole world. I'll go round it. And then I want to talk about what we think right here in the United States and in New York. So, why? What do they implicate? Why are we here? Well, we're here because the United States, right, I mean, we spent two trillion dollars on wars in Iraq and Afghanistan that were failed. We don't want to do that anymore. We have large numbers of middle and working classes that feel like they've not benefited from promises of globalization, so they don't want to see it particularly. And we have an energy revolution, where we don't need OPEC, or the Middle East the way we used to. We produce all that right here in the United

States. So, the Americans don't want to be the global Sheriff for security, or the architect of global trade. The Americans don't want to even be the cheerleader of global values. Well, then you look to Europe. And the most important alliance in the world has been the transatlantic relationship. But it is now weaker than it has been at any point since World War two - all of the crises, the Brexit conversations, the hedging going on between the French and the Russians, or the Germans and the Turks, or the Brits and the Chinese.

China does want to do more leadership, they do, but only in the economic sphere. And they want their own value standards currency in competition with that of the US. The Russians want to do more leadership. You see that in Ukraine, in the Baltic States, in the Middle East, but not with the Americans - they want their own preferences in order. That's why we are where we are.

So, what happens going forward? Let's start easy, with the Middle East. You know, I left a little out but you get the general idea. Look! There are three reasons why the Middle East has had stability such as it is. One is because there was a willingness to provide some level of military security by the US and allies. Number two -- it was easy to take a lot of cheap money out of the ground because oil was expensive. And number three was, no matter how bad the leaders were the populations were relatively quiescent. They didn't have the ability and many didn't have the will to really rise up against.

Well, I can tell you in a G-Zero world all three of those things are increasingly not true, and so failed states, terrorism, refugees, and the rest. Did the entire Middle East fall apart? No! The Kurds will do better than Iraq, Israel, Iran over time but, generally speaking, it's not a good look. Okay, how about this guy? He's playing a poor hand very well. There's no question he's hitting above his weight but long-term - I didn't mean that - but long term, long term. If you think that the Russians were antagonized by the US and Europe expanding NATO right up to their borders when we said they were going to and the EU encroaching them, just wait until the Chinese put hundreds of billions of dollars in every country around Russia. They thought they had influence. But the Chinese are going to dominate it, the Russians are picking up the crumbs. In a G-Zero world this is going to be a very tense 10 years for Mr. Putin.

It's not all bad, right? Asia actually looks a lot better. There are real leaders across Asia. They have a lot of political stability. They're there for a while - Mr. Modi in India, Mr. Abe, who's probably about to get a third term written in the Liberal Democratic Party in Japan, of course, Xi Jinping, who's consolidating enormous power, most powerful leader in China since Mao. Those are the three most important economies in Asia. Now, look! There are problems in Asia. We see the sparring over the South China Sea. We see that Kim Jong-un just in the last couple days tested yet another nuclear weapon, right. But the leaders in Asia do not feel the need to wave the flag, to go xenophobic, to actually allow escalation of the geopolitical and cross-border tensions. They want to focus on long term economic stability and growth. And that's what they're actually doing.

Let's turn to Europe. Europe does look a little scared in this environment. So much of what's happening in the Middle East is washing up quite literally onto European Shores. You see Brexit and you see the concerns of populism across all of the European states. Let me tell you that over the long term in a G-Zero world European expansion will be seen to have gone too far. Europe went right up to Russia, went right down to the Middle East. And if the world were truly becoming more flat and more Americanized that would be less of a problem. But in a G-Zero world those countries nearest Russia and nearest the Middle East actually have different economic capabilities, different social stability, and different political preferences and systems than core Europe. So, Europe was able to truly expand under the G7, but under the G-Zero Europe will get smaller. Core Europe around Germany and France and others will still work, be functional, stable, wealthy, integrated but the periphery countries, like Greece and Turkey and others, will not look that good at all. Latin America - a lot of populism made the

economies not go so well. They had been more opposed to the United States for decades. Increasingly they're coming back. We see that in Argentina, we see it with the openness in Cuba, we will see it in Venezuela with Maduro falls, we'll see that in Brazil after the impeachment. And when we finally see a new legitimate president elected there, the only place you see that that is moving in another direction is the unpopularity of Mexican president Pena Nieto. There you could actually see a slip away from the United States. Over the coming years US election matters a lot on that one, too.

Africa - a lot of people have said, "it's going to be Africa's decade, finally, in a G-Zero world it is absolutely an amazing time for a few African countries - those governed well, with a lot of urbanization, a lot of smart people, women really getting into the workforce, entrepreneurship taking off". But for most of the countries in Africa it's going to be a lot more dicey - extreme climate conditions, both radicalism, both from Islam and also Christianity, very poor governance, borders you can't defend, lots of forced migration - those countries can fall off the map. So, really we are going to see an extreme segregation going on between the winners and the losers across Africa.

Okay, finally back to the United States. What do I think about us? Because there are a lot of upset people, not here at TEDx, I know, but in the United States, my god, after 15 months of campaigning we should be upset. I understand that but a lot of people are upset because they say, "Washington's broken. We don't trust the establishment. We hate the media, heck". Even globalists like me are taking it on the chin. Look! I do think we have to recognize, my fellow campers, that when you are being chased by the bear in the global context, you need not outrun the bear, you need only outrun your fellow campers. Now I just told you about our fellow campers and from that perspective we look okay! A lot of people in that context say, "Let's go Dollar. Let's go New York real estate. Let's send our kids to American universities". You know, our neighbors are awesome - Canada, Mexico and two big bodies of water. You know how much Turkey would love to have neighbors like that. Those are awesome neighbors!

Terrorism is a problem in the United States. God knows, we know it here in New York. But it's a much bigger problem in Europe than the US. It's a much bigger problem in the Middle East than it is in Europe. These are factors of large magnitude. We just accepted 10,000 Syrian refugees and we're complaining bitterly about it, right? You know why? Because they can't swim here, right? I mean, the Turks would love to have only 10,000 Syrian refugees. The Jordanians, the Germans, the Brits! It that's not the situation, that's the reality of the United States. Now that sounds pretty good.

Here's the challenge - in a G-Zero world, the way you lead is by example. If we know we don't want to be the global cop anymore, if we know we're not going to be the architect of global trade, we're not going to be the cheerleader of global values, we're not going to do it the way we used to. The 21st century is changing. We need to lead by example, be so compelling that all these other people are going to still say, "It's not just they're faster campers". Even when the bear is not chasing us, this is a good place to be, we want to emulate them. The election process this year is not proving a good option for leading by example. Hillary Clinton says, "It's going to be like the 90s, we can still be that cheerleader on values, we can still be the architect of global trade, we can still be the global sheriff" and Donald Trump wants to bring us back to the 30s. He's saying, "Our way or the highway, you don't like it lump it." I mean, neither are recognizing a fundamental truth, the G-Zero, which is that even though the US is not in decline, it is getting objectively harder for the Americans to impose its will, or even to have great influence on the global order.

Are we prepared to truly lead by example? What would we have to do to fix this after November, after the next president comes in? Well, either we have to have another crisis that forces us to respond - a depression would do that, another global financial crisis could do this, God forbid, another 9/11 could do that, or absent crisis, we need to see that the hollowing out of the inequality, the

challenges that are growing and growing in the United States are themselves urgent enough to force our leaders to change, and that we have those voices through our cell phones individually. We have those voices to compel them to change. There is, of course, a third choice. Perhaps the most likely one, which is that we do neither of those things, and in four years time, you invite me back and I will give this speech yet again.

Thank you very, very much.

Video 5

The Future of Multilateralism

«We reject the ideology of globalism and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism»

- As the United States pulls out of major international treaties and organizations, is multilateralism under threat? Hello, I'm Anand Naidoo and this is *The Heat*.

- *During the United Nations General Assembly world leaders gathered in New York to trumpet their commitments to the multilateral system. Almost all leaders except one. US President Donald Trump took to the UN stage to tout his policy of nationalism. During a high-level week of speeches at the United Nations I sat down with Stephane Dujarric. He is the spokesperson for the UN Secretary-General. I started by asking him about the effectiveness of the United Nations in the face of increased criticism and protectionism.*

- Well, I think it's not about one person or one president. We're seeing the world over questioning of multilateralism attacks, of multilateralism, and as the Secretary-General said, it's really a crisis of trust. People are doubting institutions at the global level, at the national, at the local level and we need to rebuild that trust. The United Nations is an organization of 193 member states and it's really only as strong as the collective will of the member states wants it to be in dealing with global problems. And so I think the Secretary General, the Secretariat has its part to play, but member states themselves have to come together and understand (and I think the vast majority of them do) that the only way to tackle the problems that we're seeing in the world today, whether it's climate change, whether it's health pandemics, whether it's migrants and refugees on the move, is through Global Solutions, all the while respecting the sovereignty of each of our 193 member states.

- *But when you hear the kind of sentiments that Donald Trump made in the General Assembly Hall here, how do you see it? Do you see it as a big setback for the organization or is it just a bump in the road?*

- Okay, every year member states and leaders come and address the General Assembly. Often those messages are delivered for their home audience. As for the United States, it is a founding member of this organization, a critical partner, the largest donating funder in terms of assessed contributions. The Secretary General I think has a very productive and very workmanlike relationship with the president of United States, and with the US each member state is going to enact the policies that it does, but overall we have – I think the Secretary-General has a very constructive relationship with the US. But as I said, this challenge to global diplomacy is really coming from many different quarters, and is one where the UN in itself, the Secretary-General has a role to play in ensuring that the organization that he leads, the Secretariat is as effective as it can be in delivering on the needs of people.

- *One of the most successful examples of multilateralism was the Iran nuclear deal, which was completed under the auspices of the United Nations. Then we have the United States pull out of that deal. How much of a blow was that to the UN?*

- Well, for the Secretary General, you know, and if I may correct you, that deal was signed

outside of the UN, with the Europeans, and the Americans, and the Iranians. It then came to the Security Council. The Security Council voted and approved it. The UN, through the International Atomic agency has certain responsibilities. The secretary-general, who was not a party to negotiation, however, views that JCPOA as a critical victory for diplomacy, also against nuclear proliferation. And he believes that we should do whatever we can to support the agreement and ensure that it survives.

- *What are the priorities for the Secretary-General for this General Assembly, 2018?*

- I think that if you were to ask him what keeps him up at night, I think he would say it's climate change and the fact that we are ... he fears reaching possibly a point of no return unless countries live up to the commitments they've made in Paris. You know, if you look at some of the horrible crises we're dealing with, whether it's conflict, whether it's a health pandemic, refugee crisis - these are things that can actually at some point be solved through political will. If we don't show the political will to tackle climate change, at some point none of us will be able to do anything about it. It's beyond...it's Mother Nature, in a sense, and you don't negotiate with Mother Nature. So he's really trying to focus people's attention on that. In the longer term...there's so many things that need our attention in the short and medium term that we really also can't lose what is in the longer term and it's existential threat to us.

- *And here again it was the United States that pulled out of the deal, the Paris Accord. Can it survive without the United States?*

- Well, I think if you look at the United States and other countries, you will see that in effect the business sector and local sub-national governments are very much committed to meeting targets, and we do think that even with the government...federal government having taken the position that it has, we're very much engaged with the business sector and we think that those targets can still be met.

- *Let's look at some of the regional challenges that you face right now; let's look at the Middle East, for instance. The United States has slashed 360 million dollars from the budget of the UN Relief and Works Agency. It's an agency that's been there for a very long time; it helps the Palestinians in the West Bank, Gaza and Jerusalem as well. What impact will that have on the work of the agency?*

- It's - why is it a critical point? It is in need of about a hundred eighty six million dollars; we've raised over two hundred million on what plays a stabilizing role in the region in feeding a large number of Palestinians, educating them, on what was not responsible for finding a political solution. The political parties involved need to talk and find that solution. For the secretary-general ultimately it's a two-state solution, but we are in critical need of funds for ----- currently.

- *Another big crisis the world is facing right now - refugees. We see it in many parts of the world right now, in Europe, in Yemen, in Syria, in Myanmar, in Latin America as well. What is the UN doing?*

- Well, one way to stop the movement of people who are fleeing conflict is to stop those conflicts, right, and we -- through the Secretary General and war on Syria, on Yemen, to name just two -- are hard at work trying to push the parties, push and pull the parties, I would say, to the table to find that political solution. In the meantime, we are continuing with our massive humanitarian work, both inside Syria, inside Yemen, often at great personal cost to humanitarian workers, most of whom are either Syrian or Yemenis, and supporting the countries that have generously hosted the vast majority of refugees - Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey - ensuring that those countries have the assistance they need to help the refugees.

- *Something like combating the refugee crisis obviously requires enormous resources. Are you getting it?*

- Resources or humanitarian appeals are unfortunately critically underfunded, but we have no

choice and if you were to look at a kind of a short-term solution and self-interest, it is in the interest we'd say of some of the more developed countries to help the refugees and to ensure that they don't get cut in food, in all sorts of aid, so that they don't leave the countries where they are, their bordering countries, because we saw that a couple of years ago World Food Program had to slash the food rations of refugees built-in in Turkey and Lebanon and that may have been the cause of some of the flows we saw to Europe.

- *Now, one of the other big functions of course with the United Nations is peacekeeping. You have several peacekeeping missions around the world. The United States has made it very clear - it contributes 25% of the peacekeeping budget, but it says it's not going to go over that. Is that a problem for you?*

- The problem, the bigger problem with peacekeeping operations is the fact that often the mandates that we are given by the Security Council are not adapted to the solutions, to the places where we work. Traditionally, peacekeeping was there to help cement the peace between two parties, and we still have some of those traditional missions, but we're seeing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in Mali, in the Central African Republic peacekeeping missions that are really doing counterterrorism work, right, that are fighting armed militias with which you can't always negotiate. So we don't often have the troops that we need with the equipment that we need and the training we need. So it needs to improve our peacekeeping effectiveness, it needs to be a partnership between the Security Council, the Secretariat that manages the mission and those countries that give the troops, and we need to ensure the troops are well trained and well equipped.

- *One of the questions, and this is a perennial question you probably get asked every year, and that is expansion of the number of permanent members on the UN Security Council.*

- Indeed it is a perennial question. I think this is a question that's firmly in the hands of the member states; it is up to them to decide on the reform of the Security Council. From the Secretary-General's standpoint, it's clear that there needs to be a reform, that the council now is more of a reflection of the world as it was in 1945 as opposed to 2018, and the credibility of the council really rests on its representation, and that's why the reform is so important .

Video 6

Will China dominate the science? The Economist.

The speaker is The Economist's deputy editor Ed Carr.

1. China's scientific power.

We are used to China's growing power in almost every field: from trade to geopolitics, and now it is the turn of science. On January the 3rd, China landed a rover on the far side of the moon. It was the first country to do so and it's signaled China's soaring ambitions in science. Space is just one area in which they are pouring many millions of dollars into research. Genomics, quantum communications, materials - in all these areas China is putting a huge effort into becoming a leader. And it is about 10 or 15 years before China becomes a scientific superpower.

2. Should the world be worried?

China is going to all these efforts because it knows that a strong science base is essential if it is to be a first class economic and military power, but in the rush to get ahead Chinese scientists sometimes take ethical shortcuts. Scientific theft, and copying, and fraud is rampant. Last year He Jiankui, an Associate Professor from Shenzhen, genetically modified two embryos, without proper regard to their welfare when they were born, or indeed the welfare of every child they might go on to have. At a time

of growing competition between the United States and China, the West is worried what this growing scientific Chinese power really means. These worries are real. It is not just a question of Chinese weapons, but also how they might use science to oppress their own people, for instance. Already, China is using artificial intelligence to have real time facial recognition of its people. What is it to have a scientific superpower wrapped up in a one-party dictatorship?

3. How can the world benefit?

Chinese research has a lot to offer the world, in say, battery technology, or the cures to diseases, or fundamental discoveries into, for instance, dark matter. And the nature of science itself may help make a China a better scientific actor. For one thing, science is collaborative. If you try and cut yourself off as a nation, you will only hinder your own scientific progress. If it wants to be cutting edge, China will benefit from working with other countries, and that means in order to collaborate and have access, its scientists will have an incentive to follow the rules. But, the most interesting questions of all is whether science might end up changing China.

4. How will science change China?

President Xi Jinping is betting that he can have leading edge science at the same time as the Communist party increases its stranglehold on Chinese society. But, is he right about that? Of course, not all scientists are Democrats, but science itself involves critical thinking, questioning authority, empiricism, making judgments about the world and all of these things threaten autocrats who survive by controlling the way the people think. So, president Xi could face a tough choice. If he wants his scientists to be cutting edge, he may have to give them the freedom and risk the consequences. In that sense, he is running the biggest experiment of all.

Video 7

Huawei

Speaker: To build a 5G network you need a new type of telecom skill. You need many more base stations and they need to be smarter. It is the Chinese tech company Huawei which makes the most advanced 5G and this has been making western governments nervous.

So, I've come to find out who are Huawei. It may look like Paris but this is Huawei's brand new campus in Shenzhen, China. A huge site where employees take a train between office buildings, each of which is modeled on a different European city. Few journalists have visited this Disney-World-like project. Very much they branch out of Ren Zhengfei, the company's founder. He's been compared to the likes of Steve Job's, growing his company from a small workshop to a global tech giant, now employing a hundred and eighty thousand people.

Huge spending on research means Huawei claimed that they are now around eighteen months ahead of any other 5G manufacturer. Huawei is currently enjoying huge success with revenues last year in excess over a hundred billion dollars. But this is also a company facing some serious issues. The biggest is that the US is coming for Huawei in a big way.

Morgan Wright (cyber security expert): Look, we have met the enemy and it is Huawei, and it is China, make no doubt about that, you know. Right now Huawei through access to unlimited capital from the Chinese government, the communist government. All of these technologies - guess what - it is built for cyber spying, for cyber espionage, because that is what the Chinese do.

Speaker: The problem is Mr. Ren was once a member of China's people's liberation army. And that raised suspicions about his links to the Chinese state and whether it and Huawei may have each other's backs.

America is adamant, but Huawei is a pawn of the Chinese authorities. In 2017 China passed the national intelligence law which says that if asked all Chinese companies and citizens must help the government to assist national intelligence efforts. China claims this is a part of an effort to safeguard its security. But the fear is if Huawei supplies any country's 5G network, the Chinese could exploit it.

In a future where are our entire infrastructure, our economy and our lives are run by computers talking to each other over the 5G network... What would happen if someone shot that network down?

Dr. Stephanie Hare (technology researcher): If we think about it, the future warfare is not necessarily going to be used in traditional armies in a way what we think was like in the Second World War. The future warfare is most likely going to be cyber, so without firing a shot you can take a country out.

Speaker: It's feared that the Chinese state could order Huawei to build secret back doors in a 5G network. This would leave the country vulnerable to a nation-wide cyber attack. And that could be catastrophic.

Video 8

The Four Trends Impacting McKinsey Clients: C-Suite Insights With McKinsey's Dominic Barton

There are two speakers: Dominic Barton (D), McKinsey & Co. Global Managing Partner and Scott Beardsley (S), the Dean of University of Virginia Darden School of Business.

- Hello, I am Scott Beardsley, here today with Dominic Barton, global managing partner of consulting powerhouse McKinsey & Company. Dominic leads the firm's focus on the future of capitalism and the role of business leadership creating social and economic value. He is a prolific author and expert on business in many regions of the world, particularly in Asia. I also had the privilege of being his colleague at McKinsey for 26 years. Dom, welcome to Darden. Dom, at a global consulting firm like McKinsey, you get incredible insight into the trends happening around the world. Now, what do you see, are the trends that clients are focusing on the most?

- I think there is a lot of them going on right now, I mean, because of all the big underlying shifts that are happening in the world, you know, that re-rise of Asia, Africa, technology shifts, aging and all of that. I would say that the biggest trend I see is business model redesign, so companies really re-thinking how they add value, and at a more fundamental level. So, business model redesign, organization change, layering, flattening, the introduction of advanced analytics and digital into organizations, building resilience. So, there is a range. Those are probably the four things that I see the most.

- Yeah. And when you look around the world, we see an incredible amount of unrest, geopolitical uncertainty. How are clients starting to think about that, and how does McKinsey work with them to manage economic and social uncertainty? What are some of the things that are done?

- Yeah, it is a good... it is a new area. We were not taught to deal with that. You sort of assumed geopolitics was like you worked within a box, but that box is shifting. And it, by the way, this all reflects for us too. Right? We have a significant Russian practice, a Chinese practice, you know, so these changes affect us as we go through it. I think there is two ways that we try and do it. One is that I think it is very important to have a scenario of what you think it might be. And you cannot pick one place, so you need to have this - what I said, resilience matters. If something goes pear shaped in one area, you have got to be able to have a supply chain, for example, that will work somewhere else. We will give you an example. Ford did an excellent job in South Korea. If something ever happened with North

Korea, they could very quickly re-shift their supply chain. It is absolutely critical to do that. So, that is one dimension, is being prepared on the scenario side for where it is.

- *Do you see people worried about things like trade wars or democracy or just underlying models of society that are changing?*

- Absolutely. I mean, I think geopolitical risk has now become a top risk issue. Five years ago, it was not on the table for CEOs around the world. But as you said, it is societal issues too. I think the Brexit vote was a pivot point. It just shocked people, because no one thought it would happen. And it is a societal shift, is what you said, and that is happening in lots of places. And the question is, what can you do about it?

- *So turning to leadership in that context, you know, I know both McKinsey and Darden place tremendous emphasis on developing leaders. And what do you view are the key traits that we can help to develop in our employees, our students, or our clients to become great leaders? What is needed today?*

- Well, I think there is a couple of dimensions, and you and I have talked about this before. I think one is actually this global mindset. I mean, we are in a global world, even if there is localization occurring, you just have to understand what is happening in different parts of the world. You need to understand, to have that view. And you worked all over the world, and I think you were comfortable being in Saudi Arabia, Korea, Belgium... It did not matter, because you understood different cultures and that people act and operate in different ways. It was like you could swim in different waters. So I think you have to be comfortable in different cultures of how people make decisions, and how they think about things. I think, the second is you actually have to know some people in those places who can help you. So, building relationships. You know, who do you know in China? It does not mean they represent China, but they can help you, you have a connection.

- *Right.*

- You know what is going on, it is a network. I think it is very important to have a global network. And you do not have to visit them all the time - you are sitting on the phone, you do things with them. I think that is an important part of it. And I think, by the way, you can be global locally. I think you... Who do you hang around with in the local place that you are? There is a lot of global ... There is a lot of people. I have seen it in the flags here. There is a lot of global people here. So in the student population... Do you know the person from... I get to know the person from Nigeria. I think the other part is around character, it is around who you are. Like you need to be resilient. You need to have purpose. You need to be able to compartmentalize issues. You have to be short term and long term at the same time. These are kind of like different types of leadership muscles than we have talked about, because there is volatility. And I think that is quite different than what we have experienced in the last 20 years, the level of volatility.

- *As you think about the world and business, what makes you the most optimistic and what worries do you have about the business world?*

- Overall, I am optimistic, even though there is a lot of volatility. What makes me optimistic is that I actually think technology is going to be able to unleash even more creativity in humans. I mean, some people have called it the indigo economy, right? This is the notion of the... It is humans with technology. And you think about Indonesia. If we can educate another 30 million people, I am sure there is seven Einsteins that are in that population. So, the ability to allow more people to participate in the global economy through digitization, you will get financial inclusion, education. I think we are going to basically... I think, triple our human computing power, which gets me excited. I just can't even imagine what it is, but I feel good about it. And I think also we will hopefully be more informed about

what works and does not work, and we cannot be fooled by people who are telling us BS. And so, because we have that, that is the part that makes me excited. And there is a huge demographic boom in these markets like Africa, and Indonesia, and India, and so forth. I am excited by that. What I am worried about is, from a business point of view, that our institutions globally are not fit for purpose. Right? It was designed right after World War II. The world changed fundamentally. And so I worry about, with this huge amount of opportunity, how that's shared prosperity. I worry about how, you know, democracy works. Are we able to pick leaders who can lead? Are they going to be short term? It is very different being a politician. I mean, it is hard to be long term, and you get booted out. So it takes really brave leaders to be able to do something. And we do not have a lot of those, so I worry about that. But overall, I am optimistic. I think we are creative. So I said, even with that, you look at the international space station, that in a bizarre way inspires me. Because even with conflict, people or scientists can actually work together to do something for the future. I find that it makes me happy. Why cannot we do more of that? And I think we can.

- *Great. Thank you very much, Dominic.*
- Thanks, Scott.

MODULE 2: VIDEO SCRIPTS

Video 1

Sovereignty

Sovereignty is in some ways the most basic idea of modern international relations. States are the representation of sovereignty. The hundred ninety plus states are the principal actors in the world.

Sovereignty means that within the borders of a state, that government has complete authority. The people who control a country--they are able to decide what kind of a political system they want to have. They have control over the resources. They have a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. They are meant to control what goes in and what comes out. They are the sole legitimate representative of the country as a whole. And states agree to recognize these rights of other states. So essentially sovereignty is a set of understandings.

You can do pretty much as you please within your borders in exchange for my being able to do pretty much as I please within my borders.

Sovereignty is being challenged in some ways as never before. From above, if you look at Europe for example, you have supranational arrangements. The European Union is a challenge to sovereignty, where governments voluntarily give up certain powers to Brussels.

Sovereignty is being challenged from below. Groups like ISIS, drug cartels, pirate organizations, these are entities that don't recognize the legitimate, unique role of the state. Sovereignty is being challenged from the side.

Globalization: when particles of carbon or emails travel, they don't say, "Oh, I have to stop at the border because that's a sovereign state." When we talk of sovereignty we often talk in fairly absolute terms that what goes on within a country's borders is its business alone. And that idea, while still embraced by some governments, has been challenged throughout the modern era. In the mid-nineties, after the genocide in Rwanda, a movement grew up to basically say sovereignty can't be absolute. We're seeing an idea take hold, what's called the responsibility to protect, that sovereign governments not only have rights, but responsibilities. One of the responsibilities is not to massacre their own people, or not to allow their own people to be massacred or victims of genocide. And when a government is unable or unwilling to protect its own people, the international community has a

certain right to step in. What this suggests is that sovereignty has become a little bit conditional on whether a government is willing or able to fulfill its obligations.

The challenge is how to introduce this wrinkle without undoing some of the good things of sovereignty, which have essentially kept the world from constantly being at war with itself.

Video 2

Intelligence

Intelligence is designed to give a policy maker, in particularly the president, an edge, to give him information that isn't available anywhere else, that will help him form policy decisions. There is human intelligence, which is basically running agents, finding people who can tell you what you need to know. There is signals intelligence, which is designed to intercept conversations. Another key type of intelligence is satellite imagery, or geospatial. Intelligence operations are clandestine activities designed to gain access to something that someone else wants to keep hidden. It can be organizing an operation to infiltrate a facility, perhaps a military installation, or it could be to infiltrate a group, or it could be to recruit a human asset.

There are basically two different levels of intelligence: tactical and strategic. Tactical is what is going to happen, when it is going to happen, how can the US government take action. Strategic is more trying to put something into the broader context. On the 9/11 case, the intelligence community largely got the strategic warning correct, but they didn't get the tactical, "the how" and "the when" of the attack.

The intelligence cycle starts with requirements. You are trying to figure out, "What do you need to know?". The second stage would be collection: which potential source is likely to bring the best information available. In most cases it's going to be more than one source. The next step is prioritisation, and exploitation. Far more intelligence is usually collected than can be processed. What piece do you want to exploit for further examination? Then it goes to analysis, and that's where you are trying to figure out, "What does this mean?", "Why did this happen?". And then finally it gets disseminated to a policymaker. Intelligence officers are not policymakers. They collect this information, they analyse it, they then give it to policymakers and the policymakers make the decisions.

21st Century Challenges and Opportunities

The intelligence community is always evolving, and always faces new challenges. I think one of the biggest challenges is digitalisation. It makes the amount of information available to an analyst much broader. The key question is, "How do you find the right bit of information in that mass amount of data? How do you prioritise and evaluate information provided by social media?" Another key challenge is going to be cyber. Which countries are engaged in this? Which groups are engaged in this? What groups pose the greatest threat to not only the US government, but to our critical infrastructure? The biggest successes of the intelligence community really are in its ability to protect US citizens on a daily basis, to thwart and disrupt plots designed to attack US citizens, or US interests. Most of those wind up remaining secret because they have to. The failures of the intelligence community usually become public.

Video 3

How do you stop a cyberwar? CNBC Explains

Estonia suffered a massive cyberattack more than 10 years ago. The event was a defining moment for the country and the world's approach toward cybersecurity. And it all started with this statue. From the 'WannaCry' ransomware attack to election meddling, cyberattacks are becoming increasingly

common, and costly, around the world.

Global spending on information security products and services is expected to reach \$124 billion in 2019. But that hasn't been enough to stop cyberattacks from becoming one of the global economy's biggest threats. So how can governments keep hackers out? The short answer is they can't. But that doesn't mean they're not trying. One of the leaders in this space has been the tiny Baltic country of Estonia, which gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991. For years, this Bronze Statue stood in the center of Tallinn as a Soviet War memorial. Then in 2007, the Estonian government decided to move it here to a less prominent location. The move sparked protests and riots from Estonia's ethnic Russian population that wanted the statue to stay in place. Then, within days, Estonian institutions were crippled by a series of cyberattacks. Parliament, government ministries, banks, and newspapers went offline. And though it hasn't ever been confirmed, it's widely believed that Russia was behind the attacks.

The 2007 attack on Estonia has been called the first cyberwar, which is defined as "the use of computer technology to disrupt the activities of a state or organisation." The cyberattack was a wake-up call for Estonia, which at the time was already one of the world's most advanced digital societies. The country decided it needed to take steps to protect data online and prevent future cyberattacks. But how? The first step was building a strategy that would allow the government to keep systems up and running during a cyberattack. IT experts in the public and private sectors worked together to make systems more resilient against hackers. One part of Estonia's strategy is a voluntary 'Cyber Defence League' made up of hundreds of civilians, including IT professionals and young people who would mobilize during an attack. Estonia also decided to store copies of its information in a data embassy in Luxembourg, as a backup in case there was a cyberattack on home soil. Which brings us to another key deterrent for cyber threats -- international cooperation. NATO, the military alliance between North American and European countries, was a good place to start.

In 2008, the 'NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence' opened here in Tallinn. Its goal? To enhance NATO's cyber defense capabilities. The center conducts large-scale cyber defense drills, sort of like digital military training, though it's not technically a NATO operational unit. It also put together a guide called the Tallinn Manual, which analyzes how to apply existing international law to cyber operations. In 2016, NATO allies agreed that a cyberattack on a member country could trigger the same military response as an attack in the air, on land, or at sea. EU-wide regulation has also upped the penalties against data breaches. The General Data Protection Regulation, or GDPR, that went into effect in 2018, gave EU regulators the power to fine companies that don't protect user data. And, unlike in the past, the fines can be massive, up to 4% of global annual turnover or €20 million, whichever is bigger. Still, many countries have not taken steps to prepare for cyber threats.

The United Nations found half of its member states don't have a cybersecurity strategy in place. The UN ranks Estonia as the European country most committed to cybersecurity and fifth worldwide after Singapore, the United States, Malaysia, and Oman. But even Estonia isn't hacker-proof. Authorities still responded to more than 10,000 cybersecurity incidents in 2017, one third more than the year before. Which brings us to one final big step in preventing a cyberattack, getting the public on board. This can be as simple as using two-factor authentication or changing your password from, well, "password." Research found only one out of every four internet users in Europe changes his or her password regularly because of security and privacy issues. In Estonia, it took an unprecedented cyberattack for the country to become a leader in online security. Other countries might want to take note as the threats of cyberattacks only become bigger and more complex.

Video 4

Climate Change Challenges

Since the beginning of industrialization people have been putting carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere. Those trap heat, which increases the odds of higher temperatures, sea level rise, dangerous weather, with broad consequences for the environment, for our economies, and for national security. Those broad consequences are what put together is climate change.

Countries have a host of dilemmas that they face when they're trying to address climate change. Cutting emissions today can be costly, but failing to cut emissions today can be even costlier down the road in terms of climate damages. On top of that, when one country takes strong efforts to cut emissions and another doesn't, it can disadvantage that first country in its industrial competitiveness. And that's exacerbated by the fact that poorer countries will insist that richer countries, including the United States, have a big historical obligation because of their past emissions to do more in cutting emissions today.

What makes it really tough as an international issue is that emissions anywhere affect people everywhere. So in order to cut into the problem and reduce it, we need action from pretty much everyone.

Video 5

China and US Ratify Paris Climate Change Deal

The world's two biggest polluters, China and the US, have both ratified the Paris climate change agreement.

Earlier, President's Xi Jinping and Barack Obama formally submitted their plans to join the pact to UN Chief Ban Ki-moon in the Chinese city of Hangzhou. The ratification boosts efforts to bring the deal into force by the end of the year and comes as leaders from the world's 20 biggest economies prepare to meet in the city for a G20 summit. China and the US together total around 40 percent of the world's carbon emissions.

Sealed last December, the Paris Pact needs the participation of 55 countries, representing 55 of global emissions, to take effect.

Video 6

Trumps Pulls US Out of Paris Climate Deal

My solemn duty to protect America and its citizens. The United States will withdraw from the Paris Climate Accord but begin negotiations to re-enter either the Paris accord or an entirely new transaction in terms that are fair to the United States, its businesses, its workers, its people, its taxpayers. So, we're getting out. We will start to negotiate and we will see if we can make a deal that's fair. If we can, that's great. If we can't, that's fine.

As president, I can put no other consideration before the well-being of American citizens. The Paris Climate Accord is simple the latest example of Washington entering into an agreement that disadvantages the United States to exclusive benefit to other countries leaving American workers who I love and taxpayers to absorb the cost in terms of lost jobs, lower wages, shuttered factories and vastly diminished economic production. Thus, as of today the United States will cease all

implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country. This includes ending the implementation of the nationally determined contributions and very importantly the Green Climate Fund which is costing the United States a vast fortune as someone who cares deeply about the environment which I do. I cannot in good conscience support a deal that punishes the United States, which is what it does.

The world's leader in environmental protection while imposing no meaningful obligations on the world's leading polluters. For example, under the agreement China will be able to increase these emissions by a staggering number of years – 13. They can do whatever they want for 13 - not us. India makes its participation contingent on receiving billions and billions and billions of dollars of foreign aid from developed countries. There are many other examples but the bottom line is the Paris accord is very unfair at the highest level to the United States.

Video 7

EU and China Agree on Joint Climate Change Action

The timing of this high-level summit could scarcely have been more appropriate and although the discussions covered human rights globalized trade and investment climate change dominated. Today we are stepping up our cooperation on climate change with China which means that today China and Europe have demonstrated solidarity with future generations and responsibility for the whole planet.

We have seen changes in the international situation and we've seen uncertainties and destabilizing factors under such circumstances it's important that China Europe relations become more stable so as to counter the uncertainties in the world.

China is already allocating some three hundred and sixty billion dollars to renewable energy creating an estimated 13 million Chinese jobs. Out of this summit the EU is to invest millions of dollars to help set up a carbon trading platform there.

Reaction to President Trump's decision has broadly been disappointment that some climate campaigners see room for optimism.

Well, it has definitely incentivized other countries to speak out. It has brought climate change back on the agenda of our leaders. It has made EU and China two big economic superpowers make a clear statement in favor of climate action in favor of the Paris agreement recognizing the economic opportunities that are linked to climate action so I think actually he brought a new dynamic which was unforeseen.

No final communiqué was issued from this EU China summit the reason being that the two sides couldn't agree on China's market economy status but nonetheless president Trump's 'America first' policy is creating strategic opportunities that China and others are willing and able to take advantage of all.

Video 8

China's Influence in Europe – The Economist

Our cover this week focuses on China's investment in Europe, which over the past few years has increased hugely into everything from industrial companies to airports and infrastructure, and to football clubs and media. Much of this is for profit, it's private and it's harmless. But sometimes it's used to buy political influence.

For example, Greece and Hungary have worked together to stop Europe from condemning an international tribunal's finding against China in its plans in the South China Sea.

China, like any rising economy, wants to invest money abroad so it's bought stakes in Heathrow and other airports, and in industrial companies like PSA, which makes Citroen and Peugeot cars.

Some China boosters think that it makes a good ally in areas such as climate change, where China's president, Xi Jinping is standing with Europe, and America's president Donald Trump isn't.

But others worry that China may be driving Europe apart from America because it exploits its links with certain countries to make foreign policy hard in areas such as human rights. We argue that actually both extremes are wrong, both the naive extreme and the hostile extreme. Instead Europe needs to find something of a middle path. It should resist Chinese protectionism, not mimic it but remain open because openness is a strength. But at the same time it needs to be watchful over Chinese investments to make sure that they do not threaten national security. We also need transparency to see when China is giving money to political parties, to departments in universities, to media or think tanks.

And America has a role in this too.

At the moment, under President Donald Trump it tends to look at Europe as a free rider that's sponging off American power. In fact, Europe is a useful and vital ally in areas such as trade, intellectual property and security. China sometimes has a policy of divide and rule.

But if Europe speaks as one then it can stand up to China for decades to come. A prosperous, united Europe can make the world more stable. A divided weakened Europe spells trouble.

Video 9

How Africa is Becoming China's China

Political alliances manifest themselves here—on the voting floor of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, New York. In this room countries impose legislation that carries weight worldwide and so what happens in this room is the physical materialization of the world's politics. 47 years ago, exactly that happened when one of the General Assembly's most consequential votes occurred.

China, you see, essentially has two governments. There's the Republic of China which used to control the mainland and Taiwan, but today only administers Taiwan and there's the People's Republic of China which controls the mainland. Both claim to be the rightful governments of all of the Chinese territory—both Taiwan and the mainland—and so back in 1971 the United Nations had to decide which government would represent China.

Essentially, the question was which government was the rightful leader of the territory as there could only be one in the United Nations. The US was the main superpower opposing the People's Republic representing China as it had a strong political and military alliance with the Republic of China government and so the vote was essentially the US' sphere of influence versus the world. Among the 35 countries that voted against the People's Republic were much of Africa—the Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Liberia, Niger, South Africa, and plenty of others that sided with the US.

Despite the US's efforts, the resolution ended up passing, and the representative government for China in the UN was switched to the People's Republic of China, but what's interesting about this is not the result, it's who voted against the People's Republic.

Since that 1971 vote, you see, something has changed. In 2007, the UN General Assembly met

once again to vote on whether to adopt a resolution condemning the human rights situation in North Korea. As one of North Korea's strongest allies, this vote was China and its sphere of influence versus the world. In this vote, though, only Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, and Tanzania voted against China. All the 43 other African countries either abstained or voted "no" along with China because in the forty years between those votes, political ties changed.

Africa no longer bows to the US. Much of the continent is now economically and politically aligned with the world's fastest emerging superpower—China. The simple answer for why this is because China has pumped huge amounts of money into the continent of Africa. They're buying allies. For example, China built a \$3.2 billion railway in Kenya trekking the 300 miles from Nairobi, the capitol, to Mombassa, the second largest city and primary port, in 4 hours and 30 minutes. That's faster than what the fastest train in the US, the Acela Express, takes to travel the equivalent distance from Philadelphia to Boston. China also built a \$526 million dam in Guinea which helped push the country from having constant power shortages to making more energy than it needs and selling the extra capacity to its neighbors. China also built a \$475 million light rail system in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the first of its kind in Sub-Saharan Africa, designed as a way to combat the capital's crippling traffic. These are only a sampling. There are literally hundreds of others of Chinese infrastructure projects in Africa each year.

All across the continent, China is playing a part in projects, both big and small, that are transforming African economies. It's important to note that these projects are not though free. Each of these three were financed by loans granted by China's state-owned and controlled Export-Import Bank, and these loans do, of course, need to be paid back by the countries granted them. Large African infrastructure projects, though, would be viewed as risky by any traditional bank and would therefore struggle to get financed, but China's Export-Import Bank doesn't care. Assuming cooperation between the Chinese and African countries' governments, this bank will give low-interest or no-interest loans to African countries so they can build these trains or dams or other projects. These loans are, therefore, considered a form of foreign aid since China doesn't expect to get all their money back, at least adjusted for inflation, since they're not charging much interest and there's a high risk of default.

Of course China isn't just financing these projects out of kindness. For each of them there's a political goal behind it. You see, the country of China is running out of growth potential. Its era of double-digit year over year GDP growth is over as it makes the shift from industrializing to industrialized. Africa, meanwhile, is one of the least developed areas of the world and a lack of development actually makes fast growth easy.

The first step of economic development for many countries is natural resource exploitation. Nearly every country has some level of natural resources that can be used to kickstart growth, but first they need to have enough money to build the infrastructure and take the steps needed to gather these natural resources.

As everyone knows, it takes money to make money, and China has money. By investing in African mining and farming, China can profit off Africa's growth and fuel the business back in China that requires minerals and food, but in addition to serving as a source of natural resources, Africa has another resource—labor. It might seem strange that China, the country that the world uses for low-cost manufacturing, is looking for a labor source elsewhere, but that is exactly what it's doing. China is a victim of its own success. The economic development that its manufacturing industry brought pushed a large segment of its population into the middle class, which raised labor costs country-wide. It's not bad news. China as a country has shifted from having a low-skilled to a medium-skilled workforce as their education level has improved, but for the lowest cost, lowest skilled manufacturing

work, the country of China is no longer competitive. Therefore, Chinese manufacturing firms are setting up their own operations in Africa—one of the cheapest and lowest-skilled labor markets in the world.

Today, China is now the largest trading partner with Africa as a whole. Despite China being a vastly larger country than the US in population, the US and China both trade a similar value of goods worldwide each year. In this case, though, whereas \$48 billion worth of goods were exchanged between the US and Africa in 2016, China traded \$128 billion worth of goods—nearly three times as much.

Now, the whole idea of setting up a structure of power over other less developed states in order to gather resources and use their labor force might sound familiar because that's largely what colonialism was. The motives behind European powers expanding their territory to less developed nations in the 15th through 20th centuries were remarkably similar to the motivations behind China's growing economic influence in the developing world today. Despite what some may say, there is empirical evidence that China has been using these infrastructure investments to affect worldwide politics. It's been found that if an African country recognizes Taiwan as a country, they receive, on average, 2.7 fewer Chinese infrastructure projects within their borders each year. Conversely, if an African country votes overwhelmingly along with China in the United Nations General Assembly, they receive 1.8 more infrastructure projects each year. Considering that the General Assembly is an equal representative body where each country gets one vote no matter if they have a million residents or a billion, China's getting a lot of influence for, in the grand scheme of things, not a lot of money. China touts the fact that their foreign investment and aid is "no strings attached."

Unlike other institutions that give low or no-interest loans to developing countries like the International Monetary Fund or World Bank, China gives loans with no requirements on factors like respect of human rights or democratic elections. Of course, this data-linking infrastructure investment with political leanings shows that there are indeed hidden strings that require benefit for China rather than benefit for the receiving country.

Western powers are understandably concerned about this shift in power dynamics towards a country with vastly different ideals. In 2017, China entered a select club as it opened a military base in Djibouti. While four other countries have bases in Djibouti—France, Italy, Japan, and the US—this base was unique as it was China's first base abroad and those by themselves, military bases abroad, are unique. Only 15 of the world's most developed and militarily powerful countries worldwide have them and now China is one of them. Although, western powers might be worried for the wrong reasons. The government of China is clearly putting a lot of focus and money into Africa, but not as much as you'd think based off the result they're getting—vast amounts of influence over a whole continent.

There are two key numbers to look at. In 2015, China loaned just \$12 billion to African countries. In the same year, the country invested a mere \$3 billion in the continent. That's just not much but the reason China is gaining this enormous influence over the continent is because the Chinese government no longer has to force this phenomenon. Private Chinese industry is taking hold of Africa. Of the estimated 10,000 Chinese businesses in Africa, 90% of them are privately owned rather than one of the numerous Chinese state-run companies.

The Chinese companies in Africa are actually making money—some substantially so. The Chinese government certainly has provided a considerable push to the industrialization of Africa, but now that that's done, economic forces are pushing the initiative further forward. Chinese small business is gripping the continent. Much of the western world is ignoring the prospects of the continent—ignoring that business in Africa can now be as profitable as business in China was when its period of tremendous growth began.

Right now, Africa is establishing itself as the source of labor and resources for China and so, until the west pays attention, Africa will continue inching forward on its path towards becoming China's China.

Video 10

The Challenges for European Foreign Policy

Robert Falkner

- *What is the future of the European Union's relations with its border regions?*

Europe faces a whole range of new challenges, some threats as well, coming from its neighboring regions, and we are at a moment in the evolution of Europe's foreign policy where we have to take some strategic decisions on how to face these challenges, how to define and coordinate a joint response. We face security challenges on our eastern borders - I mentioned Ukraine and Russia's intervention there. We face a grave situation to the south of Europe. We face a challenge with migrants coming to us in large numbers more than ever before.

This is caused by domestic strife, civil war on our borders, but also economic and social dislocation in many of the countries of Africa and the Middle East that are very close to us. So Europe has to think through what its challenges are, and how it can meet them in this area and we need a joined up approach, we need new thinking, we need innovative approaches to face these challenges.

- *What do you think about European Union's positioning within 10 years?*

Europe has a very strong position as an economic powerhouse, and it is, therefore, a very attractive neighbor for these regions.

Europe is a major source of economic growth, employment of innovation and, therefore, exports to these regions. We will always be an attractive partner to the neighboring nations, but this also causes us problems in terms of the flows of people, in terms of the great inequalities that are being shown up by these events that we have witnessed in recent years.

So Europe needs to be in a position where its own economic strength can be translated into political strength. We need to match economic presence with political presence and on that front I think Europe is lacking and needs to sharpen its act.

- *What will be the most important tensions within next 10 years?*

Looking ahead Europe faces a great deal of uncertainty in a number of areas. First of all, the global power shift that has been occurring for the last years, decades indeed, with the rise of Asia as the big story in international politics. That is something that is both an opportunity for us - Europe has a lot to offer to arising Asia, and we are engaging with that rising economies of Asia, China and other parts of Southeast Asia very much. But it also poses certain risks. It means that the voice of Europe may no longer be heard as loudly and clearly in the world. We are probably facing a more diminished role in the future as other countries and regions rise.

It could also mean that we face new geopolitical security risks as tensions arise as a consequence of the shifting power balance.

In this context, Europe needs to think very hard about what its common interests are in a global context and how it can play a meaningful and influential role. This requires collaboration not just on the economic plane but also on the political and military level, and I'm not sure Europe is ready yet to face that challenge. We need to play a big role in global context. We want to be strong within the United Nations, we want to be a leading player in global governance context, but it has power shifts to Asia, to new players in the emerging world, we need to redefine Europe's contribution, and that will be

one of the long-term challenges we face.

Video 11

Over 80% of the world's energy needs are provided by coal, oil and gas. Although technologies to extract fossil fuels may have changed over the decades, the core products themselves have never been challenged until now.

– A lot of people question whether large dinosaur of an oil and gas company can really compete in such a new high-tech environment.

Pressure to reduce carbon emissions is putting the future of fossil fuel giants in jeopardy encouraging the growth of alternative methods to generate and distribute power.

- We are not just dairy farmer here, we are energy farmers as well.

- Every private person can produce his own energy.

In just eight years, the value of the world's biggest power companies has halved leaving industry giants scrambling to redefine their role in this new energy world.

- When I started my career, we were a monopoly!

- It's always technology that truly disrupts things.

Across the world, old industries are facing disruption on an unprecedented scale.

- People are not taking our taxes.

The pressure to adapt has never been greater.

- It is always survival of the fittest. That's capitalism.

Because where there's threat, there's also opportunity.

December 2015. The Paris climate conference. For the first time ever, 195 countries agreed to a legally binding climate deal to reduce carbon emissions.

- I think everyone in the oil and gas industry agrees that it's going to be a different future.

This five trillion dollar industry may be facing a seismic shift, but that doesn't mean it's ready to ditch the dirty fossil fuels that made it rich. Instead many companies are banking on new methods to clean up an old process. Norwegian oil and gas giant Statoil struck it rich in the North Sea in the late 1960s. Over four decades later, at its Sleipner gas rig the company is attempting to make fossil fuel production cleaner.

- We have an ambition to become the most carbon efficient oil and gas producer in the world. The world will look for companies like ourselves that take a proactive stand on this and deliver oil and gas to the world, but doing it in a sustainable manner.

Statoil's business still relies on the harmful burning of fossil fuels by its customers. But at least the company is trying to reduce its own carbon footprints. It's transformed some of its offshore rigs with technology that enables engineers to separate the carbon dioxide and pump it underground. Statoil's Sleipner gas rig is the world's first offshore carbon capture storage plant.

- At Sleipner we have a lot of CO2 in our gas, so we need to capture that, strip it out of the gas stream before we can export the gas. In here you will have continuous stream of captured CO2 going

down through this well, into the subsurface about 1,000 meters below us and then we store this CO2 in the subsurface for ever and ever.

Each year, Statoil stores 1 million tons of CO2 making extraction less carbon intensive. They believe that prioritizing gas over more harmful fossil fuels will further reduce global warming and keep them relevant for decades to come.

- One of the advantages of the gas is that it's very abundant. It's very reliable and it's very flexible. You can turn the gas stream on and off so you can regulate your gas flow very, very easily.

Gas may be reliable, but fossil fuels will always mean carbon emissions. Wind and solar are cleaner but depend on subsidies. To take on the consistency of fossil fuels they face a huge challenge - the unpredictable weather. In Bavaria, a tiny village has used those subsidies to take up the challenge. This community believes it's found a way to produce a steady energy supply just from renewable sources, raising the real prospects of a future free from fossil fuels.

- We are not just dairy milk, we have as well energy farming and here you can see a part of our solar panels. We have several points where we catch the sun and make energy.

Norbert and Christina Bechtler's family farm has been providing the local community with dairy products for over 200 years. But they now have a new income - from solar energy.

- An important part of our business is our photovoltaic system. The electricity we produce on the roofs which we don't use ourselves is used in the area.

Producing your own energy with solar panels isn't revolutionary. But in this village, they're combining solar with other renewables in an attempt to achieve the Holy Grail of a steady energy supply, and they're prepared to use anything to do it.

-The cows always produce manure.

Deputy Mayor, Gunter Mogeles has helped drive the village's pioneering efforts to make renewable energy a realistic option.

- We can prove that we always have more than 100 percent of energy even if there is no wind and no sun at all.

There's one renewable that never disappears, as it can be sourced from the decay of virtually any organic matter - it's called biogas. Of the four biogas plants in the village, farmer Einseidler runs the largest.

-We've started using onions.

-Onions, really? I didn't know you could use onions. I've seen everything else used. Otherwise you'd have to compost it, or get rid of it without using it.

Combining these different sources has been so successful. The village now generates five times more energy than it needs. But that's just part of the challenge of turning renewables into a credible energy supply.

- It's not only about renewable energy generation, it's also about power saving and energy saving. In order to be able to use wind and solar power literally around the clock storage is absolutely key.

Within this community, one young company has developed a home battery system that enables the villages to store the excess solar energy they produce for later use.

-We are the first to offer storage systems for the residential market in the world and obviously storage helps customers to use solar power regardless if the sun shining or not.

The technology behind this battery system also holds the key to a much bigger prize for the villagers- supplying energy to each other.

– *Our battery systems are online and we can recognize in real time who is currently feeding power into the grid and who still needs power from the grid, and an amazing result is that you have both customers who have excess power and customers who need power from the grid. Our general idea was let them share their power between each other and get rid of stinky coal plants and nuclear power stations. Our customers can literally replace the traditional utilities 100% and go independent.*

Norbert and Christina supply 50 neighboring households with the energy they generate.

- *It's good for households to know where their energy is produced; that it doesn't come from large companies or from far away but is bought in the area.*

Where this community has led, many others have now followed. There are now almost 1000 energy cooperatives around Germany. It's a major challenge for the country's Big 4 utilities. In eight years, the biggest – E.ON - has seen its share price fall by over three quarters.

- *When I started my career, we were a monopoly. Technology has tremendously changed. Renewables are getting cheaper and cheaper. Customer behavior is changing tremendously and society with climate change and other issues has totally different expectations to the industry, so the industry was shaken up at its fundament and it's a totally different industry from the 27 years ago when I started.*

E.ON's income from fossil fuels has fallen by more than a third since 2008. The company recently made a drastic decision to fully commit to the renewable revolution.

-*E.ON has taken a very brave step. We broke the company, I would say, in two. All the commodity businesses, the traditional fossil power plants all those businesses we spin off into a company called Uniper and we are remaining with renewables.*

E.ON plans to spin off the majority share of its fossil fuel assets by the end of 2016 and scale up its investments in wind and solar. But rather than focus on just generating renewable power E.ON is sensing its real opportunity lies in managing this diverse new supply on an industrial scale.

– *This green society needs to be managed. Here you need to manage millions of feed in and consumption sites. You will have sharing economies in between. You will have under and over consumption at times. This management equation, big data mining, technical competence is obviously something this world needs, and E.ON will strive for being a capable partner in that.*

To secure its place in this new decentralized energy world this former monopoly is taking steps that would have been unthinkable just a decade ago.

- *We are open for any kind of partnerships-with any partner, with any customer and yes, this is also a new attitude, we don't need to control the world!*

E.ON's partnerships have produced a raft of renewable energy projects. At the Arkona Wind Farm in the Baltic Sea, their investment partner is a surprising newcomer to the alternative energy industry. Norwegian oil and gas giant - Statoil.

- *Altogether it's 1.2 billion euros, and we're taking 50% of that. We're talking real money here, it's not just branding or green washing. We expect tremendous growth with wind in particular, and you know, if you're a business person, you want to take advantage of those growth opportunities and be part of it.*

Statoil - like E.ON - is positioning itself to take advantage of the energy industry's new horizons. The company's next project draws on four decades of offshore experience to steal a march on far

newer rivals.

-It's always exciting - it's the first floating full-scale windmill in the world. Even if it's very windy, it looks like it's still but it's actually floating.

The world's biggest offshore operator has developed a floating turbine that can be mass produced cheaper and quicker than existing static windmills.

- I think it actually makes some sense that it was an oil and gas company that came up with this because we are reusing a lot of technology from the oil and gas sector. We're using a platform technology - it's ballasted, it doesn't have any legs. The special software allows the blades to move in certain direction, which optimizes the wind production, but it also makes the tower stand still.

Statoil's first floating wind farm is scheduled to be delivered to a site off the east coast of Scotland by 2017.

- I think this is the future - it's the future wind at least. You can have them anywhere in the world, anywhere -in any kind of sea. So this allows us to move further from shore, get better wind and produce cheaper electricity.

Other fossil fuel giants, including Shell, Exxon and Total are also starting to hedge their bets with a range of investments in biofuel batteries, solar and wind. It might seem like a surprising move, but by embracing these alternative technologies now forward-thinking oil and gas companies might just be able to withstand the disruption caused by the renewable revolution.

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Учебное издание

Сидорова Т.Б., Головачева Л.Р., Андреева Т.Л., McDonald W.A., Командакова М.С.

**GLOBAL TRENDS AND CHALLENGES : ENGLISH FOR INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS AND REGIONAL STUDIES**

Coursebook

Upper-Intermediate

Подписано к печати 19.11.2019 г. Формат 60×84¹/₈.

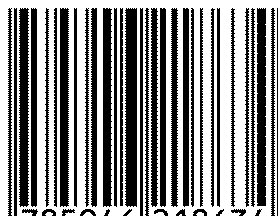
Бумага для офисной техники. Гарнитура Times.

Печ. л. 19. Усл. печ. л 17,6.

Тираж 100 экз. Заказ № 4113.

Отпечатано на оборудовании
Издательского Дома
Томского государственного университета
634050, г. Томск, пр. Ленина, 36
Тел. 8+(382-2)–52-98-49
Сайт: <http://publish.tsu.ru>
E-mail: rio.tsu@mail.ru

ISBN 978-5-94621-863-4



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