







ББК 81.2Англ  
К78

Редакционный совет серии:

А. В. Торкунов (*председатель*), В. Б. Кириллов (*зам. председателя*),  
Г. И. Гладков, В. Н. Трибунская, Л. С. Пичкова, И. Г. Федотова,  
С. В. Евтеев, В. А. Иовенко, Г. Г. Тяпко, А. В. Штанов,  
А. Н. Алексахин, Н. Д. Афанасьева, Г. Р. Ручкин

**Рецензент:**

д-р пед. наук, профессор,  
руководитель Департамента иностранных языков НИУ ВШЭ,  
член Пленума НМС по иностранным языкам  
Министерства образования и науки РФ  
*Е. Н. Соловова*

**Кравцова О. А.**

К78      Английский язык для специальных и академических целей : междуна-  
родные отношения и зарубежное регионоведение = English for specific and  
academic purposes : For students of international relations and regional studies :  
учеб. пособие. В 2 ч. Ч. 2. Уровень С1 / О. А. Кравцова, Е. Б. Ястребова ; Моск.  
гос. ин-т междунар. отношений (ун-т) М-ва иностр. дел Рос. Федерации,  
каф. англ. яз. №1 — М. : МГИМО–Университет, 2016. — 231 с. — (Иностран-  
ные языки в МГИМО / [ред. совет серии: А. В. Торкунов /пред./ и др.]).

ISBN 978-5-9228-1417-1 (ч. 2)

ISBN 978-5-9228-1416-4

Цель настоящего учебного пособия — развитие коммуникативной компетенции,  
необходимой для использования английского языка в учебной, профессиональной  
и научной деятельности. Состоит из двух модулей: «Язык для специальных целей» (*ESP*)  
и «Язык для академических целей» (*EAP*).

Для студентов IV курса факультета международных отношений МГИМО.

**ББК 81.2Англ**

ISBN 978-5-9228-1417-1 (ч. 2)

ISBN 978-5-9228-1416-4

© МГИМО МИД России, 2016

© Кравцова О. А., Ястребова Е. Б., 2016

## CONTENTS

<b>Предисловие</b> .....	7
<b>Методические указания для преподавателей</b> .....	8
<b>Выдержка из образовательной программы дисциплины “Иностранный язык (второй)” Английский язык”</b> .....	11
<b>UNIT IV</b> THE WEST, THE REST, AND CLIMATE CHANGE .....	13
<b>UNIT V</b> HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICS .....	57
<b>UNIT VI</b> DEMOGRAPHY AND POLITICS .....	97
<b>The Reader</b> .....	135
<b>The Manual</b> .....	195
<b>Appendices</b> .....	213
<b>Список литературы</b> .....	229



## ПРЕДИСЛОВИЕ

Настоящее учебное пособие (Часть 2) предназначено для работы во втором семестре выпускного курса бакалавриата по направлениям подготовки “Международные отношения” и “Зарубежное регионоведение”. Цель пособия — формирование профессиональной коммуникативной компетенции, а также академической компетенции, необходимой для использования английского языка в учебной и научной деятельности.

Учебное пособие состоит из нескольких частей. “Книга для студента” (Student’s Coursebook) включает два модуля: “Язык для специальных целей” (ESP) и “Язык для академических целей” (EAP Corner); “Книгу” дополняют “Хрестоматия” (The Reader) и “Рекомендации для студента” (The Manual).

“Книга для студента” (Часть 2) состоит из трех уроков. Тема *The West, the Rest, and Climate Change* (Unit 4) связана с происходящими на наших глазах изменениями в системе мирового устройства, вызванными созданием региональных блоков и различных коалиций государств, многие из которых были колониями, а в настоящее время стремятся проводить независимую политику на международной арене. Внутри этой темы рассматривается также вопрос о борьбе с изменениями климата, так как у развивающихся стран существует свое понимание этой проблемы и путей ее решения. Темы *Human Rights and Politics* (Unit 5) и *Demography and Politics* (Unit 6) рассматривают права человека и современные демографические тенденции с точки зрения их влияния на мировую политику. Таким образом, во многом традиционные для данного направления подготовки темы представлены в настоящем пособии в новом ракурсе. При этом принципиальным отличием пособия от всех подобных является упор на профессионально ориентированные виды деятельности: поиск и обработка информации, выступления и дискуссии, дебаты. Основой успешного овладения ими является развитие важного интеллектуального умения — умения критически мыслить.

Каждый урок “Книги для студента” начинается с *Road Map* (“Дорожной карты”), в которой указаны наиболее значимые для будущей профессиональной деятельности виды работ в данном уроке; все остальные задания в каждом разделе подчинены задаче их успешного выполнения.

Разделы *Reading* и *Listening* модуля *ESP* развивают умение извлекать информацию из разных источников; большое внимание уделяется анализу письменного и устного текста по таким параметрам, как смысл, модальность, логика построения аргументации, языковые средства воздействия на адресата. Разделы *Speak Up* и *Speaking* развивают умения профессионально ориентированной устной речи. В разделе *Speak Up*, который является логическим продолжением раздела *Reading*, акцент сделан на умение выступать с краткими сообщениями и обмениваться мнениями в формате свободной дискуссии. В разделе *Speaking* предлагаются такие задания, как презентация в формате *power point* (выполняется один раз в семестр) и дебаты в разных форматах (в уроке 4 формат *Panel Discussion*, в уроке 5 — *Debate/ Panel Discussion*, в уроке 6 — *Verbal Joust*).

Разделы *Vocabulary Practice*, *Revision* и задания на составление списков тематической лексики и глоссария в разделах *Listening* и *Follow Up* способствуют расширению словаря профессионально ориентированной лексики: студенты должны использовать ее при выполнении заданий в разделах *Speak-Up*, *Speaking* и *Integrating Core Skills*. Последний раздел предполагает также актуализацию всех речевых умений (чтения, восприятия на слух, письма и устной речи).

## ■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

“Хрестоматия” предназначена для самостоятельной работы студентов по поиску необходимой информации для подготовки кратких сообщений в рамках раздела *Speak Up*, дискуссий и дебатов.

“Книга для студента” предлагает три учебные траектории: базовую, основную и продвинутую. Первая обязательна для всех студентов, включая иностранцев, вторая<sup>1</sup> предназначена для тех, кто претендует на оценку не ниже “С”, то есть для большинства студентов; третья<sup>2</sup> ориентирована на наиболее сильных и амбициозных студентов.

Модуль *EAP Corner* содержит несколько разделов, каждый из которых может использоваться выборочно и автономно в зависимости от индивидуальных потребностей студентов. Раздел *Brushing Up Reading Skills* направлен на совершенствование навыков чтения, в первую очередь его быстрых видов (просмотрового и поискового), а также ознакомительного и изучающего. Раздел *Developing Listening Skills* способствует развитию умений воспринимать и фиксировать информацию, в том числе в формате лекций, использовать “фоновые знания” о выступающих для прогнозирования их позиции по обсуждаемым вопросам. Раздел *Developing Logical Thinking Skills* посвящен развитию логического мышления — исключительно важного умения для успешного академического и профессионального общения. Все задания по развитию умений письменной речи даны в разделе *Writing* данного модуля.

Текстовый материал в *Reading*, *Brushing Up Reading Skills* и *The Reader* аутентичен и современен, отличается жанровым и стилистическим разнообразием; в качестве источников использованы аналитические статьи из качественной англоязычной прессы и главы монографий современных авторов. Отдельные статьи были сокращены, в текстах эти сокращения показаны квадратными скобками [ ].

Материал для раздела *Listening* и *Developing Listening Skills* доступен на сайте <https://www.youtube.com/> по указанным в заданиях ссылкам. В модуле *ESP* он тематически тесно связан с текстами в *Reading* и удачно их дополняет; в модуле *EAP Corner* видеоматериал используется для совершенствования умений и навыков академического общения.

*The Manual* содержит практические советы по выполнению творческих устных и письменных заданий: презентаций, выступлений в дебатах, написанию собственного текста (эссе, резюме, аннотация, рецензия, статистический обзор).

Автор концепции учебного пособия — Е. Б. Ястребова. В “Книге для студента” модуль *ESP* написан О. А. Кравцовой, модуль *EAP Corner* — Е. Б. Ястребовой; “Хрестоматия” составлена О. А. Кравцовой, “Рекомендации для студентов” — Е. Б. Ястребовой. Тексты для *Lead-in* и *Reading 1* в уроке 5, а также *Lead-in*, *Reading 1* и *Reading 2* в уроке 6 подобраны Е. Б. Ястребовой; она же составила раздел *Integrating Core Skills*.

## МЕТОДИЧЕСКИЕ УКАЗАНИЯ ДЛЯ ПРЕПОДАВАТЕЛЕЙ

Уважаемые коллеги!

Общее представление о структуре изучаемого курса “Язык для специальных целей” (ESP) дает выдержка из примерной модульной программы кафедры английского языка № 1 МГИМО МИД России, которая приводится после Предисловия.

<sup>1</sup> Помечена знаком



<sup>2</sup> Помечена знаком



В первой части Предисловия дано описание цели, назначения, структуры пособия и его главной отличительной черты — акценте на профессионально значимых видах деятельности. Исходя из последнего, рекомендуется начинать работу над каждым уроком с изучения *Road Map* и ознакомления с содержанием урока и предлагаемыми траекториями его освоения. Студентам выпускного курса целесообразно предоставлять большую степень самостоятельности, поэтому обязательным является заполнение индивидуального плана (см. *The Manual*), благодаря которому студенты не только планируют свою работу над уроком, но и берут конкретные обязательства по срокам и видам выполняемых заданий.

**Важно:** независимо от траектории, выбранной студентом, задания в *Road Map* являются итогом работы над материалом урока. Рекомендации по выполнению основных видов заданий даны в *The Manual*; их необходимо внимательно изучить как студентам, так и преподавателям.

Прочие рекомендации по работе с пособием состоят в следующем.

1. Работа над языковыми умениями и навыками не ограничивается систематическим выполнением заданий в разделе *Vocabulary Practice* и *Revision*; надо поощрять студентов максимально (но уместно!) использовать новую лексику в речи. Задание на составление списков тематической лексики и глоссариев, предназначенное для третьего уровня, позволяет рационально использовать разные языковые возможности студентов: более сильные студенты составляют списки, а употреблять их в речи должны стремиться все.
2. Для развития умения работать с большим объемом текстового материала целесообразно привлекать тексты из «Хрестоматии». Практика в быстром чтении предполагает выполнение соответствующих заданий в аудитории на время, а задания на изучающее чтение выполняются дома с использованием словарей и последующей проверкой по *Comprehension Assignments*.
3. Задания на аудирование могут выполняться как в классе, так и в режиме самостоятельной работы, однако работа с ними в аудитории позволяет одновременно обучать и контролировать работу каждого студента.
4. Развитие речевой компетенции предполагает совершенствование навыков как устной, так и письменной речи. Первая реализуется через общение на английском языке на всех этапах занятия и включает практику как неподготовленной, так и подготовленной речи (задания в *Lead-in*, *Listening*, *Speak Up*, *Follow Up* в разделах *Reading*). Навык письменной речи совершенствуется при выполнении заданий в модуле *EAP Corner*, раздел *Writing*, при этом выбор заданий, подготавливающих студентов к написанию собственного произведения, определяется потребностями конкретной группы и/или отдельных студентов.
5. Задания в *EAP Corner* выполняются выборочно по рекомендации преподавателя отдельными студентами или всей группой. Однако задания в разделе *Developing Logical Thinking Skills* целесообразно выполнять всем студентам, а в разделе *Writing* задания «*write a summary, an essay*» обязательны для всех; задания «*write a statistical story, a review*» обязательны для тех, кто выбрал соответствующую траекторию.

Кульминацией работы над уроком, синтезом всех приобретенных знаний и умений являются дебаты в разных форматах и проектное задание в *Integrating Core Skills*.

Образцы контрольных и экзаменационных заданий, параметры и критерии оценок даны в Приложении (*Appendices*).

Авторы выражают благодарность рецензенту Е. Н. Солововой, а также преподавателям кафедры за полезные замечания и пожелания, возникшие в процессе работы с пилотным вариантом пособия.

Авторы

## ■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

Уважаемые студенты!

Во втором семестре IV курса вы будете продолжать совершенствовать языковые и речевые навыки, необходимые для профессионального (ESP) и академического (EAP) общения. Упор на язык профессии, как и в Части 1 настоящего пособия, определяет темы и лексику, предлагаемые для изучения, а также виды учебных заданий. Работая с пособием, вы получаете возможность высказать свою точку зрения по актуальным международным проблемам (раздел *Speak Up*), принять участие в дебатах (раздел *Speaking*), выполнить проектные задания по интересующим вас темам (*Integrating Core Skills*).

Модуль *EAP Corner* в каждом уроке позволит вам на новом уровне совершенствовать навыки быстрого чтения и восприятия речи на слух, а также научит вас приемам логической аргументации, необходимым для ведения дискуссии, обоснования своей точки зрения в эссе и логичного изложения содержания в резюме. Вы также научитесь писать статистический обзор (*statistical story*) и критический обзор статьи (*review*).

Важным моментом является то, что вы сможете в определенной степени сами определять свою учебную траекторию, выбирая интересующие вас задания при заполнении индивидуального плана. При этом вы несете ответственность за своевременное и качественное выполнение взятых на себя обязательств.

Вам предстоит работать с большими объемами информации (тексты в разделе *The Reader*) и самостоятельно находить необходимую информацию в печатных изданиях и на интернет-ресурсах, что позволит вам развить навыки аналитической работы с различными информационными источниками.

Прежде чем начать работу со второй частью пособия, внимательно ознакомьтесь с его разделами: “Книга для студента”, “Хрестоматия”, “Рекомендации для студента”, “Приложения”. Это поможет вам снять многие вопросы, касающиеся как содержательной стороны учебного процесса, так и параметров и критериев оценки письменных и устных заданий, включая ответ на экзамене.

Надеемся, что работа с учебным пособием окажется интересной и полезной для вас!

Авторы

## ВЫДЕРЖКА ИЗ ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНОЙ ПРОГРАММЫ ДИСЦИПЛИНЫ “ИНОСТРАННЫЙ ЯЗЫК (ВТОРОЙ)”

### “АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК”

УРОВЕНЬ — “БАКАЛАВРИАТ”

Настоящая программа по курсу (дисциплине) “Английский язык”, модуль “Язык профессии” предназначена для студентов *продолжающего потока* факультета международных отношений по направлению подготовки 031900 — “Международные отношения”, и 032000 — “Зарубежное регионоведение”.

Квалификация (степень) — “бакалавр”.

Основной практической целью обучения английскому языку в качестве второго иностранного на факультете МО является формирование *иноязычной коммуникативной компетенции* для использования английского языка в профессиональной деятельности на международной арене, в познавательной деятельности и для межличностного общения.

Уровень владения иноязычной компетенцией для четвертого года обучения — С1.

### МОДУЛЬ “ЯЗЫК ПРОФЕССИИ–8”

#### **Задачи:**

Развитие речевой, языковой, социокультурной, аналитической и информационной компетенций как составляющих профессионально ориентированной коммуникативной компетенции.

#### **Содержание:**

##### *Знания:*

Общественно-политическая лексика.

Ситуативная и коммуникативная обусловленность употребления слов и устойчивых словосочетаний. Экспрессивно-модальные оттенки. Прямое и переносное значение лексических единиц. Синонимия. Экспрессивные оттенки синонимов. Антонимия.

Стили речи современного английского языка. Особенности академического стиля речи. Слова, выражения и грамматические конструкции, свойственные академическому стилю речи.

Знание правильных логических приемов аргументации.

Знание политических реалий в пределах изучаемых тем.

##### *Языковые умения и навыки:*

1. умение выбирать соответствующие языковые средства для выполнения определенного коммуникативного задания;
2. умение интегрировать в речь новые лексические единицы, образуя правильные свободные сочетания в различных ситуациях академического и условно профессионального общения.

## ■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

### *Речевые умения и навыки:*

1. умение читать специальные и общественно-политические тексты используя разные виды чтения<sup>1</sup> (просмотровое, поисковое, ознакомительное, изучающее);
2. умение воспринимать на слух монологическую и диалогическую речь на английском языке по профессионально ориентированной тематике;
3. умение продуцировать монологическое высказывание (сообщение, публичное выступление, доклад) в общественно-политической и социально-культурной сферах общения в непосредственном контакте с аудиторией, комбинируя монологи всех изученных видов (описание, повествование, рассуждение, объяснение, убеждение);
4. умение участвовать в диалоге (беседе, дискуссии, дебатах), правильно пользуясь формулами речевого этикета и адекватными коммуникативной задаче языковыми средствами;
5. умение создавать письменные произведения по общественно-политической тематике (эссе, резюме, статистические обзоры, рецензии).

### *Информационно-аналитические умения и навыки:*

1. умение самостоятельно работать со справочным материалом и специальными словарями;
2. умение обрабатывать большой материал информации, выбирая главное;
3. умение анализировать, сравнивать, делать выводы;
4. умение пользоваться логическими приемами аргументации.

### **Предметно-лексические темы:**

1. Изменение баланса сил на международной арене.
2. Проблемы защиты окружающей среды в контексте международных отношений.
3. Права человека во внутренней и внешней политике.
4. Влияние демографических тенденций на современную политику.

### **Формы организации учебной деятельности студентов:**

Индивидуальная, парная, групповая работа. Проектная работа в командах.

### **Форма контроля:**

Экзамен включает:

1. написание сочинения-рассуждения (эссе) на общественно-политическую тему без использования словаря (объем 350 слов). Время выполнения — 90 мин.
2. устное высказывание продолжительностью 3–4 минуты на заданную политическую тему (время подготовки — 10–15 минут) с последующим обсуждением в парах (вопросы, комментарии).

### **Объекты контроля:**

1. языковая компетенция;
2. речевая компетенция: умение аргументировано излагать свою позицию по вопросам внешней политики в устной и письменной форме;
3. умение делать краткое сообщение–рассуждение с опорой на знания внешнеполитических вопросов в рамках изученных тем;
4. умение слушать собеседника; критически оценивать его/ее доводы, опровергать их в случае несогласия и задавать вопросы, направленные на уточнение или ослабление позиции “оппонента”.

<sup>1</sup> В качестве ориентира предлагается скорость быстрого чтения в формате IELTS — 300 слов в минуту.

# **UNIT IV**

## **THE WEST, THE REST, AND CLIMATE CHANGE**

# THE ROAD MAP FOR UNIT IV

## SPEAKING

---

### PANEL DISCUSSION

*Holding a panel discussion on a climate change issue  
(for details see p. 37)*

### TERM PRESENTATION

*Making a power point presentation based on an analysis  
of an issue relevant to the topic 'The West, the Rest and Climate Change'  
(for details see p. 29)*

## INTEGRATING CORE SKILLS

---

### PROJECT WORK

*Upgrading the Reader ( for details see p. 39)*

#### *Stage 1*

*Look through the texts in the Reader and 'assign' them to Readings in Unit IV.  
Assess their 'value' for preparing assignments in Follow-ups, Panel Discussion,  
Term Presentation. Work out assessment criteria and rate the articles accordingly.*

#### *Stage 2*



*Compare your suggestions with those of your classmates and decide on*

- 1) the final set of criteria;*
- 2) articles to be included in the 'core' of the Reader;*
- 3) other issues to be covered in the Reader.*

#### *Stage 3&4*



*'Contribute' an article on a related topic with an abstract and a few lines  
to substantiate its inclusion. Assess your classmates 'contributions'.*

**LEAD-IN****PRE-READING QUESTIONS**

1. What was the effect of the colonial rule on the former colonies?
2. Has the Western model of the world proved to be effective?

*Skim the text to identify the main points the author makes.*

**THE RISE OF THE REST**

(From the book "From the Ruins of Empire.

*The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia*" by Pankaj Mishra<sup>1</sup>.

Penguin Books Ltd., London, 2012.)

White men, conscious of their burden<sup>2</sup>, changed the world for ever, subjecting its diversity to their own singular outlook and in the process reducing potentially rich encounters with other peoples and countries to monologues about the unassailable superiority of modern Western politics, economy and culture. Successfully exporting its ideas to the remotest corners of the world, the West also destroyed native self-confidence, causing a political, economic and social desolation that can perhaps never be relieved by modernity alone.

In the end, Western efforts to modernize supposedly backward Asians, however sincere or altruistic, incited more resentment than admiration or gratitude. Expelled from their own social and political orders and denied dignity in a West-dominated world, aggrieved natives always wanted to beat the West at its own game. [...]

Television and the internet, and in particular the growth of virtual communities, have helped stoke an unprecedented intensity of political emotion around the world. [...] The images from Guantanamo Bay and Abu Ghraib, the deep Western financial crisis, and the brutal but inept military actions in Afghanistan and Pakistan all sustain a powerful sense of western hypocrisy, failure and retrenchment.

This loss of the West's moral prestige and the assertiveness of the East may appear a recent phenomenon. But the less uneven global order coming into being was outlined as early as the nineteenth century by Asian intellectuals who rejected the West's racial and imperial hierarchies and its right to define the rules of international politics. The historical resentments and frustrations of non-Western societies, whose periodic eruptions come as a shock to many Europeans and Americans, have long been central to Asia's political life in which memories of past religious and political grandeur despoiled by European imperialists still have not faded.

These different national subjectivities now combine to remake the modern world; it is impossible to ignore them. Assumptions of Western supremacy remain entrenched even among intelligent people [...]. However, for many others, the Western nations long ago squandered much of their moral authority — as early as the First World War — even though they retained their power to dictate the course of history. [...]

<sup>1</sup> **Pankaj Mishra** (born 1969) is an Indian essayist and novelist and a recipient of the 2014 Windham–Campbell Prize for non-fiction.

<sup>2</sup> "**The White Man's Burden**" is a poem by the English poet Rudyard Kipling. Because of its theme and title, it has become emblematic both of Eurocentric racism and of Western aspirations to dominate the developing world.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

Globalization, it is clear, does not lead to a flat world marked by increasing integration, standardization and cosmopolitan openness, despite the wishful thinking of some commentators. Rather, it reinforces tribalist affiliations, sharpens old antipathies, and incites new ones while unleashing a cacophony of competing claims. This can be seen most clearly today within Europe and the United States, the originators of globalization. Inequality and unemployment grow as highly mobile corporations continually move around the world in search of cheap labour and high profits, evading taxation and therefore draining much-needed investment in welfare systems for ageing populations. Economic setbacks, the prospect of long-term decline and a sense of political impotence stoke a great rage and paranoia among their populations, directed largely at non-white immigrants, particularly Muslims.

As the West retreats into parochial neurosis, Asian countries appear more outward-looking, confident and optimistic. Turkey and Japan seek to move out from under the Western security umbrella they have huddled beneath for decades. [...] Trade with China anchors the economy of Brazil as well as those of Indonesia and Australia, bypassing the United States and European Union. New trade agreements and regional blocs — such as the one between ASEAN countries (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and China that creates the world's largest combined market — informal groups like BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) and the G20, and revolts against despotic clients of the United States and Europe in the Middle East and North Africa — all these developments attest to a widespread desire to defrost the remaining divisions left over from the Cold War, and to create an international order less dependent on the United States and Western Europe.

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you think ex-colonies justly harbour resentment against their formal rulers?
2. Do you agree with the author's analysis of the current state of things in the Western world?
3. Why do you think ex-colonial states create regional blocs and informal coalitions?
4. Do you share the author's view that the emerging nations, by joint effort, might be able to reshape the world order?

## LISTENING 1

### The Rise of the Rest

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XVFyO2g1IIE>

### VOCABULARY

1. **renminbi** is the official currency of the Peoples' Republic of China. Literally means 'people's currency'
2. **pecking order** — the way in which people or things in a group or organization are placed in a series of levels with different importance or status
3. **pendulum** — маятник

### PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. Which countries are the fastest developing economies nowadays?
2. Do you think China is likely to become the world economic leader in the near future?

## VIEWING 1

Watch the video clip and say what the message of Professor Kupchan's statement is.

## VIEWING 2

Watch the clip again and fill in the gaps with the missing information.

1. The West represents \_\_\_\_\_% of global GDP at present.
2. We will be living in a \_\_\_\_\_ world by 2025.
3. By 2032, \_\_\_\_\_ are expected to equal the G7 in GDP.
4. In \_\_\_\_\_ years, of all the Western countries only the US is going to be among the top five economies.
5. China is expected to outpace the US in \_\_\_\_\_.
6. China will be \_\_\_\_\_ the size of the US in terms of GDP by \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_.

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you find the scenario of the global economic development projected by Professor Kupchan feasible?
2. Do you think it means that the world order is being reshaped?

## READING 1

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. Do you know when the acronym BRIC was first used? When was 'S' added and why?
2. What brought together the member states? What do they have in common?

Scan the text and decide whether you answered correctly.

### BRICS AND THE WORLD ORDER

(Extracts from the essay "The BRICS Fallacy" by Harsh V. Pant<sup>1</sup>.  
*The Washington Quarterly*, Summer 2013)

[http://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ\\_13Summer\\_Pant.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ_13Summer_Pant.pdf)

*Focus on the BRICS began in 2001. Back then, the group only included Brazil, Russia, India, and China — the BRICs (South Africa was added in 2010). It all started with a November 2001 Goldman Sachs research paper titled "Building Better Global Economic BRICs", written by Jim O'Neill. He predicted that "over the next 10 years, the weight of the BRICs and especially China in world GDP will grow", and went on to suggest that "in line with these prospects, world policymaking forums should be reorganized" to give more power to BRICs. After first suggesting that the BRIC economies could collectively rival the G-7 (the United States, United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Canada, and Japan) in share of global growth by 2050, the assessment changed to conclude that the BRIC economies could rival the G-7 by 2032. The term*

<sup>1</sup> **Harsh V. Pant** is Reader in International Relations in the Defense Studies Department at King's College London.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

*“BRICs” soon became a brand, “a new ubiquitous financial term, shaping how a generation of investors, financiers and policymakers view the emerging markets.” The BRIC states soon realized the importance of this change in global perceptions about them, and used it to structure a new group to underline their growing heft in global politics and economics. This was accomplished despite differing domestic political and economic institutional arrangements of these states. [...]*

At the international systemic level, the BRICS have found a convergence of interests by working together on climate change and global trade negotiations as well as demanding global financial institutions to be restructured to reflect the economy’s shifting center of gravity. They share similar concerns about the international dominance of the United States, the threat of terrorism from religious fundamentalist and ethnic movements, and the need to prioritize economic development. They have repeatedly expressed concern about the US use of military power around the world, and were opposed to the war in Iraq. Such actions were merely a continuation of the desire to contest US hyperpower since the end of the Cold War.

The BRICS states favor a multipolar world order where US unipolarity remains constrained by the other poles in the system. They zealously<sup>1</sup> guard their national sovereignty, and have been wary of US attempts to interfere in what they see as the domestic affairs of other states. These countries took strong exception to the US air strikes on Iraq in 1998, the US-led air campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999, the US campaign against Saddam Hussein in 2003, and the 2011 Western intervention in Libya. They argue that these actions violate sovereignty and undermine the authority of the UN system. They also share an interest in resisting interventionist foreign policy doctrines such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) emanating from the West, particularly from the United States, and display conservative attitudes on the prerogatives of sovereignty.

A variant of BRICS, called BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India, and China), came together at the 2009 Copenhagen Summit on climate change to block measures for environmental protection advocated by the West. For example, they have strongly resisted efforts by the United States and other developed nations to link trade to labor and environmental standards — a policy that would put them at a huge disadvantage vis-à-vis the developed world, thereby hampering their drive toward economic development. They have committed themselves to crafting joint positions in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and global trade negotiations in the hope that this might increase their leverage over developed states. These states would like to see further liberalization of agricultural trade in developed countries and tightening the rules on anti-dumping measures. They have fought carbon emission caps proposed by the industrialized world. There is also a growing impatience among BRICS member states with the pace of reforms in international financial institutions. The 2012 Delhi declaration expressed concern over the slow pace of implementation of IMF’s plan on quota and governance reforms.

Despite these shared goals, convergence among these states has largely remained rhetorical so far. For example, Brazil, Russia, China, and India all abstained on the UN Security Council resolution authorizing a no-fly zone over Libya as well as “all necessary measures” for protecting Libyan civilians from Col. Moammar Gadhafi’s forces. But there were significant differences in their individual approaches to the Western intervention. China and Russia’s abstention meant a de facto “yes” — their veto would have killed any UN action, so an abstention meant that they were willing to let the West proceed against Libya, albeit with limits. The abstentions by India and Brazil, how-

<sup>1</sup> Рьяно, усердно.

ever, combined with South Africa's vote in favor of the resolution, underline the real challenges facing both the BRICS as a coherent group and the emerging global order. The democracies found it difficult to have a common voice as they struggled with tough choices in trying to strike a balance between their values and strategic interests in crafting a response.

It has been suggested that precisely because BRICS states hold different points of view on global issues, the existence of the BRICS group provides these states with a platform where they can learn from each other, helping in the transition toward a multipolar global order. That may well happen sometime in the future, but meanwhile, for all the rhetoric emanating from annual BRICS summits, emerging ground realities are increasingly becoming difficult to ignore. [...]

The growing fascination with BRICS is partly an offshoot of the discussion on the emerging "post-American" world where many commentators argue multipolarity is likely to be the norm. Yet, while BRICS may have growing economies and the idea may have morphed into a nascent<sup>1</sup> political concept, it is not entirely clear if it translates into power at the global level. Their contribution to the global order remains tentative at best and problematic at worst. They have so far not been able to create institutions that would help them to consolidate and leverage their clout on the global stage. Even if the BRICS get their economic act together, which seems unlikely, the group will not be able to turn that strength into a unified political force. Furthermore, the dominance of China makes most of the goals articulated by the BRICS states wobbly. The point of this coalition was always to show that the balance of power is shifting to emerging countries and *away* from the West's historical dominance, but a multipolar world isn't the same as China just trying to tilt the balance of power toward itself.

The narrative surrounding the rise of BRICS is as exaggerated as that of the decline of the United States. The tectonic plates of global politics are certainly shifting, but their movements are yet not predictable. As a result, BRICS will remain an artificial construct — merely an acronym coined by an investment banking analyst — for quite some time to come.

## Notes

1. **Terence James "Jim" O'Neill** (born 17 March 1957), retiring chairman of Goldman Sachs Asset Management, is a British economist best known for coining BRIC, the acronym that stands for Brazil, Russia, India, and China — the four rapidly developing countries that have come to symbolise the shift in global economic power away from the developed G7 economies. As of January 2014, he is an Honorary Professor of Economics at the University of Manchester.
2. The **Responsibility to Protect (R2P or RtoP)** is an emerging norm that sovereignty is not a right, but that states must protect their populations from mass atrocity crimes (namely genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and ethnic cleansing). The R2P has three "pillars":
  - A state has a responsibility to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing.
  - The international community has a responsibility to assist the state to fulfill its primary responsibility.
  - If the state manifestly fails to protect its citizens from the four above mass atrocities and peaceful measures have failed, the international community has the responsibility to intervene through coercive measures such as economic sanctions. Military intervention is considered the last resort.

<sup>1</sup> **Nascent** — (especially of a process or organization) just coming into existence and beginning to display signs of future potential.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

While R2P is an emerging norm and not a law, it is firmly grounded in international law, especially the laws relating to sovereignty, peace and security, human rights, and armed conflict. R2P provides a framework for using tools that already exist (i.e., mediation, early warning mechanisms, economic sanctions, etc.) to prevent mass atrocities. Civil society organizations, states, regional organizations, and international institutions all have a role to play in the R2P process. The authority to employ the last resort and intervene militarily rests solely with United Nations Security Council (UNSC). R2P and certain implementations of it (Libya, Syria) have come under criticism by some states and individuals.

## COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

### A. *Comment on the following clauses/sentences.*

1. The term “BRICs” soon became a brand ...
2. The BRIC states soon realized the importance of this change in global perceptions about them ...
3. The BRICS states favor a multipolar world order where US unipolarity remains constrained by the other poles in the system.
4. They zealously guard their national sovereignty ...
5. They also share an interest in resisting interventionist foreign policy doctrines such as the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) emanating from the West ...
6. ... they have strongly resisted efforts by the United States and other developed nations to link trade to labor and environmental standards ...
7. They have fought carbon emission caps proposed by the industrialized world.
8. Despite these shared goals, convergence among these states has largely remained rhetorical so far.
9. The growing fascination with BRICS is partly an offshoot of the discussion on the emerging “post-American” world ...
10. ... the dominance of China makes most of the goals articulated by the BRICS states wobbly.

### B. *Answer the questions on the text.*

1. On what global issues do the BRICS member states share similar concerns?
2. What is their joint position on national sovereignty? How does it affect their attitudes and actions?
3. What is the BRICS stance on environmental issues, international economic order and trade?
4. What differences do the member states have?
5. What is the role of China in this coalition?
6. Why, according to the essay, have the BRICS countries so far failed to become an influential player in the global arena?

## Speak Up

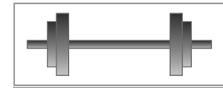
## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the author's skeptical attitude to the international role of BRICS is justified?
2. Do you agree with the author on all points?
3. What do you think are the future prospects of BRICS?

## FOLLOW-UP

*Make a three-minute statement on*

- a) BRICS economic cooperation
- b) Russia's role in BRICS
- c) the position of China in BRICS
- d) Russia-China relations
- e) Sino-American relations



*Use the full version of the essay "The BRICS Fallacy" (to be found on the internet), other online resources and texts from the Reader.*

## VOCABULARY PRACTICE 1

*Ex. 1. a) find words in the text to match the definitions below; reproduce the context they are used in;*

*b) give their synonyms;*

*c) suggest their Russian equivalents;*

*d) use the words in sentences of your own.*

1. present, appearing, or found everywhere (formal)
2. ability or influence
3. not having or showing complete trust in someone or something that could be dangerous or cause trouble
4. to slow the movement, progress, or action of (someone or something)
5. to make or produce something skillfully
6. influence or power used to achieve a desired result
7. a) (of a group) able to work together because its members are connected or united because they share common aims, qualities, or beliefs  
b) logical and well-organised, easy to understand
8. not behaving or done with confidence
9. power and influence
10. uncertain what to do or changing repeatedly between two opinions (informal)

*Ex. 2. Continue the strings of collocations, translate them. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.*

1. diplomatic, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **clout**
2. to leverage, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **clout**
3. **to hamper** progress, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
4. economic, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **leverage**
5. to gain, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **leverage**
6. **coherent** party, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
7. **coherent** strategy, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
8. intellectual, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **heft**
9. **tentative** plan, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
10. **ubiquitous** feature, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

- АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

Ex. 3. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 1 and Ex. 2.

1. Turkey actively engaged with opposition groups to have a say in the future of Syria and to maintain its political \_\_\_\_\_ in the region.
2. Stark ideological differences among the parties make the chances for a \_\_\_\_\_ coalition slim.
3. Beijing uses its \_\_\_\_\_ over Pyongyang, which no other state in the world currently possesses, to elevate its status in the international system.
4. Latin American nations remained \_\_\_\_\_ of Washington's tendency to flex its military muscles and interfere in their internal affairs.
5. The end of the Cold War has created a series of \_\_\_\_\_ attempts to define "a new world order".
6. Rising international hysteria about Ebola is \_\_\_\_\_ efforts by aid agencies to tackle the disease in West Africa.
7. With China's \_\_\_\_\_ in the international arena growing, China's role in Africa is also increasing.
8. The \_\_\_\_\_ position of the Cabinet on the naval agreement convinced him that little could be expected from the Liberals.
9. Regrettably, the U.S. is currently strategy deficient, unlike the 1930s, when President Roosevelt \_\_\_\_\_ a strategy to lift the country out of the Great Economic Depression.
10. "Google" has become a \_\_\_\_\_ term in today's world, essentially meaning "to look something up online."

## READING 2

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. How do you understand the concept of 'regionalism' as applied to international relations?
2. What regional associations of independent states do you know?
3. What kind of organization is ASEAN? When was it set up and with what aims in view?

*Read Paragraph One: What were the reasons behind the establishment of ASEAN?  
Look through the whole text: What is the author's tone?*

### ASEAN: THE WAY FORWARD

May 2014 | By Kishore Mahbubani<sup>1</sup> and Rhoda Severino  
[http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/public\\_sector/asean\\_the\\_way\\_forward](http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/public_sector/asean_the_way_forward)

ASEAN was formed in 1967, at the height of the Cold War, with five members: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. The nations of Indochina were entangled in geopolitical competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The failure of two previous attempts at a Southeast Asian regional organization augured poorly<sup>2</sup> for ASEAN's prospects. Thanat

<sup>1</sup> **Kishore Mahbubani** is Dean and Professor in the Practice of Public Policy of the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. He previously served for 33 years in Singapore's diplomatic service and is recognised as an expert on Asian and world affairs.

<sup>2</sup> **Augured poorly** — wasn't a good sign.

Khoman, the former Thai foreign minister and one of ASEAN's founding fathers, lists four primary motivations behind the establishment of ASEAN. The first was to prevent external powers from exploiting the power vacuum left after rapid decolonization of the region. Second, the founders of ASEAN saw an opportunity to foster cooperation among countries with common interests in the same geographic region. Third, the founders were convinced that the countries of Southeast Asia would have a stronger voice in addressing major global powers if they could speak together. Finally, ASEAN's founders believed "cooperation and ultimately integration serve the interests of all — something that individual efforts can never achieve."

In our view, ASEAN's three greatest contributions are peace, prosperity, and geopolitical stability for Southeast Asia. Each of these accomplishments is remarkable; considered in aggregate, they are astonishing.

In a region as diverse as Southeast Asia, peace is hardly a given. Although relatively small in geographic terms (ASEAN covers a land area of 4.46 million kilometers, less than half the size of the United States), the group's members encompass a bewildering kaleidoscope of languages, religions, and traditions. [...] ASEAN's political systems, too, span a wide spectrum, from competitive democracies to one-party states and monarchies. The region's cultures are even more diverse. [...]

As Ruth McVey, an American scholar renowned for her knowledge of Southeast Asian history, has observed: "The question to be posed is not so much of why there is armed separatism in Southeast Asia as why there is not more of it." Southeast Asia has been aptly described as "the Balkans of Asia." When the Cold War ended in 1989, most observers expected conflict to erupt there while peace prevailed in the Balkans of Europe. What happened, instead, was the reverse.

ASEAN contributed to this unexpected outbreak of peace in at least three important ways. First, it cultivated a culture of "*musyawarah* and *mufakat*" ("consultation and consensus" in Indonesian). This ethos is now hailed by many as the "ASEAN way" and has helped nations such as Myanmar achieve a peaceful transition from decades of harsh military rule, while nations in similar situations in other regions — Syria, for example — were riven<sup>1</sup> by conflict. [...]

Second, ASEAN now organizes more than 1,000 meetings a year that touch on virtually every topic, from trade to tourism and from health to the environment. As a result, thousands of invisible formal networks have evolved in the region. When Kishore was permanent secretary of the Singapore Foreign Ministry, many a deal was sealed on the golf course.

Third, ASEAN embraced a policy of nonintervention. The West frowned on this and encouraged ASEAN states to criticize one another when their human-rights records slipped. Yet ASEAN countries wisely ignored this advice and assiduously<sup>2</sup> avoided meddling in one another's domestic affairs. The result has been peace. While there have been minor skirmishes between neighboring countries since they have joined ASEAN, those disputes have fizzled out quickly, reflecting ASEAN's facility for conflict management and quiet diplomacy. [...]

The strong foundation of peace paved the way for ASEAN's second-biggest contribution: prosperity and poverty reduction. When Kishore was growing up in Singapore in the 1960s, Southeast Asia was seen as a region of little hope. Kishore spent his childhood in a one-bedroom house with five other members of his family and was on a special food-assistance program in school because he was underweight. And yet, over the five decades that followed, Singapore — and indeed the entire Southeast Asian region — experienced extraordinary economic growth. From 2001 to 2013

<sup>1</sup> Torn apart.

<sup>2</sup> With great care and perseverance.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

alone, ASEAN's combined GDP rose threefold, reaching \$2.4 trillion. [...] Between 2004 and 2011, ASEAN member states' trade volumes, among one another and with the rest of the world, more than doubled. Foreign companies express optimism about the continued growth of ASEAN markets. [...]

Growth and expanding trade have brought tangible benefits for Southeast Asia's people. [...] Over the last ten years, poverty levels across the region have plummeted. [...]

ASEAN's third major contribution is promoting geopolitical collaboration among major powers — not just in Southeast Asia but throughout the Asia–Pacific region. East Asia has experienced major shifts of power in the 21st century. The United States and China have moved from close collaboration in the Cold War years to a new pattern of competition and collaboration. The Sino–Japanese relationship has been a tempestuous one.

ASEAN has played an important role in reducing geopolitical tension and rivalries by providing an annual platform for all the great powers to meet and resolve outstanding issues. For example, in 2010, when Sino–Japanese relations took a downturn over disputed islands in the East China Sea, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao and Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan met on the sidelines of an ASEAN meeting in Hanoi.

In addition, each year the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) plays host to 27 different countries to discuss security issues in the region. Many major powers attend, including the United States, the European Union, China, India, Japan, Russia, and South and North Korea. This institutionalizes interactions among them, even during diplomatically tense periods. Sensitive topics that have been discussed on the sidelines of the ARF include North Korea's nuclear program and maritime disputes in the South China and the East China Seas. Few other international venues bring together so many different stakeholders for frank discussions on delicate security and strategic issues.

In view of these monumental contributions — peace, prosperity, and geopolitical collaboration — we think ASEAN should be considered for a Nobel Peace Prize. Yet such accolades remain an unlikely prospect, not because ASEAN is undeserving but because the world remains largely ignorant of ASEAN's constructive role. Many other regions could benefit by studying in depth the ASEAN way.

Despite its many achievements, ASEAN must press forward. ASEAN nations must adapt to new challenges and risks and seize opportunities as they emerge. We see at least three potential threats to continued success.

The first risk is geopolitical. Rising competition in East Asia — especially between the world's greatest power, the United States, and the world's biggest emerging power, China — poses a new threat to stability throughout Asia. The starkest demonstration of how rising competition can divide ASEAN took place in Phnom Penh in July 2012 when, for the first time in its history, it failed to issue a joint communiqué after its annual meeting. This failure stemmed from the unwillingness of Cambodia, then the ASEAN chair, to allow mention of several member states' maritime disputes with China, a close economic partner. [...]

Still, in many ways, the inability to agree on a joint communiqué was a blessing in disguise for ASEAN. It provided a much-needed wake-up call. For several decades, ASEAN has benefited from geopolitical competition. In 2000, China's leaders surprised their counterparts in Southeast Asia by proposing — and swiftly concluding — a free-trade agreement (FTA) with ASEAN. Beijing's decisiveness spurred Tokyo to action. To avoid falling behind China, Japan rushed to propose and conclude its own FTA with ASEAN. India, Korea, and Australia and New Zealand all quickly followed suit. Partly as a result of these FTAs, ASEAN's trade with the rest of the world grew to \$2 trillion in 2010, a sixfold increase over the group's 1990 global trade of \$300 billion.

But having benefited from geopolitical competition for more than two decades, ASEAN has become complacent and too often takes for granted that geopolitical competition will bring more rewards than risks. So far, the geopolitical competition between China and the United States (as well as between China and Japan and China and India) has been relatively restrained. The likelihood is that it will remain relatively restrained. But it would be unwise for ASEAN to predicate its geopolitical strategy on best-case scenarios alone. ASEAN, like others, also must ponder the implications of a worst-case scenario of intensified zero-sum competition between China and the United States.

The second risk facing ASEAN is that it could fall behind in the competition for foreign direct investment (FDI) among Asia's emerging markets. In the 1970s and 1980s, when China was just opening up its economy and India remained closed, ASEAN had little difficulty in outpacing either in attracting FDI. [...] By 2012, China's share reached 8.9 percent, exceeding ASEAN's 8 percent. India's share of global FDI has remained low, reaching only 1.9 percent in 2012, but that could change quickly if India follows through with the economic-reform agenda it began more than two decades ago.

In response to this new competition from China and India, ASEAN launched two major economic projects: the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership, both due for completion in 2015. ASEAN countries have a mixed record when it comes to meeting their own deadlines. One danger is that they will settle for implementing only 70 percent of their stated reform targets, declare political victory, and give up on the remaining 30 percent.

While that may be clever strategy, eventually ASEAN must bear the scrutiny of the global marketplace. If the group fails to convince potential investors, especially leading multinational companies, that the AEC is being meaningfully implemented, ASEAN risks falling behind China and India in economic-growth rates. ASEAN policy makers must remember that they all are in the same boat when it comes to economic competition. If they choose to ignore that reality, the AEC will be perceived as a failure by potential investors.

The third risk is that ASEAN fundamentally has been a top-down project, driven by the leaders of ASEAN and not the people of the region. This top-down approach worked well in the early years, when the original five non-Communist ASEAN members feared they would become "dominoes" and fall to Communist expansion after the American withdrawal from Indochina in 1975. At the same time, most ASEAN countries had strong leaders then.

As ASEAN countries have become progressively more democratic and more accountable to their populations, the era of strong leaders has come to an end. ASEAN has to gradually move away from a top-down approach and toward a bottom-up approach. So far, support for ASEAN among ASEAN societies has been a mile wide and an inch deep. However, as these societies have to deal with new social, economic, and environmental threats instead of interstate conflict, the involvement of the people of ASEAN will become even more critical. The Southeast Asia region will be among the most vulnerable in the world to the effects of climate change. Extreme-weather events are already taking their toll, with Typhoon Haiyan killing thousands and inflicting \$225 million of damage on the Philippine agricultural sector alone. Infectious disease, human and drug trafficking, and rising socioeconomic inequality within and among ASEAN states likewise pose serious challenges.

In short, though ASEAN has demonstrated that it is the second most successful regional organization in the world after the European Union, it still has a lot of work to do to both consolidate its early successes and deal with new challenges. To ensure ASEAN remains viable and strong in the coming decades, the populations of its member nations must begin to develop the same sense of ownership of ASEAN as their leaders. Fortunately, continued success is within ASEAN's grasp. Despite the risks ahead, ASEAN is taking many good steps toward deeper regional integration and

a higher level of cooperation commensurate with the growing complexity of its challenges. We are confident that it will continue to do well and thrive in the coming decades.

### Notes

1. **The ASEAN Way.** Since the post-independence phases of Southeast Asian states, efforts were made to implement regional foreign policies, but with a unifying focus to refrain from interference in domestic affairs of member states.  
There was a move to unify the region under what was called the 'ASEAN Way' based on the ideals of non-interference, informality, minimal institutionalisation, consultation and consensus, non-use of force and non-confrontation. ASEAN members (especially Singapore) approved of the term 'ASEAN Way' to describe a regional method of multilateralism.
2. **ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)**, the first region-wide Asia-Pacific multilateral forum for official consultations on peace and security issues. An outgrowth of the annual ministerial-level meeting of members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the states serving as ASEAN's "dialogue partners," the ARF provides a setting for discussion and diplomacy and the development of cooperative responses to regional problems. The inaugural ARF meeting was held in July 1994 in Bangkok, Thailand, and was attended by 10 ASEAN members (Brunei, Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam) and ASEAN's 10 dialogue partners (Australia, Canada, China, the European Union, India, Japan, South Korea, Russia, New Zealand, and the United States). Papua New Guinea and Mongolia joined the group in 1999, and North Korea was admitted in 2000.
3. **Territorial disputes in the South China Sea** involve both island and maritime claims among several sovereign states within the region, namely Brunei, the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. There are disputes concerning both the Spratly and the Paracel islands, as well as maritime boundaries in the Gulf of Tonkin and elsewhere. There is a further dispute in the waters near the Indonesian Natuna Islands. The interests of different nations include acquiring fishing areas around the two archipelagos; the potential exploitation of suspected crude oil and natural gas under the waters of various parts of the South China Sea; and the strategic control of important shipping lanes.
4. **The ASEAN Economic Community (AEC)** shall be the goal of regional economic integration by 2015. AEC envisages the following key characteristics: (a) a single market and production base, (b) a highly competitive economic region, (c) a region of equitable economic development, and (d) a region fully integrated into the global economy.  
The AEC areas of cooperation include human resources development and capacity building; recognition of professional qualifications; closer consultation on macroeconomic and financial policies; trade financing measures; enhanced infrastructure and communications connectivity; development of electronic transactions through e-ASEAN; integrating industries across the region to promote regional sourcing; and enhancing private sector involvement for the building of the AEC. In short, the AEC will transform ASEAN into a region with free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labour, and freer flow of capital.

(ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) Blueprint)

The ASEAN Leaders adopted the ASEAN Economic Blueprint at the 13th ASEAN Summit on 20 November 2007 in Singapore to serve as a coherent master plan guiding the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community 2015.

5. **Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership** was initiated at the 2012 East Asia Summit. Negotiations on Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) are expected to be concluded by the end of 2015. RCEP consists of all ten ASEAN countries plus 6 countries (China, Japan, South Korea, Australia, India, and New Zealand) which have trade agreements with ASEAN countries. RCEP covers 45 percent of world population and about a third of world's total GDP.

## COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

### A. Explain or comment on the following clauses/sentences.

1. In a region as diverse as Southeast Asia, peace is hardly a given.
2. Southeast Asia has been aptly described as "the Balkans of Asia."
3. ... the inability to agree on a joint communiqué was a blessing in disguise for ASEAN.
4. ASEAN countries have a mixed record when it comes to meeting their own deadlines.
5. ... ASEAN must bear the scrutiny of the global marketplace.
6. ASEAN policy makers must remember that they all are in the same boat when it comes to economic competition.
7. ... ASEAN fundamentally has been a top-down project ...
8. So far, support for ASEAN among ASEAN societies has been a mile wide and an inch deep.
9. Extreme-weather events are already taking their toll ...
10. ... continued success is within ASEAN's grasp.

### B. Answer the questions on the text.

1. What kind of region is Southeast Asia?
2. What, according to the essay, are ASEAN's three contributions to the region's development?
3. How does ASEAN promote peace and stability in the region?
4. In what way has ASEAN been instrumental in driving the economic growth of Southeast Asia?
5. What has been the role of ASEAN in facilitating geopolitical collaboration?
6. What challenges is ASEAN currently facing? What are the ways to deal with them, according to the essay?

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Has ASEAN, in your view, achieved the goals set by its founding fathers?
2. Do you share the authors' opinion that ASEAN's accomplishments are remarkable?
3. Why do you think the world at large "remains largely ignorant of ASEAN's constructive role"?
4. Do you think the comparison of ASEAN with the EU is justified? If so, is it likely to face similar risks?
5. What, in your view, are the prospects of ASEAN?

### FOLLOW-UP

*Make a three-minute statement on*

- a) the role of ASEAN in the region
- b) the prospects of AEC
- c) the role of China in Southeast Asia
- d) Russia-ASEAN relations



Use the full version of the essay "ASEAN: the Way Forward" (to be found on the internet), other online resources, Listening 2 and texts from the Reader.

## VOCABULARY PRACTICE 2

Ex. 4. a) find words in the text to match the definitions below; reproduce the context they are used in;

b) give their synonyms;

c) suggest their Russian equivalents;

d) use the words in sentences of your own.

1. to involve (someone) in difficulties or complicated circumstances from which it is difficult to escape
2. to include a wide range of ideas, subjects, etc. (formal)
3. to deliberately try to influence or change a situation that does not concern you, or that you do not understand
4. clear and definite, real
5. characterized by strong and turbulent or conflicting emotion
6. an award or privilege granted as a special honour or as an acknowledgement of merit
7. originate in or be caused by
8. to found or base something on
9. capable of working successfully, feasible
10. corresponding in size and degree, in proportion

Ex. 5. Continue the strings of collocations, translate them. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.

1. **to be entangled in** competition, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
2. potentially, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **viable**
3. to prove, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **viable**
4. **commensurate with** age, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
5. **tangible** benefit, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
6. **tempestuous** relations, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
7. **to predicate** a strategy, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **on smth**
8. **to predicate** smth **on** a scenario, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
9. to earn, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **an accolade**
10. **to meddle in** someone's affairs, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

Ex. 6. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 4 and Ex. 5.

1. Capitalism is the only modern monetary-wage labour system that has proved to be \_\_\_\_\_ in the long run.
2. Europe's empires found themselves \_\_\_\_\_ in complicated military alliances which forced them to take sides once Germany declared war on France on August 4.
3. Modern mainstream Japanese music \_\_\_\_\_ a wide range of genres, from bubblegum dance pop to soulful ballads and alternative rock.
4. Our reaction to terrorism shouldn't be \_\_\_\_\_ on the demography of the terrorists.
5. The main problem area today is to ensure that Poland's military contribution to the alliance would be \_\_\_\_\_ with the country's size and potential.

6. It is no exaggeration to call Atkinson the premier interpreter of our modern political history; he has earned the \_\_\_\_\_.
7. Small and restrained as it was, the Greek kingdom actively \_\_\_\_\_ in the internal affairs of the Ottoman state until that empire's collapse.
8. Nearly two thirds of start-up business failures \_\_\_\_\_ from "people problems", according to an academic at Harvard University.
9. The Author is of the view that despite the often \_\_\_\_\_ relations between the two countries, Sino-Philippine relations will continue to prosper in the future.
10. Many of these deprivations were material; one \_\_\_\_\_ effect of government-enforced austerity measures was a marked shortage of consumer goods.

## SPEAKING

### TERM PRESENTATION

*Each student is expected to make a 10-min power point presentation on one of the topics studied this term ('The West, the Rest and Climate Change', 'Human Rights', 'Demography').*

*If you decide to make one on 'The West, the Rest and Climate Change', choose a politically relevant topic, focusing on the current state of affairs and the future prospects. Prepare a presentation following the Guidelines in the Manual.*

## LISTENING 2

### Challenges and Implications of the AEC

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1VrYe-s\\_Jqo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1VrYe-s_Jqo)



### PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. What do you think are the prospects for the AEC?
2. Is ASEAN likely to become a competitive player on the global market in the near future?

### VIEWING

*Watch the video clip and decide whether the statements below are True or False.*

1. The ASEAN economic integration has slowed down since the 1990s.
2. There is no doubt that the targets set by the AEC will be met.
3. Further integration will be especially beneficial to trade within the region.
4. ASEAN aims to integrate into the global economy.
5. ASEAN is similar to the EU in many respects.

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTION

1. What do you make of the expert's tone? Would you describe it as reasonably enthusiastic?
2. Do his projections sound convincing? Why?

- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

## FOLLOW-UP

Watch the video clip below and compare the two viewpoints on the prospects for the AEC.



### Prospects for the ASEAN Economic Community: the long path to integration

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bBpc0Q-BTnU>

## LISTENING 3

### Global Warming: A Way Forward: Facing Climate Change

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pAA7FEqYTjA>

## TOPIC VOCABULARY

drought	disrupt nature's balance
storm surges	rain-fed agriculture
shrinking of ice sheets	agricultural yields
fossil fuels	consumption patterns
inundation of low-lying countries	rising sea levels
industrial emissions	coastal flooding
deforestation	malnutrition
greenhouse gases (carbon dioxide)	energy efficiency
precipitation patterns	alternative sources of energy

## PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. What do you make of climate change? What are its manifestations?
2. What, to your knowledge, are the causes of climate change?
3. Which of the topic vocabulary above would you use to speak about
  - causes of climate change
  - manifestations of climate change
  - consequences of climate change
  - measures to halt or reverse climate change?

## VIEWING

Watch the video clip and answer the following questions:

1. What is the main cause of climate change according to the IPCC?
2. What changes in the climate can already be observed?
3. What extreme weather phenomena may result from global warming in the foreseeable future?
4. What implications does rapid climate change have for people living in various regions of the world?
5. What can be done to halt climate change and prevent its most dangerous impacts on the planet and human race?

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTION

Which of the measures suggested in the video might, in your view, be effective in curbing climate change?

## READING 3

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. What steps have been taken on a global scale to deal with global warming?
2. Do you think these were sufficient? What measures, in your view, are lacking?

*Look through the text and find the author's answers to the questions.*

### DEALING WITH CLIMATE CHANGE

*/based on the Introduction to *The Carbon Crunch*:*

*How We are Getting Climate Change Wrong — and How to Fix It* by Dieter Helm.  
Yale University Press. New Haven and London. 2012/

*"This book is for Sue Helm, and Oliver and Laura, in the hope that good sense will prevail, and that after a quarter of a century of largely futile efforts and costs, something will finally be done about climate change."*

Dieter Helm

In the first two decades of tackling the climate change problems, world leaders cannot be accused of not trying. They confronted climate change in the early 1990s, and two decades ago signed the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). They have made innumerable speeches, attended countless conferences, and spent a good deal of energy customers' and taxpayers' money since then. Sadly, there is little to show for it. Two decades on emissions continue to rise alarmingly. If anything they are accelerating<sup>1</sup> [...].

The figures really matter. What will the world be like if the temperature rises by, say 3°C by 2100? It will be very different. The best places to live may be in the Arctic — Canada, Russia, Greenland, and Alaska. Their pristine wildernesses may be filled with new cities and dense populations. Unfortunately, the southern parts of the southern hemisphere offer little by way of habitable lands even in a warmer world — there is a lot of ocean and the ice sheet over Antarctica will probably still be largely intact. The tropics will be very tropical. Low-lying lands will suffer from rising sea levels.

[...] All this might not happen. We are condemned to uncertainty. But few doubt that the scale of the threat is worth dealing with. They may differ about the urgency and the prioritization of climate change over challenges like our Great Recession, but the fact is that so far nothing much has been done.

Over the period since 1990, the growth of emissions has been the result of an unprecedented economic expansion, and one based on coal, and China, and population. A remarkable economic transformation has taken place. The US (and to a lesser extent Europe) embarked on debt-fuelled spending spree, and as a result sucked in goods from China and other developing countries. The scale has been breathtaking. And it inevitably resulted in a spectacular bust. China emerging from the deadly embrace of Mao, started growing, and for the two decades raked up about 7–10% growth in GDP per annum. At this rate it has doubled in size every decade, so it is already four times bigger than it was in 1990. This growth has been energy- and carbon-intensive, and it has been fuelled by burning coal — the dirtiest of all energy sources.

<sup>1</sup> See Note 1.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

While all this has been going on, the world leaders focused on setting caps on emissions in the key *developed* countries, in the hope that developing countries will follow in due course. Put simply the focus was on emissions in those countries where emissions were not growing very much — rather than on the countries where they were growing very rapidly.

Worse still, with this expansion of coal burning and emissions marching ever upwards, many political leaders seemed to think that the problem could be best addressed by building wind farms and putting solar panels on the roofs of houses. [...] Unilateral actions were the order of the day as if global warming was a national event.

The Kyoto Protocol (1997) cemented this approach, and green non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and green parties that sprang up in Europe jumped at the chance to build their preferred decentralized societies. Connie Hedegaard, the European Commissioner for Climate Action, would claim that the EU has been “in the vanguard of international action to fight climate change” and that its targets “have given Europe a head start in the race to build the low carbon and energy efficient global economy”. If only it were true. Indeed, EU policies have achieved at best little. They have probably made things worse, in fact — and at great cost. Europeans reinforced all this by concentrating on a short term target of moving towards 20% renewable energy by 2020 to meet their 20% emission target. The economic illiteracy is astonishing: for a long-term problem the Europeans chose a short-term target, and seemed to have convinced themselves that the target, renewables and energy efficiency should all add up to the same magic number of ‘20’.

Nor everyone, however, was fooled by Kyoto. The US never ratified the Protocol — for the very good reason that China would not play ball. What is the point of reducing emissions in the US (and Europe) if it encourages energy-intensive industry to move to China where the pollution will be even worse? Russia joined because it would get paid to do very little, and a number of other countries joined but did not really try — Canada, for example.

So it is not surprising that under Kyoto nothing has been achieved in terms of global emissions. They keep on going up fast relentlessly. It is puzzling that despite the lack of any serious impact the world leaders kept their foot on the Kyoto pedal.

This reached a farcical climax at the Copenhagen conference in late 2009. Imagine the scene. The runway is full of jets from all campaigners and world leaders. Europe offers a 30% cut in its emissions if others follow. A huge media circus<sup>1</sup> envelops the city, with proclamations and statements from green NGOs and interested parties. And what happens? At the last moment the US and China cut a deal outside the framework of the talks, promise to try to limit warming to 2°C and promptly leave. Thus was born the Copenhagen Accord — to sink almost unnoticed in the months to come.

Another year went by: another 2–3 ppm emissions were added; and the expiry date of the first period of the Kyoto architecture at the end of 2012 loomed. Now all eyes were on the climate conference in Durban at the end of 2009. If Copenhagen went badly, Durban was a disaster. At the end of another circus of green NGOs, media and publicity-hungry politicians, what was ‘agreed’ was that the parties would try to agree by 2009 what they might do after 2012. They couldn’t even agree what legal form that they might eventually agree might take.

We have come to an impasse<sup>2</sup>. [...] Despite innumerable conferences, summits, proclamations, agreements and policy interventions, so far nothing much has been achieved, and indeed some

<sup>1</sup> **Media circus** is a colloquial metaphor, or idiom, describing a news event where the media coverage is perceived to be out of proportion to the event being covered, such as the number of reporters at the scene, the amount of news media published or broadcast, and the level of media hype.

<sup>2</sup> **Impasse** — a situation in which no progress is possible, especially because of disagreement; a deadlock.

of the interventions may have made things worse. By 2020, three decades will have been largely wasted. That is the bad news. But climate change is not an insoluble problem, and there clearly is some willingness amongst the wider populations to tackle it.

To get from the negative to the positive, it is necessary to focus relentlessly on the nature of the underlying climate change problem: why it matters, what causes climate change, and who is responsible. For the most part, the debates on climate change have studiously ignored them. Instead of homing in on<sup>1</sup> coal, China, economic growth and the underlying population growth, the emphasis has been on the *production* of carbon emissions in Europe. What matters — the carbon footprint — has largely been ignored. Whilst Europe has been deindustrializing its own production, it has not decarbonized its consumption. Indeed, once imports of carbon-intensive goods are taken into account, the reality is that Europe's carbon consumption has been going up. In Britain, whilst carbon production fell by 15% from 1990–2005, carbon consumption went up by 19%. A similar disastrous story is writ large<sup>2</sup> across Europe.

The next step is to understand why almost everything developed countries (and especially Europe) have been doing has not, and will not crack the problem. [...] The full context of policy failures has to be understood in order to make progress. [...] At the heart of these failures is the Kyoto Protocol and the efforts to build a credible, binding legal agreement around it. [...] It just isn't possible to craft an international agreement that is binding, credible and enforceable on production targets. [...]

The problem of carbon emissions will not get addressed unless carbon is integrated directly into economies and economic decision-making. It means that we must pay for the carbon emissions we cause, and hence for our carbon consumption and not just our carbon production. That means not just domestic carbon prices, but also the much more controversial question of the pricing of the carbon embedded in what we import. [...]

Integrating carbon into the economy enables choices to be made — primarily by markets — about how to generate electricity and to power transport. That means making choices not only between fossil fuels and renewables, but also between types of fossil fuels. Getting out of coal is an absolute and immediate priority. While all eyes have been on the promise of renewables, a revolution in fossil fuel technologies has taken place. Huge quantities of hitherto uneconomic gas supplies have become available transforming not just fossil fuel markets but geopolitics, too.

Integrating carbon into the economy and switching from coal to gas will help, but they are means to an end: a low-carbon economy. Today laboratories are full of new developments including batteries and storage, smart technologies and new-generation technologies. This is where the distinction between *current* and *future* renewables matters. If current renewables cannot crack the problem, it does not follow that future renewables will not. But technological progress will not happen by accident, although carbon pricing will help. Rather it will take money — and in the current economic difficulties, money comes from hard-pressed taxpayers and consumers. Money spent on one thing (like current renewables) is money not spent on something else (like future renewables). There are choices. That is what economics is all about — allocating scarce resources. It is a reality that too many politicians (and many NGOs and green parties) ignore. Economic illiteracy is at the heart of the climate change problem, and although it can be solved, it won't be if we go on wasting so much money to so little effect.

<sup>1</sup> **To home in on** — to give a lot of attention to.

<sup>2</sup> **Writ large** — very obvious.

## Notes

1. From pre-Industrial Revolution concentrations of around 255 parts per million (ppm) of carbon<sup>1</sup> in the atmosphere are rapidly approaching 400 ppm. Back in 1990 around 1,5 ppm were added annually, now it is nearly 3 ppm. Scientists tell us that 400–450 ppm is roughly associated with 2°C warming. If they are right, and if we go on as we are, it is going to be more — potentially much more — than 2°C.
2. **Emissions trading or cap and trade** ("cap" meaning a *legal limit on the quantity of a certain type of chemical an economy can emit each year*) is a market-based approach used to control pollution by providing economic incentives for achieving reductions in the emissions of pollutants. Various countries have adopted emission trading systems as one of the strategies for mitigating climate-change by addressing international greenhouse-gas emission.
3. A **carbon footprint** is historically defined as "the total sets of greenhouse gas emissions caused by an organization, event, product or person."

The total carbon footprint cannot be calculated because of the large amount of data required and the fact that carbon dioxide can be produced by natural occurrences. It is for this reason that Wright, Kemp, and Williams, writing in the journal *Carbon Management*, have suggested a more practicable definition:

"A measure of the total amount of carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) and methane (CH<sub>4</sub>) emissions of a defined population, system or activity, considering all relevant sources, sinks and storage within the spatial and temporal boundary of the population, system or activity of interest. Calculated as carbon dioxide equivalent (CO<sub>2</sub>e) using the relevant 100-year global warming potential (GWP100)."

Greenhouse gases (GHGs) can be emitted through transport, land clearance, and the production and consumption of food, fuels, manufactured goods, materials, wood, roads, buildings, and services. For simplicity of reporting, it is often expressed in terms of the amount of carbon dioxide, or its equivalent of other GHGs, emitted.

4. **The Kyoto Protocol** is an international treaty, which extends the 1992 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that commits State Parties to reduce greenhouse gases emissions, based on the premise that (a) global warming exists and (b) man-made CO<sub>2</sub> emissions have caused it. The Kyoto Protocol was adopted in Kyoto, Japan, on 11 December 1997 and entered into force on 16 February 2005. There are currently 192 Parties (Canada withdrew effective December 2012) to the Protocol. The Kyoto Protocol implemented the objective of the UNFCCC to fight global warming by reducing greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere to 'a level that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system' (Art. 2). The Protocol is based on the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities: it puts the obligation to reduce current emissions on developed countries on the basis that they are historically responsible for the current levels of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere.

The Protocol's first commitment period started in 2008 and ended in 2012. A second commitment period was proposed in 2012, known as the Doha Amendment, in which 37 countries have binding targets: Australia, the European Union (and its 28 member states), Belarus, Iceland, Kazakhstan, Liechtenstein, Norway, Switzerland, and Ukraine. Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine have stated that they may withdraw from the Protocol or not put into legal force the

<sup>1</sup> 'Carbon' stands for carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>).

Amendment with second round targets. Japan, New Zealand, and Russia have participated in Kyoto's first-round but have not taken on new targets in the second commitment period. Other developed countries without second-round targets are Canada (which withdrew from the Kyoto Protocol in 2012) and the United States (which has not ratified the Protocol). Only certain European states have committed to further CO<sub>2</sub> reductions than in the first period. These targets add up to an average five percent emissions reduction compared to 1990 levels over the five-year period 2008 to 2012.

Negotiations were held in Paris in 2014 to agree on a post-Kyoto legal framework that would obligate all major polluters to pay for CO<sub>2</sub> emissions. China, India, and the United States have all signaled that they will not ratify any treaty that will commit them legally to reduce CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

5. **Shale gas** is natural gas that is found trapped within shale formations. Shale gas has become an increasingly important source of natural gas in the United States since the start of this century, and interest has spread to potential gas shales in the rest of the world. In 2000 shale gas provided only 1% of U.S. natural gas production; by 2010 it was over 20% and the U.S. government's Energy Information Administration predicts that by 2035, 46% of the United States' natural gas supply will come from shale gas.

## COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

### A. Explain or comment on the following clauses/sentences.

1. Sadly, there is little to show for it.
2. The best places to live may be in the Arctic ...
3. The US ... embarked on debt-fuelled spending spree ...
4. And it inevitably resulted in a spectacular bust.
5. China emerging from the deadly embrace of Mao, started growing ...
6. The US never ratified the Protocol — for the very good reason that China would not play ball.
7. ... the world leaders kept their foot on the Kyoto pedal.
8. A huge media circus envelops the city ...
9. At the last moment the US and China cut a deal outside the framework of the talks ...
10. While all eyes have been on the promise of renewables, a revolution in fossil fuel technologies has taken place.

### B. Answer the questions on the text.

1. What might be the consequences of global climate change?
2. Why have the international efforts aimed at curtailing greenhouse gas emissions failed so far?
3. Why is the Kyoto Protocol "at the heart of these failures", according to Dieter Helm?
4. Why was it pointless to focus on the carbon production in the developed countries?
5. What does the author mean when he suggests "integrating carbon into the economy"?

## Speak Up

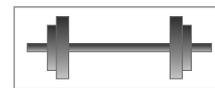
### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you think climate change is an issue that needs to be addressed?
2. Do you agree with the analysis of the current state of things provided by Helm?
3. Should the climate change issue be dealt with nationally or globally?
4. Do you think any progress is likely to be made in the foreseeable future?

FOLLOW-UP

A. *Make a three-minute statement on*

- a) global warming debate: supporters and deniers
- b) climate diplomacy
- c) BRICS and climate change
- d) ASEAN and climate change



*Use texts from the Reader, Listening 3 and 4, and online resources.*

B.\* *Compile a list of Topic Vocabulary necessary to speak on the issue.*



**VOCABULARY PRACTICE 3**

*Ex. 7.a) find words in the text to match the definitions below; reproduce the context they are used in;*

*b) list words with the same root;*

*c) suggest their Russian equivalents;*

*d) use the words in sentences of your own.*

- 1. incapable of producing any useful result, pointless
- 2. not spoiled, corrupted, or polluted (as by civilization)
- 3. suitable enough to live in
- 4. not damaged or impaired in any way, complete
- 5. to start something, especially something new, difficult, or exciting
- 6. a spell or sustained period of unrestrained activity of a particular kind
- 7. steadily and persistently
- 8. in a way that is carefully planned and deliberate
- 9. considered capable of achieving a goal
- 10. to distribute (resources or duties) for a particular purpose

*Ex. 8. Continue the strings of collocations, translate them. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.*

- 1. **futile** effort, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. spending, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **spree**
- 3. **credible** agreement, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. **to allocate** resources, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. **embark on** a career, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 6. **relentless** pressure, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 7. **pristine** wilderness, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 8. to ignore, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **studiously**
- 9. **habitable** land, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
- 10. to appear, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **intact**

*Ex. 9. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 7 and Ex. 8.*

- 1. In 2004, the Government \_\_\_\_\_ upon a comprehensive review of the Constitution, which involved a very extensive public awareness and consultation campaign.

2. Economics is the study of how individuals, businesses and governments choose to \_\_\_\_\_ resources to best satisfy their objectives.
3. Preservation efforts for the still disputed 'oldest Philippine flag' proved \_\_\_\_\_ as the technology needed to preserve its state does not exist.
4. Labour is the party that is currently pursuing a \_\_\_\_\_ policy to try and create a long-term, viable system of local government finance.
5. Mr President, I am grateful to the President-in-Office of the Council, but I have noticed that the Minister has \_\_\_\_\_ avoided answering the question regarding Georgia's prospects for joining the EU.
6. Worlds which are in the earliest stages of their evolutions, such as Earth some 4 billion years ago, might not be \_\_\_\_\_ for a long time to come.
7. Labour could borrow billions of pounds to embark on a spending \_\_\_\_\_ after the next election, the Institute for Fiscal studies has suggested.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ rainforests are being wiped out for the wood and then some are being replanted with fast growing tree varieties for the woodchip industry.
9. The eurozone has emerged \_\_\_\_\_ from recent meltdowns within, but that's not to say that the threat to its integrity has completely gone.
10. The impact of human activities on inland aquatic ecosystems has caused a continuous and \_\_\_\_\_ deterioration of water quality and profound changes in the hydrological and biodiversity cycles.

## SPEAKING

### PANEL DISCUSSION

*Hold a panel discussion on a climate change issue. Follow the guidelines in the Manual.*

## LISTENING 4

### Global Warming Debunked by Greenpeace Founder

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4akXzsQFGrA>



### PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. Do you think the Climate Change/Global Warming theory could be just a hoax<sup>1</sup> on the part of interest groups?
2. What are the usual arguments of climate change deniers?

### VIEWING 1

*Watch the video clip and choose the correct answer to Questions 1–6.*

1. Professor Moore was with Greenpeace for
  - a) five years
  - b) fifteen years

<sup>1</sup> **Hoax** — an act that is meant to trick or deceive people.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

- c) twenty years
2. The Professor has a PhD in
    - a) geology
    - b) biology
    - c) ecology
  3. The world started warming back after the Little Ice Age
    - a) 150 years ago
    - b) 200 years ago
    - c) 250 years ago
  4. According to the IPCC, humans have been the main cause of global warming since
    - a) 1850
    - b) 1915
    - c) 1950
  5. Professor Moore maintains that the Earth's warming is
    - a) human induced
    - b) good for most species
    - c) the reason why millions of children are dying every day
  6. Climate models are not reliable because they are
    - a) too sophisticated
    - b) similar to a crystal ball
    - c) computer models

## VIEWING 2

*Watch the video clip again and answer the following questions:*

1. What made Professor Moore leave Greenpeace?
2. What does he criticize the IPCC for?
3. Who, in the Professor's opinion, is driving the Climate Change agenda?
4. What better use could the money spent on the global warming research be put to?
5. What do 'deniers' criticize climate change supporters for?
6. What, according to climate models, will the increased level of CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere result in?  
What is the professor's counterargument to this?

## Speak Up



## DISCUSSION QUESTION

Compare the arguments of the supporters and deniers of the Climate Change theory. Whose viewpoint do you share?

## INTEGRATING CORE SKILLS



### PROJECT WORK UPGRADING THE READER

#### Individual work 1

##### Stage 1

Look through the texts in the Reader and 'assign' them to Readings in Unit IV. Assess their 'value' for preparing assignments in Follow-ups, Panel Discussion, Term Presentation. Work out assessment criteria and rate the articles accordingly.

#### Class work

##### Stage 2

Compare your suggestions with those of your classmates and decide 1) on the final set of criteria; 2) which articles should be included in the 'core' of the Reader; 3) on what other issues articles should be added.



#### Individual work 1

##### Stage 3

Find an article on a related topic, write an abstract and a few lines to justify its inclusion.



##### Stage 4

Read your classmates 'contributions' and assess them using the criteria you've worked out. Give your feedback to the class and the teacher.



## VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR REVISION

Ex. 10. Fill in the gaps with prepositions or particles if necessary.

- In 2005 his Government had embarked \_\_\_ a campaign aimed \_\_\_ raising awareness of the burden caused by illegal immigration.
- "I don't think it's the Government's business to meddle \_\_\_ the process of weeding out uncompetitive businesses."
- The music of Brazil encompasses \_\_\_ various regional music styles influenced by African, European and Amerindian forms.
- German planners predicated their strategy \_\_\_ the knowledge that the Russians could not mobilize their soldiers and military supplies as quickly as the French. (About World War I)
- Europe's empires found themselves entangled \_\_\_ complicated military alliances which forced them to take sides once Germany declared war \_\_\_ France on August 4.
- ... *South Stream* has put Sofia on a collision course with the commission, which has grown increasingly wary \_\_\_ Europe's dependence \_\_\_ Russian gas \_\_\_ the wake of the Ukraine crisis.
- The gap between the child rights discourse and poverty hampers \_\_\_ the efforts to eradicate child labor \_\_\_ any comprehensive manner.
- Rising demand stems \_\_\_ population growth as well as \_\_\_ rising incomes and changing dietary patterns in developing countries, particularly in China.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

9. It's time for the government to take its head out of the sand and actually begin to take real action that is commensurate \_\_\_ the threat of climate change.
10. Economic warfare became the main instrument of diplomatic leverage \_\_\_ Iraq.

*Ex. 11. Fill in the gaps with suitable words.*

ASEAN achieved greater cohesion in the mid-1970s following the changed balance of power in Southeast Asia after the end of the Vietnam War. The region's dynamic economic growth during the 1970s strengthened the organization, enabling ASEAN to adopt a unified response to Vietnam's invasion 1) \_\_\_\_\_ Cambodia in 1979. ASEAN's first summit meeting, held in Bali, Indonesia, in 1976, 2) \_\_\_\_\_ in an agreement 3) \_\_\_\_\_ several industrial projects and the signing of a Treaty of Amity and Cooperation and a Declaration of Concord. The end of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union at the end of the 1980s 4) \_\_\_\_\_ ASEAN countries to exercise greater political independence in the region, and in the 1990s ASEAN 5) \_\_\_\_\_ as a leading voice on regional trade and security 6) \_\_\_\_\_.

During the 1990s, the bloc experienced a(n) 7) \_\_\_\_\_ in both membership and drive for further integration. In 1990, Malaysia proposed the creation of an East Asia Economic Caucus comprising the then members of ASEAN as 8) \_\_\_\_\_ as the People's Republic of China, Japan, and South Korea, with the 9) \_\_\_\_\_ of counterbalancing the growing influence of the United States in the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and in the Asian region as a 10) \_\_\_\_\_. This proposal failed, 11) \_\_\_\_\_, because of heavy opposition from the United States and Japan. 12) \_\_\_\_\_ this failure, member states continued to work for further integration and ASEAN Plus Three was created in 1997.

*Ex. 12. Translate into English using Topic and Active Vocabulary.*

1. Многие развивающиеся страны **с подозрением относятся** в целом к Западу и в частности к США, так как эта страна, используя свое политическое и экономическое **влияние**, регулярно **вмешивается** во внутренние дела суверенных государств.
2. **Бурные** переговоры так и не дали никаких **ощутимых** результатов, и все попытки посредников оказать **давление** на стороны конфликта были **тщетными**.
3. Пока членам альянса не удалось **выработать внятную** стратегию развития организации, и они лишь предпринимают **осторожные** попытки выступать с единых позиций по глобальным вопросам современности.
4. Развитые страны уже несколько десятилетий назад **взялись** за решение проблемы изменения климата; на исследования в этой области **выделялись** значительные средства, однако промышленные выбросы углекислого газа **неуклонно** растут, и при таких темпах через сто лет может остаться мало земель, **пригодных для жизни** людей.
5. Провал энергетической и климатической политики **является результатом** экологической безграмотности и неправильных решений политических лидеров, которые **основывали** свою стратегию на представлениях о том, что проблема может быть решена развитыми странами в одиночку и **намеренно** игнорировали вопрос об истинной природе климатических изменений.
6. Правящая партия в настоящее время проводит **серьезную** политику по созданию **жизнеспособной** системы финансирования местных органов власти.



7. Правительство Китая поставило перед страной политические и военные цели, **соответствующие** размеру страны и ее экономическому **весу**.
8. Страна оказалась **втянутой** в затяжной конфликт, который **тормозит** ее экономическое развитие.
9. **Таяние ледников** — один из основных доводов в пользу теории **глобального потепления**, вызванного **человеческой деятельностью**.
10. **Вымирание видов** значительно сократит **биологическое разнообразие** этой экосистемы и нанесёт непоправимый вред окружающей среде в целом.

*Ex. 13. Complete the second sentence so that it has a similar meaning to the first sentence, using the word(s) given. Do not change the word(s) given.*

1. Perhaps the party predicated its strategy on a false assumption. **(HAVE)**  
The party \_\_\_\_\_ its strategy on a false assumption.
2. Obviously, all the attempts at reform were futile. **(MUST)**  
All the attempts at reform \_\_\_\_\_ futile.
3. I am sure the parties concerned haven't achieved any tangible results. **(CAN'T)**  
The parties concerned \_\_\_\_\_ any tangible results.
4. The government hasn't developed a coherent programme, which is wrong of them. **(SHOULD)**  
The government \_\_\_\_\_ a coherent programme.
5. The country got entangled in the conflict though it was not necessary. **(HAVE)**  
The country \_\_\_\_\_ in the conflict.
6. I can't cut down on chocolate consumption, but I would like to. **(WISH)**  
I \_\_\_\_\_ on chocolate consumption.
7. It's a pity that the government has embarked on an austerity campaign. **(RATHER)**  
I \_\_\_\_\_ on an austerity campaign.
8. Developed countries ought to have altered consumption patterns by now. **(TIME)**  
It's \_\_\_\_\_ consumption patterns.
9. If countries don't make a joint effort, climate change won't be curbed. **(UNLESS)**  
Climate change won't be curbed \_\_\_\_\_ a joint effort.
10. Unfortunately, the authorities haven't allocated sufficient resources for education. **(WISH)**  
I \_\_\_\_\_ sufficient resources for education.

## EAP CORNER

### BRUSHING UP READING SKILLS

#### Learning to read critically

#### TASK 1

1. Before reading the texts find out who wrote them and when and where they were published. Decide how it affects your anticipation of the authors' position on climate change.
2. Look at the titles and the lines under the titles. What do they tell you about the authors' views? What do you expect to find in Text 1 and Text 2?



#### Text 1

### NO NEED TO PANIC ABOUT GLOBAL WARMING

*There's no compelling scientific argument  
for drastic action to 'decarbonize' the world's economy.*

*The Wall Street Journal, January 27, 2012*

**Editor's Note:** The following has been signed by the 16 scientists listed at the end of the article:

A candidate for public office in any contemporary democracy may have to consider what, if anything, to do about "global warming." Candidates should understand that the oft-repeated claim that nearly all scientists demand that something dramatic be done to stop global warming is not true. In fact, a large and growing number of distinguished scientists and engineers do not agree that drastic actions on global warming are needed.

In September, Nobel Prize-winning physicist Ivar Giaever, a supporter of President Obama in the last election, publicly resigned from the American Physical Society (APS) with a letter that begins: "I did not renew [my membership] because I cannot live with the [APS policy] statement: 'The evidence is incontrovertible: Global warming is occurring. If no mitigating actions are taken, significant disruptions in the Earth's physical and ecological systems, social systems, security and human health are likely to occur. We must reduce emissions of greenhouse gases beginning now.' In the APS it is OK to discuss whether the mass of the proton changes over time and how a multi-universe behaves, but the evidence of global warming is incontrovertible?"

In spite of a multidecade international campaign to enforce the message that increasing amounts of the "pollutant" carbon dioxide will destroy civilization, large numbers of scientists, many very prominent, share the opinions of Dr. Giaever. And the number of scientific "heretics" is growing with each passing year. The reason is a collection of stubborn scientific facts.

Perhaps the most inconvenient fact is the lack of global warming for well over 10 years now. This is known to the warming establishment, as one can see from the 2009 "Climategate" email of climate scientist Kevin Trenberth: "The fact is that we can't account for the lack of warming at the moment and it is a travesty that we can't." But the warming is only missing if one believes computer models where so-called feedbacks involving water vapor and clouds greatly amplify the small effect of CO<sub>2</sub>.

The lack of warming for more than a decade — indeed, the smaller-than-predicted warming over the 22 years since the U.N.'s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) began issu-

ing projections — suggests that computer models have greatly exaggerated how much warming additional CO<sub>2</sub> can cause. Faced with this embarrassment, those promoting alarm have shifted their drumbeat from warming to weather extremes, to enable anything unusual that happens in our chaotic climate to be ascribed to CO<sub>2</sub>.

The fact is that CO<sub>2</sub> is not a pollutant. CO<sub>2</sub> is a colorless and odorless gas, exhaled at high concentrations by each of us, and a key component of the biosphere's life cycle. Plants do so much better with more CO<sub>2</sub> that greenhouse operators often increase the CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations by factors of three or four to get better growth. This is no surprise since plants and animals evolved when CO<sub>2</sub> concentrations were about 10 times larger than they are today. Better plant varieties, chemical fertilizers and agricultural management contributed to the great increase in agricultural yields of the past century, but part of the increase almost certainly came from additional CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere.

Although the number of publicly dissenting scientists is growing, many young scientists furtively say that while they also have serious doubts about the global-warming message, they are afraid to speak up for fear of not being promoted — or worse. They have good reason to worry. In 2003, Dr. Chris de Freitas, the editor of the journal *Climate Research*, dared to publish a peer-reviewed article with the politically incorrect (but factually correct) conclusion that the recent warming is not unusual in the context of climate changes over the past thousand years. The international warming establishment quickly mounted a determined campaign to have Dr. de Freitas removed from his editorial job and fired from his university position. Fortunately, Dr. de Freitas was able to keep his university job.

This is not the way science is supposed to work, but we have seen it before — for example, in the frightening period when Trofim Lysenko hijacked biology in the Soviet Union. Soviet biologists who revealed that they believed in genes, which Lysenko maintained were a bourgeois fiction, were fired from their jobs. Many were sent to the gulag and some were condemned to death.

Why is there so much passion about global warming, and why has the issue become so vexing that the American Physical Society, from which Dr. Giaever resigned a few months ago, refused the seemingly reasonable request by many of its members to remove the word "incontrovertible" from its description of a scientific issue? There are several reasons, but a good place to start is the old question "cui bono?" Or the modern update, "Follow the money."

Alarmism over climate is of great benefit to many, providing government funding for academic research and a reason for government bureaucracies to grow. Alarmism also offers an excuse for governments to raise taxes, taxpayer-funded subsidies for businesses that understand how to work the political system, and a lure for big donations to charitable foundations promising to save the planet. Lysenko and his team lived very well, and they fiercely defended their dogma and the privileges it brought them.

Speaking for many scientists and engineers who have looked carefully and independently at the science of climate, we have a message to any candidate for public office: There is no compelling scientific argument for drastic action to "decarbonize" the world's economy. Even if one accepts the inflated climate forecasts of the IPCC, aggressive greenhouse-gas control policies are not justified economically.

A recent study of a wide variety of policy options by Yale economist William Nordhaus showed that nearly the highest benefit-to-cost ratio is achieved for a policy that allows 50 more years of economic growth unimpeded by greenhouse gas controls. This would be especially beneficial to the less-developed parts of the world that would like to share some of the same

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

advantages of material well-being, health and life expectancy that the fully developed parts of the world enjoy now. Many other policy responses would have a negative return on investment. And it is likely that more CO<sub>2</sub> and the modest warming that may come with it will be an overall benefit to the planet.

If elected officials feel compelled to "do something" about climate, we recommend supporting the excellent scientists who are increasing our understanding of climate with well-designed instruments on satellites, in the oceans and on land, and in the analysis of observational data. The better we understand climate, the better we can cope with its ever-changing nature, which has complicated human life throughout history. However, much of the huge private and government investment in climate is badly in need of critical review.

Every candidate should support rational measures to protect and improve our environment, but it makes no sense at all to back expensive programs that divert resources from real needs and are based on alarming but untenable claims of "incontrovertible" evidence.

*Claude Allegre, former director of the Institute for the Study of the Earth, University of Paris; J. Scott Armstrong, cofounder of the Journal of Forecasting and the International Journal of Forecasting; Jan Breslow, head of the Laboratory of Biochemical Genetics and Metabolism, Rockefeller University; Roger Cohen, fellow, American Physical Society; Edward David, member, National Academy of Engineering and National Academy of Sciences; William Happer, professor of physics, Princeton; Michael Kelly, professor of technology, University of Cambridge, U.K.; William Kininmonth, former head of climate research at the Australian Bureau of Meteorology; Richard Lindzen, professor of atmospheric sciences, MIT; James McGrath, professor of chemistry, Virginia Technical University; Rodney Nichols, former president and CEO of the New York Academy of Sciences; Burt Rutan, aerospace engineer, designer of Voyager and SpaceShipOne; Harrison H. Schmitt, Apollo 17 astronaut and former U.S. senator; Nir Shaviv, professor of astrophysics, Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Henk Tennekes, former director, Royal Dutch Meteorological Service; Antonio Zichichi, president of the World Federation of Scientists, Geneva.*

## Text 2

### OPINION OF CLIMATE

*Countries will approve a climate treaty in 2015. Sort of.*

At the end of 2009 efforts to negotiate a global climate treaty crashed and burned in Copenhagen. At the time, the head of one charity described the city as "a climate crime scene" with "the guilty men and women fleeing to the airport".

Six years later governments will revisit the scene of the crime — metaphorically at least — when they gather in Paris to have another go at negotiating a climate treaty. This time they will bicker and squabble their way to a deal. Whether it will do much to rein in the growth of carbon emissions or satisfy any of the other hopes that were raised and dashed at Copenhagen is doubtful.

Much has changed since 2009. Most of it makes a deal somewhat more likely. A new generation of leaders has come to power. Indeed, only Barack Obama of the United States and Germany's Angela Merkel remain as heads of the largest polluters.

The new generation leads a world in which greenhouse-gas emissions have risen remorselessly since 2009. In 2015 annual average concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will rise

above 400 parts per million for the first time in over a million years. And even though global surface temperatures have not risen much for a decade, the risks of severe and irreversible damage from rising greenhouse-gas emissions are, according to most climate scientists, growing. In most countries (though not in America) climate change is seen as a significant threat.

Outdoor air pollution has become the largest source of premature death in the world. Politicians are also coming under increasing pressure from business, finance and markets. Two big reports published in 2014 (one from an international group of ex-presidents, heads of international financial institutions and economists; the other from American chief executives and former treasury secretaries) demonstrated a substantial change of mind among decision-makers that climate change needs to be tackled.

Some markets reflect these concerns. The corporate green-bond market, for example, which raises money from capital markets for companies to make environmentally friendly investments, is likely to hit \$100 billion in 2015; in 2009 it barely existed. As a result, the politics of a climate treaty have changed. In 2009, none of the three biggest national polluters — the United States, China and India — was ready for such a step. Now, they may be.

America's Senate will not ratify a treaty — these days, it never does — but executive actions by the Obama administration (such as limiting emissions from power stations) have ensured that the United States could abide by the terms of any likely climate treaty, rather as it conforms to the UN Law of the Sea, which it has not ratified.

In China the president, Xi Jinping, has given fighting pollution a higher profile. He has done so for domestic reasons, but may be prepared to approve a treaty based on steps he was planning anyway. India has long been cautious on global climate matters and is likely to remain so. The main reason for thinking it too might move is that its prime minister, Narendra Modi, was something of a green pioneer when chief minister of Gujarat.

It is true that some things have not changed. The Copenhagen talks foundered mainly on disagreements between rich and poor countries. The poor argued that the rich caused more of the carbon accumulation in the first place, and should do more to reduce it by paying poor countries extra to cut back on greenhouse gases. Their demands will grow. The rich replied that they were doing a lot but that developing countries, as the sources of most new emissions, needed to do more themselves. There is little sign that this disagreement has narrowed. Moreover, the European Union, which likes to see itself as a leader of climate talks, has been backing away from some of its recent green ambitions.

### **Better than nothing**

A new climate treaty will reflect such difficulties. Instead of looking like a traditional treaty, in which countries sign up to common obligations and promise to meet common targets, the new deal will allow countries to set their own goals, agreeing merely to revisit them regularly (which would help to give global investors confidence that the market for green goods will expand) and perhaps to promise to make goals more, rather than less, stringent in future.

Such a deal would be extremely modest. In practice it might merely codify what America, China and a few others were doing anyway. It would not be able to push countries into promising anything they do not want to do. But at least it would be something, which is more than Copenhagen managed.

**John Parker:** environment editor, *The Economist*, Nov 20th 2014  
From *The World In 2015* print edition

- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

**TASK 2**

Scan Text 1 to find out the views of the scientists:

Ivar Giaever  
Kevin Trenberth  
Dr. Chris de Freitas  
William Nordhaus

**TASK 3**

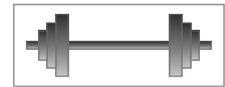
Read the texts thoroughly and analyse them, make use of the questions below:

1. Do you find the presentation of ideas objective or biased? Why?
2. Do you find the presentation convincing? Give your reasoning.
3. What is controversial about the phrase 'incontrovertible evidence'?

**TASK 4**

Look through the texts again and decide what use you can make of either or both (to make a presentation, to write an essay?)

1. Arguments
2. Facts
3. Sources of information

**DEVELOPING LISTENING SKILLS**

Listening for general information and identifying the tone of communication and attitudes of the speakers.

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052970204301404577171531838421366>

Princeton physics professor William Happer speaks on why a large number of scientists don't believe that carbon dioxide is causing global warming.

**TASK 1**

Listen to the interview for the answer to the above question.

**TASK 2**

Watch the interview again to identify the tone of

a) the interviewer as:

respectful  
ironic  
challenging  
???

b) Professor Happer as

assertive  
condescending  
hesitating  
cautious  
???

Decide whether the two of them are friendly and satisfied with the way the interview went. Pay attention to the body language.

**TASK 3**

See if you can answer the following without going through the video again:



1. What feedback did Professor Harper have from his students? His opponents?
2. What are his suggestions in terms of policy?
3. Do the sixteen 'concerned' scientists speak for many or few of their colleagues?

Before watching it again, try to guess what the answers could be.

DEVELOPING LOGICAL THINKING SKILLS

I. Revision: Logical tools

**A reminder:**

Deductive reasoning goes from the general to the specific, i.e. relies on theory If  $A=B$ , while  $B=C$ ,  $A=C$ .

If the premise is true, so is the conclusion.

e.g.

- According to the law of gravity objects always fall down, so if you drop anything out of the window it WILL fall down.
- To earn a master's degree, a student must have 32 credits. Tim has 40 credits, so Tim will earn a master's degree.

**TASK 1**



Read the following and decide whether this is a good example of deductive reasoning. If you find it wrong suggest your explanation.

An old cowboy goes into a bar and orders a drink. As he sits sipping his whiskey, a young lady sits down next to him. She turns to the cowboy and asks him, "Are you a real cowboy?"

He replies, "Well, I've spent my whole life on the ranch, herding horses, mending fences, and branding cattle, so I guess I am."

She says, "I am a lesbian. I spend my whole day thinking about women/ As soon as I get up in the morning, I think about women. When I shower or watch TV, everything seems to make me think of women."

A little while later, a couple sits down next to the old cowboy and asks him, "Are you a real cowboy?"

He replies, "I always thought I was, but I just found out I'm a lesbian."

*/from Plato and a Platypus Walk into a Bar... by Thomas Cathcart & Daniel Klein.34/*

[false premise: the cowboy is not a woman]

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

Inductive reasoning goes from the specific to the general, i.e. one starts with specific information (often based on observation) and makes a broader generalization that is considered probable, though not always accurate.

e.g.

- Observation shows that apples always fall down instead of up or sideways. Therefore, a more general hypothesis includes other falling bodies, like pears.
- Two-thirds of the students at this college receive student aid. Therefore, two-thirds of all college students receive student aid.

**TASK 2**

*Read the two extracts and decide which is inductive reasoning and which is deductive. Explain YOUR reasoning :).*



**Text A**

No dangerous global warming is currently taking place.

Over the last 16 years, global average temperature, as measured by both thermometers and satellite sensors, has displayed no statistically significant warming; over the same period, atmospheric carbon dioxide has increased by 10%.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a global warming of between 0.4°C and 0.7°C occurred, at a maximum rate, in the early decades of the century, of about 1.7°C/century. In comparison, our best regional climate records show that over the last 10,000 years natural climate cycling has resulted in temperature highs up to at least 1°C warmer than today, at rates of warming up to 2.5°C/century. Large increases in carbon dioxide have therefore not only failed to produce dangerous warming, but failed to produce any warming at all.

If global temperature is controlled primarily by atmospheric carbon dioxide levels, then changes in carbon dioxide should precede parallel changes in temperature. In fact, the opposite relationship applies at all time scales. Temperature change precedes carbon dioxide change by about 5 months during the annual seasonal cycle, and by about 700–1000 years during ice age climatic cycling.

*/from 'Global Warming: Anthropogenic or Not?'*

by Mario A. Lopez

| AITSE, January 20, 2013/

**Text B**

Cultures live in one of three states. The first state is barbarism. Barbarians believe that the customs of their village are the laws of nature and that anyone who doesn't live the way they live is beneath contempt and requiring redemption or destruction. [ ]

Europe was barbaric in the sixteenth century, as the self-certainty of Christianity fuelled the first conquests. The United States is just beginning its cultural and historical journey. Until now it has not been sufficiently coherent to have a definitive culture, which is inevitably barbaric. America is the place where the right wing despises Muslims for their faith and the left wing despises them for their treatment of women. Such seemingly different perspectives are tied together in the certainty that their own values are self-evidently best. And as with all barbaric cultures, Americans are ready to fight for their self-evident truths.

*/from The Next 100 Years*  
by George Friedman, p. 29/

## II. Testing an assumption

An essential part of writing and speaking logically is the skill of supporting a statement one makes with logical reasoning, otherwise the result is an unsubstantiated assumption.

### Example of Logical Reasoning

"If all beaches were publicly owned, we would have to rely on government funds to maintain them. It is true that more people would have access to the ocean and beaches, but at what cost? If the beaches are not cared for adequately, soon there will be nothing left worth having access to. We should consider carefully before nationalizing more coastal property."

Question:

- Which of the following, **if true**, would most weaken the argument above?
- A The public does not want additional access to beaches.
  - B The government is currently responsible for the maintenance of all public and private beaches.
  - C The public already has some access to many beaches.
  - D Other property has been nationalized in the past with no complaints from the original owners of the property.
  - E Some privately owned beaches are not well maintained.

— **Answer: B**

The evidence is that, while nationalizing will allow more people more access to beaches, it could also lead to WORSE beaches. The author points out that access to beaches is only good if the beaches themselves are cared for adequately and are therefore desirable. The author's conclusion is the last sentence: We should consider carefully before nationalizing more coastal property. So, the author believes we have reason to be concerned that the beaches won't be taken care of as **well as when they were privately owned, but nowhere is this claim supported; it is assumed.** So the answer choice must deny the central assumption and imply that the government would do a good job taking care of beaches. Choice two agrees with what we want, by saying that private beaches are cared for by the government. So, if the government were to nationalize those beaches, nothing changes: It should take on no new maintenance obligations, and we have little additional cause for concern about dirty beaches.

/from <https://www.wikijob.co.uk/wiki/logical-reasoning/>

### TASK 3

Read the extracts and analyse the author's logic. There is a question to help you find a weak point in Text 1.



1.

What the world needs to do to prevent Nightfall<sup>1</sup> is not really a mystery. The top priority is to avoid all-out nuclear war, and the way to do that is for the great powers to reduce their nuclear arsenals.

<sup>1</sup> **Nightfall** = the end of the world.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

Paradoxically, pursuing total disarmament may be a riskier course, because nuclear weapons cannot be uninvented. Great powers can always build new bombs in a hurry, and the really bad guys — terrorists and rulers of rogue states — will in any case ignore all agreements. Proliferation will increase the risk that wars will go nuclear across the next thirty to forty years, but the stablest situation will be one where the great powers have enough weapons to deter aggression but not enough to kill us all.

*/from Why the West Rules — for Now by Ian Morris p. 608/*

*Which of the following could weaken the author's arguments:*

1. Disarmament is the best protection from annihilation of mankind.
2. Reducing nuclear arsenals does not exclude the possibility of a nuclear war.
3. Non-proliferation is an unattainable goal.
4. It's impossible to maintain effective control over nuclear weapons everywhere.
5. As long as there are nukes somewhere there's a chance somebody will use them.

2.

The U.S.-Soviet confrontation — known as the Cold War — was a truly global conflict. It was basically a competition over who would inherit Europe's tattered global empire. Although there was vast military strength on both sides, the United States had an inherent advantage. The Soviet Union was enormous but essentially landlocked. America was almost as vast but had easy access to the world's oceans. While the Soviets could not contain the Americans, the Americans could certainly contain the Soviets. And that was the American strategy: to contain and thereby strangle the Soviets. From the North Cape of Norway to Turkey to the Aleutian Islands, the United States created a massive belt of allied nations, all bordering on the Soviet Union — a belt that after 1970 included China itself. At every point where the Soviets had a port, they found themselves blocked by geography and the United States Navy.

*/from The Next 100 Years by George Friedman, p. 24/*



Useful hint:

Start with identifying the claim the author DOES intend to support in this paragraph.

**TASK 4**

*Support the assumption below with appropriate sentences from the list.*



The motors of history are fear, sloth and greed.

1. Terror tends to trump laziness, and so when population grew after 1450, people leaped into action all over Eurasia out of anxiety about losing their status, going hungry or even starving.
2. [But] After 1600, greed also began trumping sloth as the Atlantic economy's ecological variety, cheap transport and open markets brought a world of little luxuries within reach of northwest Europe's everyday folk.
3. Time was money when there was much to buy; no more did "one-handed clocks sufficiently subdivide the day".
4. By the eighteenth century a man with a little extra cash in his pocket can do more than just buy another loaf of bread; he could get imports such as tea, coffee, tobacco, and sugar, and homemade marvels such as clay pipes, umbrellas and newspapers.

5. [And] The same Atlantic economy that generated that bounty also generated people ready to give such a man the cash he needed, because traders would buy every hat, gun, or blanket they could get to ship to Africa or America, and manufacturers would therefore pay people to make them.
6. Some farmers put their families to spinning and weaving; others joined workshops. Some gave up farming altogether; others found that feeding these hungry workers provided steady-enough markets to justify enclosing, draining, manuring land more intensively and buying more livestock.
7. For good or ill, by 1750 the world's first consumer culture had taken shape around the shores of the North Atlantic.

*/from Why the West Rules — for Now by Ian Morris, p. 469–470/*

## DEVELOPING WRITING SKILLS

### I. Writing an Essay

#### TASK 1

*Read the paragraph and evaluate the logic: answer the questions.*

1. What statement is made?
2. What evidence supports it?
3. Is it sufficient?
4. Are there concrete and relevant examples?
5. Do you find the logic convincing?

Throughout the Cold War, an alliance with the United States was always more profitable than with the Soviet Union. The Soviets could offer arms, political support, some technology, and a host of other things. But the Americans could offer access to their international trading system and the right to sell into the American economy. This dwarfed<sup>1</sup> everything else in importance. Exclusion from the system meant impoverishment; inclusion in the system meant wealth. Consider, as an example, the different fates of North and South Korea, West and East Germany.

#### TASK 2

*This extract comes from Introduction to Ian Morris's 'Why the West Rules — For Now'. Analyse its logic and coherence.*



What claim does the author make?

How well does he support it?

What do you expect the paragraphs to follow this extract should be about?

To say that the West 'rules' might sound a little strong; after all, however we define "the West", Westerners have not exactly been running a world government since the 1840s, and regularly fail to get their own way. Many of us are old enough to remember America's ignominious scramble out of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) in 1975 and the way Japanese factories drove Western rivals out of business in the 1980s. Even more of us now have the sense that everything we buy is made in China. Yet it is also obvious that in the last hundred years or so Westerners have shipped armies

<sup>1</sup> **to dwarf** — to make smth seem unimportant

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

to Asia, not the other way around. East Asian governments have struggled with Western capitalist and Communist theories, but no Western governments have tried to rule on Confucian or Daoist lines. Easterners often communicate across linguistic barriers in English; Europeans rarely do so in Mandarin or Japanese. As a Malaysian lawyer bluntly told the British journalist Martin Jacques, "I am wearing your clothes, I speak your language, I watch your films, and today is whatever date it is because you say so."

The list could go on. Since Victoria's days the West has maintained a global dominance without parallel in history. [ ] To explain this might not look like a very difficult task. Nearly everyone agrees that the West rules because the industrial revolution happened there, not in the East. In the eighteenth century British entrepreneurs unleashed the energies of steam and coal. Factories, railroads and gunboats gave nineteenth-century Europeans and Americans the ability to project power globally; airplanes, computers, and nuclear weapons allowed their twentieth-century successors to cement their dominance.

This did not mean that everything had to turn out exactly as it did, of course. If Captain Elliot had not forced Lord Melbourne's hand in 1839, the British might not have attacked China that year; if Commissioner Lin had paid more attention to coastal defences, the British might not have succeeded so easily. But it does mean that irrespective of when matters came to a head and of who sat on the thrones, won the elections, or led the armies, the West was always going to win in the nineteenth century. The British poet and politician Hilaire Belloc summed it up nicely in 1898:

*Whatever happens we have got  
The Maxim Gun, and they have not.*

End of story.

Except, of course, this is not the end of the story. It just prompts a new question: Why had the West got the Maxim gun when the rest had not? The answer will tell us why the West rules today; and armed with the answer, we can pose a second question. One of the reasons people care about why the West rules is that they want to know whether, how long, and in what ways this will continue — that is, what will happen next.

### TASK 3

*Write an essay on one of the issues of 'The West-The Rest', 'The East/ACEAN — Russia' relations', 'The Prospects of BRICS'.*

## II. Describing Graphs, Charts and Tables

The skill of analysing and describing graphs, charts, tables is indispensable in writing survey reports and statistical stories. It is no less useful in writing essays and making presentations.

### TASK 1

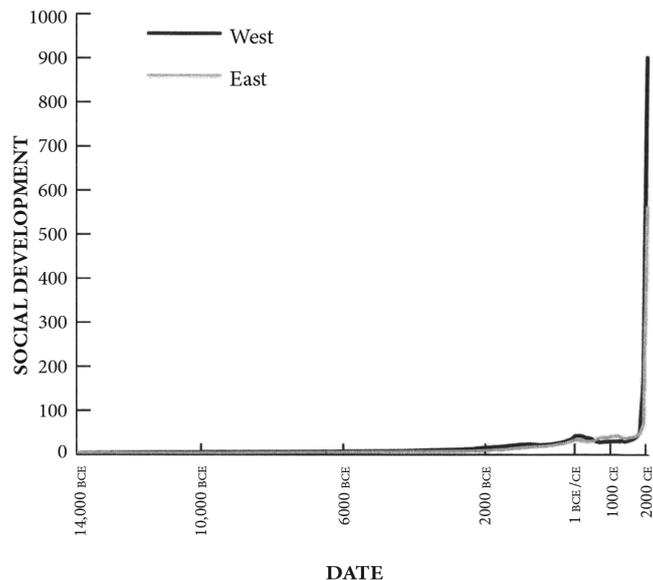
*Listen and watch the video "How to Describe Graphs and Trends in English", which will help you to develop the skill. Make a list of words and phrases to use in doing the tasks below.*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1uAlmH4GwA>

Graphs and charts are said to present information that words cannot adequately or effectively convey. Analysing and describing graphs may appear a tedious and boring job not worth the effort, to some, while others may find it too challenging. In fact, graphs and charts are no mere illustrations but a useful source of information as the example below illustrates.

### Graph1

Keeping score: Eastern and Western social development since 14,000 BCE<sup>1</sup>



“What do we see? Frankly, not much, unless your eyesight is a lot better than mine. The Eastern and Western lines run so close together that it is hard even to distinguish them, and they barely bulge off (выступать) the bottom of the graph until 3000 BCE. Even then, not much seems to happen until just a few centuries ago, when both lines abruptly take an almost ninety-degree turn and shoot straight up.

But this rather disappointing-looking graph in fact tells us two very important things. First, Eastern and Western social development have not differed very much; at the scale we are looking at, it is hard to tell them apart through most of history. Second, something profound happened in the last few centuries, by far the fastest and greatest transformation in history.”

(Ian Morris, *Why the West Rules — for Now*, p. 161)

See? In the tasks below you will have a chance to practice the skill :)

There is another graph the author uses to make a point about the dominant role of energy in measuring social development.

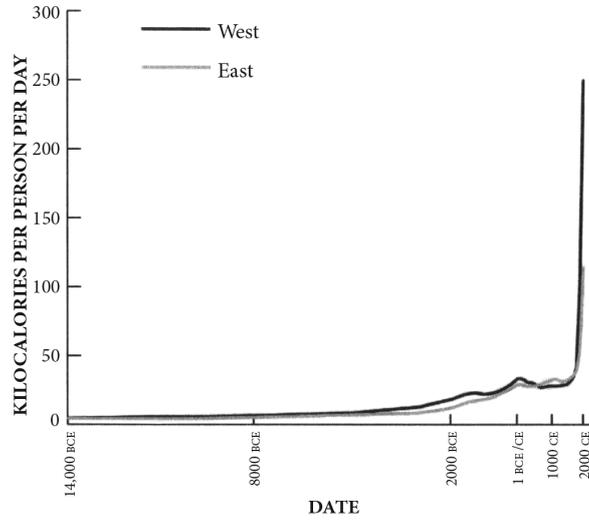
### TASK 2

*Have a look at the graph below and in pairs discuss what you see in it and compare with the one above. Once you have come to a conclusion, read Ian Morris’s comment.*

<sup>1</sup> BCE is an abbreviation for ‘before the Common/Current/Christian Era’ (an alternative to Before Christ, abbreviated BC). The use of BCE (=BC) and CE (=AD) has increased dramatically since the 1980s.

**Graph 2**

**Energy alone: how East and West compare if we just look at energy capture per person**

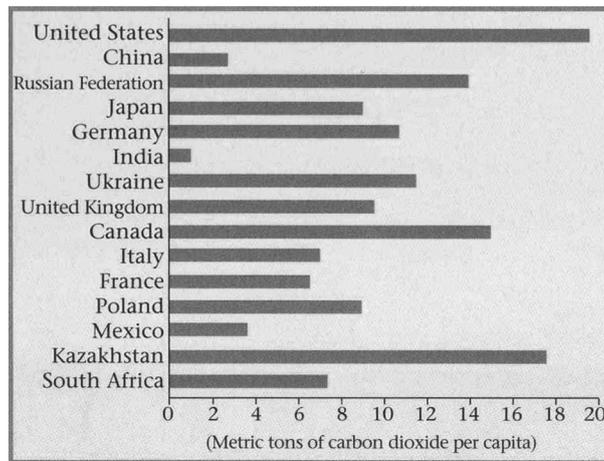


The graph shows what an energy-alone index would look like. It is different from the one above], but not hugely so. In the energy-alone graph, the West still leads the East for 90 percent of the time, the East still overtakes it between roughly 550 and 1750 CE, there is still a hard ceiling that blocks the development around 100 and 1100 CE (at just over 30,000 kilocalories per person per day), postindustrial revolution scores still dwarfs those of earlier ages, and in 2000 the west still rules.

Energy, indeed, is always relevant whatever political issues are discussed. As climate change is one of the central issues of Unit IV, the following two charts from a different source are included in this EAP Corner.

**Chart 1**

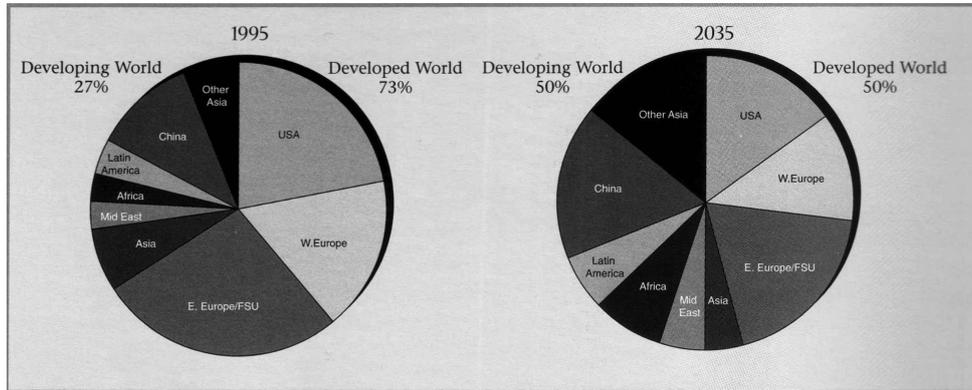
**Per Capita Carbon Dioxide Releases for the Countries with the Highest Total Emissions by Industrial Sources, 1992.**



*/from Valuing the Global Environment. Actions and Investments for a 21st Century. Global Environment Faculty, 1998/*

**Chart 2**

**Relative Global Emissions of Carbon Dioxide**



**TASK 3**

Study the charts and share your conclusions with a partner. Decide which of you is to describe (in writing) the first chart and which — the other.

Useful tips:

1. Define the type: pie or bar chart.
2. Read the title.
3. Study the chart: how does the graphic image convey what the title promises.
4. Study the details: dates, parameters, countries or groups of countries, etc.
5. Find out what exactly you learn from the chart.

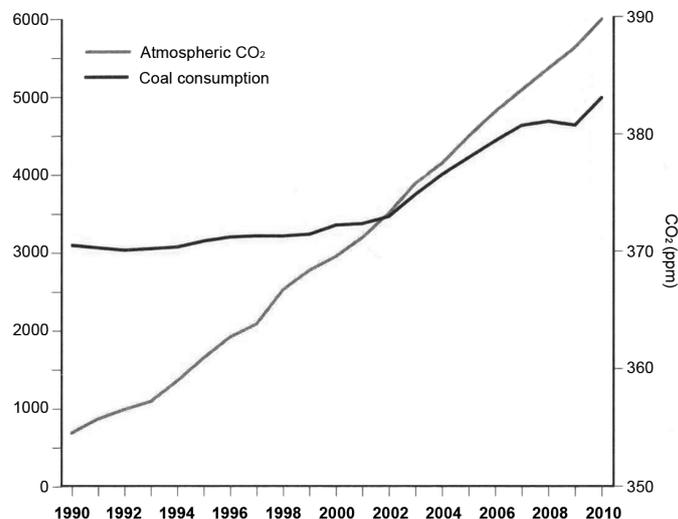
**TASK 4**

Describe the graph and two charts below. You may find the information quite useful to prepare for a panel discussion on a climate change issue.



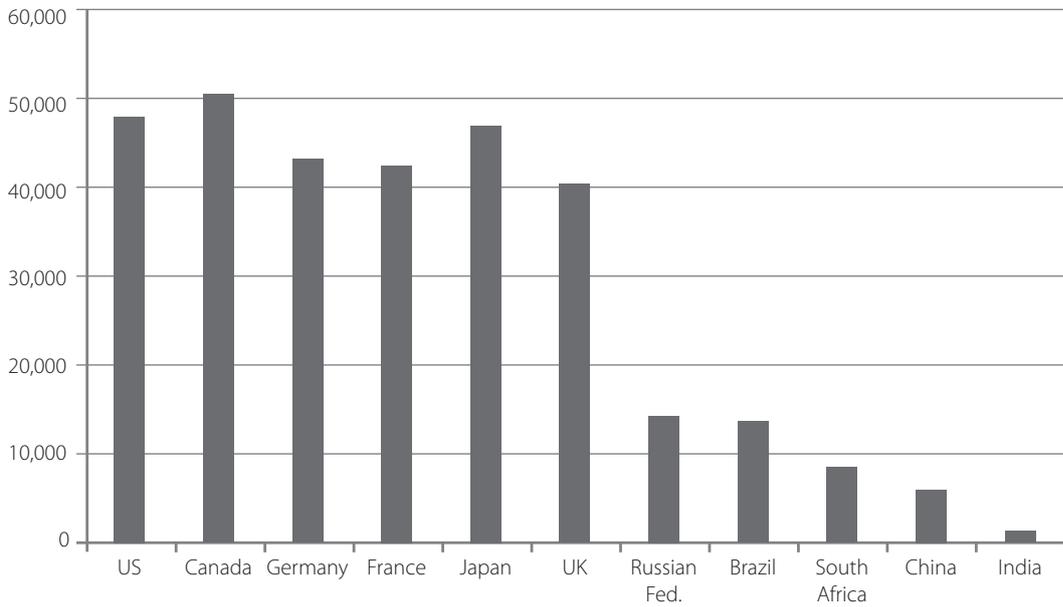
**Graph 3**

**Coal Consumption (million tonnes) versus Atmospheric Concentration of CO<sub>2</sub> (ppm)**



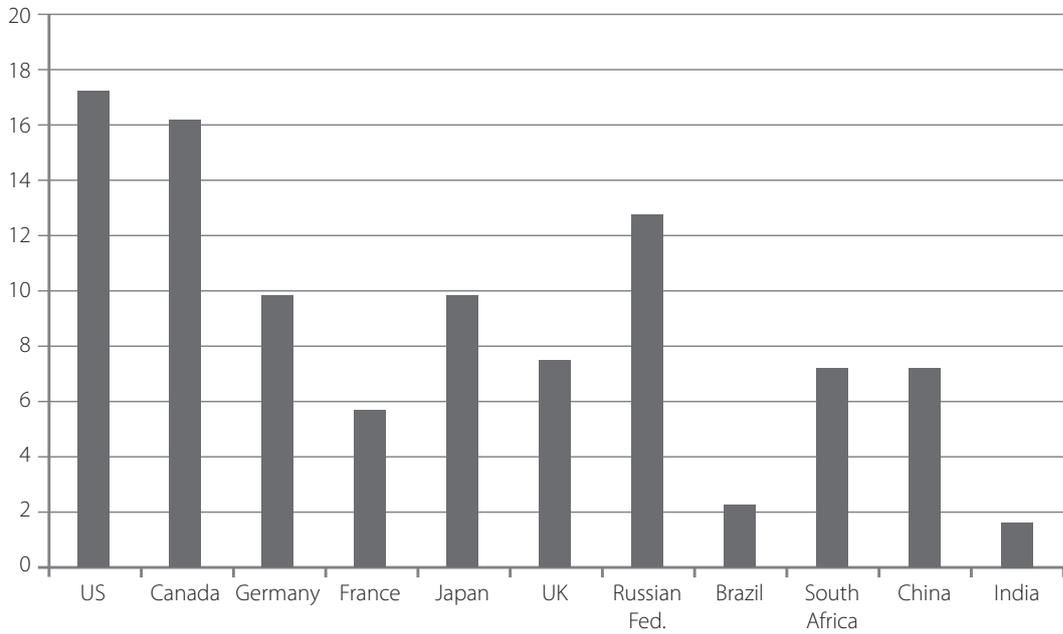
**Chart 3**

**GDP per Head of Population by Country, 2011**



**Chart 4**

**CO2 Emissions per Head of Population by Country, 2011**  
**ВСТАВИТЬ (C.59 The Carbon Crunch)**



# **UNIT V**

## **HUMAN RIGHTS AND POLITICS**

# THE ROAD MAP FOR UNIT V

## SPEAKING

---

### DEBATING: CHOOSING THE FORMAT

*Holding a panel discussion or a debate on a human rights issue (for details see p. 81)*

### TERM PRESENTATION

*Making a power point presentation based on an analysis of an issue relevant to the topic 'Human Rights and Politics' (for details see p. 79)*

## INTEGRATING CORE SKILLS

---

### PROJECT WORK

*'Contributing' to the Course Book (for details see p. 80)*

#### Stage 1

*Look through the texts in Unit V and the articles in the Reader relevant to the issue of human rights. Suggest a topic on which an article should be included in the unit as Reading 3*

#### Stage 2



*Share your suggestions with the classmates. Team up with those who share your view and find an appropriate article on the Internet*

#### Stage 3



*Evaluate your classmates' 'contributions', use the criteria you agreed on in Unit IV. Write a review of the article you consider the best choice*

#### Stage 4



*Read all the reviews and have a vote to decide on the winner*

## LEAD-IN

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. How can you define human rights?
2. Do you know how far back the concept of human rights goes?

1. Look through the following excerpts and in pairs decide what human rights documents they belong to. Make use of the list below (one document is extra).

<b>A</b>	The English Bill of Rights	<b>D</b>	The Magna Carta
<b>B</b>	The Helsinki Accords	<b>E</b>	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights
<b>C</b>	The American Declaration of Independence	<b>F</b>	The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen

What do you know about these documents? Do you know any others?

#### #1

**(39) NO FREE MAN SHALL BE SEIZED OR IMPRISONED, OR STRIPPED OF HIS RIGHTS OR POSSESSIONS, OR OUTLAWED OR EXILED, OR DEPRIVED OF HIS STANDING IN ANY WAY, NOR WILL WE PROCEED WITH FORCE AGAINST HIM, OR SEND OTHERS TO DO SO, EXCEPT BY THE LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS EQUALS OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND.  
+ (40) TO NO ONE WILL WE SELL, TO NO ONE DENY OR DELAY RIGHT OR JUSTICE.**

#### #2

1. Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions may be founded only upon the general good.
2. The aim of all political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation.
4. Liberty consists in the freedom to do everything which injures no one else; hence the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which assure to the other members of the society the enjoyment of the same rights. These limits can only be determined by law.
5. Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law.
6. Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate personally, or through his representative, in its foundation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, being equal in the eyes of the law, are equally eligible to all dignities and to all public positions and occupations, according to their abilities, and without distinction except that of their virtues and talents.
7. No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law. Any one soliciting, transmitting, executing, or causing to be executed, any arbitrary order, shall be punished. But any citizen summoned or arrested in virtue of the law shall submit without delay, as resistance constitutes an offense.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

8. The law shall provide for such punishments only as are strictly and obviously necessary, and no one shall suffer punishment except it be legally inflicted in virtue of a law passed and promulgated before the commission of the offense.

9. As all persons are held innocent until they shall have been declared guilty, if arrest shall be deemed indispensable, all harshness not essential to the securing of the prisoner's person shall be severely repressed by law.

10. No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law.

11. The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law.

#3

*And thereupon the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties declare*

*That the pretended power of suspending the laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal;*

*That the pretended power of dispensing with laws or the execution of laws by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal;*

*That election of members of Parliament ought to be free;*

*That the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament;*

#4

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

#5

**Article 1.**

- All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

**Article 2.**

- Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

**Article 3.**

- Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

**Article 4.**

- No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

**Article 5.**

- No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

**Article 6.**

- Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

**Article 7.**

- All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

**Article 8.**

- Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

**Article 9.**

- No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

**Article 10.**

- Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Scan the text “*The Rights of Man over the Centuries*” to find out if you identified the excerpts correctly.

### THE RIGHTS OF MAN OVER THE CENTURIESE

These days it is usually not long before a problem is expressed as a human rights issue. This book looks at where the concept of human rights came from and how the human rights movement has developed a set of obligations that apply worldwide.

The standard Western account of the tradition of human rights is somewhat problematic. Early legal developments in the area of human rights are said to have emerged from the *Magna Carta* of 1215, a contract between the English King John and the Barons who were dissatisfied with the taxes being levied by the monarch. But, although this agreement guaranteed rights for a *freeman* not to

be 'arrested, or detained in prison, or deprived of his freehold, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way molested... unless by lawful judgment of his peers and the law of the land', this guarantee was simply a right to trial by jury granted exclusively to property-owning men. The rights contained in the *Magna Carta* were not human rights, but rather political settlements. Human rights belong to all human beings and therefore cannot be restricted to a select group of privileged men. From a contemporary perspective, the *Magna Carta* turns out to be a rather unfortunate example of a human rights declaration. Suffice it to cite one sentence, clause 54 of the *Magna Carta* reads: 'No one shall be arrested or imprisoned on the appeal of a woman for the death of any person except her husband.'

The *English Bill of Rights* of 1689 is similarly sometimes considered a stepping stone to today's texts. Parliament declared that 'no excessive fine be imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishment [be] inflicted'. It also stated, however, 'That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defence suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.' Like the *Magna Carta*, the *Bill of Rights* was in fact a political settlement; this time between a Parliament and the King (who had abused the rights of Protestants), in order to vindicate 'ancient rights and liberties'. [...]

The modern concept of human rights is thus traditionally easily traced to the ideas and texts adopted at the end of the 18th century! It is well known that the 1776 *American Declaration of Independence* stated: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' The French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen* followed in 1789, and its familiar first two articles recognized and proclaimed that 'Men are born and remain free and equal in rights' and that 'The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and inalienable rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.' These revolutionary Declarations represent attempts to enshrine human rights as guiding principles in the constitutions of new states or polities. Still, the rights they referred to were mostly relevant only to those states in relation to their citizens, and only specific groups could benefit from their protection. The Declarations were inspired by a liberal conception of society and a belief in natural law, human reason, and universal order. Rights were believed (by men) to be the exclusive property of those possessing the capacity to exercise rational choice (a group that excluded women). Attempts by Olympe de Gouge to promote (by appealing to Queen Marie Antoinette) a *Declaration of the Rights of Women* and a 'Social Contract between Man and Woman', regulating property and inheritance rights, fell on deaf ears. In England, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* appealed for a revision of the French Constitution to respect the rights of women, arguing that men could not decide for themselves what they judged would be best for women. The denial of women's rights condemned women to the sphere of their families and left them 'groping in the dark' [...]

Today, when governments, activists, or United Nations documents refer to 'human rights' they are almost certainly referring to the human rights recognized in international and national law rather than rights in a moral or philosophical sense. Of course, philosophical debate will continue to illuminate (or sometimes obscure) the reasons why we think human rights are important and how to best develop them. But for the moment, the content of human rights is usually understood by reference to the legal catalogue of human rights we find developed through international texts. [...]

The key text for us today is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. Proclaiming the Universal Declaration and continually reaffirming the obligations that stem from it, the UN General Assembly has given an international meaning to the expression 'human rights'. [...]

The major controversy for diplomats at the time of the Declaration's adoption was not the validity of the values contained in the Declaration, but rather the antagonism between the Socialist bloc and the West. In the end, the Socialist states were unable to achieve their vision of an effective implementation of economic and social rights and abstained from the vote on the Declaration. The Western powers, while keen to trumpet their own political model as superior, were at the same time careful to ensure the Declaration had no immediate legal effect. [...]

Even if there is universal acceptance of human rights message, there is still discord over what constitutes a human right and how rights should be implemented. Clearly, a starting point should be enforcement at the national level. Today, in many states national laws reproduce, or give effect to, international human rights (i.e. international human rights are 'translated' into the national legal order). Needless to say, this is by no means a perfect process and many rights get 'lost in translation'.

/Andrew Clapham. *HUMAN RIGHTS: A very Short Introduction*. OUP, 2007/

## Speak Up



### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you think Andrew Clapham means when he maintains that "many rights get 'lost in translation'"?
2. Do you share Clapham's view that HR enforcement at the national level presents a major problem in the modern world?

## LISTENING 1

### Human Rights

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kbul3hxYGNU>

### VOCABULARY

1. **Innate** — inborn, inherent
2. **Facet** — one of numerous aspects
3. **To uphold (human rights)** — maintain, affirm
4. **Impunity** — exemption from punishment or penalty
5. **Watchdog** — a person or group of persons that act as a protector or guardian against inefficiency, illegal practices, etc.
6. **Contention** — dispute in an argument; a point contended for or affirmed in a controversy

### PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. What do you think the principles of universality and indivisibility of human rights imply?
2. What, to your knowledge, are the most violated human rights?
3. Are there any international mechanisms to deal with these violations?

### VIEWING

*Watch the video and answer the questions that follow.*

1. What are human rights?
2. Explain the concept of universality of human rights.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

3. What UN documents form the legal basis for human rights?
4. What are the three dimensions of human rights? What rights does each of them deal with?
5. What does the principle of indivisibility of human rights imply?
6. Who is responsible for implementing and upholding human rights?
7. What issues does the UN Human Rights council deal with?
8. What is the UN Security Council concerned with?
9. What is the High Commissioner for Human Rights responsible for?
10. Which body has the authority to investigate and pass sentence on particularly grave breaches of human rights?
11. Why are the powers of this body still limited?
12. What role does civil society play in safeguarding human rights?
13. What are NGOs such as Amnesty International concerned with?
14. What are the controversial aspects about human rights?

### Speak Up

#### DISCUSSION QUESTION

What is your opinion on the controversial HR issues?

#### FOLLOW-UP

Watch the video at home and make up a list of Topic Vocabulary.



### READING 1

#### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. Do you know how long human rights have been part of international relations?
2. What, to your knowledge, does the concept 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) imply?

*Look through the text to find out if you answered correctly.*

#### HUMAN RIGHTS IN FOREIGN POLICY

*/Andrew Clapham. HUMAN RIGHTS: A very Short Introduction. OUP, 2007/*

The idea that governments can legitimately concern themselves with the way in which another state treats its own nationals is a relatively recent innovation in international relations. The concept of non-interference in domestic affairs loomed large for much of the 20th century and was seen to foreclose meaningful human rights foreign policy.

By the time of the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1998, it was becoming commonplace to raise human rights issues in foreign relations, but many of those concerned with *realpolitik*<sup>1</sup> saw the exchanges as little more than cosmetic. Interviewed for the anniversary, Alan Clarke, the former British Defence Minister, saw the clash of interests in the following terms:

<sup>1</sup> **Realpolitik** — politics based on practical and material factors rather than on theoretical or ethical objectives.

My principal duty is to the people of my own country. Diplomacy is a matter of reconciling, either by compromise or threat, conflicting national interests, and the considerations about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights come fairly low on the list of priorities.

Such an approach has nearly always governed international relations and is still prevalent in parts of important foreign ministries, but the significant point is that perceptions about what are the actual 'national interests' can change. Governments are increasingly susceptible to the idea that the nation wants issues of human rights raised with other governments in meaningful ways, and that improving human rights abroad may indeed be in the national interest: as security threats diminish, international stability increases. In addition, we can idealistically hope that the national interest includes the idea that millions of nationals are actually altruistic, rather than selfish, and are concerned about remedying the suffering of others, wherever they may be.

Many national governments have more recently established human rights units within their foreign offices, advisory committees on human rights, and even ministers for human rights. As the legal framework develops, and as rhetoric gives way to constructive discussion, more and more governments may come to see human rights policy and expertise as something central to all aspects of government and foreign relations. Of course, there is a difference between proclaiming that human rights are at the heart of foreign policy, and actually changing the way decisions are taken. Respect for human rights may now be said to be a factor to be considered in a number of spheres of inter-state decision making:

- admission to certain international and regional organizations;
- trade agreements and preferential tariffs; export credit guarantees;
- arms transfers;
- foreign direct investment;
- cooperation with international financial institutions;
- UN technical assistance programmes;
- development work;
- international investment agreements;
- customs communities; and
- the maintenance of international peace and security.

The human rights record or reputation of a state can adversely affect any of the above. A willingness to improve human rights has also almost become a condition for entering into a range of diverse arrangements with other states. One obvious example is that respect for human rights has become a formal pre-condition for admission to the European Union. In short, all states, through their representatives, now care about how their human rights record is regarded internationally. In contrast to this apparent progress, we must remind ourselves that promoting human rights in other countries still comes pretty low down the list of priorities when there is a perceived clash with other competing 'national interests'. The extent to which this will change depends on the enthusiasm of people to hold their leaders to a human rights foreign policy that reorganizes these priorities.

### **The limits of human rights foreign policy**

The promotion of human rights through foreign policy may be open to criticism on several grounds. First, there is the reaction from certain states which see a creeping justification for the use of military force. There was a sharp reaction from key states to the NATO bombing of Serbia (in connection with Kosovo). The speech of the Chinese Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva illustrates the suspicion which human rights foreign policy can arouse in states.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

Recently, some people turn upside down the relationship between sovereignty and human rights in an attempt to impose with force their human rights values on others, and even with this excuse pursue a hegemonic (hegemonic) policy and legalize their aggression activities. If this policy is stubbornly pursued, not only protection of human rights could not be genuinely guaranteed, but even global peace and security will be under threat.

President Yeltsin of Russia rebuked the United States with regard to the NATO bombing in similar terms, rejecting the human rights justification:

... not all of the ideas which have surfaced in the course of discussions about the future of Europe strike us as being well-founded. I have in mind the calls for 'humanitarian intervention' — a new idea — in the internal affairs of another State, even when they are made under the pretext of defending human rights and freedoms. We all know what disproportionate consequences such intervention can have. It is sufficient to recall NATO's aggression, spearheaded by the United States of America, against Yugoslavia.

This suspicion that claims about human rights violations are being used as a pretext to justify military intervention has not gone away since the Kosovo intervention in 1999. In fact, there has been a greater conceptualization of the connection between human rights violations and military intervention. The developing recognition of the need to repress and prevent international crimes, such as genocide and other crimes against humanity, has been linked to the developing possibility of a right for states to intervene militarily in another state on humanitarian grounds (so-called 'humanitarian intervention'). Following the disagreement in the UN Security Council over the 1999 NATO intervention to protect the population of Kosovo, various governments, including that of the United Kingdom, sought to outline situations in which it would be legal for states to use force against another state in the face of a 'humanitarian catastrophe'.

The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty reoriented the popular notion of 'humanitarian intervention' into a 'responsibility to protect'. The idea of the 'responsibility to protect' was presented by the Commission as being derived from a need to avoid a perceived militarization of humanitarian work and to avoid prejudging the motives for intervention by simply labelling them 'humanitarian'. There was a desire to force a reconceptualization of the issues. Heads of State and Government, meeting at the UN's 2005 Summit, endorsed this new concept and declared themselves ready to take timely decisive collective action when states are manifestly failing to protect their populations from 'genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity'. While a strict reading of the text does not alter the need for the approval of the UN Security Council before military force is used, the developments in this field raise the possibility for states to feel more comfortable using military force against another state in response to the latter failure to protect its people. [...]

An assessment of human rights-based justifications for the use of military force is complicated by the following factors. First, in many situations there will be a danger that the necessary force used to intervene could do more harm than good. People get killed in military interventions; how many deaths are justified to save more lives? Even where human rights violations are actually ongoing, human rights activists have sometimes balked<sup>1</sup> at supporting the use of military force in the name of human rights. The US-based organization Human Rights Watch wrote in its 2004 World Report:

<sup>1</sup> **To balk** — to be unwilling to do something or let something happen, because you believe it is wrong or that it will cause problems

Now that the war's proponents are relying so significantly on a humanitarian rationale for the war, the need to assess this claim has grown in importance. We conclude that, despite the horrors of Saddam Hussein's rule, the invasion of Iraq cannot be justified as a humanitarian intervention. [...]

A second strand of opposition sees Western human rights foreign policy as disguising hegemonic ambitions and rejects human rights as incompatible with so-called 'Asian values'. Part of the Asian values reaction is a simple rejection of Western interference in the political affairs of certain countries in the Far East. But another part comes from a sense that the Western notion of human rights has paid little attention to correlative responsibilities which ought to accompany the exercise of human rights. [...]

Third, a human rights foreign policy may suggest that promoting human rights is about changing what *other* governments do, rather than examining respect for these rights at home. Foreign ministries are unlikely to turn their attention to domestic human rights violations. For example, the US Department of State's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices does not cover the human rights situation in the United States. The Assistant Secretary of State explained at the launch of the 2005 report:

The 196 reports include every member country of the UN, except of course the United States. We do however consider the human rights performance of any government, including our own, to be a legitimate subject for international comment and debate.

Human rights foreign policy is always skewed towards the 'other'. For some time this really was a one-way street. Today, not only is there a preparedness on the part of some governments to publicly criticize another government's human rights record, but we now see that a target government is often ready to turn the tables. Consider the following exchange between the United States and China at the UN Commission on Human Rights in 2000:

The US Secretary of State, Madeleine Albright, arguing for a resolution expressing concern over the human rights situation in China, presented her case as follows:

[China] has signed the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Unfortunately, its official policies have always fallen well short of these standards, and deteriorated markedly this past year.

During that period, there were widespread arrests of those seeking to exercise their right to peaceful political expression. Thousands of members of the Falun Gong movement were detained. Authorities continued to limit the ability of Christians, Muslims, and Buddhists to worship in accordance with custom and conscience. Minority groups such as the Tibetans and Uighurs were barred from fully exercising their cultural and linguistic heritage.

Qiao Zonghuai, the Chinese Ambassador, robustly exercised his 'right of reply':

The United States is used to pointing fingers at other countries' human rights situation, but back in its own country, there exist gross violations of human rights: notorious racial discrimination, police brutality, torture in prison, infringement on women's rights and campus gun killings. A country like the US with such poor human rights record has no right to judge other countries' human rights situation at UN forum. We advise that, instead of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries under the pretext of human rights, the US should spend more time to examine its own human rights situation. Otherwise it will end up with lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet.

This is not an exchange about 'Asian values'. This is about seeing that human rights foreign policy is only convincing when rooted in respect for the same values at home. [...]

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

Fourth, governments do not promote all rights in all places. Different governments have different priorities. The United States, for instance, has failed to embrace economic and social rights or the right to development. The United States treats the promotion of the rights of the child as liable to conflict with established parental rights in US law, and it obviously takes a back seat with regard to concerns about the death penalty. [...]

The extent to which the human rights record of a country is actually raised in international relations still depends on the willingness of governments seriously to raise such issues. Enthusiasm for human rights in foreign policy ebbs and flows. [...]

Raising human rights through diplomatic channels can sometimes lead to concrete results, but such *démarches* are usually of little use without the threat of some sanction or positive incentive. The former EU Commissioner Chris Patten has written of his frustration at the hours of wasted time spent negotiating human rights clauses in agreements that he knew would never be activated against violating states. In Patten's words: 'Winking at electrodes<sup>1</sup>, as it were, makes for wretched diplomacy. Few authoritarian governments go weak at the knees at the prospect of a European *demarche*'.

However, all states have a human rights foreign policy to the extent that they participate in the human rights debates and initiatives at the United Nations.

### Notes

1. **Humanitarian intervention** has been defined as a state's use of "military force against another state when the chief publicly declared aim of that military action is ending human-rights violations being perpetrated by the state against which it is directed." This definition may be too narrow as it precludes non-military forms of intervention such as humanitarian aid and international sanctions. On this broader understanding, "Humanitarian intervention should be understood to encompass... non-forcible methods, namely intervention undertaken without military force to alleviate mass human suffering within sovereign borders." There is no one standard or legal definition of humanitarian intervention; there is, however, a general consensus on some of its essential characteristics:
  - Humanitarian intervention involves the threat and use of military forces as a central feature.
  - It is an intervention in the sense that it entails interfering in the internal affairs of a state by sending military forces into the territory or airspace of a sovereign state that has not committed an act of aggression against another state.
  - The intervention is in response to situations that do not necessarily pose direct threats to states' strategic interests, but instead is motivated by humanitarian objectives.

The subject of humanitarian intervention has remained a compelling foreign policy issue, especially since NATO's intervention in Kosovo in 1999, as it highlights the tension between the principle of state sovereignty — a defining pillar of the UN system and international law — and evolving international norms related to human rights and the use of force. Moreover, it has sparked normative and empirical debates over its legality, the ethics of using military force to respond to human rights violations, when it should occur, who should intervene,] and whether it is effective.

<sup>1</sup> 'electrodes' here stand for 'torture' (some types of torture use electrodes fixed to particularly sensitive parts of the victim's body)

To its proponents, it marks imperative action in the face of human rights abuses, over the rights of state sovereignty, while to its detractors it is often viewed as a pretext for military intervention often devoid of legal sanction, selectively deployed and achieving only ambiguous ends. Its frequent use following the end of the Cold War suggested to many that a new norm of military humanitarian intervention was emerging in international politics, although some now argue that the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the US "war on terror" have brought the era of humanitarian intervention to an end. James Pattison, however, has recently argued that the NATO intervention in Libya has bucked this trend.

2. Although usually considered to be categorically distinct from most definitions of humanitarian intervention, the emergence of a '**Responsibility to protect**' (R2P) deserves mention. *Responsibility to Protect* is the name of a report produced in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) which was established by the Canadian government in response to the history of unsatisfactory humanitarian interventions. The report sought to establish a set of clear guidelines for determining when intervention is appropriate, what the appropriate channels for approving an intervention are and how the intervention itself should be carried out.

'Responsibility to protect' seeks to establish a clearer code of conduct for humanitarian interventions and also advocates a greater reliance on non-military measures. The report also criticises and attempts to change the discourse and terminology surrounding the issue of humanitarian intervention. It argues that the notion of a 'right to intervene' is problematic and should be replaced with the 'responsibility to protect'. Under 'Responsibility to Protect' doctrine, rather than having a right to intervene in the conduct of other states, states are said to have a responsibility to intervene and protect the citizens of another state where that other state has failed in its obligation to protect its own citizens.

This responsibility is said to involve three stages: to prevent, to react and to rebuild. 'Responsibility to Protect' has gained strong support in some circles, such as in Canada, a handful of European and African nations, and among proponents of human security, but has been criticised by others, with some Asian nations being among the chief dissenters.

3. **Madeleine Jana Korbel Albright** (born on May 15, 1937) is a Czechoslovakian-born American politician and diplomat. She is the first woman to have become the United States Secretary of State. She was nominated by U.S. President Bill Clinton on December 5, 1996, and was unanimously confirmed by a U.S. Senate vote of 99–0. She was sworn in on January 23, 1997.

Albright currently serves as a professor of International Relations at Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service. She holds a PhD from Columbia University and numerous honorary degrees. In May 2012, she was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom by U.S. President Barack Obama. Secretary Albright also serves as a director on the board of the Council on Foreign Relations.

4. The **International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)** is a multilateral treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 16 December 1966, and in force from 23 March 1976. It commits its parties to respect the civil and political rights of individuals, including the right to life, freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, electoral rights and rights to due process and a fair trial. As of April 2014, the Covenant has 74 signatories and 168 parties.

## COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

A. *In pairs, discuss how you understand the clauses/sentences below. If still in doubt, discuss them as a class.*

1. The concept of non-interference in domestic affairs loomed large for much of the 20th century ...
2. ... but many of those concerned with realpolitik saw the exchanges as little more than cosmetic.
3. ... we can idealistically hope that the national interest includes the idea that millions of nationals are actually altruistic, rather than selfish ...
4. A second strand of opposition ... rejects human rights as incompatible with so-called 'Asian values'.
5. Human rights foreign policy is always skewed towards the 'other'. For some time this really was a one-way street.
6. ... we now see that a target government is often ready to turn the tables.
7. The United States is used to pointing fingers at other countries' human rights situation ...
8. Otherwise it (the US) will end up with lifting a rock only to drop it on its own feet.
9. ... it (the US) obviously takes a back seat with regard to concerns about the death penalty.
10. Enthusiasm for human rights in foreign policy ebbs and flows.
11. Winking at electrodes ... makes for wretched diplomacy.
12. Few authoritarian governments go weak at the knees at the prospect of a European *demarche*.

B. *Answer the questions on the text.*

1. Why weren't human rights on the foreign policy agenda for most of the 20th century?
2. In what spheres of international relations does a human rights record matter now?
3. What is the current approach to protecting human rights abroad?
4. In what way can improving human rights in another country serve national interests?
5. Why is the human rights aspect of foreign policy being criticized?
6. Why was the notion of 'humanitarian intervention' reoriented into 'responsibility to protect'?
7. What does the Asian countries' opposition to the human rights foreign policy pursued by the West stem from?
8. Why is the West, the US in particular, often accused of double standards in promoting human rights?
9. Why are efforts to uphold human rights through diplomatic channels often futile?
10. Is the author optimistic about the prospects of human rights foreign policy?

## Speak Up

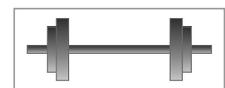
### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Which criticisms of the promotion of human rights through foreign policy do you agree with?
2. Do you think the human rights record of a country really plays a role in international relations?
3. Under what circumstances, in your view, is military intervention in a sovereign state justified?

### FOLLOW-UP

A. *Make a three-minute statement on*

- a) human rights as an issue in world politics
- b) the effectiveness of military intervention in promoting respect for human rights



- c) counterterrorism and human rights
  - d) the human rights record of a country of your choice (Russia, China, the US, the UK)
- Use texts from the Reader or readings that you find yourself.*

B.\* *Compile a list of Topic Vocabulary necessary to speak on the issue (to be shared in class).*



## VOCABULARY PRACTICE 1

*Ex. 1. a) find words in the text to match the definitions below, reproduce the context they are used in;*

*b) give their synonyms;*

*c) suggest their Russian equivalents;*

*d) use the words in sentences of your own.*

1. to prevent or rule out
2. to set right (an undesirable situation)
3. developing or advancing by slow imperceptible degrees
4. to serve as leader or leading element of
5. to have or take origin in
6. to declare one's approval or support of publicly and definitely
7. incorrect, especially because it has been affected by a particular thing or because you do not know all the facts
8. to become worse as time passes
9. in a determined way
10. likely to do or to be something

*Ex. 2. Continue the strings of collocations, translate them. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.*

1. **to foreclose** a policy, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
2. **creeping** justification, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
3. **to remedy** suffering, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
4. **to spearhead** a campaign, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
5. judgement, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **is skewed**
6. **liable** to adopt, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
7. **to endorse** a concept, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
8. standards, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **deteriorate(s)**
9. to oppose, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **robustly**
10. **to derive from** a need, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

*Ex. 3. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 1 and Ex. 2.*

1. President Truman \_\_\_\_\_ the strategy of the National Security Council, but hesitated to allocate the financial resources to support it.
2. The European Union \_\_\_\_\_ the campaign against anti-personnel landmines by adopting two joint actions (1995 and 1997).

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

3. Egypt's economy has been \_\_\_\_\_ for years, which is why the new government must find adequate solutions to improve the situation.
4. The German government is \_\_\_\_\_ to adopt severe measures against Israel Airlines, unless the Ministry of Transport alters its restrictions on the number of seats that Lufthansa can offer on its route to Israel.
5. While feminist justice seeks to \_\_\_\_\_ the injustice of sexism, racial justice seeks to \_\_\_\_\_ the injustice of racism.
6. The impasse on the Kyoto Protocol \_\_\_\_\_ from the inability to determine "when and how" to reduce the use of fossil fuels.
7. An aging population combined with a shrinking workforce and a \_\_\_\_\_ unemployment rate is not boding well for Connecticut's economic future.
8. Ghana says it has not \_\_\_\_\_ the possibility of barring flights from Nigeria, Liberia and Sierra Leone due to Ebola.
9. The Company is \_\_\_\_\_ opposed to any form of discrimination or implied discrimination and will regularly monitor policy and practice.
10. Several opposition politicians complained to Helsinki Watch that the television and radio news coverage was \_\_\_\_\_ in favor of the Labor Party.

## LISTENING 2

### Jennifer Welsh, Special Adviser on the Responsibility to Protect — 20th Anniversary Rwanda Genocide (5:54)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kAdSotl2OhA>



## VOCABULARY

1. **Residual** — remaining after a process has been completed or something has been removed
2. **Array** — a large group or number of things
3. **Coercive** — using force or threats
4. **To dissuade (from)** — to persuade (someone) not to take a particular course of action
5. **To weather** — to withstand (a difficulty or danger)

## PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. Can you define genocide?
2. Do you happen to know anything about the Rwandan genocide?
3. Do you think the international community has a right to intervene if genocide is occurring in a sovereign state?

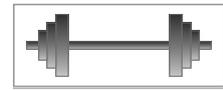
## VIEWING

1. *View the video-clip and answer the questions that follow.*
  1. What does the R2P principle consist in?
  2. What role did the Rwandan genocide play in articulating the R2P principle?
  3. In what way has the R2P principle evolved in the two decades?
  4. What international tools are nowadays available to protect populations?
  5. What is to be done by the international community to prevent mass atrocities in the future?

2. *View the clip again and fill in the gaps with the words you hear.*

1. There's also a residual responsibility which \_\_\_\_\_ with the international community if a state is \_\_\_\_\_ failing to protect its population.
2. The R2P was designed to help us all remember that sovereignty is a principle not to prevent populations from being protected, \_\_\_\_\_ them from international concern, but rather sovereignty \_\_\_\_\_ responsibilities and that responsibilities are \_\_\_\_\_ by whole states to populations.
3. ... they would involve thinking about how for example development assistance might be targeted in ways that helps to build \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ societies so that to ensure that groups are not excluded, to ensure that there are institutions that are \_\_\_\_\_ enough to \_\_\_\_\_ political crises and not have these crises \_\_\_\_\_ into violence that can \_\_\_\_\_ civilians.

### Speak Up



#### DISCUSSION QUESTION

The R2P is often criticized for infringement of national sovereignty, double standards in the implementation, etc. What do you think about the controversial issues of the R2P principle?

## READING 2

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. Do you think there should be any restrictions on freedom of speech? If so, what should this kind of restrictions prohibit?
2. Do you know of any such restrictions in the legislations of various countries?

*Skim the article to find out what aspect of freedom of speech it largely deals with.*

### THE SOUND OF SILENCE

*Reactions to the Paris attacks highlight threats to free expression around the world*

*The Economist* / Jan 24th 2015

<http://www.economist.com/news/international/21640324-reactions-paris-attacks-highlight-threats-free-expression-around-world>

IN 2011 *Charlie Hebdo*, a French satirical newspaper, was firebombed. Its editor, Stéphane Charbonnier, was asked if he could understand that moderate Muslims might have been offended by its cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. "Of course!" he replied. "Myself, when I pass by a mosque, a church or a synagogue, and I hear the idiocies that are spoken in them, I am shocked." *Charlie Hebdo* kept publishing such images. On January 7th Mr Charbonnier and 11 others were murdered by radical Islamists for their "offence". The paper's actions were a sign of defiance. But they also reflect France's free-speech law, which protects commentary on religion, even when it insults or mocks.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

The reason lies in French history. Blasphemy<sup>1</sup> laws carried the death penalty before the 1789 revolution, but were scrapped in 1881 as part of a bloody struggle against the Catholic Church. Such latitude<sup>2</sup> is not granted to incitement to racial or religious hatred, which was made a crime in 1972, partly as a response to a rise in attacks on Algerians. Holocaust denial was outlawed in 1990, and “apology for terrorism” last year. There is a “fundamental difference”, declared the French prime minister, Manuel Valls, in a speech to parliament on January 13th, between the “freedom of impertinence” and “anti-Semitism, racism, apology for terrorism, Holocaust denial”.

Every country limits free speech. Some do so only to prevent immediate harms, such as libel, violence or child pornography; others ban “hate speech” (offensive utterances against groups such as gay people or racial minorities) or blasphemy. In the wake of the Paris attacks, these differing approaches are colliding — both with each other and with free speech, which is in many places at best a wavering ideal.

Even in France, not all agree with the distinction drawn between “impertinence” and racism, Holocaust denial and the like. A poll published a week after the *Charlie Hebdo* attacks found that two-fifths felt that, since images of the Prophet offended Muslims, they should not be published. And some see double standards. In the *banlieues*, or outer-city estates, there were around 200 reported incidents of disruption in schools, mostly during a nationwide minute of silence on January 8th to honour the victims. How could a newspaper mock Islam with impunity, some Muslim pupils asked, but Dieudonné M’bala M’bala, a comedian with past links to Jean-Marie Le Pen of the far-right National Front, be arrested for apparently sympathising with the killers on Facebook? Along with dozens of others who commented on the attacks, mostly on social media, he has been charged with apology for terrorism. He faces up to seven years in jail.

Elsewhere in Europe, laws against hate speech can backfire by making free-speech martyrs out of provocateurs. In a Dutch parliamentary debate on January 14th on the Paris attacks, Geert Wilders, a populist politician, thundered that Islam must be eradicated from the Netherlands: “In every country where Islam is strong, it comes at the cost of freedom.” For a decade he has been calling for bans on the burqa and the Koran, and an end to immigration by Muslims. Such a platform would seem at odds with his claims to support liberty and free speech. But he says Islam is a totalitarian ideology rather than a religion, and likens the Koran to Hitler’s “Mein Kampf”, which is banned in the Netherlands.

Mr Wilders has already been acquitted of charges of fomenting discrimination in 2011. The court ruled that criticism of religion, especially by politicians, should enjoy strong protection. But last year he prompted followers at a rally to shout that they wanted “fewer Moroccans”. Over 6,000 people filed complaints. Last month prosecutors decided to take up the case, saying the words demonised a population group rather than criticised a religion. Mr Wilders will no doubt exploit his new trial for free publicity, as he did his last.

### **So much for turning the other cheek**

A startling contribution to the debate over freedom to offend came on January 15th, when Pope Francis told reporters that, though waging war in God’s name was wrong, responding violently to one’s religion being mocked or insulted was “natural”. He likened such provocation to using a crude word about someone’s mother, saying that if a Vatican official standing nearby were to do such a thing to him, he could “expect to get punched in the nose”.

<sup>1</sup> **Blasphemy** — something said or done that is disrespectful to God or to something holy

<sup>2</sup> **Latitude** — freedom to choose what you do or say (formal)

That was perhaps a moment of South American machismo from an Argentine pope — or a clumsily phrased attempt to express solidarity with Muslims offended by the cartoons, in the hope of calming inflamed tempers in the Islamic world. Cartoons depicting Muhammad published in 2005 by *Jyllands-Posten*, a Danish newspaper (later republished by *Charlie Hebdo*) sparked global protests, some of which developed into riots. In Nigeria, more than a hundred people were killed.

This time round Niger, a majority-Muslim former French colony sitting on the edge of the Sahara, has seen the worst violence. Protests against *Charlie Hebdo's* unrepentant depiction of Muhammad on the cover of its “survivors’ issue” have caused the deaths of at least ten people and the burning of 45 churches. Hotels and bars have been razed to the ground, prompting speculation that Islamist extremists were among those inciting the mobs.

### Words that wound

Such mayhem<sup>1</sup> is often whipped up by reference to blasphemy laws. Though these remain on the books in several European countries, they are rarely used. But in much of Africa, Asia and the rest of the world, they serve not only to silence irreligious utterances but, along with other limits on free speech, to ensure that hardline religious leaders support incumbents<sup>2</sup> and to silence political opponents.

Even laws introduced to tamp down<sup>3</sup> the most poisonous utterances can end up as a tool of repression. In Rwanda all discussion of ethnic culpability for the 1994 genocide that disagrees with the officially sanctioned version is banned. The stated reason is to avoid a resurgence of ethnic hatred. But critics say that the Tutsi-led government uses restrictions on free speech to crack down on dissent, whether from the Hutu majority or not.

Among the dozens of world leaders condemning the Paris attacks was Goodluck Jonathan, Nigeria’s president. Nigeria’s constitution guarantees freedom of expression and of the press, but laws against sedition<sup>4</sup>, civil libel, criminal defamation and the publication of false news are used to protect the elite from criticism, says Jennifer Dunham of Freedom House, an American lobby group.

Comment on the government’s weak response to Boko Haram, an Islamist insurgent group inflicting terror on the country’s north-east, is also stifled. Terrorism and national-security laws have been used to enter offices, seize print runs and detain journalists. Several international news organisations have reported that journalist visas are hard to get, as criticism mounts in the run-up to next month’s elections.

Laws against blasphemy and statements that could inflame religious conflict make it hard to criticise Nigeria’s religious leaders and encourage self-censorship. *Sharia*, or Islamic law, adopted in most of the predominantly Muslim north is even stricter. “Journalists don’t even think of speaking about controversial religious issues there,” says Lai Oshisanya, a lawyer. “You’d probably be killed before it got to prosecution.”

Pakistan’s shadowy web-censors also crack down on any questioning of Islam — as well as criticism of the army. YouTube has been banned since the uploading in 2012 of “Innocence of Muslims”, an amateurish 14-minute film combining footage of Muslims attacking Egyptian Christians and depictions of Muhammad as a lecherous thug.

<sup>1</sup> **Mayhem** — violent or extreme disorder, chaos.

<sup>2</sup> **Incumbent** — the holder of an office or post.

<sup>3</sup> **To tamp down** — to put a check on.

<sup>4</sup> **Sedition** — conduct or speech inciting people to rebel against the authority of a state or monarch.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

Junaid Hafeez, an academic accused of links to Facebook pages where religion and politics were discussed, is facing trial under blasphemy laws that human-rights groups describe as a tool to wage vendettas, persecute minorities and whip up mobs. Even defending the accused is dangerous. One lawyer, who received threats when he took up Mr Hafeez's case, was murdered in his office in May. His successor was attacked last month.

The ease with which blasphemy can be alleged makes discussing Islam treacherous, even for those who may be thought able to avoid slip-ups. Junaid Jamshed, a former pop star turned hard-line preacher, is unable to return to Pakistan after being accused of mocking one of the Prophet's wives in a throwaway remark about the weakness of women. Newspapers avoid giving the detail of such cases, for fear of repeating the blasphemy: one described Mr Jamshed's alleged offence as "uttering shameful words against holy personalities". When it is risky even to report on restrictions to free speech, there is little left for the censors to do.

### Notes

1. **Charlie Hebdo** is a French satirical weekly newspaper that features cartoons, reports, polemics, and jokes. The publication is irreverent and stridently non-conformist in tone, is strongly secularist, antireligious left-wing, far-right, politics, culture, and publishes articles that mock the Catholicism, Judaism, Islam, and various other groups as local and world news unfolds. The magazine was published from 1969 to 1981, and has been again from 1992 on. It had attracted attention for its controversial depictions of Muhammad. Hatred for *Charlie Hebdo's* cartoons, which made jokes about Islamic leaders as well as Muhammad, is considered to be the principal motive for the massacre of January 2015.  
On the morning of 7 January 2015 at about 11:30 local time, two brothers, Saïd and Chérif Kouachi, forced their way into the offices of the French satirical weekly newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris. Armed with assault rifles and other weapons, they killed 11 people and injured 12 others in the building. After leaving, they killed a French National Police officer outside the building. The gunmen identified themselves as belonging to the Islamist Terrorist group Al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen, who took responsibility for the attack. Several related attacks followed in the Île-de-France region, where a further 5 were killed and 11 wounded.
2. **Holocaust denial** is the act of denying the genocide of Jews in the Holocaust during World War II. Holocaust denial includes any of the following claims: that Nazi Germany's Final Solution policy aimed only at deporting Jews from the Reich, and included no policy to exterminate Jews; that Nazi authorities did not use extermination camps and gas chambers to mass murder Jews; and that the actual number of Jews killed was significantly (typically an order of magnitude) lower than the historically accepted figure of 5 to 6 million.
3. **Geert Wilders** (born 6 September 1963) is a Dutch politician and the founder and leader of the Party for Freedom, which currently is the fourth-largest party in the Dutch parliament. Wilders is the Parliamentary group leader of his party in the Dutch House of Representatives. Wilders is best known for his criticism of Islam, summing up his views by saying, "I don't hate Muslims, I hate Islam". Wilders' views regarding Islam have made him a controversial figure in the Netherlands and abroad.
4. **Jean-Marie Le Pen** (born 20 June 1928) is a French politician who led the National Front party from its foundation in 1972 until 2011. His longevity in politics and his five attempts to become president of France have made him a major figure in French political life. *Lepenism* in France refers to his eurosceptic, nationalist and conservative ideas. His controversial speeches

and his integration into public life have made him a figure that polarizes opinion, considered the "Devil of the Republic" among his opponents or the last samurai in politics among his supporters.

Le Pen focuses on issues related to immigration to France, the European Union, traditional culture and values, law and order and France's high rate of unemployment. He advocates immigration restrictions, the death penalty, raising incentives for homemakers, and euroscepticism. He strongly opposes same-sex marriage, euthanasia, and abortion.

5. **Boko Haram**, officially called **Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'Awati Wal-Jihad** ("Group of the People of Sunnah for Preaching and Jihad"), is an Islamist terrorist movement based in north-east Nigeria, also active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon. The group is led by Abubakar Shekau. Estimates of membership vary between a few hundred and 10,000. The group has been linked to al-Qaeda and in 2014 swore allegiance to Islamic State and adopted its emblem and terminologies.

## COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

A. *In pairs, discuss how you understand the clauses/sentences below. If still in doubt, discuss them as a class.*

1. The paper's actions were a sign of defiance.
2. ... (free speech) is in many countries at best a wavering ideal.
3. ... laws against hate speech can backfire by making free-speech martyrs out of provocateurs.
4. Such a platform would seem at odds with his claims to support liberty and free speech.
5. ... the words demonised a population group rather than criticised a religion.
6. That was perhaps a moment of South American machismo from an Argentine pope ...
7. Even laws introduced to tamp down the most poisonous utterances can end up as a tool of repression.
8. ... these remain on the books in several European countries ...
9. Pakistan's shadowy web-censors also crack down on any questioning of Islam ...
10. ... is facing trial under blasphemy laws that human-rights groups describe as a tool to ... whip up mobs.

B. *Answer the questions on the text.*

1. What are the limits on freedom of speech in France?
2. Why is freedom to express one's attitude to religion protected?
3. What is the Charlie Hebdo tragedy indicative of?
4. What restrictions on freedom of speech exist in other countries?
5. What contradictions are inherent in the limits on freedom of speech?
6. What does 'freedom to offend' often result in?
7. To what end do the powers that be use blasphemy laws in Asian and African countries?
8. How does this affect the press?

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The article above seems to lack a comprehensive conclusion. Can you suggest one of your own?

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

2. What do you think prompts law-makers in various countries to introduce restrictions on freedom of speech? Are these restrictions culturally motivated?
3. How do you feel about freedom to offend?

FOLLOW-UP

A. *Make a three-minute statement on*

- a) freedom of speech in developing countries
- b) freedom of the press: modern challenges
- c) the right to privacy and the internet



B.\**Compile a list of Topic Vocabulary necessary to speak on the issue (to be shared in class).*



## VOCABULARY PRACTICE 2

Ex. 4. a) *find words in the text to match the definitions below, reproduce the context they are used in;*

b) *give their derivatives or words they were formed from;*

c) *suggest their Russian equivalents;*

d) *use the words in sentences of your own.*

1. behaviour that shows you refuse to do what someone tells you to do, especially because you do not respect them
2. to decide not to use a plan or system because it is not practical
3. lack of respect, rudeness
4. freedom from any risk of being punished for doing something wrong or bad
5. to instigate or stir up (an undesirable or violent sentiment or course of action)
6. to cause someone to take a course of action
7. offensively coarse or rude, especially in relation to sexual matters
8. showing no regret for one's wrongdoings
9. to deliberately encourage people to argue, fight, etc.
10. responsibility for an error or crime
11. to become more strict in dealing with a problem and punishing the people involved
12. marked by hidden dangers, hazards, or perils

Ex. 5. *Continue the strings of collocations, translate them. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.*

1. **to defy** convention, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
2. **to scrap** a law, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
3. **treacherous** policy, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
4. **unrepentant** \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
5. **to foment/ to incite** discrimination, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
6. **to crack down on** crime, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
7. **impertinent** question, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
8. **crude** word, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **BUT not people**

9. to be, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **culpable (of)**  
 10. **culpable** negligence, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

Ex. 6. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 4 and Ex. 5.

1. President Clinton \_\_\_\_\_ public opinion in 1995 by sending troops to Bosnia for peace-keeping purposes.
2. Rumors have been circulating for some time in the media that China is considering \_\_\_\_\_ the one-child policy that was launched back in 1979.
3. But much of it stemmed from the fact that Blair remained \_\_\_\_\_ and ever self-righteous about a war that had gone tragically wrong.
4. In the name of \_\_\_\_\_ on terrorism funding, the U.S. imposed new regulations affecting banks that handle money transfers to Somalia.
5. A mother in New Jersey is fighting to have her name removed from the child abuse register after she was found \_\_\_\_\_ of abuse and neglect of her unborn baby because she took methadone during pregnancy.
6. The Mexican Army and police have a long history of violating human rights with \_\_\_\_\_.
7. "Political correctness" is a \_\_\_\_\_ ideology, which can turn you upside down. I avoid the term if I can because it has a double meaning.
8. Increasingly sophisticated attacks by Boko Haram have \_\_\_\_\_ the government to adopt new tactics.
9. The Kenyan President appeared before the International Criminal Court in The Hague, Netherlands, on Wednesday in the long-running case alleging that he \_\_\_\_\_ violence following the country's disputed 2007 elections.
10. One mark of a good prime minister is the ability to suffer \_\_\_\_\_ with good grace.
11. The cover was a clear message from the surviving staff members of the weekly magazine that the killing of 12 people at its Paris headquarters by two Islamist brothers would not intimidate them into changing their \_\_\_\_\_ sense of humour.
12. North Korea has denied its \_\_\_\_\_ for the incident that took the lives of 46 sailors.
13. A bill outlawing \_\_\_\_\_ to religious hatred was one of the Labour party's manifesto promises during the 2005 general election.
14. The Iraqi National Museum, ransacked after the U.S.-led invasion in 2003, reopened 12 years later in \_\_\_\_\_ of jihadist threat.

## SPEAKING

### TERM PRESENTATION

*Make a ten-minute power point presentation based on your analysis of an issue relevant to the topic 'Human Rights and Politics'.*

*Guidelines are to be found in the Manual.*

## LISTENING 3

**Question Time debate on the BBC over the Parisian 2015 attacks and Islam (0:35–7:30)**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UfhMQVIZyXo>



## VOCABULARY

1. **Untrammelled** — not hindered or restricted in thought or action
2. **Coarsely** — in a manner lacking refinement or taste

## PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. Do you think there should be moral limits on freedom of speech?
2. Should mass media avoid religiously sensitive issues?

## VIEWING

*View the video-clip and answer the questions that follow.*

1. What's the position of the two panelists on freedom of speech?
2. Why, according to Mehdi Hassan, was the massacre at Charlie Hebdo in a sense an attack on Islam?
3. What are the limits on free speech in Mehdi Hassan's opinion?
4. What exactly does Mehdi Hassan mean when he suggests that the debate on freedom of speech should be consistent?
5. What example does he provide to prove that the press has double standards?
6. What counter-example does David Starkey come up with?
7. How does David Starkey characterize the present state of Islam?
8. Why, in David Starkey's opinion, shouldn't religion be privileged?
9. Why does he consider the Holocaust denial laws unnecessary?

## Speak Up

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you agree with the point Mehdi Hassan makes on double standards in the western press?
2. Do you think what David Starkey says about Islam might be offensive to Muslims?
3. Do you think the Holocaust denial law adopted in many European countries should be abolished? Explain your reasoning.

## INTEGRATING CORE SKILLS

### PROJECT WORK

#### 'CONTRIBUTING' TO THE COURSE BOOK

##### STAGE 1.

##### **Individual**

*Look through the Readings in Unit V and the articles in the Reader to decide which aspects of human rights agenda are not properly covered.*

*Suggest a topic on which an article should be included in the unit as Reading 3.*

##### STAGE 2

##### **Out-of-class exchange**

*Share your suggestions with the classmates. Team up with those who share your view to find an appropriate article on the Internet (2–3 students on a team).*



### Team work

Find an article and make sure that

1. the article is relevant to the human rights issue ;
2. the information and questions raised are of an enduring nature rather than 'one-day sensation';
3. the text contains new and useful topic vocabulary.

### STAGE 3

#### Team

Evaluate your classmates' "contributions", use the criteria you agreed on in Unit IV.

#### Individual

Write a review of the article your team consider the most appropriate. The review should be an individual piece of writing (for details see the Manual p. 207 and EAP Corner p. 94).



### STAGE 4

#### Individual

Read all the reviews and decide which article should be included as Reading 3. If necessary look through the 'contributed' articles as well.



### STAGE 5

#### Class work

Have a vote to decide on the winner.

## READING 3

**WAITING FOR THE WINNER!**

## SPEAKING

### DEBATING: CHOOSING THE FORMAT

As a group decide on the format to discuss human rights issues

Panel Discussion

#### Activity for Two Groups

Hold a panel discussion on a human rights issue. Choose the moderator. Decide on the topic. Invite panel speakers from another group.  
Find detailed guidelines in the Manual.

## Debate

*Hold a debate on a human rights issue from the list of topics provided by your teacher beforehand. The teacher will decide on which of these you will debate. Once the topic is given you'll have a little time to choose the judge and form the two teams.*

*Find detailed guidelines in the Manual.*

## VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR REVISION

*Ex. 7. Fill in the gaps with prepositions if necessary.*

1. Conservative Party support \_\_\_\_ employee share ownership derives \_\_\_\_ the Party's long standing commitment \_\_\_\_ a property-owning democracy.
2. Critics say that the U.S. media report the Syrian unrest primarily \_\_\_\_ the militants' point of view, making their coverage skewed \_\_\_\_ their narrative.
3. A future prime minister of Australia could commit our country \_\_\_\_ a similarly dubious war, \_\_\_\_ defiance \_\_\_\_ public opinion, in breach of international law, \_\_\_\_ even greater cost, and with no demonstrable benefit \_\_\_\_ Australia.
4. Philip Cook, 57, of Bentley Street, Cleethorpes, was found culpable \_\_\_\_ failing to pay council tax between April 1, 2011, and March 31, 2012.
5. President Xi Jinping has cracked down \_\_\_\_ corruption since assuming office two years ago, warning, as others have before him, that the problem is so bad it could affect \_\_\_\_ the Communist Party's ability to maintain power.
6. Anyone following American news knows the police are entirely out of control. They kill, beat, and brutalize non-resisting 'civilians' \_\_\_\_ impunity.
7. It is truly a sad day in America when wearing a picture of the American flag on one's T-shirt is considered an incitement \_\_\_\_ violence and, therefore, must be banned.
8. Publicity is justly commended as a remedy \_\_\_\_ social and industrial diseases.
9. During the 1830s and 1840s, the radical unionists fomented \_\_\_\_ public unrest whenever possible. Thus, public processions frequently turned \_\_\_\_ riots.
10. Endorsement \_\_\_\_ the strategy will imply support \_\_\_\_ its vision, aims and \_\_\_\_ the broad strategy laid out for achieving it..

*Ex. 8. Fill in the gaps with suitable words.*

### Hate Speech

Hate speech, outside the law, is speech that attacks a person or group on the 1) \_\_\_\_\_ of attributes 2) \_\_\_\_\_ as gender, ethnic origin, religion, race, disability, or sexual orientation.

In law, hate speech is 3) \_\_\_\_\_ speech, gesture or conduct, writing, or display 4) \_\_\_\_\_ is forbidden because it 5) \_\_\_\_\_ incite violence or prejudicial action 6) \_\_\_\_\_ or by a protected individual or group, or because it disparages or intimidates a protected individual or group. The law may identify a protected group by 7) \_\_\_\_\_ characteristics. In some countries, a victim of hate speech may seek redress 8) \_\_\_\_\_ civil law, criminal law, or both. A website that 9) \_\_\_\_\_ hate speech is called a *hate site*. 10) \_\_\_\_\_ of these sites contain Internet forums and news briefs that emphasize

a particular viewpoint. 11) \_\_\_\_\_ has been debate 12) \_\_\_\_\_ how freedom of speech applies 13) \_\_\_\_\_ the Internet as 14) \_\_\_\_\_ as hate speech in general.

Critics have argued that the 15) \_\_\_\_\_ "hate speech" is a contemporary example of New-speak, used to silence critics of social policies that have 16) \_\_\_\_\_ poorly implemented in a rush to appear politically correct.

*Ex. 9. Translate into English using Active Vocabulary.*

1. Ситуация в Йемене стремительно **ухудшается**, и коалиция арабских стран **во главе** с Саудовской Аравией **вполне вероятно** осуществит наземную операцию против шиитских повстанцев и их союзников. Министры иностранных дел арабских стран **решительно поддержали** принципы формирования объединенных вооруженных сил.
2. Многие государства в последнее время **стали принимать решительные меры** против «преступлений ненависти», которые **разжигают** расовую, национальную и религиозную вражду и **побуждают** к дискриминации и несправедливости.
3. Законы о богохульстве, существующие в некоторых государствах, могут быть **опасными**, так как любое высказывание на религиозную тему может быть расценено как **дерзкое и грубое**, что часто используется как предлог для незаконного преследования инакомыслящих, национальных меньшинств и других групп населения. Поэтому правозащитники считают, что такие законы следует **отменить**.
4. Целью нормы международного права «Обязанность защищать» является защита прав населения тех стран, где происходит геноцид, **безнаказанно** совершаются военные преступления или преступления против человечности. Она также применяется, если слабость правительства **исключает** возможность **исправить** ситуацию своими силами.
5. Полиция американского города была признана **виновной** в нарушении гражданских прав и неразумном использовании силы против представителей национальных меньшинств. **Причиной** такого положения вещей являлись «**ползучие**» расистские настроения в городе, где общественное мнение было **необъективно** в отношении «чужих». Пока полицейские **не раскаиваются** в совершённом.

*Ex. 10. Complete the second sentence so that it has a similar meaning to the first sentence, using the word(s) given. Do not change the word(s) given.*

1. The commission would prefer to opt for a wait-and-watch policy. (**RATHER**)  
The commission \_\_\_\_\_ for a wait-and-watch policy.
2. The politician advised us to approach the Foreign Office directly. (**APPROACHING**)  
The politician advised \_\_\_\_\_ the Foreign Office directly.
3. Unemployment hasn't been at such a high level at any time since the 1990s. (**HAS**)  
Not since the 1990s \_\_\_\_\_ at such a high level.
4. Some member-states found it difficult to come to terms with yet another institution. (**DIFFICULTY**)  
Some member states \_\_\_\_\_ to terms with yet another institution.
5. The managers did not expect to be denied access to the workshop room. (**DID**)  
Little \_\_\_\_\_ to be denied access to the workshop room.
6. We won't succeed unless we make information available to those who want to know. (**WILL**)  
Only by \_\_\_\_\_ we succeed.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

7. Persians who immigrated to the US preferred keeping a low profile to attracting attention to their roots. (**RATHER THAN**)  
Persians who immigrated to the US preferred \_\_\_\_\_ attention to their roots.
8. Did they raise the sex discrimination angle at the forum? (**REMEMBER**)  
Did they \_\_\_\_\_ the sex discrimination angle at the forum?
9. However hard they tried, they could not achieve their goal. (**NO MATTER**)  
They could not achieve their goal \_\_\_\_\_ they tried.
10. The natural world is so resilient that it cannot collapse because of human activity. (**TOO**)  
The natural world is \_\_\_\_\_ because of human activity.

## EAP CORNER

### BRUSHING UP READING SKILLS

Do you read critically?

#### TASK 1

Below you will find information on three books relevant to the topic of 'Human Rights in International Relations': description/synopsis, table of contents, information about the author, short reviews.

*Look through these and decide which of them as a whole (or separate chapters) may be of use if you were*

- 1. to write a paper on the issue of 'US/UK/EU human rights foreign policy;'*
- 2. to prepare for a panel discussion on the "R2P" issue as a) a firm believer in the right of nations to interfere in other states' affairs to prevent/stop human rights' abuses; b) as an opponent of this view.*

*What will influence your decision most?*

- details of the publication (when and where it was published),
- information about the author,
- the scope of coverage,
- the author's focus,
- expert opinion (reviews).

*If still in doubt, look at the prompting questions below:*

1. What information do you expect to find in each book?
2. What stance do you expect each of the authors to take on the issue?
3. Which position would be of interest/value to you were you to do each of the tasks/assignments above (1; 2a) 2b)?
4. Which book do you expect to give a more balanced/biased view on the issue?
5. In which would you look for specific factual information?
6. Which chapters would you choose for detailed reading?

1.

**David P. Forsythe**, *Human Rights in International Relations*, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 285 p.

#### Description

This third edition of David P. Forsythe's successful textbook provides an authoritative overview of the place of human rights in an age of upheaval in international politics. Human rights standards are examined at the global, regional and national levels, with separate chapters on transnational corporations and advocacy groups. The third edition has been completely updated to include the latest developments on terrorism and counter-terrorism, pro-democracy protests in the Middle East, disputed elections in developing countries, criminal courts and truth commissions, and applications of the laws of war. New sections have been added on subjects such as women's rights and new case studies have been added in each chapter which show how specific rights fare in contemporary

political contexts. Containing chapter-by-chapter guides to further reading and discussion questions, this book will be of interest to all students of human rights and their teachers.

- Understanding of human rights in relation to contextual factors which assist or block the implementation of rights protection
- Thematic exploration of the meaning of realism and liberalism in regard to human rights
- Often human rights are discussed without attention to social science theories, but this book offers a linkage between information presented in this book and other social science subject

### **Table of Contents**

Preface

Part I. The Foundations:

1. Introduction: human rights in international relations
2. Establishing human rights standards

Part II. Implementing Human Rights Standards:

3. Global application of human rights norms
4. Transitional justice: criminal courts and alternatives
5. Regional application of human rights norms
6. Human rights and foreign policy in comparative perspective
7. Non-governmental organizations and human rights
8. Transnational corporations and human rights

Part III. Conclusion:

9. The politics of liberalism in a realist world

Index

### **Information about the author**

David Forsythe is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln. He has been a visiting professor at universities in Geneva and Utrecht and in 2008 he held the Fulbright Distinguished Research Chair of Human Rights and International Studies at the Danish Institute of International Studies, Copenhagen. He has also been on staff for the United Nations University in Tokyo and has been a consultant to both the UN Office of the High Commissioner of Refugees and the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement.

### **Reviews**

'The idea of human rights is so powerful that those who would violate it in the privacy of their torture chambers are compelled to swear fealty to it in global public discourse. David Forsythe draws our attention to the tension between personal rights and the workings of the interstate system in a world in which the human rights norm, including international humanitarian law, is ever more firmly established yet actual protections have come under growing stress in practice. The resilience of the norm has contributed to changes in the nature of state sovereignty. In this third edition of a well-regarded and well-established textbook, Forsythe continues his mission to clarify and update via an impressive, illuminating and engaging analysis of one of the most powerful political impulses of the contemporary era.' *Ramesh Thakur, Australian National University*

'The third edition of David Forsythe's Human Rights in International Relations maintains his reputation for excellence. I have found the first two editions to be essential teaching texts, very popular with my students, without which I could not cover the entire range of topics necessary in

a comprehensive political science course on human rights. This edition brings students right up to date, with analysis of such events as the Arab spring and the Obama administration's actions with regard to Guantanamo Bay.' *Rhoda E. Howard-Hassmann, Wilfrid Laurier University*

II.

**John Shattuck**, *Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America's Response* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003). 400 pages

### Description

As the chief human rights official of the Clinton Administration, John Shattuck faced far-flung challenges. Disasters were exploding simultaneously — genocide in Rwanda and Bosnia, murder and atrocities in Haiti, repression in China, brutal ethnic wars, and failed states in other parts of the world. But America was mired in conflicting priorities and was reluctant to act. What were Shattuck and his allies to do?

This is the story of their struggle inside the U.S. government over how to respond. Shattuck tells what was tried and what was learned as he and other human rights hawks worked to change the Clinton Administration's human rights policy from disengagement to saving lives and bringing war criminals to justice. He records his frustrations and disappointments, as well as the successes achieved in moving human rights to the center of U.S. foreign policy.

Shattuck was at the heart of the action. He was the first official to interview the survivors of Srebrenica. He confronted Milosevic in Belgrade. He was a key player in bringing the leaders of genocide in Bosnia and Rwanda to justice. He pushed from the inside for an American response to the crisis of the Haitian boat people. He pressed for the release of political prisoners in China. His book is both an insider's account and a detailed prescription for preventing such wars in the future.

Shattuck criticizes the Bush Administration's approach, which he says undermines human rights at home and around the world. He argues that human rights wars are breeding grounds for terrorism. *Freedom on Fire* describes the shifting challenges of global leadership in a world of explosive hatreds and deepening inequalities.

### Table of Contents

Introduction

1. Rwanda: The Genocide That Might Have Been Prevented

2. Rwanda: The Struggle for Justice

3. Haiti: A Tale of Two Presidents

4. Bosnia: The Pariah Problem

5. Bosnia: Facing Reality

6. Bosnia and Kosovo: Breaking the Cycle

7. The China Syndrome

8. China: Collision Course

9. Strategies for Peace

Chronology

State Department Organizational Chart

Notes

Acknowledgments

Index

### Information about the author

John Shattuck served as Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor from 1993 to 1998, and as U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic from 1998 to 2000. Currently, he is Chief Executive Officer of the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation in Boston.

### Reviews

"This principled and sobering account by an insider of U.S. experience in addressing human rights violations in the difficult contexts of Rwanda, Haiti, the Balkans and China should be compulsory reading for policy makers and commentators in the aftermath of a war on Iraq, which the U.S. administration has argued was justified on human rights grounds." — *Mary Robinson, former U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights*

"John Shattuck's outstanding volume on human rights is a gift to the nation and must reading for every American who cares about our ideals and security in today's changing world. Shattuck vividly describes key achievements and setbacks for U.S. human rights policy in the past decade. He draws timely lessons for the future, and makes painfully clear that when violations of human rights are not addressed effectively, terrorism thrives." — *Senator Edward M. Kennedy*

"In that complicated decade after the end of the Cold War and before 9–11, when most Americans wanted to disengage from the world, John Shattuck stood tall for a foreign policy that would advance our national security interests by promoting our values and the cause of human rights overseas. As a close colleague, I can attest to the significance of his achievement, which he recounts vividly in this invaluable look at how policy is forged in the crucible of Washington's cut-throat politics." — *Ambassador Richard Holbrooke*

III.

**Kirsten Sellers**, *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights* (Phoenix Hill: Sutton Publishing, 2002), 242 pages

This text argues that global politics today is dominated by a single idea: human rights. It investigates the evolution of this ideal, and reveals a political history played out by presidents and foreign ministers, diplomats and prosecutors, journalists and advocates. Using previously unpublished archival material, this book traces the story of international human rights from World War II to the conflicts in Kosovo and Afghanistan. The book exposes the self-interest and cold-war rivalry that characterized negotiations over the UN's Universal Declaration and the human-rights covenants. Using new material from the United States, Britain and France, the author argues that the human-rights crusade has been designed primarily to enhance the West's self-image and to court domestic public opinion. As a consequence, it has aided its powerful Western advocates rather than its supposed beneficiaries in the broken and war-torn nations of the world.

### Table of Contents

- Introduction
- One. Declaration of Intent
- Two. Nuremberg Revisited
- Three. Trouble at Tokyo
- Four. Cold Fronts
- Five. Colonial Concerns
- Six. Carter's Crusade

Seven. Cold War II  
 Eight. With God on Their Side  
 Nine. Trials and Tribulations  
 Conclusion  
 Bibliography

### Information about the author

Kirsten Sellars, a London-based journalist specialising in international affairs, has written for many publications including the *Guardian*, *Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Australian*, *New Statesman*, *Spectator*, *Esquire* and *Vogue*. Currently, she is Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

### Reviews

'It is the eradication of evil and cruelty in society that was the engine room of the human rights revolution, no better chronicled than in *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights*' — John Cooper QC, *The Times* (London)

'This book is essentially a polemic, although a well-researched one, on the gap between appearance and reality with respect for the campaign for human rights' — Stephen A. Garrett, *International Affairs* (London)

'Kirsten Sellars' *Rise and Rise of Human Rights*... challenges triumphalist multilateralist narratives about the abatement of traditional conceptions of sovereignty even as it highlights the way human rights ideas have come to the fore — and exerted influence — at moments when other ideals were exhausted or in abeyance' — Elizabeth Borgwardt, *Harvard Law School Legal History Colloquium*

In a chapter wryly titled 'With God on their side', Sellars develops her argument by looking at the influence of an American movement against the persecution of Christians, which in 1995 focused on China. Within three years the movement had run out of steam, not because Chinese Christians had been afforded more rights, but because domestic American politics had swung in favour of backing China's admission to the World Trade Organisation.' — Jon Holbrook <http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/8423#.Vli9PF4xHTQ>

### TASK 2

Pairwork

*Share your conclusions with a partner. Compare selection criteria.*

## DEVELOPING LISTENING SKILLS

### 1. LISTENING FOR SPECIFIC INFORMATION AND TAKING NOTES

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=skEn61J6c8s>

#### How to Write a Critique Essay (An Evaluation Essay)

### TASK 1

Listening focus

*What do you think you should focus on when listening to the lecture on critique essay writing?*

### **TASK 2**

*Watch the video and take notes of the main points. These can be key words. Once finished, check your notes against the questions below. If you do not have an answer or are in doubt, watch the video again.*

Check-up questions:

1. What parts does a critique essay consist of?
2. What are the 'jobs'/ responsibilities of a critique essay writer?
3. What are the assessment criteria?

### **TASK 3**

Pairwork

*Discuss the criteria suggested in the lecture. Decide which of these you'd accept for evaluating an article. Write these down to compare with the rest of the class.*

## **2. LISTENING, TAKING NOTES AND COMPARING INFORMATION**

### **TASK 4**

*Watch another video, 'How to Write an Article Review', write down key words and compare the lecturer's advice with that of David Taylor. Make use of your previous notes.*

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-4NC8fCCTpA>

Check your answers against the question:

1. What does an article review consist of?
2. What is the key point in evaluating an article?
3. What else is the focus of a critique?

*If in doubt, watch the video again.*

## **DEVELOPING LOGICAL THINKING SKILLS**

### **TASK 1**

*Read the extract from an anti-gun control speech. Identify logical fallacies.*

The Second Amendment guarantees the right of the people to keep and bear Arms. The right to defend ourselves and our families is ensured by the Constitution, so Americans cannot be deprived off this most basic right.

It's been said that the Second Amendment is America's first freedom. That's because the Right to Keep and Bear Arms protects all our other rights. We are the only country in the world that has a Second Amendment. Protecting freedom of speech is absolutely imperative as it is our First Amendment.

If we dismiss the second Amendment, we will imperil American democracy and the lives of thousands of innocent people across the country.

We need to get serious about prosecuting violent criminals. The Obama administration's record on that is abysmal. Violent crime in cities like Baltimore, Chicago and many others is out of control. Drug dealers and gang members are given a slap on the wrist and turned loose on the street.

San Bernardino, California massacre (2<sup>nd</sup> December 2015) at a center for people with developmental disabilities was made possible because the authorities failed to respond to recent school shootings.

An important way to fight crime — empower law-abiding gun owners to defend themselves. Law enforcement is great, they (the police) do a tremendous job, but they can't be everywhere all of the time. Our personal protection is ultimately up to us. That's why I'm a gun owner, that's why I have a concealed carry permit, and that's why tens of millions of Americans have concealed carry permits as well. Millions of our countrymen can't be wrong, can they? To make America great again, we're going to go after criminals and put the law back on the side of the law-abiding. Taking away the right to carry guns is no better than leaving a helpless person at the mercy of an attacker.

Americans owning guns makes the nation more powerful. That is the very reason that Japan never invaded America when the Pacific fleet was disabled.

## TASK 2

Dealing with the pitfalls of logical reasoning

*How can you group the 12 most common fallacies to make it easier to avoid them?*

*Below is one of possible classifications:*

1. **Intentional distortion of arguments or facts**
  - Straw man [misinterpreting the opponent's position],
  - Card stacking [ignoring or distorting arguments and evidence which do not support your position]
  - Red herring [changing the topic]
  - False analogy
2. **A non-sequitur type (wrong premise)**
  - Post hoc [taking the order of events for cause-effect relationship]
  - Circular argument [the reasoning starts with what you intend to end the argument]
  - Slippery slope [asserting that some event will inevitably follow another]
  - Hasty generalisation [drawing a conclusion on insufficient evidence]
3. **Others (personal touch/attitude)**
  - Ad hominem [personal attack]
  - Bandwagon [opinion of a majority]
  - False authority
  - Appeal to pity

*Can you suggest a different classification?*

## TASK 3

*Try to assign the logical fallacies found in the text above to these categories.*

## TASK 4

*Which of the following can make a logical argument against gun control?*



Our mental health system is broken. It needs to be fixed. All of the tragic mass murders that occurred in the past several years have something in common — they were committed by people with mental health problems. Most mentally ill people aren't violent, they just need help. But for

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

those who are violent, a danger to themselves or others, we need to get them off the street before they can terrorize our communities.

When one of these tragedies occurs, we can count on two things: one, that opponents of gun rights will immediately exploit it to push their political agenda; and two, that none of their so-called “solutions” would have prevented the tragedy in the first place

There has been a national background check system in place since 1998. Every time a person buys a gun from a federally licensed gun dealer — which is the overwhelming majority of all gun purchases — they go through a federal background check. Study after study has shown that very few criminals are stupid enough to try and pass a background check — they get their guns from friends/family members or by stealing them. So the overwhelming majority of people who go through background checks are law-abiding gun owners.

Unfortunately, that isn’t the case today. Too many states are failing to put criminal and mental health records into the background check system. What we need to do is fix the system we have and make it work as intended.

If criminals knew that every victim may be armed, there would be less crime. It is as simple as that. You never meet a more polite person than at the gun range.

Banning our military from carrying firearms on bases and at recruiting centers is ridiculous. We train our military how to safely and responsibly use firearms, but our current policies leave them defenseless. To make America great again, we need a strong military. To have a strong military, we need to allow them to defend themselves.

I. WRITING A SUMMARY:  
DECIDING ON THE TONE, PARAPHRASING, COMPRESSING

**TASK 1**

*Read the article and identify the topic and the message.*

**THE POWER OF GENDER EQUITY**

As “women’s empowerment” has become a buzz phrase in the last few years, some people are pushing back. They resent this as the latest fad in political correctness, a liberal mission to troll for support from woolly-minded female voters.

But a few recent incidents underscored why a push on gender equity is not just a mindless fad and why it is not primarily about political correctness.

Consider Marte Dalelv, the 24-year old Norwegian woman who reported a rape in Dubai and then was sentenced to 16 months in prison on charges that included extramarital sex. That was, she said, three months longer than the alleged rapist’s prison sentence. After an outcry, the authorities “pardoned” Dalelv (and also, according to news media reports, her alleged rapist). That’s the first reason “empowerment” isn’t just a feel-good slogan: profound gender injustices persist — not just in Dubai but also, albeit to lesser extent, in the United States.

The U.S. military has a deplorable record of sexual violence within its ranks, with an estimated 26,000 service members experiencing unwanted sexual contact annually. Yet President Obama has so far declined to back the sensible, bipartisan and broadly supported proposal of Senator Kirsten Gillibrand to improve investigations of rape in the military and reduce conflicts of interest.

Add to the toxic brew of sexual violence the Steubenville rape case, widespread sex trafficking and laws in many states that give rapists custody rights to children they father. Ariel Castro, the Cleveland man who held three women in his house for about a decade has already requested visitation with a child he fathered by rape — thought a judge declined the request.

The political backdrop is frustration that women aren't fully represented in decisions that affect them, and that's a second reason this issue reverberates. That's why State Senator Wendy Davis of Texas electrified the social media when she filibustered restrictive abortion legislation. It's not that men favor tougher abortion laws than women (that's an issue with a negligible gender gap) but that plenty of women feel bullied by out-of-touch lawmakers.

Anyone thinking that women's empowerment is a side issue also wasn't paying attention when Malala Yousafzai, shot in the head by the Pakistani Taliban for advocating girls' education, spoke to the United Nations in July on her 16th birthday. Malala highlighted the third reason to focus on empowering women and girls. It's perhaps the best leverage we have to fight social ills.

As Malala noted, a powerful force for change in the world is education, especially girls' education. The United States has invested thousands of lives and hundreds of billions of dollars in Afghanistan and Pakistan since 9/11 and accomplished little; maybe we should have invested more in the education toolbox. Drones and military patrols sometimes reinforce extremism, while girls' education tends to undermine it.

Change can come not only from a bomb but also from a girl with a school- book studying under a tree or in a mosque. She will, on average, have fewer children, be more likely to hold a job and exercise more influence; her brothers and children will be less likely to join Taliban.

Likewise, women's health programs aren't a chivalrous handout but a cost-effective step toward a healthier society. The Guttmacher Institute reported this week that without publicly financed contraception programs in 2010 the unintended pregnancy rate among teenagers would have been 73 percent higher. And lawmakers want to cut such programs?

A final insight into women as leverage for change came during my annual win-a-trip journey, in which I take a student with me on a reporting trip. The winner, Erin Luhmann of the University of Wisconsin, and I delved into the malnutrition that contributes to 45 percent of all child deaths around the world. So how do we save those millions of lives? It's not just about transporting more food to the hungry or about improving agricultural yields in Africa. It's also about — yes! — empowering women.

In rural Chad, we accompanied World Vision and chatted with local women about why children were malnourished. One factor there, as in much of the world: Men eat first, and women and children take what's left.

"We know about malnutrition," one said, but if the meat doesn't go mostly to the man, she added, "there is trouble in the house."

Researchers have found that giving women land titles, inheritance rights and bank accounts aren't just symbolic gestures. Rather, they are strategies to increase women's influence in household decisions and save children's lives.

So to those of you who chafe at "women's rights" as political correctness run amok, think again. This isn't a women's issue or a man's issue, for Malala is exactly right: "We cannot all succeed if half of us are held back." (789 words)

/by Nicholas D. Kristof. The Global Edition of  
*The New York Times*. August 2, 2013/

- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

### TASK 2

a) Look through the article again focusing on the phrases below; identify the tone of the article. b) Suggest your equivalents.

empowerment  
 to troll for support  
 woolly-minded female voters  
 to push back  
 a push on gender equity  
 mindless fad  
 a feel-good slogan  
 albeit to lesser extent  
 deplorable record  
 political backdrop (background)  
 this issue reverberates  
 chivalrous handout  
 delved into the malnutrition  
 chafe at "women's rights"  
 run amok

### TASK 3

Read the paragraphs which contain illustrations to convey the author's ideas. Think of generalisations to compress these parts of the text.

### TASK 4

Write a summary of the article "The Power of Gender Equity".

## II. WRITING A REVIEW

A review is a piece of writing which sums up the main points of another person's writing (an article, a chapter of a book or a book) and evaluates it.

Evaluation is an important part of a review which is based on proof and logical reasoning to support one's judgment.

For details see the Manual.

### TASK 1

Read the review below and analyse it using the questions:

1. Does the review contain the central idea of the author?
2. Are the strengths of the book discussed?
3. Are there any weaknesses identified?
4. How logical and substantiated is the reviewer's evaluation?
5. Are specific examples from the original text given to support the critique?

***The Rise and Rise of Human Rights, Kirsten Sellars,  
Sutton Publishing, 2002***

In charting *The Rise and Rise of Human Rights*, Kirsten Sellars argues that in the decades after the Second World War, human rights have always come to the fore when other ideologies or doctrines were exhausted or ineffective.

For most of the post-war period, human rights were subordinated to the doctrine of anti-communism. It is in the present post-Cold War era that human rights ideals have been in the ascendant. Human rights have been embraced and championed in recent years by a coalition that includes celebrities, politicians and a multitude of foot soldiers in the human rights industry.

'Who can criticise human rights?' asks this coalition of human rights idealists. But this secular religion for our apolitical age deserves closer scrutiny and Kirsten Sellars, a London-based journalist, is not afraid to put this ideology under the spotlight. For, contrary to the orthodox view, Sellars finds that those who have championed human rights have done more to benefit themselves than their supposed beneficiaries.

Consider Hillary Clinton's speech at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Human rights delegates loved her remarks about domestic violence, rape and social inequality, and they cheered her speech for longer than she had actually spoken. Interestingly, America's conservative and Christian constituencies were equally enthusiastic after the First Lady had condemned forced abortion, opposed religious persecution and made 22 references to the family.

Hillary Clinton demonstrated that human rights is an issue that can interest and unite many shades of political opinion. Clinton managed it not because she said anything profound, but precisely because she said little that would offend anyone. By hitting all the easy targets, Hillary Clinton made a speech that was good for her standing in the USA, but of less obvious benefit for those in broken and war-ravaged nations.

In a chapter wryly titled 'With God on their side', Sellars develops her argument by looking at the influence of an American movement against the persecution of Christians, which in 1995 focused on China. Within three years the movement had run out of steam, not because Chinese Christians had been afforded more rights, but because domestic American politics had swung in favour of backing China's admission to the World Trade Organisation.

After accommodating to domestic political reality on China, some American Christian groups sought a new focus. Sudan was an obvious target, where an Islamic government was waging a brutal civil war. Yet of all the horrors visited upon Sudanese civilians, the Christian human rights groups seized upon slavery.

Slavery is a peripheral issue in Sudan; so from the perspective of wishing to improve the lot of the Sudanese people, this focus was curious. Sellars explains that 'as is usual with human rights campaigns, this one is driven by concerns that have little to do with the actual situation within the target country. Campaigners have latched on to slavery because it is an emotive issue...and, even more to the point, it is an issue that resonates most powerfully among a very specific constituency — black Americans.'

The strength of Sellars' book is the material that she has collected, much of it previously unpublished. Her chapter on war crimes trials, 'the cutting edge of human rights crusades', shows with hard evidence that the proceedings of such trials today are unjust, and heavily skewed by a NATO perspective.

Take the case of Dusko Tadic, The Hague's first defendant. Sellars documents how a key prosecution witness in this trial was exposed for telling a pack of lies. By withholding his identity, 'Witness L', as he was known, almost got away with telling the court that he had seen Tadic murder

and rape inmates at the Trnopolje transit camp in Bosnia. Almost by chance, Tadic's defence team discovered that Witness L had, in fact, never seen Tadic at the Trnopolje camp and that he had first seen him 'on a video' several years after the alleged crimes.

There is no shortage of books on human rights, but most of them view the subject uncritically. Sellars, by contrast, has set out to expose the hypocrisy of a movement that seeks, to use one of the author's many powerful phrases, 'to occupy the moral high ground by day and sleep the sleep of the just by night'. Her book will make uncomfortable reading for modern day high priests and practitioners of the secular religion of human rights. And her book will be grist to the mill of those who are prepared to question whether the human rights approach can genuinely promote human rights.

Sellars explains why support for human rights has waxed and waned over the past 60 years. However, she does not consider whether 'human rights' means the same today as it meant before the end of the Cold War. The period following the end of the Cold War has ushered in a major change in the popular meaning of human rights, and the campaigns promoted by the self-styled champions.

Until quite recently, most supporters of human rights sought a limited role for their beliefs. Human rights were to be promoted within a framework of sovereign nations. A letter-writing campaign to free political prisoners was one thing, but dropping bombs on a state to end oppression was quite another.

But from the imposition of no-fly zones in Iraq in 1991 through human rights campaigns in Somalia, Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan since then, it has become clear that the sovereignty of nations has little purchase on today's powerful states. Bombing sovereign states in the name of human rights is no longer the contradiction in terms that it would once have been.

This is exemplified by the contrast with the 1940s. For as Sellars points out, the American establishment after the Second World War assisted in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but it made sure there were no provisions that would give it teeth. Consequently, the Declaration called on people and nations to keep human rights 'constantly in mind'.

By modern day standards of international relations this language is quaint. But it highlights the extent to which human rights have not just been on the rise: they have also been reformulated. Sovereignty used to trump human rights, now human rights trump sovereignty. It is this development that has transformed the human rights approach into the potent and destructive force that it is today.

Jon Holbrook is a barrister in London.

## TASK 2

*Read all the information on writing a review in the Manual. Focus on Check yourself questions. What, in your opinion, is lacking in the review above?*

## TASK 3

*Prepare to write a review of the article 'Security, Terrorism and Human Rights' by Joanne Mariner to be found in the Reader.*

*Consult the Manual and use the questions below. Your aim is to analyse the article to decide if its inclusion in the Reader is justified.*



1. Do you have all the info for the introduction?
2. What ideas should be reflected in your short summary/part?
3. What do you see as the article's/author's strengths?
4. Can you identify any contradictions, inconsistencies, logical fallacies?
5. What is your overall impression of the value of the article and the clarity of the author's writing?

# **UNIT VI**

## **DEMOGRAPHY AND POLITICS**

# THE ROAD MAP FOR UNIT VI

## SPEAKING

---

### VERBAL JOUST

*Holding a one-to one debate on the issue of 'Demography and Security'  
(for details see p. 118)*

### TERM PRESENTATION

*Making a power point presentation based on an analysis of an issue relevant  
to the topic 'Demography and Politics' (for details see p. 111)*

## INTEGRATING CORE SKILLS

---

### PROJECT WORK

*Doing professionally relevant research in a team or individual format (for details see p. 116)*

**Team** 

#### Stage 1

*Decide on the topic of your research and put forward your hypothesis  
(the point you want to make). Divide the 'responsibilities'*

*Individual work. Do research on the issue.*

#### Stage 2

*Team work. Pool the results of your findings and as a team prepare a 5-minute presentation  
for the rest of the group*

**Individual** 

#### Stage 1

*Decide on the topic and put forward your hypothesis (the point you want to make).*

#### Stage 2

*Do research on the issue. Prepare a 5-minute presentation  
to share your findings with the group.*



**Stage 3 (for both formats)**



*Class work. Make a 5-minute presentation to prove your point.*

*Be ready to answer questions from the audience.*

## LEAD-IN

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. What does demography study?
2. What, in your view, is the role of population issues in international relations?

*Read the following extracts on the relevance of demographic issues to international relations and answer the questions that follow.*

#### #1

Population and international affairs today encompasses far more than ever before. States now face challenges ranging from aging, pollution, and population decline to younging, HIV/AIDS, and population growth. These seemingly “soft” issues are increasingly tied to “hard” security and balance of power concerns, as HIV/AIDS threatens to destabilize certain African states. Russia’s military has difficulty maintaining itself, and Japan’s demographic difficulties lead to East Asian power shifts.

*/Baby Boom or Baby Bust? by Charles B. Keely/*

#### #2

Remarkably, most conventional wisdom about the shifting balance of world power virtually ignores one of the most fundamental components of power: population. The studies that do consider international security and demographic trends almost unanimously focus on population growth as a liability. In contrast, [...] security experts from the Naval War College, the American Enterprise Institute, and other think tanks contend that *demographic decline* in key world powers now poses a profound challenge to global stability.

The countries at greatest risk are in the developed world, where birthrates are falling and populations are aging. Many have already lost significant human capital, capital that would have helped them innovate and fuel their economy, man their armed forces, and secure a place at the table of world power.

*/from Population Decline and the Remaking of Great Power Politics  
by Susan Yoshihara, Douglas A. Sylva/*

#### #3

Current population trends are likely to have another major impact: they will make military actions increasingly difficult for most nations. One reason for this change will be psychological. In countries where parents generally have only one or two children, every soldier becomes a “Private Ryan” — a soldier whose loss would mean overwhelming devastation to his or her family. In the later years of the Soviet Union, for example, collapsing birthrates in the Russian core meant that by 1990, the number of Russians aged 15–24 had shrunk by 5.2 million

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

from 25 years before. Given their few sons, it is hardly surprising that Russian mothers for the first time in the nation's history organized an antiwar movement, and that Soviet society decided that its casualties in Afghanistan were unacceptable.

Another reason for the shift will be financial. Today, Americans consider the United States as the world's sole remaining superpower, which it is. As the cost of pensions and health care consume more and more of the nation's wealth, however, and as the labor force stops growing, it will become more and more difficult for Washington to sustain current levels of military spending or the number of men and women in uniform. Even within the U.S. military budget, the competition between guns and canes is already intense. The Pentagon today spends 84 cents on pensions for every dollar it spends on basic pay. Indeed, except during wartime, pensions are already one of the Pentagon's largest budget categories. In 2000, the cost of military pensions amounted to 12 times what the military spent on ammunition, nearly 5 times what the Navy spent on new ships, and more than 5 times what the Air Force spent on new planes and missiles.

*/from The Global Baby Bust Philip Longman/*

#4

In 2002, Osama bin Laden wrote in his "Letter to America": "You are a nation that exploits women like consumer products or advertising tools, [...] You use women to serve passengers, visitors and strangers to increase your profit margins. You then rant that you support the liberation of women."

As this quote indicates, what Al Qaeda is fighting for is a traditional understanding of the family. This is not a minor part of their program: it is at its heart. [...] Intense controls on women are necessary to maintain the integrity of the family and society. In an interesting way it is all about women, and bin Laden's letter drives this home. What he hates about America is that it promotes a completely different view of women and the family.

Al Qaeda's view is not unique to Osama bin Laden or Islam. [...] the issue of women and the family defines most major religions. Traditional Catholicism, fundamentalist Protestantism, Orthodox Judaism, and various branches of Buddhism all take very similar positions. All of these religions are being split internally, as are all societies. In the United States, where we speak of "culture wars", the battlefield is the family and its definition. [...]

The conflict is going to intensify in the twenty-first century, but the traditionalists are fighting a defensive and ultimately losing battle. The reason is that over the past hundred years the very fabric of human life — and particularly the life of women — has been transformed, and with it the structure of the family. [...]

The single most important demographic change in the world right now is an overall decline in birthrates. Women are having fewer and fewer children every year. That means not only that the population explosion of the last two centuries is coming to an end but also that women are spending much less time bearing and nurturing children, even as their life expectancy has soared.

This seems like a simple fact but it can lead to groups like Al Qaeda and more such groups in the future. [This is the reason] why the European Age, which was built on a perpetually expanding population (whether through conquering other people or having more babies), is being replaced by the American Age — a country in which living with underpopulation has always been the norm. [...]

Traditionally, declining population has meant declining power. For Europe, this will indeed be the case. But for other countries, like the United States, maintaining population levels or finding technological ways to augment declining population will be essential if political power is to be retained in the next hundred years.

/from *The Next 100 Years* by George Friedman/

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

*Discuss your answers in pairs then share your views as a class.*

1. What demographic trends appear to prevail today?
2. Whose ideas do you find convincing and why?

*Read the article below to find out more about population decline as a global challenge.*

#### THE COMING GLOBAL POPULATION DECLINE

*Diplomatic Courier*

October 5, 2012

By Richard Rousseau

It took tens of thousands of years for humanity to reach its first billion in 1804. But it took only 123 years to reach its second billion, 32 years to reach its third and another 15 years for its fourth. The seventh billion was attained only 13 years after the sixth.

Yet, the United Nations Population Division's figures released in May 2011 on Western states' aging workforce provided fresh evidence on the most important trend of our time: the global labor force will peak in 2050 or is already close to peaking in most major economies. If the Industrial Revolution was the main highlight of the 19th century, and competition between sociopolitical ideologies haunted the 20th, then the 21st will be an epoch fixated on the planet's depopulation, especially in the West and some new industrialized countries. The future humanity faces is not one of overpopulation, but of depopulation.

In most daily controversy, in most emerging economic, political, and social conflicts, the topic of depopulation is likely to be one of the underlying latent factors beneath the surface news. United Nations Statistics Division's medium variant projections forecasts that the planet will be inhabited by 11 billion humans by 2100, after which date the global population will level off, and even, some say, start to decline sharply. However, birthrates everywhere are falling at a faster rate than most international organizations had previously predicted, so that most demographers maintain that the UN low variant will, in the end, prove closer to the truth. The world's population is then projected to reach between eight and nine billion between 2040 and 2050. Then, if the trend holds, humanity will enter for the first time into sustained population decline.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

There is hardly an academic conference in social sciences or a front-page story in today's newspapers that is not being connected closely or remotely by the depopulation trend. The Middle East's Arab Spring, American-European tension, Afghanistan, Iraq, Islamic terrorism, HIV/AIDS in Africa, Japan's world status, the economic recession in the European Union, all these phenomena are related to the issue of depopulation. In highly industrialized countries, issues of emerging labor shortages in some economic sectors (despite high unemployment rates), urban infrastructure, sustainability of private and public pension plans, immigration policy and public debt are also, at the bottom line, engendered by the impending depopulation.

In an increasing number of regions, depopulation has already begun and is a daily topic of discussion for public authorities. Chinese, Russian, and Brazilian birthrates have already dropped below replacement level, while Indians are having far fewer children than before. Over the past twenty years, Russia's population has shrunk by 8 million people. Fifty-three out of the 211 designated regions that make up the European Union are experiencing population decline. In the mid-2000s Spain was aggressively courting Argentines to move to the Iberian Peninsula, in an effort to bring to life around 2,000 depopulated towns. Population decline means fewer consumers and fewer workers to support the payment of pensions for the elderly and thus insurance companies that cannot maintain profit margins and growth. For the developed world, population decline means inevitable economic decline.

The explanation for Germany's and France's irritability toward the Americans is to be found in the former's population decline. Thanks mostly to Hispanic new immigrants, the United States remains the only highly developed nation with a healthy birthrate, but because of this situation, the gap in prosperity and world influence between the old and new worlds is widening.

Australia, Canada, and New Zealand — all highly developed states — have also many reasons to worry about their birthrate, but their immigrant heritage makes it relatively easier to compensate for a low fertility. These countries' population and economy should keep on growing throughout the 21st century, inasmuch as they are willing to sustain and even increase the number of immigrants, and provide the funding for infrastructure and services needed to integrate them. However, these new immigrants, almost certainly from Asian and Hispanic descent, will eventually outnumber the European old stock.

In many ex-Soviet republics, nationalist policies and a sluggish economy make it harder to attract immigrants, and the few immigrants ready to settle in these countries are unlikely to support the cause of nationalism, to the chagrin of ethnic nationals. Likewise, in poorer countries, which immigrants tend to avoid, population decline is either under way or imminent. By 2050, many Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries may consist of half a dozen cities separated by scenery.

Depopulation is also helping to drive the international crises of our day. While most of Asia and Latin America are approaching the replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman, the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa remain the only two places in the world with high birthrates, partly due to these regions' high poverty, skewed wealth distribution, and the little control women have over their reproductive decisions.

The rapid increase of the Arab population within Israel's borders threatens to exceed the natural growth of the Jewish population within a few decades. The Bush administration hoped that the ousting of Saddam Hussein in 2003, through regime change in Iraq and the introduction of Western-type democracy to the region, would bring down the Arab fertility rate. It is difficult to make prediction on the impact the Arab Spring will have on Middle East birthrates. For their part,

Europeans fear to see their homelands swamped by North African and Middle Eastern hordes, a fear that fuels anti-immigrant sentiment.

Population decline, just like the Industrial Revolution from 1750 to 1850, will challenge many societies. Although it will push some into relative decline, a shrinking world population has the potential to reduce disparities between the “First World” and the “Third World” and relieve pressures on the environment. At the beginning of the 2000s some European planners were talking about reforesting parts of the continent. Moreover, no depopulation trend lasts forever since it eventually flattens or reverses. If it wouldn't be the case, according to one calculation, there would be no ethnic Japanese in Japan within 600 years.

Today's headlines on international issues have to be put in perspective by keeping in mind that a great demographic revolution lies beneath these surface events. Israeli paranoia over the Palestinians, Italy's demand for more help from German or French taxpayers, developed countries' demand for more financial resources from Asian exporters — all these are ultimately a reflection of an uneven depopulation trend. The world's population hit seven billion on October 31, 2011, but humanity is just not making babies like it used to.

### COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

1. Which is a greater global threat: overpopulation or depopulation?
2. In what regions of the world has depopulation already begun?
3. What countries are using immigration policy to make up for population decline?
4. What current political processes, according to the author, can be put down to the depopulation trend?

### Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Do you agree with the author's analysis of the current demographic trends and their implications for international politics?
2. Which of the implications, in your view, matter most in international relations?

### FOLLOW-UP

*Based on the text, compile a Glossary<sup>1</sup> of demographic terms (to be shared in class).*



### LISTENING 1

#### Population Growth's Regional Variations

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZcZfXsnckA>

#### Notes

**Malthus, Thomas Robert** — see Note 2 to Reading 1.

**Paul Ralph Ehrlich** (born May 29, 1932) is an American ecologist and demographer, best known for his pessimistic warnings about population growth and limited resources.

<sup>1</sup> Glossary — an alphabetical list of words relating to a specific subject, text, or dialect, with explanations; a brief dictionary.

## PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. Can you explain the following demographic terms: *population growth, carrying capacity, population aging, fertility, sex ratio, gender imbalance, youth bulge, population stagnation*?  
If in doubt consult a dictionary.
2. What, in your view, are region-specific population issues, i.e. demographic issues peculiar to regions such as Africa, Asia, etc.?

## VIEWING

*Watch the video and decide which of the statements below agree with the information given in the video. Mark them as TRUE, FALSE, NOT GIVEN.*

1. It took less than twelve years for world population to increase from six to seven billion.
2. Population growth is explained by high birthrate.
3. It is a universal belief that increased population is going to stimulate economic growth.
4. Population aging is an issue for Europe.
5. Youth bulge means more labour force and better economic growth in African countries.
6. Gender imbalance has serious implications for the socio-economic stability in China.
7. Tackling population stagnation requires the most effort.
8. There is no universal approach to addressing population issues.

## Speak Up

## DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What are the social and economic implications of youth bulge and gender imbalance?
2. What policies aimed at alleviating the adverse consequences of demographic trends turn out to be effective in various regions of the world?

## FOLLOW-UP

*At home, watch the video-clip again and make a list of demographic terms to be added to the Glossary.*



## READING 1

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. Do you think there is a correlation between population size and power?
2. What, in your view, are the political implications of the current population decline for individual countries and for the existing world order?

*Look through the article and find how the assumption about the relationship between population and power has been changing throughout human history.*

### DEMOGRAPHIC REVOLUTION

There is a revolution taking place right now, one with implications for the future of world order. But despite this revolution's importance, it is taking place quietly, with a whisper rather than a shout. Barely anyone seems to be noticing; hardly any scholars seem to be assessing the geo-

political ramifications of this revolution, or whether any policies may be enacted now in order to mitigate the worst potential outcomes. And that is because this is not a political revolution at all; it is a demographic revolution. Across the globe, nations are now in the midst of a profound set of changes: fertility is falling at the same time that life expectancy is rising, and both changes are so deep and sustained as to be entirely new experiences in human history.

There is no doubt now that, in the next few decades, many nations will have older, smaller populations. In some cases, this demographic decline may be so steep as to raise doubts about a nation's ability to achieve economic growth, to afford social-welfare costs, to maintain adequate defense, and to meet international security obligations. While truly a worldwide phenomenon, the extent and timing of the decline shows enough variation — nation by nation, and region by region — to raise serious questions about the balance of power and the stability of the current world order.

The conventional belief through much of human history concerning the relationship between population and power is as unsurprising as it is simple: *more is better*. In this view, more people means more soldiers for the field of battle and more citizens for the tax collector. For every monarch who has desired a larger purse to pursue his aims, and for every general who has looked across the front line longing for reinforcements, more has been better. All things being equal, more people has meant more power.

It was Thucydides, writing in the fifth century B.C., who first raised a voice counter to this conventional view. According to Thucydides, smaller numbers of soldier-citizens may be more powerful than hordes of soldier-slaves. Under some circumstances, *less can be better*. Of course, for there to be free men, and imaginative generals to lead them, there would need to be the requisite social organization — the educational, political, and cultural institutions — to create such citizens. [...]

[...] Thomas Malthus took up the question about the interplay between population and power, thereby framing the new conventional wisdom that, to a certain degree, still dominates the field of study. According to Malthus, there is a point at which population growth outpaces the physical resources necessary to maintain that population, resulting in potentially massive levels of human suffering and political destabilization. In a phrase, according to Malthus, *too many will be catastrophic*.

The resilience of this theory has continued, despite the evidence against it. Malthusian and neo-Malthusian thought have served as guiding principles of population and development programs throughout the twentieth century and into the current one, especially as it relates to the bilateral and multilateral aid efforts designed for the developing world. According to this logic, poor countries cannot emerge from their circumstances because population growth rates have already reached catastrophic levels, with base numbers of people overwhelming all attempts at health and education reform. This stunted<sup>1</sup> development, in turn, fosters cultural and political unrest; unchecked population growth renders<sup>2</sup> instability almost a certainty.

But now the context appears to be changing again. Perhaps in part because of the population alarmism instituted by Malthus, the last few decades of the twentieth century saw worldwide population decline as fertility rates fell dramatically (though unevenly), from an average of seven children per woman at the start of the century to fewer than three at the end of the century. This fact alone, coupled with projections of continued fertility decline, would call for new assessments

<sup>1</sup> **Stunted** (from 'to stunt') — prevent from growing or developing properly.

<sup>2</sup> **To render** (here) — to cause to be or become.

of the relationship between population and power. The new questions turn the old on their heads. While most studies of international security and national power continue to focus on the issue of population growth, if they consider population at all, demographic trends would suggest different questions, and different concerns.

This study<sup>1</sup> explores the new demographic reality [...] and assesses whether and to what extent population decline in the key world powers — characterized first by fertility decline and population aging, then by actual population decrease — affects global stability. From a geopolitical standpoint, *is less better or worse than more?*

[...] Each of the major nations will experience, or already experiences, demographic decline and aging in diverse ways that are potentially significant for the assessment of the changes in their geopolitical positions. As these relative effects take hold, how will they influence regional and international alliances? What regional powers will become global ones? What global powers will see their influence fade? Finally, how will all these variables interact to impact global stability? [...]

As these many issues are explored, we propose an answer, however tentative, to the question of whether demographic decline will usher in a new age of tranquility and cooperation between nations or a new era of instability and conflict. We believe that, while some say demographics is destiny, it is not necessarily *geopolitical* destiny. Many qualities of national power figure into the equation: regime type, culture, and technology, such as whether a country possesses nuclear weapons, all matter. While difficult choices need to be made, the most competitive nations can adopt policies to blunt some of the worst outcomes of demographic decline.

[...] Scholars find it difficult to identify a direct causal relationship between population and security, but [...] there appears to be a very clear correlation between population decline and rising strategic pessimism. Eroding demographic prospects have changed the national mood in Japan, China, and throughout Europe, shaping worldviews. Another finding is that it is very difficult for policymakers to respond to these massive but subtle shifts in demographics and social moods precisely because many of the changes are intangible.

We can nonetheless characterize the future by some broad themes. First, global threats do not necessarily unite the world. Whereas the Soviet threat united the West, the specter of terrorism, adverse effects of climate change, and even the proliferation of WMD<sup>2</sup> have not created solidarity to the same extent witnessed in the Cold War. Demographic decline will cause societies to further revert to state-centric approaches.

Second, since the centrality of the sovereign state is reinforced by demographic decline, nations are wise to invest in national strategic solutions rather than betting on international organizations to bail them out. International bodies such as the United Nations can be valuable for sharing and comparing problems and prospects, for example, but solutions are a national undertaking. Third, solving long-term problems is limited by short-term solutions. National policymaking is a three- to five-year enterprise, whereas global demographic trends require policymakers to look beyond a decade and even more. In order to address the instability that global aging and population decline present, policymakers will need to take the long view.

<sup>1</sup> The study aimed to explore the normative, cultural, and social causes and consequences of population decline while pursuing the ultimate question of the future of international stability.

<sup>2</sup> Weapons of mass destruction.

There is virtually no doubt that a reordering of great power politics is coming in the next two decades. India will overtake China as the world's largest nation around 2020, Japan and Russia will drop below 100 million in population around the middle of the twenty-first century, and while lack of data precludes knowing just when, a significant proportion of Europe's population will soon be nonnative, causing radical social changes and shifts in foreign policy. These are near certainties. Even so, a certain sobriety is in order. This study has attempted to question conventional wisdom about the relationship between population and power and population and security. Despite the certainties, it is important to emphasize the fact that demographers and social scientists have gotten it wrong in the past. We accept that our own assertions could be flawed.

There could be unknowable circumstances or wild cards<sup>1</sup> that change the game. Except for the wild card scenarios, our analysis concludes that the graying of the great powers will bring about more turbulent relations in the coming decades. Population size is not a sufficient factor in measuring national power, but it is a necessary one. Global aging will only accentuate this fact. Nor will nations be able to completely replace dwindling manpower with technological solutions. That said, shared technology can be a strategic leveler and can build trust among allies. The "demographic transition" such as it is will not lead to a demographic peace [...]. On the contrary, the coming decades will be marked by turbulence within, and perhaps among, alliances as aging and economic decline close windows of opportunity to pursue important but destabilizing foreign policy goals and cause European nations to retreat from the global role.

Normative<sup>2</sup> changes attendant to aging and diverging fertility patterns will increase tensions within states, which may further hinder global peacekeeping duties. Nations may be able to manage an "elegant decline" and prolong competitiveness through longer work lives, but this will not likely translate into past great powers, Russia and Japan, regaining former status. Nor will social initiatives to reverse fertility decline stave off slippage of Europe's or China's military power projection in the medium term. [...]

Nations cannot reverse the cause of global aging in the near term. No public program can bring back citizens who were never born. But leaders can better protect and defend the children of this generation before passing them the torch and placing upon their shoulders the burden of keeping peaceable relations among nations.

(Based on the Introduction to  
*Population Decline and the Remaking of Great Power Politics*  
by Susan Yoshihara & Douglas A. Sylva, Potomac Books, Washington D.C., 2012)

#### Notes:

1. **Thucydides** (/θju:'sɪdɪdɪz/; Russian — Фукидид; c. 460 — c. 400 BC) was an Athenian historian, political philosopher and general. His *History of the Peloponnesian War* recounts the 5th century BC war between Sparta and Athens to the year 411 BC. Thucydides has been dubbed the father of "scientific history" because of his strict standards of evidence-gathering and analysis of cause and effect without reference to intervention by the gods, as outlined in his introduction to his work.

<sup>1</sup> **A wild card** — someone or something that you do not know much about and whose behaviour in the future you cannot be certain of.

<sup>2</sup> **Normative** — describing or establishing a set of rules or standards of behaviour.

He has also been called the father of the school of political realism, which views the political behavior of individuals and the subsequent outcome of relations between states as ultimately mediated by and constructed upon the emotions of fear and self-interest. His text is still studied at both universities and advanced military colleges worldwide. *The Melian dialogue* remains a seminal work of international relations theory while Pericles' *Funeral Oration* is widely studied in political theory, history, and the classics.

2. The Rev. **Thomas Robert Malthus** (13 February 1766 — 29 December 1834) was an English cleric and scholar, influential in the fields of political economy and demography. His *An Essay on the Principle of Population* observed that sooner or later population will be checked by famine and disease, leading to what is known as a Malthusian catastrophe. He wrote in opposition to the popular view in 18th-century Europe that saw society as improving and in principle as perfectible. He thought that the dangers of population growth precluded progress towards a utopian society: "The power of population is indefinitely greater than the power in the earth to produce subsistence for man". As an Anglican cleric, Malthus saw this situation as divinely imposed to teach virtuous behaviour.

### COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

A. *In pairs, discuss how you understand the phrases/clauses below. If still in doubt, discuss the phrases as a class.*

1. ... it (the revolution) is taking place quietly, with a whisper rather than a shout.
2. ... the population alarmism instituted by Malthus ...
3. The new questions turn the old on their heads.
4. ... while some say demographics is destiny, it is not necessarily geopolitical destiny.
5. ... solving long-term problems is limited by short-term solutions.
6. ... a certain sobriety is in order.
7. There could be ... wild cards that change the game.
8. ... shared technology can be a strategic leveler ...
9. ... this will not likely translate into past great powers, Russia and Japan, regaining former status ...
10. ... before passing them the torch ...

B. *Answer the questions on the text.*

1. What revolution is underway now? What makes this process a 'revolution'?
2. What is the conventional assumption concerning the correlation between population and power? What does it pivot on?
3. Under what circumstances can less people be better?
4. What is the major point of the Malthusian theory of population?
5. What are the implications of a neo-Malthusian model for the developing world?
6. What population issue should scholars and policymakers be concerned with nowadays and why?
7. What geopolitical questions do the current demographic changes raise?
8. In what way has population decline changed the national mood in some countries?
9. Is the world likely to become more united in the face of global threats?
10. What accounts for the increasing state-centric approach to problem solving?

11. What are the likely consequences of population aging and decline for some of the great powers and the world at large?
12. What does the responsibility of national leaders consist in under the circumstances?

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. The authors of the study emphasize that their assertions could be faulty. What is your opinion on the projected scenarios?
2. Which parts of the equation (regime type, culture, technology, nuclear weapons), in your view, matter most in alleviating the adverse outcomes of declining population for separate nations?

### FOLLOW-UP

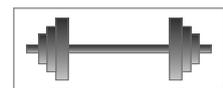
A. Make a three-minute statement on demographic trends in the following countries / regions and their implications for global development and stability:



- a) Russia
- b) The United States
- c) China
- d) Europe
- e) Asia
- f) Africa

Use texts from the Reader and readings you find yourself.

B. Compile a list of Topic Vocabulary on the issue (to be shared in class).



## VOCABULARY PRACTICE 1

Ex. 1. a) find words in the text to match the definitions below; reproduce the context they are used in;

b) give their synonyms;

c) suggest their Russian equivalents;

d) use the words in sentences of your own.

1. a complex or unwelcome consequence of an action or event
2. to make (something bad) less severe, serious, or painful
3. made necessary by particular circumstances or regulations
4. to develop or make up something such as a plan or law
5. to make necessary
6. to become established
7. to help a person or organization that is having problems, especially financial problems
8. to prevent from happening, make impossible

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

9. diminishing gradually in size, amount, or strength
10. occurring with or as a result of
11. to convert something or be converted into
12. to avert or delay something bad or dangerous

Ex. 2. Continue the strings of collocations. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.

1. **to mitigate** a problem, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
2. long-term, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **ramifications**
3. **requisite** organization, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
4. **to frame** a concept, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
5. **dwindling** power, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
6. effects, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **take(s) hold**
7. **to stave off** \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
8. initiative, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **is called for**
9. **attendant** circumstances, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

3. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 1 and Ex. 2.

1. Economic alliances hold benefit for countries that military alliances don't: They remove barriers, more than erecting them, and an alliance with one nation doesn't \_\_\_\_\_ striking the same agreement with others.
2. The long-term futures of societies all over the planet will be shaped in large part by their experiences of and responses to the destructive \_\_\_\_\_ of climate change.
3. It became an inescapable fact that responsible management of \_\_\_\_\_ natural resources like fresh water requires public oversight through monitoring programs and a solid implementation of regulations.
4. Analysts doubt that growing opposition to the Prime Minister Netanyahu will \_\_\_\_\_ his defeat on Election Day.
5. Qualified teachers who wish to teach pupils with visual and/or hearing impairment must ensure they have the \_\_\_\_\_ qualifications.
6. Those who favor humanitarian intervention argue that tragic episodes like the Rwandan Genocide can no longer be abided, and that intervention is \_\_\_\_\_ in case of humanitarian crisis.
7. In 1830, the East India Company \_\_\_\_\_ a policy to distribute forest area among European settlers in India.
8. Even where market-friendly reforms have \_\_\_\_\_, there is much that countries can do to improve the benefits that markets offer to the poor. *Taken hold*
9. At first the western Allies believed that by signing the Munich agreement they had \_\_\_\_\_ war but then in early 1939 Hitler violated the agreement and invaded the other half of Czechoslovakia.
10. Since European governments \_\_\_\_\_ Greece from its financial woes in 2010, the nation has struggled to overcome what economists call an "austerity trap."
11. We must constantly keep in mind that while war, and the killing \_\_\_\_\_ to war, is an ugly business, it is very much a reality in the world we live in.

12. In Asia and Africa particularly, public works programs have significantly \_\_\_\_\_ the negative effects of climatic risks on poor farmers, and farm laborers.

## SPEAKING

### TERM PRESENTATION

*Make a ten-minute power point presentation based on your analysis of an issue relevant to the topic 'Demography and Politics'.  
Guidelines are to be found in the Manual.*

## LISTENING 2

### International Migration

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOZmqlwqur4>

### PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. What, to your knowledge, makes people leave their countries?
2. Why do you think immigration is often viewed as a threat by the populations of countries of destination?

### VIEWING

*Watch the video and answer the questions that follow.*

1. What are the push and pull factors lying behind migration?
2. What are the current forms of migration?
3. Which are the most attractive destination countries nowadays?
4. How can the strong migration within Europe be explained?
5. What is the reason for the increasingly restrictive migration policies of the Western countries?
6. What Human Rights issues do these policies raise?
7. What are the positive effects of migration on the populations of sending and receiving countries?

## Speak Up

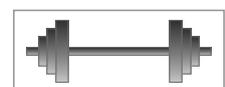
### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. From your perspective, does the video list all the positive and negative effects of migration? Which of them outweigh the others?
2. What, in your view, should a constructive migration policy encompass?

### FOLLOW-UP

*A. At home, watch the video again and compile a list of Topic Vocabulary required to speak on the immigration issue and suggest their Russian equivalents (to be shared in class).*

*B. Add the terms to the Glossary.*



## READING 2

### PRE-READING QUESTIONS

1. Do you think migration is relevant to international relations? If so, in what way does it affect world stability?
2. Can you come up with any examples of tensions between countries over migration issues?

*Skim the text and find information about diplomatic tensions between China and other countries over migration issues.*

### INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND WORLD STABILITY

In the post-Cold War period many Western scholars and policymakers have identified new types of threats: while some have augured<sup>1</sup> conflict along civilizational lines (Huntington) and others have trumpeted democracy as the foundation of peace, both pundits<sup>2</sup> and the press have increasingly warned that demographic growth in the developing world poses dangers to international stability and may spark wars as it contributes to social and political turmoil that is conducive to domestic and international violence.

Rapid population growth can lead to migration within and across borders. Short-term resource scarcities generate incentives for people to move to locations where supplies are more plentiful, and ethnic conflict may force refugees to flee their homes for safer ground. By changing regional population balances among ethnic groups, overwhelming urban infrastructures, creating pressure on limited water and food supplies, and suppressing agricultural and industrial production, internal migration, driven by population growth, can create additional stresses on social and political institutions. [...] Thus, internal migration, as a source of population change, may indirectly contribute to international conflict by bolstering or undermining national power, altering a country's ethnic or communal composition, or giving rise to resource scarcities.

There are several paths by which migration across borders can contribute to international conflict. First, migrants may seek to influence their host government to pursue aggressive policies vis-à-vis their country of origin. [...] However, [...] this problem is quite limited, since migrants, politically marginal in their home country, normally possess a limited ability to organize politically and successfully make demands on the government of the receiving country. [...]

Second, mistreatment — real, perceived, or manufactured — of migrants can lead their country of origin to seek to intervene on their behalf. [...] this dynamic has often led to international tension in the past. Russian sensitivity in the post-Cold War period to the treatment of ethnic Russians in the former Soviet republics is a case in point, and just a few years ago American hawks were pointing to Russian nationalist rhetoric regarding the “near abroad” as representing a real threat to international security. Other cases include tensions between India and South Africa over the latter's treatment of its Indian minority, Chinese concern over the status of Chinese communities throughout Southeast Asia, and Mexican denunciations of perceived discrimination against Mexican nationals in the United States.

Further, classifying migrants as refugees with a well-founded fear of persecution implicitly accuses and condemns the country of origin, fostering an antagonistic relationship. In the early

<sup>1</sup> **To augur** — to predict.

<sup>2</sup> **Pundit** — an expert in a particular subject or field who is frequently called upon to give their opinions to the public.

1990s, China regarded the American debate over whether Chinese students should be permitted to remain in the United States as interference in the internal affairs. The United States' relations with Russia and Cuba are other good examples. While such moves may contribute to worsening diplomatic relations, it is unlikely that they could, in the absence of further provocation and deeper conflicts of interests, lead to international violence.

Fourth, further conflict can emerge over a state's migration policies. Where one state permits, promotes, or forces emigration to a state that forbids or restricts entry, the situation has the potential for international tension, creating a "high" politics over population movements. The United States has been involved in a series of such incidents with Cuba and Haiti over the last few decades. Where one country restricts emigration that another seeks to promote, migration policies may become a bargaining chip in a larger negotiation package. A key example here is wrangling between the United States and the Soviet Union over the fate of Soviet Jews.

In addition, the presence of combatants in refugee camps can make the host country into a target for foreign attack. Foreign forces may feel justified in pursuing the enemy across the border, commonly threatening the safety of the host country citizens. This story has been enacted repeatedly across Africa. Moreover, in many regions, ethnic groups straddle national boundaries, and ethnic conflicts are not easily confined to the country in which they originated.

Sixth, migrants can themselves become a threat to the security of the host country by launching terrorist attacks, illegally smuggling weapons, trafficking in drugs, and so on. Palestinians have posed a security problem for Arab states, such as Lebanon and Jordan; Pakistan's decision to arm the Afghan refugees has in turn limited its dealings with the governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. Fighting among rival factions in refugee camps can spill over into the local community.

Whether migration heightens tensions between states often depends on whether it is viewed as undermining national security or domestic harmony, but the process by which threats are constructed and by which boon<sup>1</sup> is transformed into bane<sup>2</sup> remains poorly understood and under-theorized.

Rapid population growth in the developing world is hardly welcome, but it does not by itself pose a serious threat to international peace and security. While we have identified several mechanisms through which demographic change may contribute to international conflict, the more common result is domestic disruption and perhaps violence. Inspired by humanitarian ideals or pressured by domestic interest groups, policymakers in the industrialized world may strive to devote resources to combating rapid population growth and to offer aid to developing nations as they cope with exploding populations. Their counterparts in poorer countries may, confronted with economic crisis and resource scarcity, be eager for help in containing the seemingly inexorable rise in numbers. International conflict is a possible outcome, but the links between it and population growth are complex and indirect, with social institutions, political considerations, and the international environment all mediating. By successfully manipulating all these intervening factors — by no means an easy task — Western policymakers whose central concern is preserving international peace could achieve their goal even as population growth rages unabated. At stake is the kind of world in which we wish to live.

(Based on the Chapter *Demographic Change and the Sources of International Conflict* by Ronald R. Krebs and Jack S. Levy from *Demography and National Security* edited by Myron Weiner & Sharon Stanton Russell, Berghahn Books, 2001)

<sup>1</sup> **Boon** is something useful, helpful, or beneficial.

<sup>2</sup> **Bane** is a person or thing that ruins or spoils.

## COMPREHENSION ASSIGNMENTS

A. *In pairs, discuss how you understand the phrases/clauses below. If still in doubt, discuss the phrases as a class.*

1. ... others have trumpeted democracy as the foundation of peace ...
2. ... migrants, politically marginal in their home country ...
3. ... mistreatment — real, perceived, or manufactured ...
4. ... creating a “high” politics over population movements ...
5. ... migration policies may become a bargaining chip in a larger negotiation package.
6. ... ethnic groups straddle national boundaries ...
7. ... boon is transformed into bane ...
8. ... population growth rages unabated.

B. *Answer the questions on the text.*

1. What types of global challenges have been identified by Western political analysts and politicians in the post-Cold War period?
2. What are the dangers posed by population growth?
3. What is a possible international outcome of internal migration?
4. In what ways can international migration, in theory, be conducive to tensions or conflict between countries?
5. What is a more likely fallout of uncontrolled population growth?
6. In what way can the industrialised countries stave off possible international conflict in case of further uncontrolled population growth in the poor countries?

## Speak Up

### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Which of the projected scenarios do you find plausible?
2. What, in your view, are the real dangers posed to world stability by international migration stemming from population growth in the less developed countries?

### FOLLOW-UP

A. *Make a three-minute statement on*

- a) migration processes in Europe and elsewhere
- b) immigration issues in the USA, Russia, other countries of your choice
- c) illegal immigration and ways to deal with it



*Use texts from the Reader, readings that you find yourself and the video in Listening 3.*

B. *Add new demographic terms from the text to the Glossary*



## VOCABULARY PRACTICE 2

Ex. 4. a) *find words in the text to match the definitions below; reproduce the context they are used in;*

b) give their derivatives or words they are formed from;

c) suggest their Russian equivalents;

d) use the words in sentences of your own.

1. making a certain situation likely or possible
2. a thing that motivates or encourages someone to do something
3. to prevent or inhibit a process or reaction
4. to support or strengthen
5. a public statement that strongly criticizes someone or something as being bad or wrong
6. in a way that is not directly expressed
7. disturbance or problems which interrupt an event, activity, or process
8. to keep something harmful within limits and not allow it to spread
9. continuing without any possibility of being stopped
10. to change the effect or influence of something, especially to make the effect less bad

Ex. 5. Continue the strings of collocations. Make up a sentence with one collocation from each list.

1. **conductive to** violence, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
2. **inexorable** growth, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
3. **to contain** a rise, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
4. **to bolster** confidence, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
5. a/an economic, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **incentive**
6. to act as, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **an incentive**
7. **to suppress** production, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_
8. domestic, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **disruption**
9. to cause, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **disruption**
10. public, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **denunciation**
11. to accuse, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_ **implicitly**
12. **to mediate** a link, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_

Ex. 6. Fill in the gaps with the words from Ex. 4 and Ex. 5.

1. Kent (a county in South East England) suffered considerable \_\_\_\_\_ in the 1620s, due to plague and the Anglo-Spanish war.
2. While governor, William Livingston was a frequent contributor to the New Jersey Gazette, and in this way he greatly aided the American cause during the war by his \_\_\_\_\_ of the enemy and appeals to the patriotism of his countrymen.
3. In 1867, the Austrian partition proved most \_\_\_\_\_ to the development of Polish culture.
4. By the summer of 1918, the blockade of the Russian Empire's main ports and conversion of its industries to meet the needs of the army had crippled railway transportation and \_\_\_\_\_ overall economic output.
5. There have been various attempts to regenerate the cities of the North of England over the last fifty years or so; however all of them have failed to transform the region. Moreover, government subsidies to the North have reduced the \_\_\_\_\_ for people to seek more productive employment in other parts of the UK, harming the stronger regions and the economy as a whole.

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

6. Hopes for new drugs that would slow or stop the \_\_\_\_\_ decline of Alzheimer's patients have repeatedly failed in recent years.
7. The central bank of China announced an interest rates cut starting May 11, the third time since November last year, to \_\_\_\_\_ the real economy.
8. When the government confers a patent for a particular invention, it \_\_\_\_\_ approves of that invention as an object worthy of exclusive rights.
9. Teacher instruction was found to be effective when it promoted student autonomy, and ineffective when student participation was heavily \_\_\_\_\_.
10. Support and aid from the international community helped West African countries \_\_\_\_\_ the Ebola outbreak.

## INTEGRATING CORE SKILLS

### PROJECT WORK

*Doing professionally relevant research*

#### DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN RUSSIA: IMPLICATIONS FOR FOREIGN POLICY

*Decide on the format of your research (team or individual) and plan your work accordingly.*

#### TEAM FORMAT

##### STAGE 1

*Decide on the topic of your research and put forward your hypothesis (the point you want to make). Divide the 'responsibilities'.*

##### Individual work

*Do research on the issue.*

##### STAGE 2

##### Team work

*Pool the results of your findings and as a team prepare a 5-minute presentation for the rest of the group.*

##### STAGE 3

##### Class work

*Make a 5-minute presentation to prove your point. Be ready to answer questions from the audience.*

#### INDIVIDUAL FORMAT

##### STAGE 1

*Decide on the topic and put forward your hypothesis (the point you want to make).*

##### STAGE 2

*Do research on the issue. Prepare a 5-minute presentation to share your findings with the group.*



### STAGE 3

#### **Class work**

*Make a 5-minute presentation to prove your point. Be ready to answer questions from the audience.*

### **LISTENING 3**

#### **Conversation: Europe's Immigration Dilemma**

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ewzg0JnUmVY>



#### PRE-VIEWING QUESTIONS

1. What migration processes are currently happening in Europe?
2. Do you think they contribute to European integration?

#### VIEWING

*Watch the video and*

*a) tick the answers that are NOT mentioned in it*

1. Adriano Bosoni has recently been to  
a) France b) Croatia c) Turkey d) Poland
2. At the airport of Frankfurt one can see a lot of  
a) Greeks b) Turks c) Portuguese d) Spaniards  
returning home to Germany after visiting their relatives
3. The traditional European countries of emigration are  
a) Portugal b) Greece c) Spain d) Romania
4. The fathers of European integration are  
a) Spinelli b) Schumann c) Erasmus d) Monnet
5. In Western Europe, there is a growing hostility towards  
a) Poles b) Muslims c) Romanians d) the Roma

*b) mark the statements as TRUE or FALSE*

1. In the long run, emigration is beneficial to the sending countries.
2. Immigration to the core countries of Europe helps to tackle the problem of declining and ageing population.
3. The rise of nationalism in Western Europe can be attributed to increasing immigration.
4. The nationalist parties of Europe have formed an alliance at the European Parliament.
5. The ultimate challenge to the survival of the EU is voters' growing distrust of the old elites.

#### **Speak Up**

#### DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Which processes, in your view, are likely to prevail in Europe: centrifugal or centripetal?
2. What do you think is the effect of the migration issue on the prospects of European integration?

#### FOLLOW-UP

*At home, watch the video again and compile a list of words and phrases to be added to the Topic Vocabulary (to be shared in class).*

## SPEAKING

### VERBAL JOUST

*Hold a one-to-one debate impromptu style. The issues to be discussed concern three major demographic changes expected to have an impact on security by generating conflicts within or between states:*

- the changing size and the global distribution of the natural increase in the world's population;
- migration as a determinant of population growth;
- the changing age distribution.

*A list of particular topics will be supplied beforehand but the one to do will be decided on by a draw.*

*Each debator has to answer one question from the audience.*

The winner is determined by vote.

Assessment criteria:

1. logic
2. fluency + accuracy of the language used
3. manner of presentation

## VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR REVISION

*Ex. 7. Fill in the gaps with prepositions or particles if necessary.*

1. Immigration policy is a matter that needs to be treated \_\_\_\_ both urgency and care given the sensitivity of issues attendant \_\_\_\_ migration.
2. 'Obamacare' has created an incentive \_\_\_\_ business owners to navigate a different path than that which policymakers had intended.
3. In June, a crowdfunding campaign was launched in the UK to bail \_\_\_\_ Greece.
4. As soon as the first patients were confirmed in Guinea, MSF's Swiss and Belgian sections launched an emergency intervention to try to contain \_\_\_\_ the epidemic of Ebola.
5. Despite the assurances of its proponents, the Central America Free Trade Accord (CAFTA) is not likely to translate \_\_\_\_ a significant improvement for the region's atrocious labour rights record.
6. China began to pour significant resources into North Korea in a preemptive attempt to stave \_\_\_\_ a crisis in the mid-1990s, and it has been (almost) continuously doing it ever since.
7. Sometimes an epidemic reaches such proportions that political action is called \_\_\_\_, usually \_\_\_\_ the form of a quarantine.
8. Protection \_\_\_\_ human rights need not involve public denunciation \_\_\_\_ abuses.
9. Shanghai's second-quarter economic indicators are expected to achieve the target, an encouraging sign \_\_\_\_ bolstering \_\_\_\_ people's confidence.
10. Are dictatorships better able to implement policies conducive \_\_\_\_ growth than democracies?

*Ex. 8. Fill in the gaps with suitable words.*

By 2050, the world will 1) \_\_\_\_\_ undergone a dramatic shift in the age 2) \_\_\_\_\_ of the adult population 3) \_\_\_\_\_ to 1950. During 1950–1990, young people between the ages of 15 and 24 years made 4) \_\_\_\_\_ more than 25 per cent of the adult popula-

tion in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean. By 2050, 5) \_\_\_\_\_, the United Nations predicts that only sub-Saharan Africa will still have young adult shares 6) \_\_\_\_\_ 25 per cent, 7) \_\_\_\_\_ all other world regions are around or below 15 per cent. The main 8) \_\_\_\_\_ for this shift is the global 9) \_\_\_\_\_ in fertility that began in the 1960s and has gained increasing 10) \_\_\_\_\_ over the last decades. Will this ageing world also become a more peaceful world?

Recent studies in economic demography 11) \_\_\_\_\_ that the 12) \_\_\_\_\_ between large youth cohorts<sup>1</sup> and political violence 13) \_\_\_\_\_ be muted<sup>2</sup> if youth bulges precede significantly smaller cohorts (i.e. the next generation is smaller in numbers). Economists and demographers have long discussed the allegedly negative 14) \_\_\_\_\_ of population growth rates on economic growth. Recently, this 15) \_\_\_\_\_ has been advanced by disaggregating the focus to look at the impact of growth among different age segments. While high growth rates in the non-working, or dependent, age groups are associated with lower economic growth, 16) \_\_\_\_\_ in the working-age population are positively associated with economic growth. 17) \_\_\_\_\_, in areas where the demographic transition is well underway with sharply declining fertility 18) \_\_\_\_\_, countries may experience a window of opportunity 19) \_\_\_\_\_ economic development, often coined a “demographic dividend”, largely flowing from increased savings as the relative 20) \_\_\_\_\_? \_\_\_\_\_ of dependents decreases.

*Ex. 9. Translate into English using Topic and Active Vocabulary.*

1. Быстрый **рост населения** в некоторых развивающихся странах **побуждает** (стимулирует) людей покидать свою страну в поисках лучшей жизни. Если мигранты при этом разрывают (sever) все связи с родной страной, то речь идет о «**маятниковой**» миграции.
2. В XX веке демографы считали, что перед человечеством стоит проблема **перенаселения** и **истощения** ресурсов. Сейчас для многих развитых страны гораздо актуальнее проблема **сокращения численности населения**.
3. Япония — страна с самой высокой **продолжительностью жизни**, при этом **уровень рождаемости** там низкий, что приводит к резкому **старению населения**.
4. **Старение населения** часто называют демографической бомбой замедленного действия, так как **сокращение трудовых ресурсов** имеет серьезные **отрицательные последствия** для экономики. В европейских странах надвигающийся кризис пытаются **предотвратить** с помощью **трудовой миграции**.
5. **Неудержимый** рост иммиграции в развитые европейские страны **требует разработки** мер, направленных не только на **сдерживание** иммиграции, но и на **смягчение сопутствующих** ей проблем.
6. Такие демографические явления как **нарушение соотношения полов** (Китай, Южная Корея) и **высокая доля молодого населения** (Азия, Африка) **способствуют** росту напряженности в обществе и, по мнению специалистов, могут привести к **социальным потрясениям**.
7. Признание мигрантов беженцами, покинувшими свою страну из-за реальной угрозы преследования, по мнению некоторых ученых, является **неявным осуждением** этой страны за нарушение прав человека.

<sup>1</sup> **A cohort** — a group of people with a common statistical characteristic.

<sup>2</sup> **Muted** — softened.

Ex. 10. Complete the second sentence so that it has a similar meaning to the first sentence, using the word(s) given. Do not change the word(s) given.

1. There are virtually no policies in place in New Zealand to address the fastest growing source of emissions including transport. (**HARDLY**)  
There \_\_\_\_\_ policies in place in New Zealand to address the fastest growing source of emissions including transport.
2. It's pointless to ask 'why' when it comes to language. (**POINT**)  
\_\_\_\_\_ when it comes to language.
3. Future food supplies won't be under threat if the talks succeed. (**UNLESS**)  
Future food supplies \_\_\_\_\_ the talks succeed.
4. British Airways said its performance would have been better if there hadn't been a disruption caused by snow in February. (**BUT FOR**)  
British Airlines said its performance would have been better \_\_\_\_\_ caused by snow in February.
5. Almost as soon as the ceasefire was announced, the propaganda against the Assad regime went into overdrive. (**SOONER**)  
No \_\_\_\_\_ the propaganda against the Assad regime went into overdrive.
6. The students realize they need to hone their presentation skills only at the end of the programme. (**TILL**)  
It's \_\_\_\_\_ the students realise they need to hone their presentation skills.
7. The main reason for the negative image of immigrants is ignorance. (**DUE TO**)  
The negative image of immigrants \_\_\_\_\_ ignorance.
8. Scandals linked to political parties will definitely affect public attitudes. (**CERTAIN**)  
Scandals linked to political parties \_\_\_\_\_ public attitudes.
9. Churchill was about to accept the terms offered in July 1940, but realised that his own role as war leader would be over. (**POINT**)  
Churchill was \_\_\_\_\_ the terms offered in July 1940, but realised that his own role as war leader would be over.
10. Now that everyone's acquainted, why don't we get down to business? (**AS WELL**)  
Now that everyone is acquainted, we \_\_\_\_\_ get down to business.

## EAP CORNER

### BRUSHING UP READING SKILLS

Dealing with the challenges of reading academic texts:

1. Academic vocabulary
2. Tools of logical reasoning

#### TASK 1

*Make a list of academic words out of the ones given below. Consult a dictionary if necessary.*

at the bottom line engender inasmuch as to blunt to impede to fuel (anti-immigrant sentiment) bequeath to be commensurate with imminent unknowable albeit	to argue to contend outcomes ramifications to endorse to aver determinate intangible to figure into (equation) to the chagrin of
---	---

#### TASK 2

*Compare the text 'The Coming Global Population Decline' in the Lead-in with the one below. What is the target audience in each case?*

*What are the main differences (apart from the topics)?*

### POPULATION, NATIONAL POWER, AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

Realist writers on international relations trace their lineage to Thucydides\* and take as a fundamental truth of international politics the famous lesson of the Melian Dialogue\*<sup>1</sup>—the strong do what they can, the weak suffer what they must. They argue that in an anarchic international environment force is the *ultima ratio*<sup>2</sup>, and that the distribution of power, both at the dyadic and systemic levels, is the primary determinant of foreign policy choices and international outcomes. In the following section we explore the relationship between population growth and military power [...].

#### Population and Military Power

Realists typically endorse two hypotheses relating population and military power. First, they argue that the static indicator of relative population size correlates with the relative size of the army and hence with relative military power; a country with a larger population can summon a larger military than can its opponent. While scholars of international relations often eschew the most crude correlations between population size and military power, Hans Morgenthau (1993 [1948]:140–141) is hardly alone in declaring that “no country can remain or become a first-rate power which does not belong to the more populous nations of the earth.” Similarly, Katherine

<sup>1</sup> See the Notes on p. (to Reading 1).

<sup>2</sup> Ultima ratio — last resort, final argument.

and A. F. K. Organski (1961: 15) have written that “though few nations arm to the hilt, the size of the sword is significant.... It is the size of the total population that sets the limit.” Second, realists have, in a more dynamic vein, contended that population *growth* bequeaths a larger population and ensures that more young men will enter military service, boosting a state’s military resources. As Morgenthau (1993 [1948]:140–141) averred, “shifts in the distribution of power within Europe in recent history have been roughly duplicated by the changes in population trends.”

For some realists, the advent of the nuclear era has not significantly weakened the relationship between population and national power. Conventional forces and weaponry remain necessary for small (non-global) wars. Even in a nuclear conflict, some have argued, population would remain a critical element of power, albeit in the form of technicians and scientists rather than infantry; troops would also be needed as occupying forces once the bomb had been dropped (Organski and Organski 1961; Tapinos 1978). It is worth recalling that the nuclear contest of the Cold War did not render the superpowers’ conventional forces irrelevant. In the mid-1980s American military strategists intensely debated the state of the balance on the European front, and the possession of nuclear weapons did not prevent the Soviet Union and China from massing troops along their borders.

This reasoning has justified pro-natalist policies from Hitler to de Gaulle. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill clearly articulated this logic in a 1943 radio broadcast:

One of the most somber anxieties which beset those who look thirty, or forty, or fifty years ahead ... is the dwindling birth-rate.... If this country is to keep its high place in the leadership of the world, and to survive as a great power that can hold its own against external pressures, our people must be encouraged by every means to have larger families. (Quoted in Morgenthau 1993 [1948]: 143)

This thinking also underlies contemporary concerns about the ability of the advanced industrialized nations to raise and maintain effective military forces as their fertility falls below the replacement rate and as their populations age, leaving them with a smaller manpower pool of military age and a smaller supporting labor force (Saunders 1991; Sarkesian 1989). [...]

Both key links in these hypotheses’ causal logic are overly simple, however. Population growth is neither necessary nor sufficient for an increase in the size of the military, nor does a larger army necessarily bring battlefield success. First, whether a country’s army is commensurate with its population depends on various factors, including the character of its social and political institutions as well as the expansiveness of the state’s definition of its interests. As Nazli Choucri (1974: 29) has written, “only through the mediated influence of technology, social organization, capital and military equipment, and political structure, among other variables, does population become an important consideration.” For example, population growth will obviously have very different effects, all else being equal, on the size of the military in a state with mandatory service and in one with an all-volunteer force; however, if state leaders believe that the current armed forces are capable of performing their tasks, population growth can induce a state to abandon conscription. [...]

Nor does the second step in the realist causal chain hold, for the size of a state’s army does not translate smoothly into military effectiveness, whether in winning wars or helping states prevail in crises and disputes. Numbers may matter, but the historical record does not demonstrate that, to paraphrase Voltaire, God is always on the side of the bigger battalions. From the Greek defeat of the Persian armies at Marathon in 490 B.C.E. to the English victory at Crécy in 1346 to Germany’s triumph in the 1940 battle for France, superior doctrine and armaments have overcome overwhelming numbers. Raw manpower is not sufficient, as the failure of “human wave” tactics, employed by China against Vietnam in 1979 and by Iran against Iraq in the 1980s, has demonstrated (Freedman

1991). States with relatively small populations have compensated with advanced technology, better tactics and strategy, the advantage of surprise, or a more efficient military organization. A severely outmanned Israel has repeatedly defeated its Arab neighbors in various wars, and Britain succeeded in conquering India despite far fewer troops and armaments that were at best equal.

Just as the size of an army is not a powerful predictor of military success, there is evidence that the dyadic balance of power, reflecting overall military capabilities including industrial capacity, is not the primary determinant of the diplomatic outcomes of crises that do not escalate to war. As Maoz (1983: 221) argues, “initiators of serious interstate disputes tend to disproportionately emerge as victors not because they are stronger than targets but because they are able to demonstrate that the stakes of the dispute are more important to them than to their opponents.” This conclusion regarding the balance of resolve is consistent with George and Smoke’s (1974) emphasis on the importance of the “asymmetry of motivation,” with rational choice models that incorporate preferences as well as power-based constraints (Buono de Mesquita and Lalman 1992), and with a number of studies that attempt to explain “why big nations lose small wars” (Mack 1975; Paul 1994).

Pessimistic prognostications regarding fertility patterns and the West’s ability to raise adequate military forces implicitly assume that war today is much as it was in the time of Frederick the Great. However, technological developments are increasingly rendering the military’s size even less relevant to the outcome of international conflict. Nuclear weapons, which require a relatively limited number of technical and strategic staff to maintain and operate them, would render differentials in population less important were they to proliferate widely (Deudney 1990: 472–473). More important, the heralded information revolution in military affairs will likewise privilege an army’s skill and training over its absolute size. []

As the information revolution continues to transform the battlefield over the coming decades, sheer numbers, never the sole determinant of war’s outcome, will in all likelihood continue to decrease in importance.

/by Ronald R. Krebs and Jack S. Levy from *Demography and National Security*  
ed. by Myron Weiner and Sharon Stanton Russell/

## Intensive Reading

### TASK 3

Read the text carefully focusing on the underlined words. Analyse the authors’ approach to critical evaluation of scientific theories using the questions below. Decide if you find their criticism convincing and explain why.



1. Whose theories/hypotheses are analysed?
2. How many counterarguments do the authors put forward?
3. Which of these appear to be more convincing?
4. What is the authors’ view on the relationship between population growth and military power?

### TASK 4

Find the right place for the extracts below in the text ‘Population, National Power, and International Conflict’.



Say if these extracts, in your view, are central or secondary to the authors’ reasoning.

1.

In recognition of this fact, Organski and his colleagues (1972) refined earlier discussions by introducing the concept of “effective population” — that portion of the population that contributes most directly

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

to furthering national goals — to capture the population’s skill level and the ability of the political and economic system to aggregate individual contributions into a common pool of national capabilities. Increments of national power thus result from changes in effective population, not total population.

The mediating effect of state and social institutions between national resources, including population, and state power, particularly the size of the military, cannot be ignored. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the United States compared favorably with the European great powers in population and industrial production, but ranked low on measures of state autonomy and capacity. With a limited ability to convert national resources into state power, the United States remained, until the early 1890s, relatively inactive in foreign affairs and possessed of a military befitting a far smaller and less wealthy state. As the power of the American federal state grew relative to the state governments, and as the executive branch extended its reach over policy, the military and the scope of the nation’s ambitions overseas swelled accordingly. Similarly, the size of the French population under the old regime was obviously not dramatically different from that of Revolutionary France, but the turn to the *levée en masse*, wrapped up with changing conceptions of the state and its purpose, produced a vastly larger military force and a starkly different form of warfare. Of course, the success of the Revolutionary armies did not lie in their size alone, but in the marriage “of the professionalism of the ancien régime<sup>1</sup> with the enthusiasm of a Nation in Arms,” and later in the brilliance of Napoleon (Howard 1976: 80).

2.

As Eliot Cohen has noted,

At long last, after a reign of almost two centuries, the age of the mass military manned by short-service conscripts and equipped with the products of highvolume military manufacturing is coming to an end.... Future technologies may create pockets of military capability that will allow very small states to hold off larger ones, much as companies of Swiss pikemen could stop armies sweeping through their mountain passes or a single, well-fortified castle could hold immensely larger forces at bay for months. (Cohen 1996: 47, 53)

In assessing the lessons of the Gulf War, scholars may dispute whether superior American skill, inferior Iraqi tactics, and better American arms were all essential to the complex story of a crushing U.S. victory, or whether skill and technology were each sufficient, but no one believes that numbers were critical to the outcome (Biddle 1996, 1997; Press 1997). The most advanced and effective armaments require more highly educated and technically proficient manpower to operate and maintain them, skills that are in relative abundance in the industrialized world.

## DEVELOPING LISTENING SKILLS

### Listening critically

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jh19BPKsekg>

**BBC Question Time: “The Migrant Crisis”**

### TASK 1

Watch the video and identify the position of each speaker on the UK’s immigration issue. Pay attention to the emotional charge and body language of the speakers:

<sup>1</sup> ancien regime (Fr) — старый порядок

*Does knowing their political affiliation help to anticipate their position?*

Suzanne Evans Deputy Chairman, UKIP

Yanis Varoufakis, economist, the Greek left-wing Minister of Finance for 7 months in 2015

Ken Clarke, MP, Conservative

Chris Bryant, MP, Labour

Julia Hartley-Brewer, columnist and broadcaster

### **TASK 2**

*Watch the video again to decide whose position is better substantiated. Listen critically for unsupported claims, irrelevances and weak statements.*

*Once you've decided on the 'winner', explain your view to your classmates.*

### **TASK 3**

*As a class discuss the attitudes of the people who ask questions to the immigration situation in the UK. Focus on the actual questions and the people's response to what the speakers say.*

## DEVELOPING LOGICAL THINKING SKILLS

### **TASK 1**

*Read the quotation and explain its meaning in your own words.*

"When assessing the quality of reasoning, the question to ask is: Do the premises logically support the conclusion? If the premises do not logically support the conclusion, then the argument is flawed and the conclusion should not be accepted based on the premises provided. The conclusion may, in fact, be true, but a flawed argument gives you no logical reason to believe the conclusion because of the argument in question. Hence, it would be a mistake to accept it for those reasons. If the premises do logically support the conclusion, then you would have a good reason to accept the conclusion, on the assumption that the premises are true or at least plausible."

/Dr. Mike LaBossiere/

### **TASK 2**

*Listen to the debate on Australia's population policy between Steve Bracks (former Premier of the State of Victoria), and Bob Carr (former Premier of the State of New South Wales)*

*on <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8KgqDzBCAnU> (Part 1)*

*Analyse the speakers' logic. Start with Bob Carr's stance using the questions:*

1. What is the premise (starting point) of Bob Carr's reasoning?
2. In what way does this premise determine his attitude to the large immigrant intake in Australia?
3. What arguments does he produce to support his position?
4. What tools does he use to prove his point?
  - facts on population growth
  - facts on Australia's carrying capacity
  - general assumptions



■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

- concrete examples
- ???

5. Does Carr rely on deductive or inductive reasoning?
6. Is there agreement between Carr's premise and the conclusion at the end of Part 1?
7. Do you see any logical fallacies in his reasoning (ad hominem, post hoc, red herring, hasty generalisation, strawman, etc)?

**TASK 3**

Now analyse Steve Bracks's reasoning along the same lines.



**TASK 4**

Choose statements which contain no logical fallacies.

Identify logical fallacies in the other statements.

(The statements are paired, which does not mean one is necessarily correct, and the other is flawed.)



1. **a.** "It's freezing and snowing in New York. We need global warming." (Donald Trump, the Republican front runner for 2016 election)  
**b.** Donald Trump on Saturday said the policies of President Barack Obama and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton "created ISIS," Trump offered no evidence for his claim. He made another outrageous remark: "If Hilary Clinton can't satisfy her husband, what makes her think she can satisfy America?"
2. **a.** Since the Ukrainian crisis there's been a sharp deterioration in U.S. — Russia relations. This brought about the corruption scandal in FIFA and oil prices plummeting below their 2004 level.  
**b.** Former Ukrainian President Yanukovich's refusal to sign Ukraine — European Union association agreement led to public unrest and his eventual downfall.
3. **a.** If we think of the United States as an adolescent, early in its overall history, then we also know that, regardless of its self-image, adulthood lies ahead. Adults tend to be more stable and more powerful than adolescents. Therefore, it is logical to conclude that America is in the earliest phase of its power.  
**b.** Human rights protection is like a double-edged sword: you start with protecting other people's rights and end up with violating them.
4. **a.** Diplomats repeatedly fail to bring peace to the Middle East. Diplomats appear to be of little use in today's world.  
**b.** The U.S.-jihadist war is won as long as al Qaeda loses. An Islamic world in chaos, incapable of uniting, means the United States has achieved its strategic goal. So long as the Muslims are fighting each other, the United States has won the war.
5. **a.** In the near future up to a few million refugees from the Middle East will arrive in Europe. Unless this massive influx of immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries is stopped, Europe will lose its identity and turn Muslim in the next decade.  
**b.** The massive immigration intake has had an impact on the attitude to ethnic minorities throughout the EU countries; unity through diversity and the policy of multiculturalism are likely to succumb to the nationalists' pressure.
6. **a.** Over the last 16 years, global average temperature, as measured by both thermometers and satellite sensors, has displayed no statistically significant warming; over the same period, atmospheric carbon dioxide has increased by 10%. Large increases in carbon dioxide have

- therefore not only failed to produce dangerous warming, but failed to produce any warming at all. Hypothesis that the green house effect is responsible for global warming fails.
- b.** Large increases in carbon dioxide due to the green house effect are bound to result in rising sea levels; therefore, if we want to save Amsterdam, London, Venice, not to mention the Seychelles, mankind must agree on immediate measures to stop global warming.
7. **a.** The movement of people across state borders presents problems, but the fact that some of these persons have dual nationality appears to add surprisingly little to inter-state relations. However, the practice of selling nationality by the Commonwealth of Dominica unquestionably cheapens its value as a form of allegiance.
- b.** Now, in the 21<sup>st</sup> century we are witnessing a significant increase in dual nationality. Yet, it has not occasioned a noticeable increase in world tensions. The fact that many Israelis are dual nationals is not a cause of the tension in the Middle East; that 25 percent of Australians have more than one nationality has not produced a hot or cold war in Asia.
8. **a.** The divergence in worldwide fertility rates has implications for the security environment that the major powers will face in the coming decades. The fact that Palestinian women have twice the number of children neighbouring Israeli women bear has already changed security dynamics in the Middle East.
- b.** The USA is the only developed country in the world with fertility rates above the replacement level because American women on average have more than 2,1 babies.
9. **a.** China has succeeded in cutting down its overall population growth and labour force growth to less than one percent per year; but because of its enormous size, this still means finding new jobs for roughly 13 million people per year. Another problem arising from its demographic policy is the gender imbalance, with men significantly outnumbering women.
- b.** Certain social, cultural, and religious attitudes account for higher total fertility. Citizens of both the United States and Europe who say they attend church regularly, hold patriotic values, and value community, duty and service ahead of individual self-fulfillment are far more likely to have children and to have more than one child. (Phil Longman's research)
10. **a.** If the debate over Syria is about past wars, the best analogy is Bosnia. American liberals broadly supported President Clinton's military response to crimes against humanity in Bosnia. The civil war in Bosnia, like the one in Syria, was characterized by sectarian conflict, and was waged by cynical leaders who terrorized the civilian population. Like the Syrian conflict, the war dragged on for years, 200,000 people were killed, brutalities were committed by all sides, two million fled to neighboring countries and most of southeastern Europe was destabilized. (John Shattuck)
- b.** The IPCC's computer models can provide accurate climate predictions 100 years into the future and these give a warning about dangerous warming of human causation over the last 50 years, which obviously demands immediate action. (a powerful self-interested group lobbying for alternative energy providers)

#### TASK 5

*Read the paragraph which contains a controversial argument by Edward Luttwak. Decide why it is logically flawed and suggest your counterarguments.*



Another link between national power and international conflict has been proposed by Edward Luttwak (1994, `1996), who argues that the declining birthrate in the industrialized

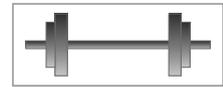
- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

world has resulted in a general reluctance to lose soldiers in battle and has contributed to the widespread societal aversion to war. Luttwak concludes that the world is no longer inhabited by classic great powers which pursue claims and use force in matters far beyond their immediate security, and that without great powers to impose international order there will be chronic chaos. A further implication of Luttwak's argument is that countries with a "youth bulge", with larger youth cohorts, which are located in the developing world, will be more comfortable with war and may be tempted to undertake aggressive military ventures that threaten the interests of a West devoid of the martial spirit; thus falling fertility renders the West vulnerable.

*/from Demography and National Security*  
ed. by Myron Weiner and Sharon Stanton Russell, p. 75/

## DEVELOPING WRITING SKILLS

### Writing an Essay: Revision



#### TASK 1

*Fill in the boxes with appropriate information to write an outline of an essay on the topic: 'Demography and Politics'. Make use of the suggestions below. Follow the logic of the essay writing:*

Topic → title → thesis statement → arguments → concluding statement

Title

Introduction

Main body

Conclusion

*Choose a title:*

- Demography is Not Destiny
- Demographic Time Bomb
- Demography and Security
- The End of Diversity

*Make a powerful thesis statement using the ideas below.*

Ageing population in North America, Western Europe and most of the BRICS and challenges it presents;

Population growth in many developing countries as a serious problem in addressing global poverty;

Youth bulge and its destabilizing effect in the developing countries;

Massive immigration and its potential for changing the identity of receiving countries

Three major demographic tendencies affecting stability in today's world (the size and distribution of population growth, migration, age distribution)

*Formulate three arguments which support your thesis statement. You can make use of the ideas below.*

Healthy fertility rates means ...

Aging population is a burden on ...

A country cannot be a leading power in the international arena unless...

Immigration is the way to cope with the aging population challenge, but replacing one's own people with aliens is a poor strategy.

When two peoples mix two things can happen: one is conflict and the other ...

The presence of a youth bulge can be a major factor...

## **TASK 2**

*Think of a hooking technique (how many do you remember?) and an emphatic concluding line.*

*Compare the two techniques illustrated below: which do you find more effective and why? Which title(s) can they fit?*

**e.g.**

Western societies permit immigration. The Japanese forbid it. The Japanese understand that demography is destiny, and they have the quaint preference that their destiny remains Japanese. [The same is true for the people of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and even Malaysia. They understand the importance of demography, and they want to keep their destinies in their own hands.]

The phrase 'Demography is destiny' is attributed to the 19th century French mathematician and philosopher, August Comte (1798–1857), who is known as the "father of sociology." By it he meant that as a rise or fall in birth rates works itself out over the decades, it affects everything in a society.

*Now compare the concluding lines and answer the same questions as above.*

If demography is destiny, our [the western society's] destiny will be oblivion unless we rekindle a sense of connectedness to nation and culture and preserve our identity. It is our absolute right and our duty because the fundamental interest of any nation or race is survival as a people.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

The aggregate of millions of individual choices not to bear another child, to delay starting a family, or to forgo childbearing altogether over just a few decades has created a global fertility freefall that has defied predictions by the world's top demographers. But while policymakers cannot reverse the cause of global aging, they may be able to affect the consequences.

**TASK 3**

Making your writing cohesive

*Read the text and say whether you find it cohesive enough. Suggest ways to improve it if you don't.*

English is a writer-responsible language. When writing in English make sure the meaning is clear to your prospective reader. One way to make it clear is to show how various parts of the text/ paragraphs are connected. That is why linking words are used as signals for the reader. However, expert texts can be written with minimal use of such devices. Hence, a good piece of advice for student writers: choose linking devices with care!

**TASK 4**

*Fill in the table with linking devices from the list below*

Addition	And, moreover*
Reason/Result	Because, therefore
Exemplifying /Restating	For example, that is to say
Contrast/concession	But, at the same time
Sequencing/Listing	Firstly/first**
Summarising	In conclusion

Word list:

On the contrary\*\*\*, a good illustration is, consequently, to sum up, in other words, nevertheless\*, in addition, in contrast, secondly, such as, similarly, finally, although, as a result, furthermore\*, to conclude

**NB!**

1. *Moreover/furthermore/nevertheless* are used particularly **to add emphasis** to the argument, so be careful.

**e.g.**

Dramatic decline in birthrates means a much smaller labour force. Moreover/Furthermore, it significantly reduces the number of potential conscripts (призывников).

2. *Firstly/First, Secondly/Second/, Thirdly/Third (Lastly)* are used **strictly to list** (перечислять) segments of a whole (text/part of a text).

**e.g.**

The movement of people with dual nationality appears to add little to inter-state relations. Why might this be so?

First, the practice of citizenship tends to be local. [ ]

Second, it is difficult to identify situations around the world where tensions exist among nations with significant number of dual nationals. [ ]

Third, the number of dual nationals is small compared to the number of cross-border migrants and refugees. [...]

3. *On the contrary* is used to reject a previous statement and to introduce an opposite one. *By/in contrast (on the other hand)* is used to compare/contrast two statements, not to reject the first one. e.g.

When the West faced such threats before — the Mongol invasions, the Arab advance, Turks at the gates of Vienna — we did not welcome the Arabs or open our borders to the Turks. On the contrary, we met these threats with physical force.

In contrast, today we meet these hordes unarmed, in the delusion that this will lead to 'enrichment' or bring the benefits of diversity.

**TASK 5**

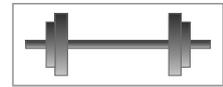
Write an essay according to your outline, follow the schema for paragraphs in the Main Body:

Key sentence → supporting sentences → examples/illustrations

Writing a Statistical Story

A statistical story is a statistical or survey report with elements of an essay.

Meticulous analysis of factual data combined with the author's cautious interpretation of it is presented in a way which makes it an interesting story to read.



**TASK 1**

Read the Useful tips on writing a statistical story and compare them with the guidelines on essay and survey report wiring (see p. 210 in the Manual). What similarities do you find?

**TASK 2**

Study the data in the table and choose the topic on which you can write a statistical story. Think of a catchy title.

TABLE 1. Percentage of Russians in Non-Russian Republics, 1926–1989

Republic	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989
Ukraine	8.6	10.4	16.9	19.4	21.1	22.1
Belarus	4.9	4.3	8.2	10.4	11.9	13.2
Estonia	3.5	4.5	20.1	24.7	27.9	30.3
Latvia	8.0	9.0	26.6	29.8	32.8	34.0

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

Republic	1926	1939	1959	1970	1979	1989
Lithuania	2.6	2.6	8.5	8.6	8.9	9.4
Moldova	8.2	7.7	10.1	11.6	12.8	13.0
Georgia	3.6	8.7	10.1	8.5	7.4	6.3
Armenia	2.3	4.0	3.2	2.7	2.3	1.6
Azerbaijan	9.6	16.5	13.6	10.0	7.9	5.6
Kazakhstan	21.2	40.3	42.7	42.4	40.8	37.8
Uzbekistan	5.2	11.5	13.5	12.5	10.8	8.3
Turkmenistan	7.4	18.6	17.3	14.5	12.6	9.5
Tajikistan	0.6	9.1	13.3	11.9	10.4	7.6
Kyrgyzstan	11.6	20.8	30.2	29.2	25.9	21.5

*Source: Kaiser 1994: 118, 174.*

Suggested topics:

- The Soviet Union: a multiethnic state
- Soviet ethnic migration policy
- 'Russification' in the Soviet Union

Which of these titles do you think best fits the data?

- Soviet 'affirmative action'
- State policy or natural flow?
- Going Russian

**TASK 3**

*Write an introduction. Make it relevant to the prospective reader:*

general public in Russia/in former Soviet Republics, Russian communities abroad?...

*Think of the main point you want to make to write a clear story line.*

**e.g.**

1. The crucial increase in the Russian population in non-Russian republics took place during the 1930s, the period of intensive/forced industrialization of the country.
2. The gradual, and in case of the Baltic republics dramatic, increase in Russian representation in the western part of the USSR persisted till 1989, while in the south-east the tendency was reversed in 1959.

**TASK 4**

*Write the main body. Make sure you analyse the data accurately. Think of subheadings for your paragraphs.*

**e.g.**

- (Russians) in the Slav republics
- In the Baltics
- (Kazakhstan) the main destination

**TASK 5**

*Write a conclusion to sum up the main findings. Make sure there is no digression from the story line.*

**e.g.**

The main destination of the outflow of Russians appeared to be Estonia, Latvia and Kazakhstan; in the latter case, however, the number of ethnic Russians had been on the decline since 1959, presumably due to lower, compared to the Kazakhs, fertility.

*Which story line from Task 3 does this conclusion fit?*

*Check your statistical story against Useful tips in the Manual.*





# THE READER



## FAR EASTERN PROMISES

*Why Washington Should Focus on Asia*

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141241/kurt-m-campbell-and-ely-ratner/far-eastern-promises>

By Kurt M. Campbell and Eli Ratner  
Foreign Affairs, May/June 2014

The United States is in the early stages of a substantial national project: reorienting its foreign policy to commit greater attention and resources to the Asia-Pacific region. This reformulation of U.S. priorities has emerged during a period of much-needed strategic reassessment, after more than a decade of intense engagement with South Asia and the Middle East. It is premised on the idea that the history of the twenty-first century will be written largely in the Asia-Pacific, a region that welcomes U.S. leadership and rewards U.S. engagement with a positive return on political, economic, and military investments.

As a result, the Obama administration is orchestrating a comprehensive set of diplomatic, economic, and security initiatives now known as the “pivot,” or “rebalancing,” to Asia. The policy builds on more than a century of U.S. involvement in the region, including important steps taken by the Clinton and George W. Bush administrations; as President Barack Obama has rightly noted, the United States is in reality and rhetoric already a “Pacific power.” But the rebalancing does represent a significant elevation of Asia’s place in U.S. foreign policy.

Questions about the purpose and scope of the new approach emerged as soon as Secretary of State Hillary Clinton offered what remains the clearest articulation of the strategy, and first used the term “pivot” to describe it, in a 2011 article in *Foreign Policy*. Almost three years later, the Obama administration still confronts the persistent challenge of explaining the concept and delivering on its promise. But despite the intense scrutiny and short-term setbacks faced by the policy, there is little doubt that a major shift is well under way. And whether Washington wants it to or not, Asia will command more attention and resources from the United States, thanks to the region’s growing prosperity and influence — and the enormous challenges the region poses. The question, then, is not whether the United States will focus more on Asia but whether it can do so with the necessary resolve, resources, and wisdom.

### EASTBOUND AND DOWN

*Paying more attention to Asia is not an admission of defeat in the Middle East.*

The Asia-Pacific region exerts an inescapable gravitational pull. It is home to more than half of the world’s population and contains the largest democracy in the world (India), the second- and third-largest economies (China and Japan), the most populous Muslim-majority nation (Indonesia), and seven of the ten largest armies. The Asian Development Bank has predicted that before the middle of this century, the region will account for half of the world’s economic output and include four of the world’s ten largest economies (China, India, Indonesia, and Japan).

But it is the trajectory of Asia’s evolution, not just its dizzying scale, that makes the region so consequential. According to Freedom House, during the last five years, the Asia-Pacific has been the only region in the world to record steady improvements in political rights and civil liberties.

And despite questions about the ability of emerging markets to sustain rapid economic growth, Asian nations still represent some of the most promising opportunities in an otherwise sluggish and uncertain global economy. At the same time, Asia struggles with sources of chronic instability, owing to the highly provocative actions of North Korea, the growth of defense budgets throughout the region, vexing maritime disputes that roil relations in the East China and South China seas, and nontraditional security threats such as natural disasters, human trafficking, and the drug trade.

The United States has an irrefutable interest in the course Asia will take in the coming years. The region is the leading destination for U.S. exports, outpacing Europe by more than 50 percent, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Both U.S. direct investment in Asia and Asian direct investment in the United States have roughly doubled in the past decade, with China, India, Singapore, and South Korea accounting for four of the ten fastest-growing sources of foreign direct investment in the United States, according to the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis. The United States also has five defense treaty allies in the region (Australia, Japan, the Philippines, South Korea, and Thailand), as well as strategically important partnerships with Brunei, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, New Zealand, Singapore, and Taiwan and evolving ties with Myanmar (also known as Burma). Major U.S. military bases in Japan and South Korea are central to Washington's ability to project power in Asia and beyond.

U.S. military alliances have undergirded the region's security for decades, and one of the main purposes of the pivot is to deepen such ties. In recent years, Washington has encouraged its partners in Asia to prevent conflicts between major powers, keep sea-lanes open, combat extremism, and address nontraditional security threats. Japan and South Korea are poised to take increasingly prominent roles in joint operations with the United States, and U.S. forces are working with Australia to develop its amphibious capabilities and with the Philippines to boost its capacity to police its own shores. The net result has been more powerful alliances and a more secure region.

None of this suggests an effort to encircle or weaken China. To the contrary, developing a more robust and productive relationship with Beijing represents a principal goal of the rebalancing strategy. Far from seeking to contain China, the United States has in the last several years sought to build a more mature bilateral relationship through unprecedented, frequent top-level meetings across issues and throughout the countries' respective bureaucracies. Even military-to-military relations are back on track, at times actually taxing the Pentagon's ability to keep up with Beijing's proposed levels of activity.

### **A PIVOT TO — AND WITHIN — ASIA**

The rebalancing strategy also calls for a substantial increase in U.S. engagement with the multilateral institutions of the Asia-Pacific region. Under the Obama administration, the United States has gained membership in the East Asia Summit, the region's premier annual gathering of heads of state; signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia, which signals enhanced U.S. commitment to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN); and placed a permanent ambassador to ASEAN in Jakarta. Although these overlapping institutions can be frustrating, given their slow pace and requirements for consensus, they promote regional cooperation and help build a system of rules and mechanisms to address complex transnational challenges. In June 2013, for example, ASEAN hosted its first-ever humanitarian assistance and disaster relief exercise, which included more than 3,000 personnel from 18 nations.

Meanwhile, the United States is responding to the new reality that the Asia-Pacific region increasingly drives global economic growth. The Obama administration has advanced U.S. econom-

ic interests by bringing the U.S.-Korea Free Trade Agreement into force in 2012 and pushing hard to complete negotiations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a massive free-trade agreement among a dozen countries. A number of the countries participating in the TPP talks are vibrant markets in Southeast Asia, such as Malaysia and Singapore, which reflects the growing geopolitical importance of that subregion. Indeed, the U.S. pivot to Asia has been accompanied by a pivot within Asia. Washington is balancing its historical emphasis on the countries of Northeast Asia with new attention to countries in Southeast Asia, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, seeking to augment two-way trade and investment with some of the world's most vibrant economies. In 2010, Washington and Jakarta established a "comprehensive partnership" to deepen cooperation across a wide range of issues, including health care, science, technology, and entrepreneurship.

A similar desire to realign U.S. priorities in the region helps explain the changes the Pentagon has made to its military posture there. Although U.S. military bases in Northeast Asia remain central to Washington's ability to project power and fight wars, they are increasingly vulnerable to disabling missile attacks, and they lie relatively far from potential disasters and crises in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, with countries in Southeast Asia expressing growing interest in receiving American military training and assistance with disaster response, the United States has diversified its military footprint in the region, stationing hundreds of U.S. marines in Darwin, Australia, and deploying a pair of Littoral Combat Ships to Singapore.

Those changes to the U.S. military's posture have been criticized as either provocative or meaningless. Both charges are off the mark. These efforts hardly signal aggression; they contribute primarily to peacetime activities, such as responding to natural disasters, and not to U.S. war-fighting capabilities. And the seemingly modest number of marines and ships involved masks the significant benefits they offer to the militaries of U.S. partners, who gain unparalleled opportunities for joint exercises and training with U.S. forces.

*The United States must make clear to China that revisionist behavior is incompatible with stable U.S.-Chinese relations.*

In pivoting to Asia, the Obama administration seeks not only to advance U.S. economic and security interests but also to deepen cultural and people-to-people ties. The administration further hopes that the pivot will help the United States support human rights and democracy in the region. The new approach has already contributed to advances in Myanmar, where the government has taken remarkable steps, including the release of political prisoners, the implementation of long-overdue economic reforms, and the promotion of organizing rights and greater press freedom. Although more progress is necessary, particularly on the protection of the country's ethnic minorities, Myanmar serves as a powerful example of a once closed and brutal country taking transformational steps, and the United States has been an essential partner in this reform effort from the start.

### **FOREIGN POLICY IS NOT A ZERO-SUM GAME**

Opponents of the pivot have raised three main objections. First, some worry that the pivot will unnecessarily antagonize China. This misperception ignores the fact that deepening engagement with Beijing has been a central and irrefutable feature of the rebalancing policy. Examples of the new approach include the establishment of the annual U.S.-China Strategic and Economic Dialogue, a comprehensive set of meetings chaired by the U.S. secretaries of state and the treasury and their Chinese counterparts, and the Strategic Security Dialogue, through which the two countries have held unprecedented high-level discussions on such sensitive matters as maritime

security and cybersecurity. Tensions might rise due to the increased U.S. military presence in Asia and Washington's more robust outreach to China's neighbors. But bilateral ties are developing in such a way that any disagreements produced by the pivot will be addressed in the broader context of a more stable and cooperative U.S.-Chinese relationship.

A second critique stems from the argument that it would be unwise or unrealistic to shift Washington's focus from the Middle East to Asia given the conflicts in Afghanistan and Syria, the instability in Egypt and Iraq, and the long-running confrontation between Iran and the Western powers. But this criticism relies on a caricature of the rebalancing strategy. According to this view, the Middle East and South Asia have sapped U.S. power and prestige and the pivot is really an attempt to cut and run by turning to the more peaceful and profitable shores of the Asia-Pacific. It is certainly true that the Obama administration has tried to reduce the U.S. footprint in the Middle East. But even though resources are finite, foreign policy is not a zero-sum game, and the criticism that paying more attention to Asia is somehow an admission of strategic defeat in the Middle East misses a crucial reality: during the past decade, the very Asian countries to which Washington wants to pay more attention have quietly built a substantial stake in the furtherance of peace and stability across the Middle East and South Asia and very much want the United States to preserve its influence in those regions.

Not long ago, most Asian nations were predominantly concerned with developments in their backyards and tended to see problems elsewhere as someone else's responsibility. One of the most important successes of President George W. Bush's Asia policy was to encourage the region's rising powers to contribute more in other parts of the world. Partly in response, during the Bush years, for the first time, many East Asian governments developed an "out of area" perspective and engaged more in diplomacy, development, and security in the Middle East and South Asia. Japan has become a leading supporter of civil society development in Afghanistan, funding schools and civil service organizations and training Afghans in criminal justice, education, health care, and agriculture. In the wake of the Arab Spring, South Korea began supporting development across the Middle East. Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand have provided material assistance to training programs for doctors, police officers, and teachers in Afghanistan and Iraq, and Australia and New Zealand have sent special forces to fight in Afghanistan. Even China has been more active in the behind-the-scenes diplomacy aimed at constraining Iran's nuclear ambitions, addressing piracy on the high seas, and shaping Afghanistan's future.

Of course, encouragement from Washington is only one factor behind Asian countries' growing involvement in the Middle East; another undeniable element is their increasing thirst for oil and gas from the Persian Gulf. Asia consumes some 30 million barrels of oil every day, more than twice the amount that the EU does. Asian governments know that a hasty U.S. retreat from the Middle East would carry with it unacceptable risks to their countries' energy security and economic growth. As a result, they have invested substantial political and financial capital in, and in some cases sent military forces to, the Middle East over the course of more than a decade to supplement, not supplant, the stabilizing role of the United States. Put simply, Washington's Asian partners support the pivot but would hardly cheer the prospect of U.S. disengagement from the Middle East — and crucially, they do not seem to see any contradiction between these two positions.

A third argument against the pivot concerns the sustainability of the approach during a time of budget cuts: as defense spending falls, skeptics wonder how the United States will be able to invest the resources necessary to reassure its Asian allies and dissuade would-be provocateurs, especially as China's power and influence continue to grow. The answer is that rebalancing toward

Asia will not require dramatic new funding; rather, the Pentagon will need to be more flexible and find better ways to spend. For example, as the United States reduces the overall size of its army, it should sustain its military presence in Asia and invest in naval and air capabilities better suited to the region's security environment. And given that U.S. defense spending is unlikely to increase significantly anytime soon, Washington should do more to improve the capacity of Asian militaries by conducting more educational and professional exchanges, enhancing multilateral military exercises, passing along equipment that U.S. forces no longer need, and engaging in more joint planning.

### **BALANCING ACT**

Although the most common arguments against the rebalancing do not withstand scrutiny, the policy nevertheless faces major challenges. Perhaps chief among these is a lack of human capital. After more than a decade of war and counterinsurgency, the United States has developed and promoted an entire generation of soldiers, diplomats, and intelligence specialists well versed in ethnic rivalry in Iraq, the tribal differences in Afghanistan, postconflict reconstruction strategies, and U.S. Special Forces and drone tactics. But Washington has not made any comparable effort to develop a sustained cadre of Asia experts across the U.S. government, and a surprising number of senior government officials make their first visits to the region only once they have reached high-level positions near the end of their careers. This is a genuine weakness in the U.S. foreign policy establishment, since even the most accomplished public servant will find it difficult to navigate Asia's complexities without prior experience in the region. The pivot to Asia will therefore affect the budgets of civilian government agencies, not just that of the Pentagon, as the United States invests more in ensuring that U.S. diplomats, aid workers, trade negotiators, and intelligence professionals have the language skills and exposure to Asia they need to do their jobs well.

The pivot will also be buffeted by the steady stream of crises that other regions — especially the Middle East — will surely continue to supply. At the same time, pressure to “come home” seems certain to grow. In the wake of every modern American conflict, from World War I to the 1990–91 Gulf War, the public has put pressure on politicians and officials to refocus on domestic issues. The past 13 years of war have again triggered this instinctive insularity, which has also been fostered by a frustratingly slow economic recovery after the financial crisis. Although internationalist and strong-defense strains still exist in U.S. politics, there are subtle (and not so subtle) signs in Congress that the United States may be entering a new era in which U.S. engagement abroad — even in areas critical to the country's economic well-being, such as Asia — will be a tougher sell. Those political constraints will only make a hard job even harder: when it comes to Asia, the to-do list is long, both for the remaining years of the Obama administration and beyond.

### **PIVOT PARTNERS**

In Asia, economics and security are inextricably linked, and the United States will not be able to sustain its leadership there through military might alone. That is why the successful conclusion of the TPP — which will require intense negotiations overseas and on Capitol Hill — is a cardinal priority. The agreement would immediately benefit the U.S. economy and would create a long-term trade system in Asia that could not be dragged down by protectionism. To give the United States added leverage in the negotiations, Congress should quickly reinstate fast-track trade promotion authority. Under that system, after negotiating the TPP and other free-trade agreements, the White House could present them for up-or-down votes in Congress, which would not be able

to amend or filibuster the deals. The Obama administration should also leverage the U.S. energy boom and accelerate the export of liquefied natural gas to Asia to enhance the energy security of its allies and partners there and to send a strong signal of U.S. commitment to the region's development.

Washington's ever-deepening engagement with Beijing is already yielding dividends as the countries increasingly coordinate their approaches to Iran and North Korea while managing potential crises in the South China Sea. But the United States will only find it more difficult to navigate relations with a rising China that is now both a "strategic partner," as President Bill Clinton described it in 1998, and a "strategic competitor," as Bush later dubbed it.

China's attempts to change the territorial status quo in the East China and South China seas — for example, by establishing an "air defense identification zone" in the East China Sea over islands administered by Japan — present an immediate challenge. The United States will have to make clear to China that revisionist behavior is incompatible with stable U.S.-Chinese relations, much less with the "new type of major-country relationship" that President Xi Jinping has proposed to Obama. Washington recently took a step in the right direction when senior administration officials publicly questioned the legality of China's expansive territorial claims and warned against the establishment of a second air defense identification zone, this one in the South China Sea.

Across the East China Sea, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe is seeking to steer Japan out of decades of economic malaise and inject the country with a newfound sense of pride and influence. Washington will have to continue to urge Tokyo to act with restraint and sensitivity, especially when it comes to the controversies over Japan's imperial past. Abe recently visited the Yasukuni Shrine, which honors Japan's war dead, including some convicted of war crimes committed during War World II. The visit might have helped him with some political constituencies at home, but the international costs were high: it raised questions in Washington, further soured Japan's relations with South Korea, and made China more resolute in its unwillingness to deal directly with Japan as long as Abe is in power.

Amid this tense diplomatic backdrop, the United States will be working with Japan's Self-Defense Forces so that Japan can take a more active security role in the region and the world. This will involve countering Chinese propaganda that characterizes Japan's constitutional reinterpretation and military modernization as reactionary or militaristic, when in fact they are perfectly reasonable steps — and long overdue. The United States will also have to keep devoting considerable political capital to improving ties between Japan and South Korea; a stronger relationship between those two countries would help in dealing with the enormous and growing threat posed by North Korea.

The challenges in Southeast Asia are quite different from those in the Northeast, but no less important to U.S. national interests. A number of countries in Southeast Asia, including Cambodia, Malaysia, Myanmar, and Thailand, are going through varying degrees of political turmoil that could alter their foreign policies. As the chips fall, Washington must adhere to basic principles of democracy and human rights without doing so dogmatically or in ways that would reduce U.S. leverage and influence. Rather than betting on winners, the best approach would be to focus on issues that matter most to people in the region no matter who is in power, such as education, poverty alleviation, and natural-disaster response.

In addition to increasing U.S. participation in Asia's multilateral forums, Washington should support the development of a rule-based regional order by throwing its full weight behind efforts to use international law and arbitration to address sovereignty disputes in the South China Sea.

The Philippines has taken its competing claims with China to the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea. Without making judgments (for now) about the merits of specific claims, Washington should help build an international consensus by calling on all states in Asia to publicly support this mechanism, since the tribunal represents a test of whether the region is prepared to manage its disputes through legal and peaceful means.

The United States cannot rebalance to Asia by itself. It will be essential to bring along European countries, which can make substantial contributions in areas such as international law and institution building. If the tenor of its bilateral relations permits, Washington should also explore opportunities for greater collaboration in East Asia with India and Russia. And of course, it will also be necessary for countries in the region, particularly in Southeast Asia, to demonstrate leadership and initiative to complement U.S. efforts. The point of the pivot to Asia is to foster an open, peaceful, and prosperous region in which governments rely on rules, norms, and institutions to settle differences, rather than coercion and force. The pivot is a U.S. initiative, but its ultimate success will not depend on Washington alone.

## THE SCIENCE AND POLITICS OF CLIMATE CHANGE

*Science never writes closed textbooks. It does not offer us a holy scripture, infallible and complete.*

<http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704107104574571613215771336>

By **MIKE HULME**

Updated Dec. 2, 2009

I am a climate scientist who worked in the Climatic Research Unit (CRU) at the University of East Anglia in the 1990s. I have been reflecting on the bigger lessons to be learned from the stolen emails, some of which were mine. One thing the episode has made clear is that it has become difficult to disentangle political arguments about climate policies from scientific arguments about the evidence for man-made climate change and the confidence placed in predictions of future change. The quality of both political debate and scientific practice suffers as a consequence.

Surveys of public opinion on both sides of the Atlantic about man-made climate change continue to tell us something politicians know only too well: The citizens they rule over have minds of their own. In the U.K., a recent survey suggested that only 41% believed humans are causing climate change, 32% remained unsure and 15% were convinced we aren't. Similar surveys in the U.S. have shown a recent reduction in the number of people believing in man-made climate change.

One reaction to this "unreasonableness" is to get scientists to speak louder, more often, or more dramatically about climate change. Another reaction from government bodies and interest groups is to use ever-more-emotional campaigning. Thus both the U.K. government's recent "bed-time stories" adverts, and Plane Stupid's Internet campaign showing polar bears falling past twin towers, have attracted widespread criticism for being too provocative and scary. These instinctive reactions fail to place the various aspects of our knowledge about climate change—scientific insights, political values, cultural moods, personal beliefs—in right relationship with each other. Too often, when we think we are arguing over scientific evidence for climate change, we are in fact disagreeing about our different political preferences, ethical principles and value systems.

If we build the foundations of our climate-change policies so confidently and so single-mindedly on scientific claims about what the future holds and what therefore "has to be done," then

science will inevitably become the field on which political battles are waged. The mantra becomes: Get the science right, reduce the scientific uncertainties, compel everyone to believe it. . . and we will have won. Not only is this an unrealistic view about how policy gets made, it also places much too great a burden on science, certainly on climate science with all of its struggles with complexity, contingency and uncertainty.

The events of the last few of weeks, involving stolen professional correspondence between a small number of leading climate scientists—so-called climategate—demonstrate my point. Both the theft itself and the alleged contents of some of the stolen emails reveal the strong polarization and intense antagonism now found in some areas of climate science.

Climate scientists, knowingly or not, become proxies for political battles. The consequence is that science, as a form of open and critical enquiry, deteriorates while the more appropriate forums for ideological battles are ignored.

We have also seen how this plays out in public debate. In the wake of climategate, questions were asked on the BBC's Question Time last week about whether or not global warming was a scam. The absolutist claims of two of the panelists—Daily Mail journalist Melanie Phillips, and comedian and broadcaster Marcus Brigstocke—revealed how science ends up being portrayed as a fight between two dogmas: Either the evidence for man-made climate change is all fake, or else we are so sure we know how the planet works that we can claim to have just five or whatever years to save it. When science is invoked to support such dogmatic assertions, the essential character of scientific knowledge is lost—knowledge that results from open, always questioning, enquiry that, at best, can offer varying levels of confidence for pronouncements about how the world is, or may become.

The problem then with getting our relationship with science wrong is simple: We expect too much certainty, and hence clarity, about what should be done. Consequently, we fail to engage in honest and robust argument about our competing political visions and ethical values.

Science never writes closed textbooks. It does not offer us a holy scripture, infallible and complete. This is especially the case with the science of climate, a complex system of enormous scale, at every turn influenced by human contingencies. Yes, science has clearly revealed that humans are influencing global climate and will continue to do so, but we don't know the full scale of the risks involved, nor how rapidly they will evolve, nor indeed—with clear insight—the relative roles of all the forcing agents involved at different scales.

Similarly, we endow analyses about the economics of climate change with too much scientific authority. Yes, we know there is a cascade of costs involved in mitigating, adapting to or ignoring climate change, but many of these costs are heavily influenced by ethical judgements about how we value things, now and in the future. These are judgments that science cannot prescribe.

The central battlegrounds on which we need to fight out the policy implications of climate change concern matters of risk management, of valuation, and political ideology. We must move the locus of public argumentation here not because the science has somehow been “done” or “is settled”; science will never be either of these things, although it can offer powerful forms of knowledge not available in other ways. It is a false hope to expect science to dispel the fog of uncertainty so that it finally becomes clear exactly what the future holds and what role humans have in causing it. This is one reason why British columnist George Monbiot wrote about climategate, “I have seldom felt so alone.” By staking his position on “the science,” he feels alone and betrayed when some aspect of the science is undermined.

If climategate leads to greater openness and transparency in climate science, and makes it less partisan, it will have done a good thing. It will enable science to function in the effective way

it must do in public policy deliberations: Not as the place where we import all of our legitimate disagreements, but one powerful way of offering insight about how the world works and the potential consequences of different policy choices. The important arguments about political beliefs and ethical values can then take place in open and free democracies, in those public spaces we have created for political argumentation.

**Mr. Hulme, author of “Why We Disagree About Climate Change,” is professor of climate change at the University of East Anglia.**

## BROKEN BRICs

*Why the rest stopped rising*

By Ruchir Sharma

*Foreign Affairs*, November/December 2012

Over the past several years, the most talked-about trend in the global economy has been the so-called rise of the rest, which saw the economies of many developing countries swiftly converging with those of their more developed peers. The primary engines behind this phenomenon were the four major emerging-market countries, known as the BRICs: Brazil, Russia, India, and China. The world was witnessing a once-in-a-lifetime shift, the argument went, in which the major players in the developing world were catching up to or even surpassing their counterparts in the developed world.

These forecasts typically took the developing world's high growth rates from the middle of the last decade and extended them straight into the future, juxtaposing them against predicted sluggish growth in the United States and other advanced industrial countries. Such exercises supposedly proved that, for example, China was on the verge of overtaking the United States as the world's largest economy — a point that Americans clearly took to heart, as over 50 percent of them, according to a Gallup poll conducted this year, said they think that China is already the world's “leading” economy, even though the U.S. economy is still more than twice as large (and with a per capita income seven times as high).

As with previous straight-line projections of economic trends, however — such as forecasts in the 1980s that Japan would soon be number one economically — later returns are throwing cold water on the extravagant predictions. With the world economy heading for its worst year since 2009, Chinese growth is slowing sharply, from double digits down to seven percent or even less. And the rest of the BRICs are tumbling, too: since 2008, Brazil's annual growth has dropped from 4.5 percent to two percent; Russia's, from seven percent to 3.5 percent; and India's, from nine percent to six percent.

None of this should be surprising, because it is hard to sustain rapid growth for more than a decade. The unusual circumstances of the last decade made it look easy: coming off the crisis-ridden 1990s and fueled by a global flood of easy money, the emerging markets took off in a mass upward swing that made virtually every economy a winner. By 2007, when only three countries in the world suffered negative growth, recessions had all but disappeared from the international scene. But now, there is a lot less foreign money flowing into emerging markets. The global economy is returning to its normal state of churn, with many laggards and just a few winners rising in unexpected places. The implications of this shift are striking, because economic momentum is power, and thus the flow of money to rising stars will reshape the global balance of power.

### **FOREVER EMERGING**

The notion of wide-ranging convergence between the developing and the developed worlds is a myth. Of the roughly 180 countries in the world tracked by the International Monetary Fund, only 35 are developed. The markets of the rest are emerging — and most of them have been emerging for many decades and will continue to do so for many more. The Harvard economist Dani Rodrik captures this reality well. He has shown that before 2000, the performance of the emerging markets as a whole did not converge with that of the developed world at all. In fact, the per capita income gap between the advanced and the developing economies steadily widened from 1950 until 2000. There were a few pockets of countries that did catch up with the West, but they were limited to oil states in the Gulf, the nations of southern Europe after World War II, and the economic “tigers” of East Asia. It was only after 2000 that the emerging markets as a whole started to catch up; nevertheless, as of 2011, the difference in per capita incomes between the rich and the developing nations was back to where it was in the 1950s.

This is not a negative read on emerging markets so much as it is simple historical reality. Over the course of any given decade since 1950, on average, only a third of the emerging markets have been able to grow at an annual rate of five percent or more. Less than one-fourth have kept up that pace for two decades, and one-tenth, for three decades. Only Malaysia, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Hong Kong have maintained this growth rate for four decades. So even before the current signs of a slowdown in the BRICs, the odds were against Brazil experiencing a full decade of growth above five percent, or Russia, its second in a row.

Meanwhile, scores of emerging markets have failed to gain any momentum for sustained growth, and still others have seen their progress stall after reaching middle-income status. Malaysia and Thailand appeared to be on course to emerge as rich countries until crony capitalism, excessive debts, and overpriced currencies caused the Asian financial meltdown of 1997–98. Their growth has disappointed ever since. In the late 1960s, Burma (now officially called Myanmar), the Philippines, and Sri Lanka were billed as the next Asian tigers, only to falter badly well before they could even reach the middle-class average income of about \$5,000 in current dollar terms. Failure to sustain growth has been the general rule, and that rule is likely to reassert itself in the coming decade.

In the opening decade of the twenty-first century, emerging markets became such a celebrated pillar of the global economy that it is easy to forget how new the concept of emerging markets is in the financial world. The first coming of the emerging markets dates to the mid-1980s, when Wall Street started tracking them as a distinct asset class. Initially labeled as “exotic,” many emerging-market countries were then opening up their stock markets to foreigners for the first time: Taiwan opened its up in 1991; India, in 1992; South Korea, in 1993; and Russia, in 1995. Foreign investors rushed in, unleashing a 600 percent boom in emerging-market stock prices (measured in dollar terms) between 1987 and 1994. Over this period, the amount of money invested in emerging markets rose from less than one percent to nearly eight percent of the global stock-market total.

This phase ended with the economic crises that struck from Mexico to Turkey between 1994 and 2002. The stock markets of developing countries lost almost half their value and shrank to four percent of the global total. From 1987 to 2002, developing countries’ share of global GDP actually fell, from 23 percent to 20 percent. The exception was China, which saw its share double, to 4.5 percent. The story of the hot emerging markets, in other words, was really about one country.

The second coming began with the global boom in 2003, when emerging markets really started to take off as a group. Their share of global GDP began a rapid climb, from 20 percent to the 34 percent that they represent today (attributable in part to the rising value of their currencies),

and their share of the global stock-market total rose from less than four percent to more than ten percent. The huge losses suffered during the global financial crash of 2008 were mostly recovered in 2009, but since then, it has been slow going.

The third coming, an era that will be defined by moderate growth in the developing world, the return of the boom-bust cycle, and the breakup of herd behavior on the part of emerging-market countries, is just beginning. Without the easy money and the blue-sky optimism that fueled investment in the last decade, the stock markets of developing countries are likely to deliver more measured and uneven returns. Gains that averaged 37 percent a year between 2003 and 2007 are likely to slow to, at best, ten percent over the coming decade, as earnings growth and exchange-rate values in large emerging markets have limited scope for additional improvement after last decade's strong performance.

### **PAST ITS SELL-BY DATE**

No idea has done more to muddle thinking about the global economy than that of the BRICs. Other than being the largest economies in their respective regions, the big four emerging markets never had much in common. They generate growth in different and often competing ways — Brazil and Russia, for example, are major energy producers that benefit from high energy prices, whereas India, as a major energy consumer, suffers from them. Except in highly unusual circumstances, such as those of the last decade, they are unlikely to grow in unison. China apart, they have limited trade ties with one another, and they have few political or foreign policy interests in common.

A problem with thinking in acronyms is that once one catches on, it tends to lock analysts into a worldview that may soon be outdated. In recent years, Russia's economy and stock market have been among the weakest of the emerging markets, dominated by an oil-rich class of billionaires whose assets equal 20 percent of GDP, by far the largest share held by the superrich in any major economy. Although deeply out of balance, Russia remains a member of the BRICs, if only because the term sounds better with an *R*. Whether or not pundits continue using the acronym, sensible analysts and investors need to stay flexible; historically, flashy countries that grow at five percent or more for a decade — such as Venezuela in the 1950s, Pakistan in the 1960s, or Iraq in the 1970s — are usually tripped up by one threat or another (war, financial crisis, complacency, bad leadership) before they can post a second decade of strong growth.

The current fad in economic forecasting is to project so far into the future that no one will be around to hold you accountable. This approach looks back to, say, the seventeenth century, when China and India accounted for perhaps half of global GDP, and then forward to a coming "Asian century," in which such preeminence is reasserted. In fact, the longest period over which one can find clear patterns in the global economic cycle is around a decade. The typical business cycle lasts about five years, from the bottom of one downturn to the bottom of the next, and most practical investors limit their perspectives to one or two business cycles. Beyond that, forecasts are often rendered obsolete by the unanticipated appearance of new competitors, new political environments, or new technologies. Most CEOs and major investors still limit their strategic visions to three, five, or at most seven years, and they judge results on the same time frame.

### **THE NEW AND OLD ECONOMIC ORDER**

In the decade to come, the United States, Europe, and Japan are likely to grow slowly. Their sluggishness, however, will look less worrisome compared with the even bigger story in the global

economy, which will be the three to four percent slowdown in China, which is already under way, with a possibly deeper slowdown in store as the economy continues to mature. China's population is simply too big and aging too quickly for its economy to continue growing as rapidly as it has. With over 50 percent of its people now living in cities, China is nearing what economists call "the Lewis turning point": the point at which a country's surplus labor from rural areas has been largely exhausted. This is the result of both heavy migration to cities over the past two decades and the shrinking work force that the one-child policy has produced. In due time, the sense of many Americans today that Asian juggernauts are swiftly overtaking the U.S. economy will be remembered as one of the country's periodic bouts of paranoia, akin to the hype that accompanied Japan's ascent in the 1980s.

As growth slows in China and in the advanced industrial world, these countries will buy less from their export-driven counterparts, such as Brazil, Malaysia, Mexico, Russia, and Taiwan. During the boom of the last decade, the average trade balance in emerging markets nearly tripled as a share of GDP, to six percent. But since 2008, trade has fallen back to its old share of under two percent. Export-driven emerging markets will need to find new ways to achieve strong growth, and investors recognize that many will probably fail to do so: in the first half of 2012, the spread between the value of the best-performing and the value of the worst-performing major emerging stock markets shot up from ten percent to 35 percent. Over the next few years, therefore, the new normal in emerging markets will be much like the old normal of the 1950s and 1960s, when growth averaged around five percent and the race left many behind. This does not imply a reemergence of the 1970s-era Third World, consisting of uniformly underdeveloped nations. Even in those days, some emerging markets, such as South Korea and Taiwan, were starting to boom, but their success was overshadowed by the misery in larger countries, such as India. But it does mean that the economic performance of the emerging-market countries will be highly differentiated.

The uneven rise of the emerging markets will impact global politics in a number of ways. For starters, it will revive the self-confidence of the West and dim the economic and diplomatic glow of recent stars, such as Brazil and Russia (not to mention the petro-dictatorships in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East). One casualty will be the notion that China's success demonstrates the superiority of authoritarian, state-run capitalism. Of the 124 emerging-market countries that have managed to sustain a five percent growth rate for a full decade since 1980, 52 percent were democracies and 48 percent were authoritarian. At least over the short to medium term, what matters is not the type of political system a country has but rather the presence of leaders who understand and can implement the reforms required for growth.

Another casualty will be the notion of the so-called demographic dividend. Because China's boom was driven in part by a large generation of young people entering the work force, consultants now scour census data looking for similar population bulges as an indicator of the next big economic miracle. But such demographic determinism assumes that the resulting workers will have the necessary skills to compete in the global market and that governments will set the right policies to create jobs. In the world of the last decade, when a rising tide lifted all economies, the concept of a demographic dividend briefly made sense. But that world is gone.

The economic role models of recent times will give way to new models or perhaps no models, as growth trajectories splinter off in many directions. In the past, Asian states tended to look to Japan as a paradigm, nations from the Baltics to the Balkans looked to the European Union, and nearly all countries to some extent looked to the United States. But the crisis of 2008 has under-

mined the credibility of all these role models. Tokyo's recent mistakes have made South Korea, which is still rising as a manufacturing powerhouse, a much more appealing Asian model than Japan. Countries that once were clamoring to enter the eurozone, such as the Czech Republic, Poland, and Turkey, now wonder if they want to join a club with so many members struggling to stay afloat. And as for the United States, the 1990s-era Washington consensus — which called for poor countries to restrain their spending and liberalize their economies — is a hard sell when even Washington can't agree to cut its own huge deficit.

Because it is easier to grow rapidly from a low starting point, it makes no sense to compare countries in different income classes. The rare breakout nations will be those that outstrip rivals in their own income class and exceed broad expectations for that class. Such expectations, moreover, will need to come back to earth. The last decade was unusual in terms of the wide scope and rapid pace of global growth, and anyone who counts on that happy situation returning soon is likely to be disappointed.

Among countries with per capita incomes in the \$20,000 to \$25,000 range, only two have a good chance of matching or exceeding three percent annual growth over the next decade: the Czech Republic and South Korea. Among the large group with average incomes in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range, only one country — Turkey — has a good shot at matching or exceeding four to five percent growth, although Poland also has a chance. In the \$5,000 to \$10,000 income class, Thailand seems to be the only country with a real shot at outperforming significantly. To the extent that there will be a new crop of emerging-market stars in the coming years, therefore, it is likely to feature countries whose per capita incomes are under \$5,000, such as Indonesia, Nigeria, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and various contenders in East Africa.

Although the world can expect more breakout nations to emerge from the bottom income tier, at the top and the middle, the new global economic order will probably look more like the old one than most observers predict. The rest may continue to rise, but they will rise more slowly and unevenly than many experts are anticipating. And precious few will ever reach the income levels of the developed world.

## SAFETY IN NUMBERS

*ASEAN invites comparison with the EU*

By Simon Long

Nov 20th 2014 | *The Economist*

The ten-member Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is proud of its way of doing things, which to the outsider sometimes looks like doing very little at all, except for holding many meetings every year. The club has long billed 2015 as a transformational year, with the arrival of “the ASEAN Community”. But it would be a mistake to expect dramatic change in an organisation whose hallmark is slow, consensual progress to a goal, regional integration, which often seems more attractive in theory than in practice. Rather, 2015 will be another year in which the political rhetoric is a long way from economic reality.

Of the community's three “pillars”—socio-cultural, political and economic—it is the ASEAN Economic Community, the AEC, that has generated most excitement. ASEAN ministers like to boast that it will unite a regional economy of more than 600m people and a GDP of over \$2.5 trillion into

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

a single market and a single production base. That makes it sound as if an EU-style South-East Asian Union is in the offing. It is not. A study by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Institute of South-East Asian Studies (ISEAS), a think-tank in Singapore, concluded that ASEAN “has no prospect of coming close to...[a] single market by the AEC’s 2015 deadline—or even by 2020 or 2025.”

Countries in the region have no interest either in building the sort of central bureaucracy that sustains the eu, or in surrendering more than an absolute minimum of national sovereignty. ASEAN has a small, understaffed and underfunded secretariat, whose functionaries have for years been trying to dampen expectations about what 2015 might mean. It is a milestone, they say, not a finishing-line. Even so, it was in effect moved back 12 months in 2012, when ASEAN agreed that “2015” meant not January 1st of the year but December 31st.

Three big obstacles stand in the way of the AEC. The first is the sheer diversity of ASEAN’s members. When the organisation, founded in 1967, admitted Laos and Myanmar in 1997 and Cambodia the following year, it was condemning itself to slower integration for the sake of regional completeness. Cambodia in 2015 will have a GDP per head of about \$1,260. Singapore is 47 times richer. And ASEAN includes countries with Buddhist, Muslim and Christian majorities; communist dictatorships; democracies; an Islamic sultanate and a military junta.

Second, private businesses in many ASEAN countries compete fiercely with each other and often lobby against the market-opening measures the AEC requires. And third, ASEAN’s biggest country, Indonesia, is also among the most prone to economic nationalism. The election victory of the new president, Joko Widodo, in 2014 was cheered by Indonesia’s ASEAN partners. At least he was not a tub-thumping protectionist like his rival, Prabowo Subianto. But he will struggle to cobble together winning votes in parliament. Another ADB study found that the Indonesian workforce was among the worst placed in ASEAN to benefit from the AEC’s liberalisation of labour mobility: it lacks well-qualified workers.

### **SURROUNDED BY GIANTS**

That ASEAN has integrated as far as it has is thus surprising. Virtually all categories of goods traded within the block are now tariff-free. The few exceptions are important, but still, by volume, some 70% of intra-regional trade incurs no tariffs and the average tariff rate is less than 5%. Yet the ADB/ISEAS study concluded that “non-tariff barriers have replaced tariffs as protective measures for domestic industries.” ASEAN’s tradition of “non-interference”, and the absence of penalties for non-compliance, make removing these difficult.

Pressure for faster integration, though, will come in 2015 from two sources. One is the domestic private sector. Many businesses in ASEAN see other member countries not as competitors but as their market, and the region’s governments and ASEAN itself as getting in the way. AirAsia, for example, a low-cost airline launched in Malaysia, has tried to be a flag-carrier for ASEAN integration. Its boss, Tony Fernandes, complained in 2014 that it had taken him three years to secure agreement to have ASEAN’s logo (a sheaf of ten rice stalks) emblazoned on one of his aeroplanes. “We must transcend nationalism and embrace regionalism,” he declared.

The other pressure is external. ASEAN competes for investment and markets with China to the north, and, increasingly, with India. Both are far more integrated markets with twice as many people. In economics as in geopolitics, many in ASEAN feel the countries of the region have no option but to cling together.

**Simon Long:** Banyan columnist

## FORGET THE BRICS — AMERICA AND CHINA WILL RESHAPE THE NEW WORLD ORDER

*Anti-western rhetoric may be loud in Beijing but the Sino-US relationship remains the one to watch*

<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2014/nov/12/brics-america-china-reshape-new-world-order>

By Natalie Nougayrede

*The Guardian*, Wednesday 12, November 2014

Attending the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Beijing this week, Barack Obama wore, along with other participants, a bright purple silky Chinese-style shirt. Here was the leader of the “indispensable nation” dressed in clothes tailored to mirror a post-western world, or rather, a very China-centred environment.

Obama is a president who has, from the start, been very amenable to the notion of global power shifts. Emerging countries have long claimed they have been denied a fair hearing in international affairs. When he first came to office, Obama spoke repeatedly about reaching out to adversaries, nurturing “mutual respect” and repairing the United States’ image. Even his biography pointed to a different way of doing things: a childhood partly spent in Indonesia, where his mother worked on development projects. Obama once called himself “America’s first Pacific president”.

These initial hopes of smooth dialogue to reshape international relations now seem quite distant. We are witnessing a time of multiple crises and much international acrimony. New conflicts in the Middle East and on the European continent, rivalries in Asia, the planet is a mess. It resembles more a Hobbesian vision than anything approaching a Kantian rule-based order. And the American capacity to promote collective solutions has seriously waned.

Resentment at the US and western tendency to dominate the global agenda has rarely sounded so loud. As Obama began his week-long tour of Asia for a series of international summits, including a G20 meeting in Australia, anti-western rhetoric in China is again on the rise. Vladimir Putin claims to be a global shield against American “diktats”. On the face of it, with a weak Europe, and the sense that American might is well-diminished, the Brics, the Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa club of emerging powers, should be having a field day.

I recently attended a dinner with a wealthy Indian businessman who expressed his admiration for Vladimir Putin as a global strategist. Here was someone, he argued, who was intent on restoring the self-esteem of a humiliated nation. It didn’t seem to bother this member of the Indian elite that, by carving out a whole territory by force — Crimea — and annexing it to Russia, Putin has trampled on a much sacred principle of Indian foreign policy, which is state sovereignty and territorial integrity. It reminded me of a conversation I had a few years ago with the Chinese ambassador to a big European country. China, he explained, will restore the global power it enjoyed in the early 19th century, before European nations and America conspired to dismantle it. China has since intensified its claims to islands and large maritime spaces. The Brics summit held in July was all about signalling an end to western control of global affairs.

But beyond resentment at US dominance, what do the Brics really agree on? Some discrepancies are evident in the group. Only one of the nations, China, can claim not to be suffering too much from the economic slowdown. The Russian rouble seems in free-fall. India’s new leader, Narendra Modi, has much on his plate to relaunch economic growth, as has Brazil’s Dilma Rousseff. China and India aren’t exactly historical friends. Nor are Russia and China, despite their latest

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

cooperation on gas. In fact, what stands out the most is how very much China stands in a league of its own. China strives to be the number one global economic power. A free rider in the international order, it wants in time to cash in on its new clout and deal with the US on an equal, interconnected, basis. Its economy and finances are so entwined with those of the US that its interests do not necessarily coincide with those of the rest of the Brics. Among the Brics it is primus inter pares.

This hiatus became very apparent to me when I was told of recent discussions involving European, American, Asian and Latin American officials. This was a fascinating window into some of the behind-the-scenes differences that exist among the Brics.

In informal talks, Chinese representatives broke ranks with other non-western officials by giving full approval to the ongoing US war in Iraq and Syria against Islamic State. American interventionism should even entail more boots on the ground, they stressed. They went on to criticise Russia's annexation of Crimea, saying it had gone too far, and that further Russian military action in Ukraine was unwarranted. They also criticised Brazil's complacency towards Russia's attitude, perceived as a nuisance.

China's priority is not the Brics but what remains the heart of global governance on international security issues, the P5, the five permanent members of the Security Council (the US, UK, France, China, Russia). It values its position there, along with the wider ad hoc format of the P5+1 (this includes Germany), which has been dealing for years with the Iran nuclear issue.

Indian representatives privately expressed worries that the US-China dialogue could develop to India's detriment. America would end up being unable to counter Chinese expansion in the region. This, they added, would be made worse if the west pushed Russia closer to China.

US officials were confident that the American economic rebound would strengthen at a faster speed than expected, in part thanks to new energy sources. US global standing would be rebuilt.

The Europeans considered India and Brazil wrong to believe that Middle Eastern actors should be left to their own devices, without outside intervention. If so, Islamic militancy would only become a bigger threat to all. If these discussions are any indication of what the future holds, the new global order will be framed by the US-China relationship. The other emerging powers know it and are obsessed with it. They will scramble to salvage whatever interests and role they can, knowing that they could well end up a sideshow. The US-China relationship is the thing to keep an eye on. Barack Obama wore that silk shirt in Beijing for good reason.

### NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC STRATEGIC LANDSCAPE

<http://www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/new-developments-in-the-asia-pacific-strategic-landscape/>

By Chen Xiangyang

Deputy Director, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, Beijing

Nov. 5 2014

BEIJING — As the Beijing summit of the Asia-Pacific Economic Forum convenes, there have appeared some new developments in the Asia-Pacific strategic landscape as were mirrored in the international situation and China's peaceful development this year. And China seems to have gained greater strategic initiative.

The new developments are seen in four aspects.

First, the Asia-Pacific “rebalance” pursued by the United States is off balance.

When he initiated the Asia-Pacific rebalance, U.S. President Barack Obama staked all his international strategic capital on that cast of dice. The move, however, only ended up in the birth of more imbalances in the world, which forced the U.S. to scurry between one hotspot after another.

The Obama administration is trying to maintain the Asia-Pacific rebalance strategy as that is the country’s long-term strategic consideration. Obama and his top aides have avowed commitment to the strategy repeatedly on various occasions, trying to assure their Asia-Pacific allies and, at the same time, warn China. The assurance, however, brought no practical results and the warning proved to be impotent only.

In recent months, crises arose in many places in the world, such as the conflicts in Ukraine, the rise of the Islamic State and the outbreak of Ebola in western Africa. In a certain sense, some of these crises were intensified by the U.S. pivot to the Asia-Pacific. With too many irons in the fire, Washington has not been able to concentrate on that strategy. Its foreign policy needs to be readjusted and rebalanced. Its geopolitical center of gravity has to be shifted to the Middle East again and the top priority in its multiple engagements has to be diverted from containing newly rising nations, especially China, to the old anti-terrorism mission, including military strikes on the Islamic State and other armed extremist forces. In all, the Asia-Pacific pivot strategy has waned in momentum as the U.S. is entangled in battles with other crises and new enemies.

Second, the U.S. has outsmarted itself by playing with its “smart strength.”

The “smart strength” refers to the three tactics employed by Washington in carrying out its Asia-Pacific “rebalance” strategy. But they proved to be unsuccessful.

The first tactic was to capitalize on contradictions between other countries. The U.S. supported Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam in their moves against China over territorial disputes, only to bring risks to itself. Giving Tokyo a free reign in its right-turn drive will inevitably lead to the growth of a militarized and defiant Japan. And egging on Japan and the Philippines to challenge China will end up with the U.S. having to suffer the consequences of the conflicts thus incurred.

The second tactic was to “walk the tightrope” for its balance strategy. The U.S. tried to strike a balance between China and its Asia-Pacific allies but the growth of China has made it difficult for Washington to achieve this balance. Sandwiched between conflicting interests, it has found itself in a predicament. To make it worse, the U.S. also has trouble balancing between its two contradicting allies — Japan and South Korea.

The third tactic was to “play up advantages and make up for disadvantages.” The U.S. has tried to make best use of its military might for deployment, diplomacy and maneuvers in the Asia-Pacific region and strived to make up for the weakening of its economic power. An example of the latter effort was pushing the idea of the Trans-Pacific Partnership. But its military strength in the region is constrained by a decreasing budget and distracted by hotspot flare-ups in other regions. It also has to be wary of the “side effect” of flexing its military muscles. And the TTP dream has yet to come true.

Third, the other major forces in the Asia-Pacific are showing signs of new movement.

In Japan, the Abe administration stubbornly clings to the rightist path and tries to become Asia’s number one power in politics and military affairs. Under the pretext of “becoming a normal state,” Tokyo has been trying to lift the traditional restrictions on collective self-defense, revise its pacifist constitution, strengthen its alliance with the U.S. and team up with certain countries to counter China. Japan has become a major destabilizing factor in China’s surrounding areas and

constituted a direct challenge to China. However, there is also a growing opposition to this trend inside the country.

In India, Prime Minister Narendra Modi's new government is active in international diplomacy and practical in domestic reforms. In its relations with major powers, India tries to gain advantage from all sides. The Sino-Indian relationship features both competition and cooperation.

In Indonesia, the recent election of Joko Widodo as president has brought a new atmosphere to the Southeast Asian country. Jakarta is expected to play the leading role in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which has announced it will set up the ASEAN Community in 2015. All major regional players are contending to forge a closer relationship with ASEAN. But the group is also troubled by many internal contradictions, limitations and problems.

Australia's Prime Minister Tony Abbott and Foreign Minister Julie Bishop have demonstrated a pro-U.S. stance. They voluntarily act as a pawn for Washington. Not content with the status of a "secondary power," Australia has made every effort to outshine others in international affairs. Its performances in such events as the Malaysian plane crash in Ukraine and military strikes on the Islamic State were particularly eye-catching. While fully supporting Washington's Asia-Pacific pivot strategy, Canberra tries to maneuver safely between the U.S. and China by straddling two boats — economy and security. It has become a negative variable in the region.

Russia is turning more of its attention to the Asia-Pacific region in a bid to "shine in the east" to make up for what it has suffered in the Ukraine crisis and strained relations with the West. In economy, it tries to offset the effects of Western sanctions by exploring new markets in Asia-Pacific; in political strategy, it hopes to avoid isolation by strengthening cooperation with China, India and some other countries.

Fourth, a triangular balance of power has been achieved in Asia-Pacific.

The order and pattern of power in the region have been reshaped amid a complex process of relationship readjusting.

In terms of comprehensive strength and influence, the U.S., China, Japan, India, ASEAN and Russia are Asia-Pacific's top six powers in that order. Despite numbering first, the U.S. has never been able to devote its main energy to the Asia-Pacific. On the contrary, China, the number two country, has always applied its main energy to the region.

In their mutual relationship, countries in the region generally come in three groups, with the U.S.-Japan alliance as one side and China-Russia cooperation as another side, which are engaged in a game of "competition and cooperation," while India and ASEAN sway in between.

In terms of trend of development, the U.S.' "power of dominance" and China's "power of initiative" will co-exist, but the former is waning and the latter is growing.

### **GLOBAL-WARMING ALARMISTS INTIMIDATE DISSENTING SCIENTISTS INTO SILENCE**

*From Irish Examiner*

*Saturday, March 17, 2007*

*By Ryle Dwyer*

ON October 31, 1992, Pope John Paul II apologised on behalf of the Vatican for the persecution of Galileo Galilei over 350 years earlier. Poor Galileo had the nerve to say that the sun, not the earth, was the centre of our universe.

Even before Galileo was born, a Polish astronomer, Nicolaus Copernicus, came to a similar conclusion. He believed that scientists before him and his own contemporaries were wrong in thinking the sun and the planets revolved around the earth. Instead, he reasoned that the earth and the other planets revolved around the sun. But he was afraid to push his views for fear of provoking the ridicule of his peers, and possible excommunication from the Catholic Church.

However, Galileo was more forceful than Copernicus in pushing his ideas. Hence, he got into trouble with the Church.

In October 1632, Galileo was ordered to appear before the dreaded Inquisition.

Facing torture and execution, he decided that discretion was the better part of valour, and he distanced himself from his life's work. He confessed, in writing, to heresy and he made a full public confession.

Pope Urban VIII and the other princes of the church had triumphed. Galileo, the heretic, was sentenced to indefinite imprisonment and told to be grateful that he was allowed to serve his time under house arrest near Florence.

Of course, we know now that they were wrong, but it took the Vatican over three and a half centuries to admit its mistake. This should be a classic warning that science by consensus is as faulty as the perverse racial theories expounded by the Nazis, the perverted Marxism practised by communists behind the Iron Curtain or the radical fundamentalism that led to the terrorist outrages in New York, Bali and Madrid.

In a sense we are witnessing the rise of a new kind of fundamentalism, a secular religion in the form of a trendy naturalism that could be every bit as unthinking as the mentality that confronted Galileo. People are hyping hysterical theories about global warming which have been accepted by the gullible media and elements of the scientific community who have been prostituting themselves.

Last week, Martin Durkin's Channel 4 documentary — *The Great Global Warming Swindle* — exposed the farce, but people hiding behind a cosy, ignorant consensus ridicule those who question the hysteria. In science, those who question unproven consensus make some of the greatest breakthroughs. The theories being expounded as part of the current hysterical consensus are not proven; they are just theories.

There are good grounds for questioning conventional wisdom in blaming man-made carbon dioxide (CO<sub>2</sub>) for global warming. Global warming certainly exists and there is a rise in carbon dioxide levels, but are those levels the cause or the effect of global warming? Scientists have detected that the polar ice caps are receding on Mars. Nobody would rationally suggest that this is due to man-made carbon dioxide. Could it be something to do with the sun?

Galileo had to cope with those who believed that man and earth were at the centre of the universe. The same kind of delusion is prevalent today among those who are telling us that man is responsible for the greenhouse gasses, particularly CO<sub>2</sub>, and thus for the global warming that is supposedly going to destroy the world.

"You can't say that CO<sub>2</sub> will drive climate," insists Professor Ian Clark of the department of earth sciences at the University of Ottawa. "It certainly never did in the past."

Weather Action climate forecaster Dr Piers Corbyn argues, "None of the major climate changes in the past thousands of years can be explained by CO<sub>2</sub>."

A United Nations-sponsored body, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), came out with a report in 1996 that was supposedly a consensus of more than 1,000 scientists

who contended that CO<sub>2</sub> and the greenhouse gasses were going to lead to disaster. However, a number of IPCC members, including Prof Paul Reiter of the Pasteur Institute in Paris and Prof Richard Lindzen of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, denounced the study as a distortion, because some significant findings were altered in an unscientific way just to fit a political agenda.

PROF Frederick Seitz, a former president of the American Academy of Sciences, described the report as a “disturbing corruption” of the peer review process, because a number of key observations made by scientists had been deleted — including their observation that “none of the studies cited above has shown clear evidence that we can attribute the observed changes to the specific cause of increased greenhouse gasses.”

The IPCC explained that the changes were made “in response to comments from governments, individual scientists and non-governmental organisations.” Prof John Christie, one of the report’s main authors, says that IPCC is a political body and its conclusions were politically-motivated.

There has been a rise in the average temperature by just over 0.5C since the mid-19th century. But most of that occurred prior to 1940, and the greatest increase was during the Great Depression of the 1930s when industrial activity was distinctly curtailed, yet there was a distinct drop in temperature during the post-war industrial boom until 1975. Ironically, at that stage the BBC and the media generally were warning of the catastrophic impact that global cooling was going to have on the world’s climate.

Scientists have been able to study climate changes over thousands of years through ice core samples deposited throughout the ages. In his Oscar-winning documentary, *An Inconvenient Truth*, former US vice president Al Gore states that an ice core survey found a clear correlation between CO<sub>2</sub> and temperature over the millennia. “When there is more carbon dioxide,” Gore says, “the temperature gets warmer.”

The ice core data showed a definite link, but Gore got it backward. The oceans are the biggest producer of CO<sub>2</sub>. As the temperature of the oceans increase, so do the levels of CO<sub>2</sub> in the atmosphere. Over thousands of years, the world has experienced numerous climate changes that have had nothing to do with man-made greenhouse gasses.

When Eric the Red led the Norwegian Vikings to Greenland in the late 900s, it was an ice-free farm country, with grass for sheep and cattle. By the 12th century, 3,000 people were living there. But then, in the 15th century, the average temperature dropped by about 1.5C and the world experienced a mini ice age that lasted for some 300 years. The Thames in London used to freeze so hard that people skated on it.

We are now in a warmer period in the cycle of change but it was even warmer in earlier times. Going back over 400 years, Danish National Space Centre director Prof Eigil Friis-Christensen has shown that solar activity caused by sun spots correlated very closely with the temperature on earth. It is the sun that drives climate changes.

The greenhouse gas hysteria is the modern equivalent to the kind of mistake that the popes and the consensus scientists were making in the 16th and 17th centuries in believing that man and earth were the centre of the universe. They knew no better.

Paying carbon credits to underdeveloped countries will just waste our money and ensure they remain underdeveloped. We are victims of an extravagant scam being promoted by a reckless alliance of prostituting scientists, an uncritical media and trendy elements inspired by irrational emotion.

## KEEPING THE SHOW ON THE ROAD

*Better than nothing, but much more to do*

Dec 14th 2014 | LIMA | International

MANUEL PULGAR VIDAL, Peru's environment minister (pictured right) and the host of this year's UN climate talks, had confidently predicted that negotiations would wrap up on schedule at 6.00pm on December 12th with a pisco sour, the country's national cocktail. In the event, it was coffee that the sleepless delegates consumed as the talks in Lima ran on for another day and a half. At last, in the early hours of December 14th, negotiators from 190 countries agreed a four-page text of decisions. While much less than climate activists wanted, it is enough to keep hopes alive that the world will agree a new climate treaty at the next summit in Paris in a year's time. But the haggling in Lima shows just how difficult that will be.

Scientists believe that a rise in global temperatures of more than 2°C compared to pre-industrial levels risks triggering catastrophic climate change. To try to prevent that, all parties to the UN negotiations have agreed to curb their emissions of greenhouse gases as well as to step up efforts to help vulnerable populations adapt to the impact of climate change. The Lima accord sets out the rules under which countries must make, before the Paris meeting, their "intended nationally determined contributions" (INDCs) to this effort.

The UN convention recognises "common but differentiated responsibilities" between developed countries, which created the stock of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, and developing nations which suffer some of the worst consequences of climate change. One of the big arguments in Lima was what that formula should mean. Many developing countries, especially small-island states and in Africa, argued that their contribution should be limited to "adaptation"; they wanted the loss and damage they suffer from climate change to be explicitly recognised, and they wanted a beefed-up promise of aid money from rich countries written into the text.

Others argued that the world has changed since the Kyoto Protocol, the last climate treaty, which committed only developed countries to emissions cuts. As John Kerry, America's Secretary of State, pointed out in a passionate speech at the summit, developing nations now account for more than half of total emissions. The joint declaration last month in Beijing in which America pledged to cut its emissions from 2005 levels by up to 28% by 2025 and China said its emissions would peak around 2030 seemed to herald a more inclusive spirit. And the commitment of Barack Obama's administration to emissions cuts ("We get it," said Mr Kerry) meant that coal-championing Australia has replaced America as the chief villain in the eyes of activists.

As finally agreed, the Lima document offers something to everyone. It calls for a balance between commitments to emissions cuts and adaptation. In the course of the summit, donations to the Green Climate Fund, set up to help poor countries, reached \$10.2 billion; that is still well short of a promise of \$100 billion a year in climate finance by 2020, but it may leverage private money. The blurring of the rich v poor divide saw a group of Latin American countries (Peru, Colombia, Mexico and others) announce donations to the Green Climate Fund and call for all countries to curb emissions.

A second tension in Lima also pitted developing countries against each other. China, Saudi Arabia and others worked to water down a call for INDCs to be transparent and independently verified—a demand supported by many poorer countries. The final text says that countries "may" (rather than "shall") provide detailed information and a timeframe for their emissions cuts.

Optimists think that peer pressure will oblige countries to be as open and ambitious as possible in their INDCs.

One surprise in Lima was an agreement to insert into the draft text of the new treaty a commitment to reach zero emissions of carbon (net of storage or absorption) by 2050. If maintained, that would give a clear signal to business that it must work towards a low-carbon economy. It would also demand a ratcheting-up of commitments in the coming decades.

The dilutions and fudges in the Lima accord dismayed some NGOs and activist groups. Other experienced observers took heart from the outcome. "A global climate agreement is now within reach," said Jennifer Morgan of World Resources Institute, a Washington-based group. But to get there, the Lima accord suggests, much hard work lies ahead over the next year.

### **RELAX, CHINA WON'T CHALLENGE US HEGEMONY**

*The US should believe Chinese Vice Premier Wang Yang's words: China will not seek hegemony.*

<http://thediplomat.com/2015/01/relax-china-wont-challenge-us-hegemony/>

By Dingding Chen

*The Diplomat* / January 14, 2015

Needless to say, the Sino-U.S. relationship is one of the most important yet complicated bilateral relationships in the world today. This explains why Chinese Vice Premier Wang Yang's recent comments on Sino-U.S. relations have stirred up a debate online. Wang Yang stated that China "[has] neither the ability nor the intent to challenge the United States." Partly because it is rare for a senior Chinese leader to make such soft remarks with regard to Sino-U.S. relations and partly because Wang's remarks are seemingly inconsistent with China's recent assertive foreign policies, there has been a fierce debate about the true meaning of Wang's remarks in the United States. Most American analysts, however, are skeptical toward Wang's conciliatory remarks and continue to believe that China's ultimate aim is to establish a China-centric order in Asia at the expense of the U.S. influence in Asia. In other words, China seeks to replace the U.S. as the new global hegemon.

The reactions from the U.S. side, again, reveal the deep mistrust with regard to China's long term goals. But such skepticism is misguided and even dangerous to Asia's peace and stability if left uncorrected. Why? Because Wang Yang was sincere when he said that China does not have the capabilities and desires to challenge the United States. The evidence of his sincerity is apparent.

First let us look at China's capabilities, which need to be especially formidable if China wants to challenge the United States. Although China's comprehensive capabilities have been growing rapidly for the past three decades, almost all analysts inside and outside of China agree that there is still a huge gap between China and the U.S. in terms of comprehensive capabilities, particularly when the U.S. is far ahead of China in military and technological realms. China's economy might have already passed the U.S. economy as the largest one in 2014, but the quality of China's economy still remains a major weakness for Beijing. Thus, it would be a serious mistake for China to challenge the U.S. directly given the wide gap of capabilities between the two. Even if one day China's comprehensive capabilities catch up with the United States, it would still be a huge mistake for China to challenge the U.S. because by then the two economies would be much more closely interconnected, creating a situation of mutual dependence benefiting both countries.

Besides limited capabilities, China also has limited ambitions which have not been properly understood by many U.S. analysts. It is true that China's grand strategy is to realize the "China dream" — a dream that will bring wealth, glory, and power to China again — but this, by no means, suggests that China wants to become a hegemon in Asia, or to create a Sino-centric tributary system around which all smaller states must obey China's orders. Perhaps these perceptions exist in the United States because many U.S. analysts have unconsciously let ultra-realist thinking slip into their minds, thereby believing that states are constantly engaged in the ruthless pursuit of power and influence. But the structure of international politics has fundamentally changed since the end of the Cold War, thus rendering any serious possibility of world hegemony ineffective or even impossible. In essence, the costs of hegemony outweigh the benefits of hegemony in this new era of international politics, thanks to rising nationalism, nuclear weapons, and increasing economic interdependence between major powers. The Chinese leaders understand this new and changed structure of international politics and based on their assessments, they have decided not to seek hegemony, which is a losing business in this new era.

Unfortunately, the U.S. is still obsessed with the concept (or illusion) of hegemony, as Simon Reich and Richard Ned Lebow have pointed out recently. The hegemony mentality is precisely the reason why the United States has declined (slowly) in the post-Cold War era. Wrongly believing that a stable global order needs U.S. hegemony, American leaders have adopted a grand strategy of liberal interventionism, which has only caused self-inflicted wounds for the U.S. economy and its global status. The tragedy, however, is that within U.S. elite circles, this misperception about U.S. hegemony sticks and is unlikely to go away for a long time barring a major failure or crisis.

At the end of the day, our world can survive and prosper without a hegemon, regardless of whether the hegemon is American or Chinese. The sooner American leaders understand this point and believe Chinese leaders' words, the higher the chances of peace and stability worldwide.

## DIVIDED WE STAGGER

*Can Indonesia heal the deepening rifts in South-East Asia?*

<http://www.economist.com/node/21560585>

Aug 18th 2012 | JAKARTA, PHNOM PENH AND SINGAPORE | From the print edition

FOR decades the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has led a largely blameless existence, untroubled by the glare of publicity as it gently sought to bring coherence to a region of enormous political and economic differences. Not for ASEAN the highs and calamitous lows of, for example, the European Union. All that has now suddenly changed. On its 45th birthday newspapers and blogs are at last paying ASEAN plenty of attention, though marked more by despair than praise. Some even question its very survival.

The cause of the furore is the widening division in the ten-member grouping over China's maritime claims in the South China Sea. The division was laid bare publicly at a meeting last month of ASEAN foreign ministers in the Cambodian capital, Phnom Penh. For the first time in its history ASEAN failed to issue a joint communiqué. Its members could not agree on what to say about

China. Broadly, those members with claims in the South China Sea themselves—Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei, supported by Singapore and Thailand—want ASEAN to register serious concerns over what they see as China's belligerent actions to enforce its claims in the waters of the South China Sea and over the Spratly, Paracel and other islands and atolls. However, non-claimants, mainly Cambodia supported by Laos and perhaps Myanmar, are loth to alienate China. They go along with China's insistence on dealing with the issue with each country in turn. This year Cambodia holds the rotating chair of ASEAN.

Right after the Phnom Penh fiasco, Indonesia's foreign minister, Marty Natalegawa, in a vigorous exercise in diplomacy, tried hard to paper over the cracks. Since then, however, there has been no let-up in the unASEAN-like public rowing. Last week the Philippine government sent the Cambodian ambassador packing. He had accused the Philippines and Vietnam of playing "dirty politics" in their push to put the South China Sea on ASEAN's agenda. The regional press is full of articles and letters lambasting Cambodia's stance.

ASEAN members had hoped to get through this crisis by establishing a "code of conduct" for the South China Sea, yet China refuses to discuss this idea until, it says, "conditions are ripe". Meanwhile, a mood of gloom pervades preparations for the next full ASEAN summit, due in November. This time round, the countries should be able to agree on a common position for public consumption, avoiding another unseemly row. But that still leaves plenty of scope for private grief.

In particular, some diplomats wonder whether Cambodia is now irretrievably in the pocket of China. If so, it would be an end to the famous "ASEAN consensus" by which the organisation makes decisions. Cambodia relies more than most in the region on Chinese investment and other blandishments. It is now expected to do Beijing's bidding. A Cambodian diplomat says that even his government was surprised by how fast and strongly China pressed it to defend its position at the failed summit. Tiny Laos also depends heavily on Chinese money and goodwill, as does Myanmar. China, as one writer puts it, may have obtained an "outsider's veto" over ASEAN when its interests are threatened.

The grouping could thus become a victim of a new era of great-power rivalry in the region. Until recently it had been making steady progress in establishing itself as the main forum for pan-Asian dialogue and discussion, hosting the East Asian Summit, for instance, among many other talking shops. Yet now it seems to be caught between a rising China on the one hand and a freshly engaged America, seeking to balance against China, on the other.

In particular, the Philippines and Vietnam now look openly to America for military and diplomatic support as they face up to an assertive China in their sea of troubles. Though Cambodia and Laos have lined up with China, and Myanmar may yet go the same way, Thailand and the Philippines are treaty allies of America, which is also revving up its military engagement with Singapore. The fear is that these allegiances will trump the more abstract attractions of ASEAN, together with its attempts to forge any closer union.

The most obvious potential casualty will be the push to create a European-style single market, the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), scheduled to come into effect in just three years' time. Ian Storey of Singapore's Institute for South-East Asian Studies points out that of the 132 paragraphs of the unpublished Phnom Penh communiqué only four concerned the wrangle over China's territorial claims. Many of the rest were about economic and commercial integration. All those have now been lost. It is even less likely that the AEC will start on time, let alone be effective. The wider ASEAN agenda is sinking into the South China Sea.

Only Indonesia might be able to save the day. The regional behemoth provides a home to the ASEAN secretariat in Jakarta, the capital. It alone seems to feel the weight of responsibility to hold the organisation together. Dewi Fortuna Anwar, a senior adviser on politics and foreign affairs to the Indonesian government, argues that the row over the South China Sea “is a good lesson for ASEAN, about living in the real world, with big players and big issues. It’s part of growing up.”

At the moment ASEAN is run on a shoestring. Its members pay paltry sums to keep it pottering along, on the assumption that it would never have to do much. Now, however, some Indonesian policymakers argue that, with the whole notion of regional unity at stake, it is time to beef up the organisation and provide it with the mechanisms, money and manpower needed to argue more forcefully for regional interests. For as Ms Anwar puts it, “if the member countries don’t care enough about ASEAN, why should other powers defer to it?”

### GETTING IN THE WAY

*South-East Asia finds the decorum of its regional club rather rudely shattered*

<http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21602265-south-east-asia-finds-decorum-its-regional-club-rather-rudely-shattered-getting-way>

May 17th 2014 | *The Economist*

THE ten-member Association of South-East Asian Nations is proud of how it does things. “The ASEAN way” favours consensus over confrontation, conviviality over candour and process over substance. It is credited with keeping the peace in what was once a strife-torn region. And co-operation within ASEAN not only enhances its economic coherence and attractiveness to outsiders, but also gives it a diplomatic clout its individual members could never attain. Yet as its leaders met on May 10th and 11th for a summit in Naypyidaw, the capital of Myanmar, ASEAN’s achievements seemed under threat on all fronts.

The meeting was overshadowed by a confrontation in the South China Sea between Vietnam, an ASEAN member, and China. In one of the most dangerous of many stand-offs between China and other claimants to disputed parts of the sea, a flotilla of Chinese vessels, including some from the navy, have repulsed Vietnamese attempts to stop a massive Chinese oil rig from drilling in waters Vietnam claims as its own. The episode is seen in Vietnam and elsewhere as the latest and most brazen example of a swaggering China grabbing by force what it refuses to try to win through negotiation or arbitration. In Vietnam popular anti-Chinese sentiment runs deep. Factories which protesters believed to be Chinese-owned have come under attack, with reports of deaths. It will be hard for the government simply to accept China’s sea-grab.

Meanwhile, another ASEAN member, the Philippines, is also quarrelling with China about its alleged activities in contested waters in the sea. It has detained Chinese fishermen for poaching endangered turtles and has accused China of building on a reef it claims. Like Vietnam, the Philippines would have liked ASEAN to throw its weight behind a strong statement of concern about China’s high-handedness. They got an appropriately hand-wringing statement, but the only mention of China was in the phrase “the South China Sea”. Malaysia and Brunei also have territorial disputes in the sea with China. But neither they nor other ASEAN members want to pick a fight with the aspiring regional hegemon. Discretion is always the better part of an

ASEAN communiqué. In particular ASEAN's newest, poorest members—Myanmar and Laos (joined 1997) and Cambodia (1999)—do not want to anger an important source of aid, investment and support.

In private, some ASEAN diplomats now voice doubts about the wisdom of the club's late-1990s expansion. The newcomers' poverty and their governments' weak capacities hamper a central objective of ASEAN's: the establishment of an "ASEAN community". A "Naypyidaw declaration" this week recognised the "urgency" of realising this in 2015. Of its "three pillars" (including a socio-cultural and a political one), the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) creates most excitement. It is an ambitious project to turn a region of more than 600m people, with annual GDP of over \$2 trillion, into a single market and production base.

*The Economist's* own style book is leery of the word "community", which, it sniffily suggests, often "purports to convey a sense of togetherness that may well not exist". Take the AEC. A report of its progress by the Asian Development Bank and the Institute of South-East Asian Studies, a think-tank in Singapore, concludes that ASEAN "has no prospect of coming close to...[a] single market by the AEC's 2015 deadline—or even by 2020 or 2025."

There is no denying the great strides ASEAN has made in liberalising intra-regional trade. It likes to trumpet its success in freeing virtually all categories of traded goods from tariffs. The few exceptions are important but, by volume, some 70% of intra-regional trade is tariff-free, and the average tariff rate is less than 5%. Yet the report notes that "non-tariff barriers have replaced tariffs as protective measures for domestic industries". ASEAN's traditions and structure—with a small, understaffed secretariat in Jakarta and no powers to force compliance—make removing such barriers very difficult. So 2015 should be seen not as a deadline, but a milestone—as always in ASEAN, as part of a process, not a finishing line. "Flexibilities" to accommodate the members' different development levels have been used, the report says, "to justify non-compliance". They can get away with it because of the importance of "maintaining a unified position". The ASEAN way frustrates the ASEAN project.

### **Disunity in diversity**

The association's founding in 1967, in a region where the cold war was raging hot in Vietnam and conflicts between its founder members seemed possible, was a visionary act. Its ten members could hardly be more diverse: communist dictatorships, new democracies and, in Brunei, a tiny Islamic sultanate which is introducing medieval punishments into its legal system.

A step-change in regional integration now would once again require visionary leadership, and it is hard to see where it would come from. Indonesia, the regional giant, is preoccupied with a political transition and seems likely in July to elect a new president, Joko Widodo, with little experience or known interest in international affairs. Thailand is intent on political self-mutilation, unable to govern itself, let alone wield regional influence. Vietnam and Malaysia have governments distracted by their own unpopularity, focusing on problems at home. Myanmar is in the throes of a transition from military dictatorship to an as yet undefined destination. The Philippines' president, Benigno Aquino, has surprised many with his competence. But already eyes are turning to the election for his successor in 2016.

Singapore has long punched above its weight in regional affairs, but can hardly shepherd such an unruly flock into a pen most would rather avoid. As China presumably understood when it staged its latest provocation in the South China Sea just before an ASEAN summit, it does not even have to try to divide and rule. It can leave that task to the ASEAN way.

## THE BRICS AND CLIMATE CHANGE

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23258020.2013.824246>

By Rafael Leal-Arcas

International Affairs Forum (2013)

Published online: 27 Aug 2013

The Kyoto Protocol places the responsibility of reducing greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions only with developed countries as if they were the only countries guilty of causing climate change, when in fact the whole world is collectively responsible for this. In the early 1990s, developed countries decided to “take the lead in combating climate change.” Twenty years later, the climate change situation has changed. Instead of asking only developed countries to reduce GHG

emissions, I would argue that a more effective (and presumably fairer) way to tackle climate change today is by bringing on board the major GHG emitters, irrespective of their GDP, and asking them to reduce their GHG emissions in an equitable manner without ignoring the historic responsibilities on the part of developed countries. Why? Because the Kyoto Protocol’s stipulation that only developed countries reduce their GHG emissions does not reflect today’s or tomorrow’s climate change reality, nor is it acting fast enough to reduce GHG emissions at the agreed levels.

According to the latest statistics released by the International Energy Agency (IEA), global CO<sub>2</sub> emissions rose by 4.6% in 2010, after a sharp fall in 2009 because of the 2008 financial crisis, especially in the Trans-Atlantic region. Emissions in developed countries increased by 3.3% in 2010, whereas emissions in developing countries continued increasing very rapidly, at 5.6% (IEA, 2012). Given the transnational nature of climate change, the current situation is similar to a diagnosis of cancer with metastasis. It is not therefore enough to ask only developed countries to reduce their GHG emissions if the aim is to solve the climate change issue. This means the BRICS countries are part of the solution to climate change mitigation.

Climate change will have a significant impact on the BRICS. Conversely, the expected impact of the BRICS on climate change is considerable. The size and rate of growth of the BRICS’ economies, of their energy demand, of their energy imports (for instance, in the case of China and India), and of their atmospheric emissions of various types make these countries essential major partners in any regional or global discussions relating to climate change or the production and consumption of energy.

For example, China’s coal-powered economic engine is overwhelming. In 2005, China produced 35% of the world’s steel, compared to just 13% in 1996 (Economy, 2007). A business-as-usual situation is not conducive to sustainable development either at the national or international level. If China continues on its business-as-usual path, predictions are that by 2030 its GHG emissions will grow twice as fast as emissions from all the 34-member Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Moreover, according to the IEA, even China’s per capita emissions will grow so much that they will reach the same level as the average of the developed countries (IEA, 2011). At the same time, as a vice-minister of the Chinese State Environmental Protection Administration put it, China’s economic “miracle will end soon because the environment can no longer keep pace”.

The BRICS’ position traditionally has been that global climate change mitigation must be addressed principally by wealthy industrial nations, which have not only the wealth and technology to provide solutions, but also the moral responsibility to do so because they have produced perhaps as much as 80% of the GHG emissions to date. However, some developing countries seem to be accepting they have to contribute to climate change mitigation, e.g., China.

Other BRICS are also making efforts. The more vulnerable they are to climate change, the greater incentive there is for the BRICS to accept binding GHG emissions cuts. If the Kyoto commitment is not enough to solve the problem, developed countries should do more about GHG emissions reductions before they ask developing nations for commitment. Large developing countries such as China, India, and Brazil will not commit internationally to material reductions in their GHG emissions in the absence of some comparable commitment by, say, the US. Conversely, the US has not participated in the Kyoto Protocol, and will not agree to mandatory GHG emissions reductions targets due to concerns about a loss of competitive advantage, relative to developing countries that are not subject to the same obligations.

This is a circular argument, bringing to mind the age old question: what comes first, the chicken or the egg? The US is not willing to ratify an international multilateral environmental agreement on GHG emissions reduction unless and until developing countries (especially China) are on board. On the other hand, the BRICS will only agree to being on board if the US complies with the Kyoto Protocol first.

Regardless of what the US Congress does or does not legislate in climate change issues, with EU GHG emissions probably having peaked and US GHG emissions possibly having done so as well (at least for the foreseeable future), the fate of Article 2 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)<sup>1</sup> resides increasingly with the actions of China, Brazil, India, and the other large developing country emitters.

Conceivably, the US would eventually accept a Kyoto-like approach if means could be found to involve developing countries (mainly the BRICS) with specific obligations. However, the politics of negotiating subsequent steps and a long-term target for GHG emissions reduction are fraught with difficulty as was obvious at the 2009 COP-15 in Copenhagen, where the US and the EU accused China of forcefully obstructing progress in the negotiations.

### **A question of equity and economic growth**

Not only are developing countries such as China unlikely to assume binding obligations until industrialized countries have actually met some initial targets, but their potential assumption of obligations would raise the difficult question of equity. With per capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from fossil fuels in the US about four times those of China and 20 times those of India, questions of equity loom large when long-term limits are considered.

That said, Article 3.1 of the UNFCCC expressly states that: The Parties should protect the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations of humankind, on the basis of equity and in accordance with their common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities. Accordingly, the developed country Parties should take the lead in combating climate change and the adverse effects thereof.

This clearly means that all countries share responsibilities, although at different levels. Nevertheless, limited progress on this issue has occurred. Starting with the COP-13 in Bali in 2007 and culminating at the 2010 COP-16 in Cancún, developing countries enthusiastically embraced a plan for voluntary accession to limits and reduction crediting in the forest sector (reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries (REDD) program), predicated, however, on financial support from developed countries.

On the financial aspect, the UNFCCC reminds us that “policies and measures to deal with climate change should be cost-effective so as to ensure global benefits at the lowest possible cost.”

At the same time, the BRICS are watching this environmental negotiation process to ensure that it helps them cope with climate change without threatening their hopes of economic growth, which is a right that every country has, albeit the hope is green economic growth. If a given climate policy means the reduction of economic growth, that policy will most likely have no future.

Officials are beginning to consider the possibility that a world climate change agreement might not be merely a crude attempt to cut off their economic growth, but rather a possible source of help in dealing with the air pollution that is emerging as a major threat to public health. For instance, the health costs of air and water pollution in China account for an estimated 4.3% of the nation's GDP (World Bank and State Environmental Protection Administration of the People's Republic of China, 2007). Moreover, 16 of the world's 20 most polluted cities are in China (OECD, 2010). Pollution in Beijing is six times higher than in New York City (Economy, 2007).

The ideal situation would be to have both developing nations on board and the US Senate ratify the Kyoto Protocol. This is currently unrealistic. We need to find a compromise. Rich countries generally favor the idea of placing more responsibility on key developing country emitters such as China and India, whereas developing countries (and the EU, but for other reasons) continue to favor an approach that would implement a second phase of the Kyoto Protocol, which allows them to opt out of GHG emissions reductions if these pose a threat to development. In fact, authorities from the BRICS have emphasized that the key to success in climate negotiations lies in commitments by rich countries to slash GHG emissions and boost funding to developing countries in the form of aid and the promotion of clean technology.

The BRICS have concerns over emissions commitments because they expect GHG emissions levels to continue rising for some time. In fact, over the past decade, China's GHG emissions have more than doubled. This means that the EU's proposal to raise the bloc's target for cutting CO<sub>2</sub> emissions would have a limited impact on global warming, given that any benefit would be easily offset by the BRICS' rise in GHG emissions.

### **Energy efficiency**

Notwithstanding what has been mentioned above, since the 2010 COP-16 in Cancún, China's attitude to combating climate change has been remarkable, and it has taken increasingly strong action to improve its energy efficiency, at both the national and subnational level. For example, China has set a 2020 carbon intensity target as part of its national policy, and is taking aggressive steps to implement it.

Moreover, China has prepared a five-year plan (2011–2015) that is the clearest indication of its determination to become a clean energy powerhouse. This five-year plan puts emphasis on economic and industrial restructuring toward a greener, more efficient, and lower carbon economy. As part of this five-year plan, China is developing regional domestic carbon trading programs and is also experimenting with emissions taxes. There are both environmental and economic advantages and disadvantages to energy efficiency. Regarding the advantages, energy efficiency not only implies no GHGs, it saves money, it cannot be exported off-shore, and it has more potential than any other alternative. However, the disadvantages are that one must pay upfront as an investment, the oil industry wants more consumers to spend more energy, and there are tax incentives for energy use.

Climate change is one of the key drivers for China's fundamental shift. Investment in clean energy in China rose 30% in 2010, to US\$51.1 billion — by far the largest figure for a single country — and represented more than 20% of the total global investment of US \$243 billion, according to Bloomberg New Energy Finance (Kanter, 2011). China's climate policy is largely motivated by

factors other than concern about global warming, including energy security, the need to reduce local and regional atmospheric pollution from coal combustion that has caused serious health problems, and international competitiveness. It has pushed development of renewable energy technology to become the market leader in production of wind and solar technology, and adopted aggressive fuel economy standards for motor vehicles.

The BRICS today are amongst the largest GHG polluters in the world. Without their efforts, climate change mitigation will be very difficult in the near future. Positive steps are already happening: China is not only the largest GHG emitter, but the leading producer of wind turbines and solar panels. This aggressive move into renewable energy markets shows China's commitment to contribute to climate change mitigation. Let us hope that such efforts from the BRICS will continue with the help of the West.

### GLOBAL WARMING: ANTHROPOGENIC OR NOT?

*An Alternative View From Down Under*

**by Professor Robert (Bob) Carter, geologist & environmental scientist**

| January 20, 2013

Katharine Hayhoe, PhD, who wrote the December AITSE piece "*Climate Change: Anthropogenic or Not?*", is an atmospheric scientist and director of the Climate Science Center at Texas Tech University. She is senior author of the book "*A Climate for Change: Global Warming Facts for Faith-Based Decisions*". I am a senior research geologist who has published more than 100 peer-reviewed papers on palaeo-environmental and palaeo-climatic topics and also author of the book, "*Climate: the Counter Consensus*". Quite clearly, **Dr. Hayhoe and I are both credible professional scientists**. Given our training and research specializations, we are therefore competent to assess the evidence regarding the dangerous global warming that the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) alleges is being caused by industrial carbon dioxide emissions.

Yet at the end of her article Dr. Hayhoe recommends for further reading the websites RealClimate.org and SkepticalScience.com, whereas here at the outset of writing my own article I recommend the websites wattsupwiththat.com and www.thegwpcf.org (Global Warming Policy Foundation). To knowledgeable readers, this immediately signals that **Dr. Hayhoe and I have diametrically opposing views on the global warming issue**.

The general public finds it very hard to understand how such strong disagreement can exist between two equally qualified persons on a scientific topic, a disagreement that is manifest also on the wider scene by the existence of equivalent groups of scientists who either support or oppose the views of the IPCC about dangerous anthropogenic (human-caused) global warming (DAGW).

In this article I shall try to summarize what the essential disagreement is between these two groups of scientists, and show how it has come to be misrepresented in the public domain.

#### **Common ground amongst DAGW protagonists**

Though you wouldn't know it from the antagonistic nature of public discussions about global warming, a large measure of scientific agreement and shared interpretation exists amongst nearly all scientists who consider the issue. The common ground, much of which was traversed by Dr. Hayhoe in her article, includes:

- that climate has always changed and always will,
- that carbon dioxide is a greenhouse gas and warms the lower atmosphere,

- that human emissions are accumulating in the atmosphere,
- that a global warming of around 0.5°C occurred in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but
- that global warming has ceased over the last 15 years.

The scientific argument over DAGW is therefore about none of these things. Rather, it is almost entirely about three other, albeit related, issues. They are:

- the amount of net warming that is, or will be, produced by human-related emissions,
- whether any actual evidence exists for dangerous warming of human causation over the last 50 years, and
- whether the IPCC's computer models can provide accurate climate predictions 100 years into the future.

Dr. Hayhoe's answers to those questions would probably be along the line of: *substantial, lots and yes*. My answers would be: *insignificant, none and no*.

What can possibly explain such disparate responses to a largely agreed set of factual climate data?

### How does science work?

Arguments about global warming, or more generally about climate change, are concerned with a scientific matter. Science deals with facts, experiments and numerical representations of the natural world around us. Science does not deal with emotions, beliefs or politics, but rather strives to analyse matters dispassionately and in an objective way, such that in consideration of a given set of facts two different practitioners might come to the same interpretation; and, yes, I am aware of the irony of that statement in the present context.

Which brings us to the matter of Occam's Razor and the null hypothesis. William of Occam (1285–1347) was an English Franciscan monk and philosopher to whom is attributed the saying '*Pluralitas non est ponenda sine necessitate*', which translates as 'Plurality should not be posited without necessity'. This is a succinct statement of the principle of simplicity, or parsimony, that was first developed by Aristotle and which has today come to underlie all scientific endeavour.

The phrase 'Occam's Razor' is now generally used as shorthand to represent the fundamental scientific assumption of simplicity. To explain any given set of observations of the natural world, scientific method proceeds by erecting, first, the simplest possible explanation (hypothesis) that can explain the known facts. This simple explanation, termed the null hypothesis, then becomes the assumed interpretation until additional facts emerge that require modification of the initial hypothesis, or perhaps even invalidate it altogether.

Given the great natural variability exhibited by climate records, and the failure to date to compartmentalize or identify a human signal within them, the proper null hypothesis — because it is the simplest consistent with the known facts — is that *global climate changes are presumed to be natural, unless and until specific evidence is forthcoming for human causation*.

It is one of the more extraordinary facts about the IPCC that the research studies it favours mostly proceed using an (unjustified) inversion of the null hypothesis — namely that *global climate changes are presumed to be due to human-related carbon dioxide emissions, unless and until specific evidence indicates otherwise*.

### What hypothesis do we wish to test?

Though climate science overall is complex, the greenhouse hypothesis itself is straightforward and it is relatively simple to test it, or its implications, against the available data. First, though, we need to be crystal clear about precisely what we mean by the term.

In general communication, and in the media, the terms greenhouse and greenhouse hypothesis have come to carry a particular vernacular meaning — almost independently of their scientific derivation. When an opinion poll or a reporter solicits information on what members of the public think about the issue they ask questions such as “do you believe in global warming”, “do you believe in climate change” or “do you believe in the greenhouse effect”.

Leaving aside the issue that science is never about belief, all such questions are actually coded ones, being understood by the public to mean “is dangerous global warming being caused by human-related emissions of carbon dioxide”. Needless to say, this is a different, albeit related, question. These and other sloppy ambiguities (“carbon” for “carbon dioxide”, for example) are in daily use in the media, and they lead to great confusion in the public discussion about climate change; they also undermine the value of nearly all opinion poll results.

The DAGW hypothesis that I want to test here is precisely and only “that dangerous global warming is being caused, or will be, by human-related carbon dioxide emissions”. To be “dangerous”, at a minimum the change must exceed the magnitude or rate of warmings that are known to be associated with normal weather and climatic variability.

### **What evidence can we use to test the DAGW hypothesis?**

Many different lines of evidence can be used to test the DAGW hypothesis. Here I have space to present just five, all of which are based upon real world empirical data. For more information, please read both Dr. Hayhoe’s and my book.

Consider the following tests:

(i) Over the last 16 years, global average temperature, as measured by both thermometers and satellite sensors, has displayed no statistically significant warming; over the same period, atmospheric carbon dioxide has increased by 10%.

Large increases in carbon dioxide have therefore not only failed to produce dangerous warming, but failed to produce any warming at all. **Hypothesis fails.**

(ii) During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a global warming of between 0.4° C and 0.7° C occurred, at a maximum rate, in the early decades of the century, of about 1.7° C/century. In comparison, our best regional climate records show that over the last 10,000 years natural climate cycling has resulted in temperature highs up to at least 1° C warmer than today, at rates of warming up to 2.5° C/century.

In other words, both the rate and magnitude of 20<sup>th</sup> century warming falls well within the envelope of natural climate change. **Hypothesis fails, twice.**

(iii) If global temperature is controlled primarily by atmospheric carbon dioxide levels, then changes in carbon dioxide should precede parallel changes in temperature.

In fact, the opposite relationship applies at all time scales. Temperature change precedes carbon dioxide change by about 5 months during the annual seasonal cycle, and by about 700–1000 years during ice age climatic cycling. **Hypothesis fails.**

(iv) The IPCC’s computer general circulation models, which factor in the effect of increasing carbon dioxide, project that global warming should be occurring at a rate of +2.0° C/century.

In fact, no warming at all has occurred in either the atmosphere or the ocean for more than the last decade. The models are clearly faulty, and allocate too great a warming effect for the extra carbon dioxide (technically, they are said to overestimate the climate sensitivity). **Hypothesis fails.**

(v) The same computer models predict that a fingerprint of greenhouse-gas-induced warming will be the creation of an atmospheric hot spot at heights of 8–10 km in equatorial regions, and enhanced warming also near both poles.

Given that we already know that the models are faulty, it shouldn't surprise us to discover that direct measurements by both weather balloon radiosondes and satellite sensors show the absence of surface warming in Antarctica, and a complete absence of the predicted low latitude atmospheric hot spot. **Hypothesis fails, twice.**

One of the 20<sup>th</sup> century's greatest physicists, Richard Feynman, observed about science that:

*"In general we look for a new law by the following process. First we guess it. Then we compute the consequences of the guess to see what would be implied if this law that we guessed is right. Then we compare the result of the computation to nature, with experiment or experience; compare it directly with observation, to see if it works.*

*It's that simple statement that is the key to science. It does not make any difference how beautiful your guess is. It does not make any difference how smart you are, who made the guess, or what his name is. If it disagrees with experiment it is wrong."*

None of the five tests above supports or agrees with the predictions implicit in the greenhouse hypothesis as stated above. Richard Feynman is correct to advise us that therefore the hypothesis is invalid, and that many times over.

### Summary

The current scientific reality is that the IPCC's hypothesis of dangerous global warming has been repeatedly tested, and fails. Despite the expenditure of large sums of money over the last 25 years (more than \$100 billion), and great research effort by IPCC-related and other (independent) scientists, to date no scientific study has established a certain link between changes in any significant environmental parameter and human-caused carbon dioxide emissions.

In contrast, the null hypothesis that the global climatic changes that we have observed over the last 150 years (and continue to observe today) are natural in origin has yet to be disproven. As summarised in the reports of the Nongovernmental International Panel on Climate Change (NIPCC), literally thousands of papers published in refereed journals contain facts or writings consistent with the null hypothesis, and plausible natural explanations exist for all the post-1850 global climatic changes that have been described so far.

### Why is this conclusion not generally understood?

I commented earlier that science is not about emotion or politics, despite which it is uncomfortably true also that public discussion of the global warming issue is conducted far more in accordance with those criteria than it is about science. As discussed at more length in my book, there are three prime reasons for this.

First, as a branch of the United Nations, the IPCC is itself an intensely political and not a scientific body. To boot, the IPCC charter requires that it investigate not climate change in the round, but solely global warming caused by human greenhouse emissions.

Second, from local green activist groups up to behemoth NGOs like Greenpeace and WWF, over the last 20 years the environmental movement has espoused saving the planet from global warming as its *leit motif*. This has had two devastating results. One is that radical environmentalists have worked relentlessly to sow misinformation about global warming in both the public domain and the education system. And the other is that, faced with this widespread propagandization of public opinion and young persons, and by also by strong lobbying from powerful self-interested groups like government research scientists, alternative energy providers and financial marketeers, politicians have had no choice but to fall into line. Whatever their primary political philosophy, all

active politicians are daily mindful of the need to assuage the green intimidation and bullying to which they and their constituents are incessantly subjected.

Third, and probably most influential of all, with very few exceptions major media outlets have provided unceasing support for measures to “stop global warming”. This behaviour appears to be driven by a combination of the liberal and green personal beliefs of most reporters, and the commercial nose of experienced editors who understand that alarmist environmental reporting sells both product and advertising space.

**But given that the science remains uncertain, shouldn't we give earth the benefit of the doubt?**

This famous slogan (and note its deliberately emotive phrasing) is attributed to News Corporation's Rupert Murdoch; it bears all the hallmarks of having been produced by a green focus group or advertising agency. The catchy phrase also reveals a profound misunderstanding of the real climatic risks faced by our societies, because it assumes that global warming is more dangerous, or more to be feared, than is global cooling; in reality, the converse is likely to be true.

It must be recognized that the theoretical hazard of dangerous human-caused global warming is but one small part of a much wider climate hazard that all scientists agree upon, which is the dangerous natural weather and climatic events that Nature intermittently presents us with — and always will. It is absolutely clear from, for example, the 2005 Hurricane Katrina and 2012 Hurricane Sandy disasters in the US, the 2007 floods in the United Kingdom and the tragic bushfires in Australia in 2003 (Canberra), 2009 (Victoria) and in January this year (widespread), that the governments of even advanced, wealthy countries are often inadequately prepared for climate-related disasters of natural origin.

We need to do better, and squandering money to give earth the benefit of the doubt based upon an unjustifiable assumption that dangerous warming will shortly resume is exactly the wrong type of “picking winners” approach.

Because many scientists, including leading solar physicists, currently argue that the position that the Earth currently occupies in the solar cycle implies that the most likely climatic trend over the next several decades is one of significant cooling rather than warming. Meanwhile, the IPCC's computer modellers assure us with all the authority at their command that global warming will shortly resume — just you wait and see.

The reality is, then, that no scientist on the planet can tell you with credible probability whether the climate in 2030 will be cooler or warmer than today. In such circumstances the only rational conclusion to draw is that we need to be prepared to react to either warming or cooling over the next several decades, depending upon what Nature chooses to serve up to us.

**What is the best way forward?**

Given that we cannot predict what future climate will be, do we still need national climate policies at all?

Indeed we do, for a primary government duty of care is to protect the citizenry and the environment from the ravages of natural climatic events. What is needed is not unnecessary and penal measures against carbon dioxide emissions, but instead a prudent and cost-effective policy of preparation for, and response to, all climatic events and hazards as and when they develop.

As Ronald Brunner and Amanda Lynch have argued in their recent book, *Adaptive Governance and Climate Change*, and many other scientists have supported too:

*"We need to use adaptive governance to produce response programs that cope with hazardous climate events as they happen, and that encourage diversity and innovation in the search for solutions. In such a fashion, the highly contentious 'global warming' problem can be recast into an issue in which every culture and community around the world has an inherent interest."*

Climate hazard is both a geological and meteorological issue. Geological hazards are mostly dealt with by providing civil defense authorities and the public with accurate, evidence-based information regarding events such as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, tsunamis, storms and floods (which represent climatic as well as weather events), and by mitigating and adapting to the effects when an event occurs.

New Zealand's GeoNet natural hazard network is a world-best-practice example of how to proceed. GeoNet is New Zealand's national natural hazard monitoring agency. GeoNet operates networks of geophysical instruments to detect, analyse and respond to earthquakes, volcanic activity, landslides and tsunami. The additional risk of longer-term climate change, which GeoNet currently doesn't cover, differs from most other natural hazards only in that it occurs over periods of decades to hundreds or thousands of years. This difference is not one of kind, and neither should be our response planning.

The appropriate response to climate hazard, then, is national policies based on preparing for and adapting to all climate events as and when they happen, and irrespective of their presumed cause. Every country needs to develop its own understanding of, and plans to cope with, the unique combination of climate hazards that apply within its boundaries. The planned responses should be based upon adaptation, with mitigation where appropriate to cushion citizens who are affected in an undesirable way.

The idea that there can be a one-size-fits-all global solution to deal with just one possible aspect of future climate change, as recommended by the IPCC and favoured by green activists and most media commentators, fails entirely to deal with the real climate and climate-related hazards to which we are all exposed every day.

### **THE END OF THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT**

<http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2011/10/12/the-end-of-the-responsibility-to-protect/>  
By Chris Keeler, October 12, 2011

Critics of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and interventionism in general have long accused international humanitarian action of being a form of imperialism cloaked in humanitarianism. The BRIC/IBSA countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa; hereafter referred to as BRICS) are beginning to unite around this skepticism, countering western enthusiasm. The first four BRICS countries refused to vote in favor of the decision to intervene in Libya due to a desire to pursue policies of non-intervention. When NATO used the UN mandate in Libya to justify regime change, BRICS countries only hardened their support for non-intervention, with South Africa joining the quasi-alliance in the UN. After the recent resolution condemning Syria failed to pass through the UN Security Council, it seemed clear that for many politicians in BRICS countries, humanitarian intervention has become no more than an inappropriate violation of national sovereignty. Consequently, though the intervention in Libya can be considered a success, it has created a general cloud of suspicion surrounding western humanitarian efforts that will continue to be an obstacle to the implementation of the R2P doctrine elsewhere.

### **The R2P in Libya**

In the early weeks of March, it seemed as though the rebel army in Libya was going to be crushed by Muammar Qaddafi's troops. Rebel forces were surrounded in Benghazi when the Security Council passed Resolution 1973 authorizing a No-Fly Zone (NFZ) over Libya in order to protect the civilian population. Though the UN mandate specifically outlined a humanitarian mission to protect the Libyan noncombatants, NATO officials quickly made the decision that Qaddafi must be forced from power. Thus, the mission quickly morphed from the more passive act of enforcing a NFZ to a more offensively minded regime change operation. In conjunction with the rebel forces, NATO air strikes brought down the Qaddafi government. The night that Qaddafi's compound was overrun, in fact, NATO airships repeatedly struck Tripoli to facilitate the rebel advance. Even today, with Qaddafi on the loose, NATO missiles are still aiding the efforts of the National Transitional Council.

The Obama administration attempted to use the Libyan example as a way to redefine the way in which the United States formulates its foreign policy. The President and his advisers invoked the Responsibility to Protect to defend the decision to intervene in Libya and later released the Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities that defined preventing potential massacres, like the one in Libya, as "a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States." For supporters of R2P, the presidential directive was evidence that the United States was reformulating its approach to atrocities around the world and institutionalizing R2P into American foreign policy.

Moreover, the Obama administration required a multilateral approach to the intervention in order to differentiate American actions in Libya from the unilateralism that came to define the foreign policy of George Bush. President Obama insisted that international action be requested by local forces, approved by the Arab League and legitimized by the UN. Additionally, the insistence that European allies take the lead facilitated the rise of Obama's 'lead from behind' mantra.

For interventionists in the United States and Europe, the military action in Libya was considered a success: Qaddafi was removed from power without setting the boot of a western soldier on the ground. For the Obama administration, multilateral humanitarian intervention had become the norm.

History might look back favorably on the NATO decision to ensure the fall of the Qaddafi regime. Diplomatically, however, the decision to intervene in Libya and the subsequent expansion of NATO activities outside of the UN mandate were highly controversial. Brazil, Russia, and China all abstained from the original mandate (along with Germany); South Africa voted in favor, understanding that the resolution would be used only to protect civilians and allow the delivery of humanitarian aid.

Those states that were skeptical about the intervention were further antagonized by NATO's decision to pursue regime change in Libya. Though NATO officials reiterated their belief that the mission held true to the UN mandate, Russian officials openly accused the alliance of overstepping its authority and pursuing regime change in Tripoli. As the NATO mission morphed into an offensive aiming at regime change, South African officials expressed frustration at the notion that NATO had adopted its own agenda; China consistently reiterated its support for maintaining the integrity of Libyan sovereignty and for finding a peaceful solution to the crisis; Brazil and India remained more muted in their criticisms, but have nonetheless taken stands against the NATO air strikes. It is unsurprising, then, that the same countries that criticized NATO's mission creep in Libya were hesitant to cooperate with western powers regarding Syria.

**R2P in Syria**

Unlike in the Libyan case, the proposed resolution concerning Syria did not authorize any use of international force or sanctions, but rather was a strict condemnation of the violence. The resolution did, though, hint at the possibility of later sanctions should the violence continue and never explicitly ruled out foreign military action. Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Ma Zhaoxu said that the resolution would not “ease the situation” and the Russian envoy to the UN, Vitaly Churkin, called the resolution a way to legitimize “already adopted unilateral sanctions and [an attempt] to forcefully overthrow regimes.”

The countries that abstained—Brazil, India, South Africa and Lebanon—all stressed the importance of finding a peaceful settlement through dialogue and reiterated the importance of Syrian territorial integrity. The link between NATO actions in Libya and the unwillingness of western allies to explicitly rule out the use of force in Syria was evident in the reactions of those opposed to the resolution.

South Africa said that previous council texts “had been abused and implementation had gone far beyond mandates” and that the council “should not be part of any hidden agenda for regime change.” The Russian foreign ministry was even more forthright, releasing a statement directly comparing the mission creep in Libya to the Syrian resolution:

Our wording proposals on the inadmissibility of external military intervention are not taken into account. And that, in view of the well-known events in North Africa, cannot but make us wary... The situation in Syria cannot be considered in the Security Council in isolation from the Libyan experience. The international community is wary of the statements being heard that the implementation of the Security Council resolutions in Libya as interpreted by NATO is a model for its future actions to exercise the “responsibility to protect.” It’s not hard to imagine that tomorrow “united defenders” may begin to apply this “exemplary model” in Syria as well.

The American ambassador to the United Nations walked out of the UNSC meeting after saying that the US was “outraged that [the UNSC] has utterly failed to address an urgent moral challenge and a growing threat to regional peace and security.” American Secretary of State Hillary Clinton opined that Russia and China needed to “offer their own explanations to the Syrian people” and the British Foreign Secretary called the vetoes “deeply mistaken and regrettable.”

While Russia and China wielded their vetoes and received the lion’s share of blame from western capitals, the abstention of South Africa, India, Brazil and Lebanon is perhaps more telling of the major divide within the Security Council. The failure to pass a resolution on Syria is directly related to the actions of the NATO-led intervention in Libya, during which the United States and its allies overtly overstepped the UN mandate authorizing action. More importantly, the disagreements within the Security Council will have a direct impact on the future of the Responsibility to Protect.

**The Future of R2P**

The inability of the United States and its allies to push through even a watered-down version of the Syrian resolution clearly demonstrates that President Obama’s humanitarian intervention norm is not a global one. The BRICS countries have determined that humanitarianism should not compromise the sovereignty of individual states and should not restrict the rights of governments over domestic matters. This stance, of course, directly contradicts the new humanitarian basis of American foreign policy.

Interestingly, this stand against the interventionism of the R2P in Syria was made possible by the implementation of the same doctrine in Libya. It is impossible to remove the current impasse

from the context of the Arab Spring, including the intervention in Libya. Thus, we cannot predict how the world would have responded to the Syrian uprising without NATO's abuse of Resolution 1973. However, the abstention of South Africa and the accompanying reference to 'hidden agendas' perhaps suggests that the South African government felt betrayed by NATO's regime change operation. Moreover, by repeatedly invoking the potentially illegal NATO action in Libya, the Russia foreign ministry made it clear that their opposition to the western resolution was strengthened by the Libya experience.

Consequently, those who celebrated the multilateral implementation of the R2P doctrine have been disappointed by how powerful developing countries have refused to stand behind R2P in Syria. The refusal to support the resolution on Syria by the BRICS countries demonstrates the clash in ideology that will prevent another multilateral implementation of the R2P. Russia, perhaps the most outspoken BRICS country on this issue, made it clear that the Security Council split was more than semantics, saying that the opposition to the resolution was "not so much a question of the acceptability of wording as a conflict of political approaches."

Of course, the 'conflict of political approaches' is not new. Russia and China vetoed imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2008 and blocked a resolution condemning the actions of Burma in 2007. What is new, however, is the growing unity amongst Security Council members against the prospect of international intervention. While the BRICS countries certainly had reservations concerning the efficacy and morality of interventions, the ambitious and legally dubious NATO mission in Libya cemented their opposition to the tactic. Conversely, the United States and many of its European allies used the intervention in Libya to justify the righteousness and necessity of international action.

Whether the devotion of the west to R2P or the BRICS countries' rejection of international action is better for humanity is irrelevant. The decision of NATO to push for regime change in Libya has brought the BRICS countries—two permanent UNSC members and three aspiring members—together, allied against any further international interventions. While many in the west are using the ouster of Qaddafi in Libya to validate the success of the R2P doctrine, the newly solidified alliance in the Security Council has viewed NATO actions in Libya to effectively block the ability of the west to implement R2P multilaterally. Considering the Obama administration's disdain for unilateralism, the BRICS countries may have brought an end to the Responsibility to Protect doctrine.

## **FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE DANGERS OF PROVOCATION**

<http://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/07/europe/paris-attack-and-press-freedom/>

By Tim Lister, CNN

Updated January 7, 2015

Wednesday's attack in Paris was not the first attack on the offices of Charlie Hebdo, nor the first terror attack planned against a European publication. But it was by far the most lethal act of terrorism to target the media in modern Europe.

It raises many troubling questions for the future of a free press, unhindered in its reporting by fear. And it will reopen the debate on where freedom of speech becomes incitement and where restraint equals self-censorship.

Charlie Hebdo has published many cartoons lampooning Islamist extremism and, more recently, the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. One recent cartoon featured ISIS' leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

Under editor Stephane Charbonnier, who was among those killed Wednesday, it has been one of several European publications to make a point of taking on extremism and religious intolerance — knowing it risked deadly consequences. Even when these publications have come under attack, they have continued plowing a lonely and provocative furrow.

Charlie Hebdo's offices were destroyed by a gasoline bomb in 2011 after the magazine carried a caricature of the Prophet Mohammed on the cover, saying "100 lashes if you are not dying of laughter." A cartoon inside showed the prophet with a clown's nose. It also announced he would be editor-in-chief of the next edition. No one was hurt in that attack.

Depiction of the prophet is prohibited in Islam and, along with desecration of the Quran, enrages jihadists even more than images of prison abuse or airstrikes — precisely because it is aimed directly at the prophet and the holy book.

Charbonnier said at the time of the 2011 attack that it was the work of "idiot extremists" and insisted the magazine had the right to poke fun at anything. And then-French Prime Minister Francois Fillon said at the time: "Freedom of expression is an inalienable right in our democracy and all attacks on the freedom of the press must be condemned with the greatest firmness."

But Wednesday's attack shows that condemnation and round-the-clock protection of the media are two entirely different things. There was a regular police presence at the offices of Charlie Hebdo, but the officers appear to have been as much a target as the journalists — an easy, static target for a well-organized attack.

And what organizations merit protection? In the aftermath of Wednesday's attack, French Prime Minister Manuel Valls announced that "media organizations, major stores, religious places and public transport (in the Paris area) will be provided with reinforced security." It is the obvious response, but some would argue that this is just what terrorists want: a climate of fear.

In February 2006, Charlie Hebdo reprinted cartoons of the prophet that had first appeared in the Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten, itself the target of several plots by Islamist extremists. The magazine said it was reprinting the cartoons in support of press freedom, but then-French President Jacques Chirac criticized the decision as "overt provocation." The editor of another French newspaper was fired for reprinting the cartoons.

Charlie Hebdo was also taken to court by two Islamic groups in France but acquitted of incitement to racism. The court decided there had been no "deliberate intention of directly and gratuitously offending the Muslim community."

That case encapsulated the dilemma for governments and the media in Europe. When does the exercise of free speech become incitement, provocation or an act of racism? And is self-censorship necessary in a multicultural society where restraint helps social peace and provocation can bring violence?

The original publication of the cartoons in Jyllands-Posten in September 2005 caused riots across the Muslim world in which an estimated 130 people were killed. The newspaper received more than 100 death threats.

Flemming Rose, the culture editor of the newspaper, later published an article in The Washington Post entitled "Why I Published Those Cartoons," which is worth quoting at length:

"I commissioned the cartoons in response to several incidents of self-censorship in Europe caused by widening fears and feelings of intimidation in dealing with issues related to Islam. ... The idea wasn't to provoke gratuitously — and we certainly didn't intend to trigger violent demonstrations throughout the Muslim world. Our goal was simply to push back self-imposed limits on expression that seemed to be closing in tighter."

He gave an example, saying one Danish comedian had told *Jyllands-Posten* that he had no problem urinating on the Bible in front of a camera, but he dared not do the same thing with the Quran.

The Tate Gallery in London had confronted the same dilemma — withdrawing a work called “God is Great” by John Latham which depicted torn images of the Bible, the Quran and the Talmud. The Tate said that in the wake of the July 2005 bombings, displaying the work would “not be appropriate.”

Some have argued that restraint shows respect and is not cowing to extremism. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams argued in 2008 for stronger measures against incitement of religious hatred, saying that the “sound of a prosperous and socially secure voice claiming unlimited freedom both to define and to condemn the beliefs of a minority grates on the ear.”

There are also some who see the publication of provocative images as a cheap way to publicity. The critic Michael Kimmelman wrote in *The New York Times* at the height of the cartoon controversy that “modern artists and their promoters forever pander to a like-minded audience by goading obvious targets, hoping to incite reactions that pass for political point-scoring.”

If anything, the atmosphere in Europe is now more combustible than it was in 2006. Recession has brought unemployment — in France it is rising fast — and with it, less tolerance for immigration and minorities, even when they are well established. The anti-immigrant National Front in France topped the poll in last year’s elections to the European Parliament.

In the UK, the anti-Europe and anti-immigration party UKIP has made spectacular gains in by-elections. And in Germany, a group calling itself Pegida — Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West — drew nearly 20,000 people to a recent rally in Dresden. Despite condemnation from Chancellor Angela Merkel as well as German business and labor unions, Pegida continues undaunted to challenge the establishment.

At the same time, the rise of Islamist militancy has seeped into many of the Muslim immigrant communities that have grown across Europe in the last generation. Younger Muslims, with few prospects and often alienated by what they perceive as victimization by police, are vulnerable to recruitment by extremists. Several thousand from across Europe have already gone to Syria and Iraq, many to fight for jihadist groups such as ISIS and al Nusra. The French Interior Ministry estimates that hundreds of French citizens have left or plan to leave to join the ranks of jihadist groups in Syria or Iraq.

A video released by ISIS in November showed three French jihadists calling on other French Muslims to join the fight or carry out attacks in France. One of the fighters said: “Terrorize them and do not allow them to sleep due to fear and horror. There are weapons and cars available and targets ready to be hit. Even poison is available, so poison the water and food of at least one of the enemies of Allah. Kill them and spit in their faces and run over them with your cars.”

Others have already come back from Syria and Iraq. One was arrested and charged in the gun attack on a Jewish museum in Brussels last year; another was detained in the south of France after bomb-making equipment was found in his apartment.

France and Britain have introduced tougher anti-terrorism laws that allow for the confiscation of passports of those suspected of intending to travel to Syria and Iraq to join militant groups. But a free society doesn’t have the resources, the laws or even perhaps the will to track all such individuals.

Ultimately, journalists who want to publish material that’s clearly offensive or inflammatory to some will have to accept the inherent risks in this new environment. Some, like Flemming Rose at *Jyllands-Posten*, accept that.

“If a believer demands that I, as a nonbeliever, observe his taboos in the public domain, he is not asking for my respect, but for my submission. And that is incompatible with a secular democracy,” he wrote.

## PAYING FOR TORTURE

*The CIA tortured suspected terrorists on Polish soil.  
The European Court of Human Rights is making Poland pay the damages.*

<http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21645097-cia-tortured-suspected-terrorists-polish-soil-european-court-human-rights>  
Feb 25th 2015 | WARSAW |

IN LATE 2002, Poland did its American allies a favour by allowing the Central Intelligence Agency to use a Polish military intelligence base in Stare Kiejkuty to interrogate suspected terrorists. It was a decision for which Warsaw would pay dearly. On February 17th the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) denied Poland's appeal of a ruling of last year holding the country liable for the CIA torture of two detainees at the Polish base. The detainees, both Saudi citizens, are Abd al-Rahim al-Nashiri, accused of planning the bombing of the USS Cole, an American warship, in 2000, and an alleged senior al-Qaeda lieutenant known as Abu Zubaydeh. The court found that Poland had violated half a dozen articles of the European Convention on Human Rights, and had endangered Mr al-Nashiri's life by allowing his deportation to a country (America) where he is exposed to the death penalty, which is illegal in the EU.

Poland is now obligated to pay the two alleged terrorists \$262,000 in damages. More significantly, Warsaw must disclose details of the men's detention, and must seek diplomatic assurances from America that it will not subject Mr al-Nashiri to the death penalty. Poland is so far the only country to face judicial sanction for participating in the CIA's so-called rendition programme, under which suspected terrorists detained throughout the world were shipped to third countries for interrogation in the hopes of evading legal authority. But a comprehensive report by the Open Society Foundations names 54 countries that took part, and two similar cases—against Romania and against Lithuania—are pending at the ECHR.

Poland put on a brave face in accepting the ECHR decision. Grzegorz Schetyna, the foreign minister, told a Polish news radio station that the fines would be paid because "we are a country that abides by laws." But it was clearly galling to the Polish government that it was being held liable for American torture, when the CIA officers who implemented that torture have got off without sanction. To drive the point home, one week before the ECHR ruling, the sole CIA employee prosecuted in connection with America's torture programmes was released from prison to serve the final three months of a 30-month sentence in house arrest. The former CIA officer, John Kiriakou, was jailed not for carrying out torture, but for blowing the whistle on it. Faced with prosecution under America's espionage act, he pled guilty to a lesser charge, after a 2007 television interview in which he denounced the CIA's use of waterboarding.

Barack Obama, America's President, says his country has now forsworn the abusive interrogation practices it carried out under his predecessor, George Bush. In a speech in August he owned up to those abuses in essentially the same terms used by Mr Kiriakou: "We did some things that were wrong. We tortured some folks. We did some things that were contrary to our values." The gravity of the abuses was made clear in a 499-page report on CIA torture practices released by America's Senate in December.

That report redacted the names of participating countries, but they are easy enough to identify. The section describing the interrogations in Poland paints a picture of a "rent-a-dungeon" deal. The Polish government was initially eager to co-operate in America's "war on terror", but later de-

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

veloped qualms and was persuaded to continue only at the price of \$15m in cash. The CIA refused Polish requests for a written memorandum of understanding. Assuming that the verbal-only deal meant they would enjoy confidentiality, the Poles were then infuriated in 2006 when Mr Bush admitted the programme existed: “[The Polish] officials were ‘extremely upset’ at the CIA’s inability to keep secrets and were ‘deeply disappointed’ in not having had more warning.”

Some of the programme’s most infamous abuses occurred at the Stare Kiejkuty site. An inadequately trained CIA interrogator threatened Mr al-Nashiri with a gun and with a power drill, forced him to stand in stressful positions for days on end, and told him that his mother would be brought in and sexually abused in front of him. The CIA’s own chief of interrogations sent an e-mail to colleagues announcing he was retiring in protest over Mr al-Nashiri’s treatment. The report concluded that the interrogations produced no useful information for preventing terrorist attacks.

While Mr Obama says the CIA’s use of torture will not be repeated, other American officials have been more equivocal. John Brennan, the CIA’s current director, defended the agency in the aftermath of the Senate report’s release, insisting it “did a lot of things right”. Mr Brennan says there is no way of knowing whether the torture produced useful information, and has declined to rule out using so-called “enhanced interrogation techniques” in the future. Meanwhile, America has made no moves to hold CIA officers or any other public officials accountable for violating the international Convention Against Torture, which it has ratified.

Whether or not some future American government decides to resort to such methods again, any request for European co-operation would be a dead letter. America may have no interest in prosecuting its intelligence officers for torturing detainees, but the ruling against Poland has made it clear that European governments will be held responsible for abetting them. The idea behind the CIA’s rendition programme was to escape legal oversight by shipping detainees to third countries, where the application of both American and local laws would be contestable. The ECHR has shut down that avenue of escape, at least in Europe. The prospect of Polish taxpayers forking over hundreds of thousands of dollars to suspected al-Qaeda terrorists in compensation for torture by American intelligence agents may appear bizarre. But the underlying point is reflected in Mr Schemyna’s statement: European countries, and their security agencies, need to respect the rule of law.

## PLAYING TO THE RIGHT

*The Conservatives’ plans to reform human-rights laws are a muddle*

<http://www.economist.com/news/britain/21623769-conservatives-plans-reform-human-rights-laws-are-muddle-playing-right?>

Oct 11th 2014 | From the print edition

“UNWORKABLE”, “contradictory” and “incoherent”. Those were among the epithets that have greeted the Conservative Party’s plans to reform Britain’s human-rights laws. The Tories have long wanted to scrap the Human Rights Act (HRA), passed in 1998 by a Labour government. On October 3rd Chris Grayling, the justice secretary, promised to do just that as the Tories gear up for a May election in which the Eurosceptic UK Independence Party (UKIP) threatens to lure away voters. In fact, the reforms will change less than supporters hope or critics fear.

The HRA incorporated into British law the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), which Britain signed (and helped to draft) more than half a century ago. The act allowed Britons

to pursue human-rights violations in British courts, rather than going to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg. Although demonised by the Tories as European interventionism, the HRA actually made it more likely that human-rights cases would be heard in domestic courts, albeit in the light of internationally agreed principles.

Several decisions by the European court have particularly upset the Conservatives. The court ruled that Britain's ban on any prisoners voting was unlawful; it laid down that whole-life sentences should be subject to review; and it insisted that Abu Qatada, accused of terrorist offences, should not be deported to Jordan without guarantees that neither he nor those giving evidence at his trial would be tortured. Eurosceptics and British tabloids have seized on these cases as evidence of European meddling in British affairs.

The Tories say they will replace the HRA with a new Bill of Rights. They argue that Britain has a long history of its own human-rights laws (including Magna Carta) and that the European court is overreaching. The Conservatives want to limit the rights of individuals (notably foreigners) under the convention in certain circumstances. The European court's judgments would be merely advisory as far as British courts are concerned. If the Council of Europe, the guardian of the convention, refuses to accept these changes, Britain would withdraw from the convention.

In fact the ECHR has less legal power than first appears. International treaties are difficult to enforce, and the court cannot force Britain to change its laws even now. Prisoners do not have the vote despite the court's objection to Britain's ban. The main problem is political; other members of the Council of Europe may not want to put up with Britain continually ignoring the court's rulings, as the Tories' proposals suggest they might.

Nor has European human-rights legislation proved as restrictive as critics suggest. In 2012, of 2,146 foreign offenders ordered to be deported, just 256 successfully appealed on human-rights grounds. In the 16 years since the HRA came into force, domestic courts have made 28 "declarations of incompatibility", holding that British laws conflict with the European convention. In 2013, of 1,652 British cases dealt with in Strasbourg, judges found violations in just eight.

Without the HRA, the liberties enshrined in the European convention would still apply to Britons, who would then have to revert to going to Strasbourg about human-rights violations, as they did before its introduction. If the promised Bill of Rights were at odds with the convention, appeals would multiply.

Even if it ditched the ECHR, Britain would still be bound by the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights, which draws on the convention. It would also remain bound by other international treaties. The UN Convention against Torture prohibits deporting people to places where they may be abused. The Declaration of the Rights of the Child makes expelling foreign criminals with offspring in Britain tricky. And, since the act was passed, at least some of the convention rights—such as those not to be tortured or held indefinitely without charge—have become more firmly rooted in English common law (which is based on precedent), argues Philippe Sands, a law professor at University College London.

Devolution complicates matters further. The convention is incorporated into devolution legislation and the Good Friday agreements in Northern Ireland. Scottish police could therefore become subject to different human-rights obligations for crimes for which Westminster has responsibility (terrorism, say) and for those devolved to Scotland (most other offences). Having survived the Scottish vote on independence, the Conservatives' proposals may shake the union again.

Yet for those who bemoan Europe's influence, the court is a lightning rod for discontent. The Tory proposals look like a sop to them, ahead of an election. But the message that such changes

would send is a bad one. Five countries, led by Russia and Turkey, were responsible for more than half the violations found by the European court last year. Getting them to comply with its rulings will be harder if Britain will not do so. For citizens of countries less committed to the rule of law than Britain, the court sometimes offers a final hope.

WEEKEND EDITION JANUARY 20–22, 2006

***The Global Impact***

### **SECURITY, TERRORISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

<http://www.counterpunch.org/2006/01/20/security-terrorism-and-human-rights/>

by JOANNE MARINER

Terrorism is not a new problem, nor is there anything novel in the government tendency to justify repressive policies by reference to the terrorist threat. Yet it is only in recent years, with the greater scale and pervasiveness of contemporary terrorism, that a sustained global focus on security has emerged.

The new global security agenda poses significant normative threats to the existing human rights framework. Governments are increasingly taking actions in the name of counter-terrorism that violate basic human rights norms. International bodies such as the United Nations are not only failing to impede such actions, but are in some ways encouraging them.

A central concern is that now, more than in the past, it is not authoritarian states but instead Western democracies that are opposing human rights protections. Led by the United States, these countries are threatening to override human rights guarantees and nullify the gains that the human rights movement has made in recent decades.

How the human rights movement responds to this challenge will likely define the landscape of human rights for many years to come.

#### **Indefinite Detention, Torture and Other Abuses**

Not that long ago, the U.S. government was criticizing countries such as Peru that used military tribunals to try suspected terrorists; now it is emulating them. It currently holds more than 500 people in indefinite detention at Guantanamo Bay. It has been holding others for years in undisclosed locations abroad and one in incommunicado detention in a South Carolina naval brig.

Besides infringing upon the rights to due process and liberty of person, the U.S. has inflicted physical and mental pain on some of the detainees in its custody, even abuses that constitute torture. In addition, U.S. officials have turned suspected terrorists over to countries such as Syria and Jordan that routinely engage in torture themselves.

The record of certain European countries is also far from exemplary. Spain is known to physically abuse suspected terrorists. Until the House of Lords struck down the policy, the U.K. held immigrants suspected of terrorism in indefinite detention. Sweden, France, and other countries have deported suspected terrorists back to countries where they face torture.

And one can expect that if attacks comparable to the March 2004 Madrid bombings or the July 2005 London attacks occur in other European cities—a fairly likely possibility over the next decade—then such abuses will become more common. Past experience suggests that when governments confront a significant threat of terrorism they often react abusively.

### **A Transformative Global Impact**

The increased threat of terrorism has important ramifications. Because U.S. power and influence are so critical in the development of global structures, institutions and standards—and because the U.S. has a demonstrated willingness to sabotage international bodies such as the United Nations and the ICC that are perceived as inconvenient to U.S. goals—the shift in the U.S. approach, in particular, could have a potentially transformative global impact.

Indeed, it is arguable that the new global security agenda spearheaded by the U.S. poses the single most serious threat to the existing system of human rights protections.

Already, other governments have tried to assimilate their own situations to the global “war on terror.” In Colombia, Uzbekistan, Russia, China, and a host of other countries, guerrilla insurgencies, separatist movements, and even non-violent dissident activities are being stigmatized by governments as terrorist. Such labels are used to rob the targeted groups of legitimacy, both domestically and internationally, and to allow governments to recast their struggles against these groups as counter-terrorism.

The danger of this tendency, from a human rights perspective, is the presumption that normal human rights and humanitarian law constraints are relaxed in the fight against terrorism. Equally worrisome is the fact that such claims are often asserted in the hope of attracting U.S. support, or at least of tempering U.S. criticism of abuses. As during the Cold War, the United States seeming willing to make tactical alliances with little concern for human rights values.

### **Human Rights and Security**

Governments are in some instances using the so-called war on terror to further preexisting political and security agendas. Yet it would still be wrong to dismiss governments’ references to terrorism as pretextual. Granted, the Bush Administration used the threat of terrorism largely as a pretext when it decided to invade Iraq. And former Attorney General John Ashcroft most certainly took advantage of the Patriot Act to prosecute telemarketers, pornographers, and others far beyond the law’s intended scope.

But human rights organizations must still recognize that many of the security measures instituted by governments respond, however misguidedly, to very real dangers. One might, therefore, frame the problem facing the human rights movement as how to persuade governments to strike a fair balance between human rights and security.

An even more constructive approach would be to craft responses that maximize the likelihood of achieving both objectives. Because in the end the protection of human rights enhances human security rather than undermines it.

JOANNE MARINER is a human rights attorney based in New York.

### **WHAT’S REALLY BEHIND EUROPE’S DECLINE? IT’S THE BIRTH RATES, STUPID**

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/joelkotkin/2012/05/30/whats-really-behind-europes-decline-its-the-birth-rates-stupid/>

By Joel Kotkin | May 13, 2012

The labor demonstrators, now an almost-daily occurrence in Madrid and other economically-devastated southern European cities lambast austerity and budget cuts as the primary cause for their current national crisis. But longer-term, the biggest threat to the European Union has less to do with government policy than what is—or is not—happening in the bedroom.

In particular, southern Europe's economic disaster is both reflected — and is largely caused by — a demographic decline that, if not soon reversed, all but guarantees the Continent's continued slide. For decades, the wealthier countries of the northern countries — notably Germany — have offset very low fertility rates and declining domestic demand by attracting migrants from other countries, notably from eastern and southern Europe, and building highly productive export oriented economies.

In contrast, the so-called Club Med Countries— Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain—have not developed strong economies to compensate for their fading demographics outside pockets of relative prosperity such as Milan. Spain was once one of Europe's star performers, buoyed largely by real estate speculation and growing integration with the rest of the EU. Six years ago the country was building upwards of 50% as many houses as the US while having 85% less population. Roughly six million immigrants came to work in the boom, even as roughly seven to eight percent of Spaniards preferred to remain unemployed.

When the real estate bubble broke, there was only limited productive industry to step into the breach. In Spain, private sector credit has dropped for a remarkable eighteen straight months while industrial production has fallen precipitously — 7.5 percent in March alone. Spain's unemployment rate has scaled over 23%, more than twice the EU average. Unemployment among those under 25 in both Spain and Greece now reaches over fifty percent.

After decades of expansion, even fashionable Madrid is littered with store vacancies and ubiquitous graffiti; many young people can be seen on the street in the middle of the week, either doing nothing or trying to pick up an odd Euro or two performing for tourists.

### **'A Change In Values'**

Economists tend to explain this decline in terms of budget deficits and failed competitiveness, but some Spaniards believe the main cause lies elsewhere. Alejandro Macarrón Larumbe, a Madrid-based management consultant and author of the 2011 book, *Elsuicidio demográfico de España*, says today's decline is "almost all about a change in values."

A generation ago Spain was just coming out of its Francoist era, a strongly Catholic country with among the highest birth rates in Europe, with the average woman producing almost four children in 1960 and nearly three as late as 1975–1976. There was, he notes, "no divorce, no contraception allowed." By the 1980s many things changed much for the better, as young Spaniards became educated, economic opportunities opened for women expanded and political liberty became entrenched.

Yet modernization exacted its social cost. The institution of the family, once dominant in Spain, lost its primacy. "Priorities for most young and middle-aged women (and men) are career, building wealth, buying a house, having fun, travelling, not incurring in the burden of many children," observes Macarrón. Many, like their northern European counterparts, dismissed marriage altogether; although the population is higher than it was in 1975, the number of marriages has declined from 270,000 to 170,000 annually.

### **Falling Births, Falling Fortunes**

Now Spain, like much of the EU, faces the demographic consequences. The results have been transformative. In a half century Spain's fertility rate has fallen more than 50% to 1.4 children per female, one of the lowest not only in Europe, but also the world and well below the 2.1 rate necessary simply to replace the current population. More recently the rate has dropped further at least 5 percent.

Essentially, Spain and other Mediterranean countries bought into northern Europe's liberal values, and low birthrates, but did so without the economic wherewithal to pay for it. You can afford a Nordic welfare state, albeit increasingly precariously, if your companies and labor force are highly skilled or productive. But Spain, Italy, Greece and Portugal lack that kind of productive industry; much of the growth stemmed from real estate and tourism. Infrastructure development was underwritten by the EU, and the country has become increasingly dependent on foreign investors.

Unlike Sweden or Germany, Spain cannot count now on immigrants to stem their demographic decline and generate new economic energy. Although 450,000 people, largely from Muslim countries, still arrive annually, over 580,000 Spaniards are heading elsewhere — many of them to northern Europe and some to traditional places of immigration such as Latin America. Germany, which needs 200,000 immigrants a year to keep its factories humming, has emerged as a preferred destination.

### **Declining Population**

As a result Spain could prove among the first of the major EU countries to see an actual drop in population. The National Institute for Statistics (INE) predicts the country will lose one million residents in the coming decade, a trend that will worsen as the baby boom generation begins to die off. The population of 47 million will drop an additional two million by 2021. By 2060, according to Macarron, Spain will be home to barely 35 million people.

This decline in population and mounting out-migration of young people means Spain will experience ever-higher proportions of retired people relative to those working. This "dependency rate", according to INE, will grow by 57 % by 2021; there will be six people either retired or in school for every person working.

If Spain, and other Mediterranean countries, cannot pay their bills *now*, these trends suggest that in the future they will become increasingly unable or even unwilling to do so. As Macarron notes, an aging electorate is likely to make it increasingly difficult for Spanish politicians to tamper with pensions, cut taxes and otherwise drive private sector growth. Voters over 60 are already thirty percent of the electorate up from 22 percent in 1977; in 2050, they will constitute close to a majority.

Without a major shift in policies that favor families in housing or tax policies, and an unexpected resurgence of interest in marriage and children, Spain and the rest of Mediterranean face prospects of an immediate decline every bit as profound as that experienced in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century when these great nations lost their status as global powers and instead devolved into quaint locales for vacationers, romantic poets and history buffs.

Long before that happens, today's Mediterranean folly could drive the rest of Europe, and maybe even the world, into yet another catastrophic recession.

## **WHY EUROPE IS CONFLICTED OVER IMMIGRATION**

<https://www.stratfor.com/analysis/why-europe-conflicted-over-immigration>  
September 9, 2015

### **Analysis**

As fertility rates drop and life expectancy grows, demographic change poses a major threat to the post-war economic model that predominates in Europe, which assumes a large workforce that can pay enough taxes to support the young and the old. Many governments reacted to the

falling birth rate by offering increasingly generous benefits for families having children. But these policies have made a limited impact. Even in Sweden, where generous parental benefits did lead to modest improvements in fertility rates, childbirths have been below the replacement level for more than two decades.

Immigration, however, can mitigate the process of demographic change. The logic is simple: If a country cannot produce enough workers domestically, it can always import them. In principle, new workers fill labor shortages and raise domestic demand, causing firms to expand and hire new workers. Highly skilled immigrants contribute to specializing the economy, while low-skilled immigrants often take jobs that the locals will not. In addition, more workers means a larger tax base, which improves the fiscal situation of receiving countries and helps governments cover the cost of supporting older locals. However, the reality is more complicated.

### **Demographic Change**

The current refugee crisis in Europe has often been presented as a fight between generous countries (such as Germany, which agreed to take a large number of asylum seekers) and self-ish nations (most notably the United Kingdom, which only reluctantly decided to accept more people). But the actual demographic situation in each nation helps elucidate their behavior.

According to EU projections, Germany will lose some 10 million people between 2020 and 2060 because of demographic change. The country's population will also become much older: during the same period the old-age dependency ratio (the percentage of people aged 65 and over compared with people between 15 and 64) will go from 36 percent to 59 percent, one of the highest in Europe. As a result, Germany's workforce is projected to decline 25 percent by 2060. This will create fiscal challenges for Berlin, including higher spending on pensions and healthcare.

Demographic change will be milder in the United Kingdom, which by mid-century will be the most populated country in Europe (Britain's population has been projected to reach 80 million by 2060, from 67 million in 2020). On average, the British population will be older than it is today, but the old-age dependency ratio will only be at 43 percent in 2060 from 30 percent in 2020, one of the lowest in Europe. Unlike Germany, the British workforce will increase by 10 percent between 2020 and 2060. At 1.9 children per woman, the United Kingdom has one of the highest fertility rates in the European Union.

These statistics partially explain the differing reactions in Berlin and London to the refugee crisis. Germany is far more in need of imported labor than the United Kingdom. Most asylum seekers arriving in Germany are men and women of working age with their children, who will hopefully join the labor force in the next decade. And while the newcomers will not entirely reverse the aging and shrinking of Germany's population, they will assuage it somewhat.

However, these examples still do not offer the full picture of the situation. The problem with immigration is that what makes sense from an economic point of view is not necessarily acceptable from a political point of view. In Europe, demographic needs are not the only, or even the most important, drivers of government policy.

### **The Politics of Demographics**

Over the past 15 years, Europe has experienced three notable migration periods. The first took place between 2004 and 2007, when the European Union expanded to the east and workers from densely populated countries such as Poland and Romania could move to Western Europe more easily. The second big wave began in 2009, when the crisis in the European periphery forced work-

ers to move to the Continent's economic core in search of jobs. The third and current wave involves hundreds of thousands of people from the Middle East and other unstable areas trying to request asylum in Europe.

Each immigration wave has stirred political conflict. When countries from the former Communist bloc joined the European Union in the mid-2000s, several governments temporarily restricted workers from the new member states from entering. In those countries without immigration restrictions, political backlash followed. This occurred in the United Kingdom, where an immigration spike, most notably from Poland, helped give rise to the anti-immigration UKIP party.

While the second, periphery-to-core migration wave was not particularly disruptive for the receiving countries, it has hurt the European periphery. In countries such as Portugal, Spain or Greece, emigration offers some relief to the unemployment crisis, as there are fewer people competing for jobs. But it also creates the serious threat of a brain drain as people get their education for free in universities in the European periphery and then go to work for companies in core countries such as France and Germany. Even as countries in the European periphery see some modest growth, most of them will still have trouble drawing talent back from the core.

The current migration crisis is substantially different, as most of the new migrants are looking for asylum in Europe. They do not hold European passports, initially making it harder for them to find a job. Many are Muslim, which makes them a target for far-right and nationalist groups that see them as a threat to European culture. Recent attacks on migrant shelters in eastern Germany and the electoral growth of anti-immigration parties, such as the Sweden Democrats, exemplify the kind of animosity many immigrants face in Europe. These migrants are also throwing into question the entire EU immigration system, as member states are struggling to come up with a comprehensive solution to the crisis.

Domestic political conditions also affect the behavior of countries, especially ones that could use extra workers. Poland will hold elections in October; with the incumbent conservative government already losing votes to the nationalist opposition, Warsaw is reluctant to accept a mandatory quota of immigrants during the electoral campaign. Moreover, recent statements by Polish officials suggest their country would only accept Christian asylum seekers.

Hungary's government is under similar pressure from the nationalist right to adopt an anti-immigration stance. And the Baltic states, where immigration-friendly policies would make sense given abysmal fertility and high emigration, believe they are simply too small to deal with a spike in asylum requests.

### **Tough Reforms Ahead**

The migration crisis will require legal and political reforms in Europe. Many asylum seekers and refugees face long waits before they are allowed to work. Germany is one of the few European states trying to solve this issue. Only two years ago, a refugee was not allowed to work during the first 12 months in Germany. Recent reforms have reduced the waiting time to three months.

But this only applies to those men and women who are able to get their asylum requests approved. There are hundreds of thousands of migrants in Europe whose applications have been refused, but who have not been deported. Many European countries lack the resources to deal with illegal immigrants, who end up working unofficially at the cash-in-hand jobs of the gray economy. Integration is also problematic; language barriers may prevent skilled immigrants from practicing their trade, and their children may struggle in school.

Moreover, every country faces unique demographic challenges; not all are equally willing to accept new immigrants. Low fertility rates and strong economies in countries such as Germany

lead to more open immigration policies and the introduction of legislative reforms. But other nations, such as France and Finland, have relatively high fertility rates but stagnating economies and high unemployment, making immigration a politically sensitive issue and delaying reforms.

There are also countries, such as Greece and Portugal, which have extremely low fertility rates, high unemployment and weak economies. Governments in these countries may decide not to accept extra immigrants into their fragile economies, particularly when locals do not have jobs. Greece's situation also illustrates how a rise in immigration, combined with an economic crisis, can open the door for far-right groups to emerge, as is the case with the neo-Nazi Golden Dawn party.

Meanwhile, many Central and Eastern European countries could actually benefit from immigrant labor to help bolster their populations. Nations such as Poland, Romania and Bulgaria will progressively lose population in the next four decades because of low fertility rates and high emigration rates. The region from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea faces a future where entire, largely rural, areas will be abandoned while young people emigrate and others move to urban centers looking for jobs. But elements within these relatively homogeneous societies may resist reforms to accept more immigrants. And even if Central and Eastern European governments can successfully open their borders to more immigrants, the region will struggle to compete with Western European countries that offer better salaries and education opportunities.

Each European country will react to these challenges in different ways. Evidence shows that immigration mitigates, but does not reverse, demographic change. Europe's population will peak by mid-century and then start to decline, even if immigration rates grow. Among immigrant families, which tend to have more children than their domestic peers, fertility rates are falling regardless. Though countries can institute policies to adapt to new demographics, there is little they can do to actually prevent change from happening.

## THE DYING BEAR

### *Russia's Demographic Disaster*

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/136511/nicholas-eberstadt/the-dying-bear>

By Nicholas Eberstadt

November/December 2011

December marks the 20th anniversary of the end of the Soviet dictatorship and the beginning of Russia's postcommunist transition. For Russians, the intervening years have been full of elation and promise but also unexpected trouble and disappointment. Perhaps of all the painful developments in Russian society since the Soviet collapse, the most surprising — and dismaying — is the country's demographic decline. Over the past two decades, Russia has been caught in the grip of a devastating and highly anomalous peacetime population crisis. The country's population has been shrinking, its mortality levels are nothing short of catastrophic, and its human resources appear to be dangerously eroding.

Indeed, the troubles caused by Russia's population trends — in health, education, family formation, and other spheres — represent a previously unprecedented phenomenon for an urbanized, literate society not at war. Such demographic problems are far outside the norm for both developed and less developed countries today; what is more, their causes are not entirely understood. There is also little evidence that Russia's political leadership has been able to enact policies

that have any long-term hope of correcting this slide. This peacetime population crisis threatens Russia's economic outlook, its ambitions to modernize and develop, and quite possibly its security. In other words, Russia's demographic travails have terrible and outsized implications, both for those inside the country's borders and for those beyond. The humanitarian toll has already been immense, and the continuing economic cost threatens to be huge; no less important, Russia's demographic decline portends ominously for the external behavior of the Kremlin, which will have to confront a far less favorable power balance than it had been banking on.

### **TOO MUCH MORTALITY**

Even in the Soviet years, Russia was less than a paragon of a healthy society. The syndrome of long-term stagnation and then decline in public health, never before seen in an industrialized country, first emerged during the Brezhnev era and continued to dog Russia until the downfall of the communist system. Still, in the late 1980s, the days of Mikhail Gorbachev's perestroika, Russian births exceeded deaths by an average of more than 800,000 per year. But the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and then of the Soviet Union itself sent a series of demographic shocks reverberating across the Eastern bloc: virtually every former Warsaw Pact country experienced a sharp drop in births and a spike in deaths, as if beset by a sudden famine, epidemic, or war. Most of these perturbations were temporary — but not in Russia, where they proved to be more extreme and more enduring than in virtually any other former communist state.

Post-Soviet Russia has become a net mortality society, steadily registering more deaths than births. Since 1992, according to Rosstat, Russia's federal statistics agency (also known as Goskomstat since Soviet times), about 12.5 million more Russians have been buried than born — or nearly three funerals for every two live deliveries for the past 20 years. Globally, in the years since World War II, there has been only one more horrific surfeit of deaths over births: in China in 1959–61, as a result of Mao Zedong's catastrophic Great Leap Forward.

As a result of this imbalance, Russia has entered into a process of depopulation. Immigration, mainly from neighboring former Soviet states, has cushioned the fall somewhat but has not been able to prevent it. Since 1992, according to official Russian figures, Russia's population has fallen nearly every year (1993 and 2010 are the exceptions, with the latter experiencing an increase of just 10,000 people). According to these figures, between 1993 and 2010, Russia's population shrank from 148.6 million to 141.9 million people, a drop of nearly five percent. (Russia's 2010 census will eventually adjust the latter total upward by around one million people due to the undercounting of immigrants, but this does not change the overall picture.)

Russia is not alone in its population decline; this is a phenomenon that is increasingly common among modern societies, including affluent democratic ones. Three of the world's G-7 states — Germany, Japan, and Italy — are at the cusp of sustained population decline or have already entered into it. Yet there is a fundamental difference between those countries and Russia: Germany, Japan, and Italy are confronting the prospect of population decline at a time of robust and steadily improving levels of public health. Russia, however, is suffering an extraordinary and seemingly unending mortality crisis, in which health conditions are deteriorating and are further fueling high death rates.

The overall magnitude of Russia's downward health spiral is catastrophic. According to estimates from the Human Mortality Database, a research consortium, overall life expectancy at birth in Russia was slightly lower in 2009 (the latest year for which figures are available) than in 1961, almost half a century earlier. The situation is even worse for Russia's adult population: in 2009, life

expectancy at age 15 for all Russian adults was more than two years below its level in 1959; life expectancy for young men sank by almost four years over those two generations. Put another way, post-Soviet Russia has suffered a cumulative “excess mortality” of more than seven million deaths, meaning that if the country could have simply held on to its Gorbachev-era survival rates over the last two decades, seven million deaths could have been averted. This figure is more than three times the death toll World War I inflicted on imperial Russia.

By various measures, Russia’s demographic indicators resemble those in many of the world’s poorest and least developed societies. In 2009, overall life expectancy at age 15 was estimated to be lower in Russia than in Bangladesh, East Timor, Eritrea, Madagascar, Niger, and Yemen; even worse, Russia’s adult male life expectancy was estimated to be lower than Sudan’s, Rwanda’s, and even AIDS-ravaged Botswana’s. Although Russian women fare relatively better than Russian men, the mortality rate for Russian women of working age in 2009 was slightly higher than for working-age women in Bolivia, South America’s poorest country; 20 years earlier, Russia’s death rate for working-age women was 45 percent lower than Bolivia’s.

### **IN SICKNESS AND IN POOR HEALTH**

What explains Russia’s gruesome deterioration? Although the country’s problems with infectious diseases — most alarming, HIV/AIDS and drug-resistant tuberculosis — are well known, they account for only a small fraction of the awful gap between Western and Russian survival rates. Most immediately, the country’s fateful leap backward in health and survival prospects is due to an explosion in deaths from cardiovascular disease and what epidemiologists call “external causes,” such as poisoning, injury, suicide, homicide, traffic fatalities, and other violent accidents. Deaths from cardiovascular disease and injuries account for the overwhelming majority of Russia’s spike in mortality levels and for nearly the entire gap separating Russia’s mortality levels from those of Western countries. At the moment, death rates from cardiovascular disease are more than three times as high in Russia as in western Europe, and Russian death rates from injury and violence have been stratospheric, on par with those in African postconflict societies, such as Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Understanding why such death rates are so high in an urbanized and literate society during peacetime, however, is another question altogether. Russia’s deadly romance with the vodka bottle certainly has something to do with it; smoking, diet, and poor preventive and curative health care surely exact their toll as well. According to the World Health Organization, as of 2004, daily smokers accounted for a higher fraction of the adult population in Russia — 36 percent — than in any other country in Europe. Yet even given all these factors, Russia’s health levels are worse and its death levels are higher than Western public health models would predict. The brute fact is that no one understands why Russians are as unhealthy as they are: it could very well be related to attitudes, viewpoints, and attendant patterns of behavior that fall under the rubric of “mental health.” Without delving into cultural or psychosocial speculation, however, suffice it to say that Russian lifestyles are extremely hazardous to one’s health — and result in far higher mortality levels than would be expected of a country at such a relatively high income level.

Another cause of Russians’ ill health may lie in education, and Russia’s educational woes represent a human resource problem as well. On its face, education should be the saving grace of Russian social policy: after all, as many Russians, if not more, attain higher education as do citizens in many affluent Western countries. According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the proportion of Russia’s adult population with postsecondary training or degrees

is higher than in almost any OECD country. And in the Soviet era, Russian scientists and inventors were renowned for their acumen (albeit mainly in fields with military applications).

But today, Russia's educational system appears to be broken, or at least the country seems unable to derive the expected benefits from it. All around the world, high levels of education generally correspond with better public health, yet Russia bucks this trend: despite boasting a proportion of adults with a postsecondary education that is 30 percentage points higher than the OECD average, Russia nevertheless manages to achieve an overall adult life expectancy that is barely higher than Senegal's. Part of the problem is that although many Russians go to school, college, and university, that schooling is terribly subpar. Standardized international test results reveal that Russian primary and secondary schooling today is at best mediocre. In a 2009 OECD test to measure scholastic performance, Russian students' reading scores were lower than Turkish students', and Turkey itself is near the bottom of the OECD rankings.

Russia's university and higher education system looks even worse. Although Russia today accounts for about six percent of the world's population with a postsecondary education, barely 0.1 percent of the worldwide patents granted by the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office over the last decade and a half were awarded to Russians. This is not some U.S. conspiracy against Russian inventors: the records of the UN's World Intellectual Property Organization show that Russia's share of out-of-country patent applications over that same period was less than 0.2 percent of the global total. The picture is hardly better when it comes to the output of scientific papers: the number of articles by Russians in peer-reviewed journals was no higher in 2008 than it had been in 1990, whereas output almost everywhere else in the world rose over those same years. By 2008, Russian authors were publishing far fewer scientific papers than the authors of Russia's BRIC peers: Brazil, China, and India. In effect, Russia stands as a new and disturbing wonder in today's globalized world: a society characterized by high levels of schooling but low levels of health, knowledge, and education.

Family formation trends are a further cause for concern. Between 1987 and 1993, the number of births in Russia dropped precipitously, from 2.5 million to 1.4 million, and it ultimately fell to 1.2 million in 1999, before commencing a turnaround of sorts. In 2010, Russia celebrated 1.79 million births, the highest national total in 20 years. Even so, this total was 25 percent lower than a quarter century earlier and represented a pattern that, if continued, would average out to a long-term fertility level of just over 1.5 births per woman, which is 27 percent below the level required for long-term population stability. Unsurprisingly, there is much variation from this average among Russia's many ethnic groups and territories. Ethnic Russians have one of the country's lowest fertility rates, whereas Chechens appear to have the highest, with Chechnya reporting an average of 3.3 births per woman. (Chechnya is an anomaly even among Russia's Muslim-majority regions: most of them, including Chechnya's neighbors, Dagestan and Ingushetia, report sub-replacement fertility levels.)

Beyond birthrates, the way Russians form families and raise children has also undergone tremendous change over the past two decades, which raises questions about the human and economic potential of the country's rising generation. Marriages in today's Russia, for example, are less stable than marriages even in the Soviet era, when the country's divorce rates were already notoriously high. Russia has 56 divorces for every 100 marriages, an imperfect but telling indicator of long-term marriage prospects. Increasing family instability, of course, is a pervasive trend the world over, taking hold in nearly all of Europe and in many other affluent societies. But Russia's single parents must raise their children on far lower income levels than their counterparts in western Europe and North America.

Unlike Europeans or Americans, they can count on little support from social welfare programs. Although Western economic theory would suggest that having fewer children means that parents can invest more in each child, the opposite seems to be happening in Russia: despite its steep drop in births, the country has seen small but ominous decreases in primary school enrollment ratios and alarming increases in child abandonment. According to official statistics, more than 400,000 Russian children below 18 years of age lived in residential care as of 2004, meaning that almost one child in 70 was in a children's home, an orphanage, or a state-run boarding school. Russia is also home to a large and growing contingent of homeless children, which, according to some nongovernmental and charitable organizations, could very well exceed the number of youth under institutional care.

### **TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE**

The Kremlin understands that Russia's adverse demographic patterns are so abnormal and dangerous that they require strong public policies to counteract them. Over the last several years, Moscow has introduced new and ambitious programs aimed at reversing the country's downward demographic spiral. In 2006, then President Vladimir Putin unveiled a program that promised up to \$10,000 in credits and subsidies for mothers who had a second or third child. He also issued a decree endorsing a "Concept for Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation up to 2025," which called for Russia's population to stabilize at about 145 million people by 2025, with overall life expectancy at birth at 75 years (versus 67 then) and total fertility rates at 1.95, up 50 percent from the years before the plan was enacted. After 2015, according to the plan, births would exceed deaths in Russia. At the same time that the Kremlin is trying to increase births, it is also implementing new public health measures to drive death rates down, including measures that make alcohol more expensive and harder to purchase.

To judge by its public pronouncements, the Kremlin appears optimistic about its new measures. And indeed, since they have gone into effect, births have risen and death totals have come down; in fact, overall life expectancy in Russia in 2009 was almost 69 years, higher than for any year since the Soviet collapse. Yet such a seemingly positive prognosis flies in the face of some obvious and irreversible demographic realities. For starters, Russia's birth slump over the past two decades has left the country with many fewer potential mothers for the years ahead than the country has today. Women between 20 and 29 years of age bear nearly two-thirds of Russia's babies. In 2025, Russia is projected to have just 6.4 million women in their 20s, 45 percent fewer than today — and there is relatively little mystery in these projections, given that all women who will be between 20 and 29 years in 2025 are already alive. Under such circumstances, simply maintaining current national birth totals would require heroic upsurges in maternity.

At the same time, Russia's population will be rapidly graying. Between 2011 and 2025, according to U.S. Census Bureau projections, the median age in Russia will rise by almost two days every week, from 38.7 years to 42.4 years. The Census Bureau also anticipates that Russians 65 and older, a cohort that now makes up 13 percent of the country's population, will compose almost 19 percent in 2025. As a result of aging alone, per capita mortality in Russia would rise by more than 20 percent if nothing else changed. And given the immense negative momentum in public health among the Russian population today, attaining any long-term improvements in life expectancy promises to be a formidable task. In order to return even to the working-age death rates of 1964, overall mortality levels for Russian men and women would have to drop by

more than 25 percent. Such a reversal would be an impressive achievement to attain by 2025, but even if Russia managed this feat, its working-age mortality levels would be higher than those of Honduras today.

Given these realities, Russia is likely to remain a net mortality society for the foreseeable future. Official Russian statistics anticipate a continuing — and widening — gap separating deaths and births between now and 2030. Rosstat envisions a surfeit of 205,000 deaths over births for 2011, rising to more than 725,000 in 2030, with a cumulative total of 9.5 million more deaths than births between 2011 and 2030. Even in Rosstat's most optimistic scenario, the agency projects a mortality surfeit of 2.7 million between 2011 and 2025, reaching 4.7 million by 2030. In these official Russian forecasts, further depopulation can be forestalled only by massive immigration from abroad.

Russia has certainly benefited over the past two decades from a net influx of millions of workers, most of whom hail from former Soviet states in the Caucasus and Central Asia. (The Russian economy has also been helped by its own flow of émigrés overseas, who send billions of dollars of remittances home each year.) But the outlook for future immigration to Russia is clouded: changes in education policy throughout the former Soviet Union mean that today's immigrants from the Caucasus and Central Asia speak less Russian than their parents and thus have more difficulty integrating into Russian society. Meanwhile, the Russian public's attitude toward newcomers from those regions has grown less welcoming.

No less important is domestic migration, especially in terms of the vast expanse of Russia's Far East, a region of over two million square miles and barely six million inhabitants. One-sixth of the population of this harsh and forbidding territory has moved out since 1989, and the exodus continues. Many Russian analysts and policymakers are worried about what will become of this resource-rich area that adjoins a rising and densely populated China. Some Western scholars, such as Maria Repnikova of the University of Oxford and Harley Balzer of Georgetown University, see great and as yet unexploited opportunities for economic integration between the Russian Far East and its neighbors, especially China. Yet leading Russian demographers have a more dramatic vision: they fear that the region could cease to be part of Russia sometime in the current century, an outcome they see as carrying great geopolitical portent.

### **THE BEAR LASHES OUT?**

Above all, Russia's current demographic patterns will have dreadful consequences for Russians' quality of life. Beyond the effect on individual well-being, the country's demographic decline will have grave implications for economic performance. Although Russia may be blessed with vast natural resources, human resources are what ultimately account for national wealth in today's global economy. Natural resources can augment affluence in societies already relatively rich in human capital, as Canada, the Netherlands, and Norway can attest, but they are no substitute for human capital. In modern times, there is not one example of a raw-materials superpower. And for all its energy riches, Russia earns less in export revenues each year than does Belgium. Although President Dmitry Medvedev warns that Russia must not remain a raw-materials economy and champions his modernization campaign, his administration has done little to position Russia as a knowledge-based economy.

Although the Russian government has acknowledged the country's poor demographic trends, it appears to have both grossly underestimated the severity of the crisis and overestimated the ability of current Kremlin policies to counteract whatever negative effects it thinks

may be on the horizon. In 2008, just before the onset of the global economic crisis, the Kremlin unfurled an ambitious economic plan known as Russia 2020. It envisions Russia ascending into the ranks of the top five global economies by 2020 and sets as a goal an average annual economic growth rate of 6.6 percent between 2007 and 2020. Even though Russia's per capita output in 2010 was barely higher than it was in 2007, the Kremlin still embraces the Russia 2020 targets as feasible. But attaining those goals would now require an average growth in labor productivity of more than nine percent per year between 2010 and 2020. Such a tempo of long-term growth in labor productivity was not even reached by China between 1978 and the present day, the greatest period of long-term economic growth ever registered by any country in history.

Rather than focusing on catapulting the Russian economy into the top echelon of global performers, Russian policymakers would be wise to ask what it would take to prevent the Russian economy from shrinking as a share of total global output in the decades ahead. Between 2005 and 2025, according to U.S. Census Bureau projections, Russia's share of the global working-age population is projected to drop from 2.4 percent to 1.6 percent. This implies that Russia's long-term improvements in labor productivity must average two percent more per year than in the rest of the world. Such prospective accomplishments can hardly be taken for granted given Russia's health and educational problems, not to mention the looming pressures of an aging population. If these accomplishments are not met, Russia's share of world economic output, and the country's global economic influence, will diminish in the years ahead. (This is not to say that Russia will grow poorer, but in a progressively richer, healthier, and more educated world, Russia's human resource constraints may mean that the country should expect a smaller share of the future global economic pie.)

Russia's demographic crisis also has implications for its military capabilities and, by extension, for international security. In 2007, former Russian Prime Minister Sergei Stepashin warned that the "reduction in the size of the population and the reduction of population density . . . will create the danger of weakening Russia's political, economic, and military influence in the world." As he recognized, Russia's demographic crisis places inexorable limits on the country's defense potential, especially in terms of military manpower. Maintaining the country's current force structure — a military of more than a million soldiers, mainly comprising conscripts obliged to serve one-year terms of service — will not be feasible in the years immediately ahead. Despite plans to transform Russia's armed forces into an all-volunteer service, the Russian military continues to be manned mainly by 18-year-old men. In 1990, slightly more than one million boys were born in Russia; by 1999, however, this number had dropped by 39 percent, to 626,000. Roughly speaking, this means that Russia's pool of prospective recruits is set to fall by almost two-fifths between 2008 and 2017. If Moscow is to prevent this dramatic drop-off in military manpower, it has only two choices: induct fewer qualified conscripts or extend the term of service under the draft beyond the current 12 months. The former is unpalatable because of the need for healthy and educated troops for modern militaries; the latter is politically impossible because of the immense unpopularity of the draft and the penurious wages paid to Russian soldiers.

Russia's brief war with Georgia in August 2008 was taken by many, including some in the Kremlin, as a sign that Russia was once again militarily resurgent after a decade of post-Soviet weakness. But the military contest with Georgia, a tiny neighbor with barely 20,000 soldiers, hardly qualified as a test of great-power capabilities, much less a test of Russia's global reach. Beyond

the question of military manpower, Russia's defense potential today is compromised by the country's crisis in higher education and technical training. The same poor performance in knowledge creation reflected in the number of Russia's international patent awards can also be seen in the defense sector's research and development efforts. Russia's armaments industries have not been knowledge-driven innovators; instead, the defense sector appears largely to be living off the intellectual capital of the Soviet era. Unlike Beijing, which is committed to military modernization in the coming decades, Moscow is in effect preparing to fight this century's wars with last century's technology. In fact, as the Russia analysts Anders Aslund and Andrew Kuchins noted in 2009, as China's military capabilities have improved, Beijing has "reduced its imports of Russian military technology and even exports its own versions to traditional Russian clients such as Angola, Ethiopia and Syria." Russia's dwindling conventional military is on track to become the Polish cavalry of coming generations.

Throughout the Putin and Medvedev eras, the potential security risks to Russia from the ongoing demographic crisis have weighed heavily on the minds of the country's leaders. In his first State of the Nation address, in July 2000, Putin declared that "year by year, we, the citizens of Russia, are getting fewer and fewer. . . . We face the threat of becoming a senile nation." In his 2006 address, he identified demographics as "the most acute problem facing our country today." In Medvedev's May 2009 National Security Strategy, the country's demographic situation was noted as one of the "new security challenges" that Russia must confront in the years ahead. In other words, the potential ramifications of Russia's population trends are not entirely lost on the Kremlin — and they are hardly just a domestic concern. But how will Russia's bunkered and undemocratic leaders cope with the demographic pressures and unfavorable human resource trends that are undermining their goals? For the international community, this may be the single most disturbing aspect of Russia's peacetime population crisis: it is possible that Russia's demographic decline could prompt Moscow to become a more unpredictable, even menacing, actor on the world stage.

Most immediately and dramatically, the decline could lead Russia's military leaders, aware of their deficiencies in both manpower and advanced technology, to lower the threshold at which they might consider using nuclear weapons in moments of crisis. Indeed, such thinking was first outlined in Putin's 2000 National Security Concept and was reaffirmed in Medvedev's 2009 National Security Strategy. The official Russian thinking is that nuclear weapons are Russia's trump card: the more threatening the international environment, the more readily Moscow will resort to nuclear diplomacy.

For the moment, the Kremlin evidently still believes that its ambitious long-term socioeconomic plans will not only remedy the country's demographic woes but also propel Russia into the select ranks of the world's economic superpowers. But if Russia's demographic decline and relative economic decline continue over the next few decades, as they most likely will, Moscow's leaders will be unable to sustain that illusion.

Indeed, once the Kremlin finally confronts the true depths of the country's ugly demographic truths, Russia's political leaders could very well become more alarmist, mercurial, and confrontational in their international posture. And in the process, Moscow might become more prone to miscalculation when it comes to relations with both allies and rivals. Meanwhile, Russia is surrounded by countries whose stability and comity in the decades ahead are anything but given: for example, Afghanistan, Iran, North Korea, Pakistan, and the Central Asian republics. If Russia's periphery becomes more unstable and threatening at the same time that Russia's rulers realize

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

their relative power is waning, the Kremlin's behavior may well become less confident — and more risky.

Russia's monumental demographic and human resource crisis cannot be remedied without a commensurately monumental nationwide effort by the Russians themselves. Such an effort will require a historic change in Russian mentality, both in the halls of power and among the general population. On the bright side, with hundreds of billions of dollars of foreign exchange in its vaults, Russia probably has the means to finance the education and public health campaigns needed for such a transformation.

Foreign governments and other outside actors can also play a role. To start, the international community should promote technical exchanges and training, joint projects on developing best practices in health and education, and civil-society dialogues to build a domestic Russian constituency for stanching the ongoing hemorrhage of Russian life and talent. And when necessary, foreign policymakers, businesspeople, and officials from nongovernmental organizations should be ready to publicly shame the Russian government for its patent neglect of its people's well-being. After all, a healthy, robust Russia is not just in the interest of the Russian people; it is in the interest of the rest of the world, too.

# THE MANUAL

The Manual aims at helping you to master speaking (making presentations and taking part in a debate) and writing (writing essays, summaries, reviews, statistical stories) skills.

READ IT!



## SPEAKING

### TERM PRESENTATION

#### Useful tips

*When making a presentation you, first of all, present yourself. Therefore, making an effective presentation is a vital skill.*

1. Choose a topic which is challenging and off the beaten track.
2. Doing research for your presentation bear in mind that the content should be both educational and professionally relevant.
3. Structure your presentation carefully:
  - In the introduction tell the audience what your presentation is about and what points you want to make. A slide with an outline of your presentation is a big help.
  - Make sure each part of your presentation logically follows from the other.
  - End with a summary of your points.
4. Rehearse your presentation several times: speak out loud to yourself in the shower, in front of the mirror, your family member, your friend, or your dog. Make sure you can keep to the time limit (10 minutes). Think of parts you can leave out if you feel you exceed the time limit.
5. When preparing a power point presentation, follow these suggestions:
  - Use a typeface big enough to be seen from the back of the room — font 20 to 24.
  - Avoid using light text on a dark background.
  - Do **not** use too many fancy visual effects or use these a background for text.
  - Avoid putting too much text into one slide (5 lines of short phrases).
  - Have the title of the presentation, your name and group number on the 1st slide.
  - Conclude with a thank-you slide.
6. When making the presentation:
  - Stand rather than sit when speaking.
  - Do not read your notes or slides, speak.
  - Do not speak too fast, make pauses.
  - Make eye contact with various members of the audience.
  - Move from slide to slide as you deal with a particular point, move on when you've finished talking about it.
  - Remain calm, composed and confident in your delivery.

**NB:** Copying other people's presentations is a serious offence!

#### Useful language for presentations

To introduce the topic:

*Today I'm going to talk about*

*In this talk I will deal with the topic...;*

To emphasise its importance:

*I would like to start by saying/ let me begin by saying that*

*this is a significant issue at the moment in many ways...*

*this is a really important topic today because...*

*this issue is particularly significant in this country/ the world at large at the moment because...*

## ■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

To present /outline the structure/plan of your talk:

*I'm going to look at this issue from different angles. Firstly, I will talk about .... Then, I will deal with... Finally, I will try to explain the ...*

*First, I will tell you some facts about the history of..., then I will look into where things stand and finally...*

To recap what you have said:

*To recap briefly, ...*

*Let me now summarise what I have said about...*

*Before I conclude I would like to sum up the most important points once again*

### A THREE-MINUTE PRESENTATION

*Making a short presentation may be even more challenging than making a term presentation: you have to present a compelling case within three minutes!*

#### Useful tips

##### **Preparing:**

1. Think over the chosen topic and come up with an idea you feel strongly about.
2. Make up a list of reasons why you are right in defending this idea.
3. Think of convincing, up-to-date examples to support your case.
4. Rehearse out loud keeping track of the time.

##### **Presenting:**

1. Start with an introductory phrase:  
*I'm going to talk about...; In my statement I will deal with...*
2. Make a clear thesis statement.
3. Produce 2–3 arguments, which you develop and support with examples.
4. Conclude with a sum-up relevant to your thesis statement:  
*So, all of the above shows that ...*  
*It appears reasonable to conclude that...*  
*So we can conclude beyond reasonable doubt*

### DEBATE

Debating skills are an essential part of your professional kit.

The main purpose of a debate is to develop critical thinking skills, tolerance for differing viewpoints, ability to communicate in situations of confrontation. To meet these goals, debaters work together in teams, affirmative and negative, and must research both sides of each issue. Each team is given the opportunity to offer arguments and direct questions to the opposing team. At the end of the debate the judge will offer constructive feedback, commenting on logical flaws, insufficient evidence, or arguments that debaters may have overlooked and announce which team has won.

*/after Karl Popper Debate/*

To win the debate, you should perform to the best of your abilities, no matter what your real attitude to the issue is.

Before engaging in this fascinating and challenging activity read advice from more experienced debaters.

## Useful tips

- Research the topic thoroughly; read everything you can. Don't focus on your side of the argument only, read articles relevant to your opposition and try to anticipate what they will attack you with.
- Remember that debate is a team activity. Make sure that you and your partners are going over arguments together so that you can help each other to produce the best arguments.
- Know your material — if you have well prepared speeches, a strong command of the facts and ideas surrounding the issue, you will find it far easier to respond to counter-arguments and points from the opposition that you may not have considered.
- If they ask tough questions, take a little time to consider your answer. It is very easy to get wrong footed and say things you later regret. Take your time and address each question without rushing. Make sure you are sticking to the debate topic.

### **A tip for the judge:**

- The judge's decision should be based on the content of the debate. A good question for judges to ask themselves is: "At the end of the debate, was the audience left with a clear impression of the team's arguments?"  
Judges should make their decision on which team won or lost the debate based on the performance of the team as a whole.

**Debate Format:** Team 1 (Affirmative), Team 2 (Negative)

### **Opening Statements of Two Teams: (1 minute each)**

Like an introduction to a formal paper, introduce your team and the topic you will be debating. State what you are going to argue during the debate (like a thesis statement) and say why your position should win.

#### 1. **Team 1: Constructive Statement 1 (2–3 minutes)**

In this speech, the affirmative team is expected to offer its argument in favour of the proposition.

#### 2. **Team 2: Cross-Examination**

The negative debater is expected to ask a question rather than make a speech. The affirmative debater is expected to answer this question; he or she should neither make a speech or ask questions in return. Team members should not assist their teammates by answering questions on their behalf.

#### 3. **Team 2: Constructive Statement 1 (2–3 minutes)**

The negative team is expected to offer its argument against the affirmative position.

#### 4. **Team 1: Cross-Examination**

Now the Affirmative debater asks questions and the Negative debater is expected to answer them.

*The number of constructive statements (i.e. arguments) each team is supposed to present is subject to preliminary agreement between the teams.*

#### 5. **Team 1: Rebuttal (4–5 minutes)**

The affirmative speaker summarizes team's refutations of the negative arguments.

■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

6. **Team 2: Rebuttal (4–5 minutes)**

The negative speaker summarizes team's refutations of the affirmative arguments.

7. **Team 1: Closing Argument (1 minute)**

The affirmative speaker summarizes the key points the team presented concluding with a persuasive argument that will win the debate for the team!

8. **Team 2: Closing Argument (1 minute)**

The negative speaker summarizes the key points the team presented concluding with a persuasive argument that will win the debate for the team!

## RULES

- No research is permitted during the discussion. Once the debate begins, the participants may not conduct research via the Internet, nor through electronic or other means.
- No outside assistance is permitted. Debaters, however, are allowed to consult whatever research materials they have brought with them to the debate.
- Debaters should be able to provide sources for direct citations.
- Debaters should practice intellectual honesty. Students should cite arguments and statistics truthfully and never fabricate sources or data.
- As long as the speakers communicate their ideas clearly, it does not matter if they use sheets of paper instead of note cards. No reading the speech is permitted, though.

Find more in [www.ideal.forestry.ubc.ca/.../debate\\_format.pdf](http://www.ideal.forestry.ubc.ca/.../debate_format.pdf)  
(Modified Karl Popper Debate Format)

## PANEL DISCUSSION

Panel discussion is a formal discussion before an audience for which the topic, speakers, etc., have been selected in advance. Panel speakers are usually experts on issues discussed, who can agree or disagree with each other. The audience is expected to actively participate by asking the panel speakers questions. The discussion is moderated by a leader (moderator).

## FORMAT (EFL CLASSROOM)

Length: 45–60 minutes

Number of panel speakers: 3–5

Question and Answer period: 20–30 minutes

### **Choosing the moderator and the topic(s)**

A student who feels he/she is up to the challenge of this job (see below) should volunteer. If no one does, the teacher appoints one.

The topics/issues to be discussed are suggested either by the moderator or students and decided on by the class.

### ***Choosing the panelists***

Once the topic has been decided on, students who feel strongly about the issue and knowledgeable and/or ready to do a lot of research volunteer to be panel speakers. The panelists should have different points of view on the issue. The teacher can nominate a speaker or appoint one if there are not enough volunteers. The other students act as the audience.

### ***Setting the date and inviting the audience.***

The class decides on the date of the panel discussion and may invite students from other groups as audience members.

### ***Setting the stage***

The panelists are sitting in a semi-circle in front of the audience with the moderator in the middle so that there's eye contact between all the participants. The speakers' assumed names may be given on folded name tents or on a slide.

### ***Holding the discussion***

The moderator introduces the speakers and the actual questions related to the chosen topic(s). Time limit for each speaker on a given topic/question (if there are more than one) is announced (3–5 minutes).

Each speaker states their position/views on the subject within the time given.

Panelists are welcome to ask each other questions and challenge the others' propositions.

### ***Question and answer period***

During this period anyone can ask a question by raising their hands. The moderator will see to it that everybody has a chance to ask a question and will ask different panelists to answer these. If the speakers' views differ considerably they voice these in answer to the question.

If there are no questions from the audience immediately, the moderator (or teacher) should ask theirs.

## **'Job descriptions'**

**The moderator** is the central figure of a panel discussion. He/she

- prepares a list of questions for the panelists to answer during the discussion;
- introduces the speakers and tees up the discussion before bringing in the perspectives of the panelists;
- makes sure that each panelist has equal amount of 'airtime';
- politely cuts off or redirects speakers if they stray away from the topic;
- accentuates differences of opinion (not in an aggressive way) to make the panel more lively;
- invites the audience to participate by asking questions;
- has a couple of extra questions in reserve in case the audience is slow in asking questions;
- thanks the speakers and the audience at the end of the event.

### **The panel speaker**

- does research of the topic, collects the necessary data according to his chosen 'role';
- prepares a short talk to answer the questions supplied by the moderator;

## ■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

- makes sure there's more he/she can say than the talk covers;
- has an anecdote, joke or an experience to share with the audience;
- listens carefully to the fellow panelists, agrees or disagrees with their propositions;
- answers the questions clearly and to the point;
- does not hesitate to admit he/she may not have a ready answer.

### **The audience**

- listen carefully to the discussion, taking notes;
- formulate their questions to either elicit more information or challenge the speaker;
- ask the questions and listen to the answers politely.

For more information on real life panel discussion see  
<http://www.scottkirsner.com/panels.htm>

## **WRITING**

### ARGUMENTATIVE ESSAY EXPRESSING OPINION

#### MAKING USE OF LOGIC AND FACTS TO SUPPORT YOUR VIEW

##### **Structure:**

##### **Introduction** (Paragraph 1)

The subject or topic. Thesis: a statement of your opinion.

##### **Main body**

Paragraph 2

Viewpoint 1 supported by a logical reason and facts/personal experience

Paragraph 3

Viewpoint 2 supported by a logical reason facts/personal experience

Paragraph 3a (optional)

Viewpoint 3 supported by a logical reason and facts/personal experience

Paragraph 4

The opposing viewpoints and reasons

You might include a lead-in opinion to your conclusion

##### **Conclusion** (Final paragraph)

A summary of your viewpoints.

##### **Writing a Good Introduction**

A strong thesis statement, relevant to the topic:

1. expresses ONE idea
2. is clear and specific
3. justifies discussion.

Apart from making a strong thesis statement a good introduction should "hook" the reader, i.e. make them want to read what you've written.

### Useful tips

1. Start with an interesting or surprising fact or refer to an unusual situation.
2. Address the reader directly with a question.
3. Give a quotation.
4. Suggest a definition.
5. Supply some important background information.

### Writing a Good Main Body

Your goal is to make a convincing case for the idea you have expressed in your thesis statement. Make sure your arguments are

1. relevant to your thesis statement
2. consistent
3. clearly presented
4. logical (watch out for logical fallacies, see Student's Coursebook, EAP Corner units 1&2)
5. supported by reason and evidence (facts)

### Writing a Good Conclusion

The main aim of the conclusion is to show the reader that you have fulfilled the task set in the introduction, i.e. have proved your point of view (in an opinion essay). In other words, the conclusion links back to the thesis statement.

### Useful tips

1. Restate the thesis statement but do not repeat it!
2. Do not introduce new ideas.
3. Sum up the main points made in the body of the essay.
4. Do not pretend you have proven more than you have.
5. Make it emphatic: use an appropriate quotation or your own punchy<sup>1</sup> comment.

### NB! Proofreading. Check your essay for

- opinion essay structure
- thesis statement expressing your opinion
- effective 'hooking' technique
- one idea per paragraph to present your opinion
- supporting sentences and examples in each paragraph
- clearly presented opposing point of view in a separate paragraph
- relevant conclusion
- logical connection within and between paragraphs
- use of grammar structures
- use of vocabulary: synonyms, pronouns, etc.
- spelling and punctuation errors

<sup>1</sup> having a strong effect due to the use of clear simple language and not too many words.

## READING & WRITING A SUMMARY

### STAGES OF WRITING A SUMMARY

Reading	Writing	Editing
— Skim	— write down the main idea of each section in one sentence	— check for accuracy and objectivity
— Read	— write a thesis statement <sup>1</sup>	— check if it is written in your own words
— Reread	— write the first draft — write the second /final version	— revise it for style, grammar and punctuation

### SAMPLE PRACTICE

a) Read the article and focus on the underlined parts. What do you think they represent? Answer the questions below.

These may serve as an outline of your summary.

Who? When? Where? What? Why? What result?

b) Would you like to suggest a different selection (see the underlined parts again) to write the thesis of a summary?

c) Write your thesis statement. If you can't do it in your own words, use some from the text and paraphrase later.

#### The economy: migrant support

The recent arrival of east Europeans into Britain, in order to undertake employment which much of the British population shun, replicates patterns that developed during the Victorian period. For much of the 19th century the Irish formed part of the labour force working on some of the toughest manual jobs, leading some historians to doubt the extent to which industrialisation could have taken place without them.

Similarly, German immigrants in Victorian Britain undertook some of the hardest work in the East End of London, including sugar baking. Russian Jewish immigrants in the late Victorian and Edwardian years found themselves working in East End sweatshops, while postwar British prosperity could not have happened without working-class immigrants from all over the world.

However, migrants have not simply acted as a cheap labour force — as the number of foreign millionaires in contemporary London testifies. Fabulously wealthy businessmen such as Roman Abramovich have predecessors in German tycoons of the 19th century. Some of these may simply have owned bakers and butchers shops, but others helped to establish some of Britain's largest companies. Immigrant Ludwig Mond's son was one of the founders

<sup>1</sup> Alternatively: start with the main ideas, then write down the thesis statement that clearly sums up the main idea of the whole text.

of ICI. Meanwhile, the descendants of the Russian Jewish migrants of the late 19th century have gone on to become major players in British industry and the professions, as have refugees from Nazi Germany. (222)

/from *Arriving in Style* by Panikos Panayi.  
History Magazine. July 2010/

### When editing your summary answer the questions:

1. Have you accurately represented the author's ideas and key points (the author's emphasis)?
2. Have you written it in your OWN words? If you quoted the author, use quotation marks.
3. Have you mentioned the author periodically?
4. Have you included any minor details or your own ideas?
5. Is it the right length? (normally 1/3 or 1/4 of the original text)
6. Have you included all the necessary information in the introduction? (name of the author, the title of article, the name of magazine, journal, newspaper, date of publication)

*Revise it for style, grammar, spelling and punctuation.*

### More about writing a summary

#### Focus on the Tone

Tone is the attitude the writer wants to convey,  
the emotional colouring of his/her writing

Formal, informal, angry, enthusiastic, detached, humorous, serious, optimistic, pessimistic  
concerned ....?

*What makes you think so? How does it affect paraphrasing?*

*Read the extract and choose appropriate synonyms from the list below.*

Mr Bercow's<sup>1</sup> biggest year for Christmas splurging was 2010, when more than £26,000 was spent on Christmas tree maintenance by the Commons authorities he controls. In 2009 it was felt necessary to spend £1,240 on decorations. That's a lot to spend on fairies<sup>3</sup>, even for a man of his delicate aesthetics. Exactly what 'maintenance' of a Christmas tree entails is not explained. Does it mean Hoovering (пылесосить) the pine needles from the carpet?

/from "The Squeaker Decks the Hall with Bags of Money".  
The *Daily Mail*. March 24, 2012/

*splurging*: spending spree/ shopping / money wasting

*It was felt necessary*: [the Speaker] thought it a good idea/ decided

*a man of his delicate aesthetics*: a man of fine taste / artistically minded

*entails*: implies/ involves/ means

<sup>1</sup> Speaker of the House of Commons since 2009.

## WRITING AN ABSTRACT

An abstract is a short formal original piece of writing which describes a much larger paper (article, chapter of a book or a book). It is similar to a summary but compressed even further. It presents the message and all the main arguments and conclusions (if any) of the complete paper. An abstract contains the key words of the original text; its main function is to give the reader a clear idea if the paper is worth reading.

### Useful tips

/from the Writing Center of the University of Northern Carolina at Chapel Hill/

#### All abstracts include:

- A full citation of the source, preceding the abstract.
- The most important information first.
- The same type and style of language found in the original, including technical language.
- Key words and phrases that quickly identify the content and focus of the work.
- Clear, concise, and powerful language.
- Length ~10% of the original or less.

#### Abstracts may include:

- The thesis of the work, usually in the first sentence.
- Background information that places the work in the larger body of literature.
- The same chronological structure as the original work.

#### When writing an abstract:

##### **Identify key terms:**

Search through the entire document for key terms that identify the purpose, scope, and methods of the work. Pay close attention to the Introduction and the Conclusion. These sections should contain all the main ideas and key terms in the paper. When writing the abstract, be sure to incorporate the key terms.

##### **Highlight key phrases and sentences:**

Instead of cutting and pasting the actual words, try highlighting sentences or phrases that appear to be central to the work. Then, **in a separate document, rewrite the sentences and phrases in your own words.**

##### **Don't look back:**

After reading the entire work, put it aside and **write a paragraph about the work without referring to it. In the first draft, you may not remember all the key terms or the results, but you will remember what the main point of the work was.** Remember not to include any information you did not get from the work being abstracted.

#### Sample abstract

The Conclusion Chapter from *Empire. How Britain Made the Modern World* by Niall Ferguson. Penguin books LTD, London, 2004 sums up the most important contribution of the British Empire to the modern world. Its impact is seen as mostly positive, with the most remarkable legacy being free trade, free capital movements, free labour and English as the global language. The Empire promoted liberal capitalism, parliamentary democracy, the rule of law throughout its colonies.

Though Great Britain is responsible for enslaving, killing and exploiting indigenous population at the beginning of the empire, later it contributed to the economic development of its colonies, particularly those that were at a low stage of development at the time of colonisation. What's more, after the collapse of the empire many of its former colonies benefited from British-style institutions and form of governing, which was cost effective, efficient and uncorrupted. The experience of the British Empire testifies to its overall effectiveness: ultimately, it paved the way for economic, legal and political globalization. (166 words)

/This abstract covers texts A, B and C in the Lead-in of unit 1 British Traditionalism (~ 2300 words)/

For more information go to

<http://writingcenter.unc.edu/handouts/abstracts/>

## WRITING A REVIEW

A review is both a summary and an evaluation of another writer's text (article, chapter or book). Understanding the author's main points and arguments is essential for an accurate summation. Logical evaluation of the main theme, supporting arguments, and suggestions or implications for further research is an important element of a review.

Here are some guidelines for the stages of writing an article review.

The three **main stages** are:

1. Summarising the article focusing on the important points, claims and information.
2. Critical reflections on the article's merits and demerits.
3. Writing a review of the article.

### STAGE 1

#### **Step 1. Skimming the article to find out the main points**

- Focus on the abstract, introduction, headings, opening sentences of each paragraph, and the conclusion.

#### **Step 2. Reading the article closely**

- Read again and make notes. Make sure you understand everything, consult a dictionary when necessary.
- Connect what you read with your knowledge of the topic. Decide how similar to or different from the other texts you have read on the subject the article is.

#### **Step 3. Writing a summary**

- Write an outline or a paragraph which accurately sums up the main points. It should not include your opinion.

### STAGE 2

#### **Step 1. Identifying the positive aspects of the article**

- Determine if the author makes any valuable contributions to our understanding of a phenomenon, developments on the international arena, etc.
- Decide what can make the article particularly useful for this (ESP) course.

### **Step 2. Identifying the weaknesses of the article**

- Identify the weak points: contradictions, gaps, inconsistencies.
- Find out if the author delivered what they promised (check their thesis against their conclusion); if there is enough data to support the author's claims.

## STAGE 3

### **Step 1. Writing an outline of the evaluation part**

- Create a list of strengths and weaknesses:
  - write down all instances of effective writing, new contribution/information on the subject;
  - write down in which areas the article needs improvement;
  - decide on what points you may want to focus apart from giving general evaluation of the main points.

### **Step 2. Writing your critique**

When writing make use of the following questions:

- What is the author's aim?
  - To what extent has this aim been achieved?
  - What does this text add to your knowledge?
  - What claims are made?
  - Are the arguments consistent?
  - What kinds of evidence does the text rely on?
  - What conclusions are drawn?
  - Are these conclusions justified?
  - Is the text well-written (style, text structure)?
- Think of a title which should reflect the focus of your review.
  - Support your critique with evidence from the article.
  - Use academic language.

### **Step 3. Writing a conclusion**

Write a paragraph which sums up

- the main points of the article
- your opinion about its significance, relevance and clarity.

## Structure of a review

Introduction (10% of the whole length)

Introduce the title of the article or book, the year it was published and the name of the author (the bibliographic details). Outline the central theme(s) of the article.

Main Body (80% of the whole length)

Summary

Critique (positive and negative)

Conclusion (10% of the whole length)

Brief sum-up and a statement on its overall usefulness.

## USEFUL LANGUAGE FOR REVIEWS

Reporting words:

Argue, believe, claim, find, indicate, point out, prove, reveal, refute, show, state, suggest

**Nouns:**

Argument, approach, concept, feature, information, highlight, perspective, significance, value

**Expressions to introduce evaluative opinion:**

By and large, (not) surprisingly, typically, inevitably, predictably, paradoxically

A Sample Student Review  
**No Flaw Found in “Flawed Founders”**

July 13, 2014

The article by Stephen Ambrose “Flawed Founders” published in November 2002 on <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/issues/2002/november/presence.php> looks at the history of freedom and democracy from a fresh perspective. The author is being realistic: he is not praising the founders of our independent state with an inflated style as I often used to see in History books at High School. He admits the contradictions surrounding our first presidents, but nevertheless pays a deserved tribute to their contribution to the kind of democratic state we live in today.

The essence of this article is best explained in the following quotation: “The Washington Monument and the Jefferson and Lincoln memorials remind us that greatness comes in different forms and at a price. Jefferson, by his words, gave us aspirations. Washington, through his actions, showed us what was possible. Lincoln’s courage turned both into reality.” Perhaps, it was not meant to have a single person create the kind of country we live in, which by all definitions is the most humanistic, democratic and free. Perhaps, no human being could handle such challenge. Moreover, human beings are not perfect and that is why it is unrealistic to expect the presidents, who are human beings too, to hold all those virtues, which an ideal person is expected to have.

Either way, the author wanted to show us that the evaluation of our country’s heroes should be objective. There is no need to pretend that our founding fathers were ideal people who always lived by their convictions and were superheroes in every aspect of their life. However, it’s also wrong to be deluded by modern wave of “rediscovering founding fathers”<sup>6</sup> and ignoring their contribution and role in the history of our country, as if that turning point when Declaration of Independence was proclaimed should be left blank. We should never forget whom we own our freedom and independence.

In this article the author takes an interactionist’s approach pointing through the example of Thomas Jefferson that presidents are only humans with their weaknesses and contradictions. Presidency in this article is not viewed as an executive branch or another institution. It is given rather personal touch, uncovering the truth not about what kind of president Thomas Jefferson was, but rather what kind of person.

A particularly interesting feature about this article is that instead of focusing on interaction between individuals, which is one of the branches within interactionist perspective, the author is rather concerned with “shared meanings” provided that these “shared meanings” are imposed on the society as people within it interact. Stephen Ambrose shows that Thomas Jefferson seemed to be an aggressive opponent of slavery promoting in his Declaration of Independence that “all people are created equal”. Meanwhile, he was a hypocrite, because he owned slaves himself and was not brave enough to break this tradition.

## ■ АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ДЛЯ СПЕЦИАЛЬНЫХ И АКАДЕМИЧЕСКИХ ЦЕЛЕЙ

The article by Stephen Ambrose is unbiased, because the author shows the same problem from different perspectives. On the one hand, he reveals the truth about American presidents showing that Thomas Jefferson was not that kind of hero as we wished we could think of him, since he is the author of one of the most fundamental documents in the history of our country. On the other hand, though, the author emphasizes that failure to recognize the contribution of Thomas Jefferson is a failure to accept freedom and democracy so much praised in our country, which we owe to Thomas Jefferson in part one way or another. Thus, the author doesn't appear to be biased towards one camp that praises Thomas Jefferson, or the other that condemns him. He simply shows that we must accept the reality as it is, not as we want it to be.

/based on <http://essayexamples.info/article-review-flawed-founders/>

### **Questions to evaluate a review**

1. Is the review divided into logical parts?
2. Can you/the reader identify the aim of each part?
3. Is there a sum up of the central/main ideas of the original text?
4. Are the positive aspects of the article discussed?
5. Are any weaknesses pointed out?
6. How logical and objective does the reviewer's evaluation appear to be?
7. Do specific examples from the original text support the critique given?
8. Is the reviewer's opinion of the significance and clarity of the author's writing clearly summed up?

## **WRITING A STATISTICAL STORY**

A statistical story is a statistical report made into an interesting read. In a statistical story you analyze the data as thoroughly as you do in a statistical report but you present your findings and conclusions in a way which makes it interesting to read and easy to understand.

Writing technique to achieve this effect involves:

1. Making your story relevant to the reader: show the significance, importance and relevance of the most current information;
2. Making up a compelling title: write a line which is informative, appealing, magnetic;

**e.g.**

Gasoline prices hit 10-year low  
Crime down for third year in a row  
Single or cohabitating?

3. Using "inverted pyramid" style: start with the main findings, then build on your story line throughout the rest of the text.

**e.g.**

Positive about their homes, negative about their financial situation

The majority of adults in the Netherlands are satisfied with life in general. They are the most positive about the homes they live in, the least positive about their financial situation. Over-65s in particular are satisfied with their lives.

## Useful tips on writing a statistical story

### Introduction

- Introduction summarizes the story line concisely, clearly and simply. It states clearly what the story is about.
- It should contain few numbers. In fact, try to write the first sentence using no figures at all.
- Don't pack it with assumptions, explanations of methodology or information on how you collected the data.

#### e.g.

Despite mounting financial challenges during the 1990s, young people from moderate and low-income families were no less likely to attend university in 2001 than they were in 1993, according to a new study.

### Main Body (Analysis)

- Paragraphs should start with a topic sentence that contains no numbers;
- Use one main idea per paragraph approach;
- Make paragraphs short; avoid long sentences;
- Use subheadings to guide the reader's eye;
- Use bulleted lists for easy scanning if necessary.

#### e.g.

#### Single life in the city

One-person households are more common in cities and central municipalities than in more remote municipalities, both for men and women. In the most central municipalities, 27 per cent of men aged 20–59 live alone, and the corresponding figure for women in the same municipalities is 17 per cent. The most remote municipalities have a large surplus of single men aged 20–59, with two out of ten men living alone but only one out of ten women living alone.

### Conclusion

- Sum up the main findings in a general form, avoid using too many numbers; use generalisations (majority, few, etc);
- Focus on the most interesting or unusual findings;
- Exercise caution, suggestions should be well-grounded.

#### e.g.

Compared with other countries, the Netherlands spends a relatively large amount on environmental protection and has relatively high energy tax rates. Revenues from environmental taxes tend to decrease in recent years. What's more, manufacturing and energy companies pay far less energy taxes than households.

### Language:

- Use language that laymen understand;
- Avoid jargon, technical terms and acronyms;
- Write numbers in a consistent fashion: For example, choose 20 or twenty, and stick with your choice;
- Large numbers are difficult to grasp. Use the words millions, billions or trillions. Instead of 3,657,218, write "about 3.7 million";
- Avoid "elevator statistics": This went up, this went down, this went up;
- Use cautious language (evidently, appears to be, there's a tendency).

### A Sample statistical story

#### **Women are Culture Vultures**

Women take up cultural offers such as going to the theatre, operas, ballets, art exhibitions and libraries to a greater extent than men. Men are most often to be found at sporting events, however, there are no major gender differences when it comes to going to the cinema, cultural festivals, museums and concerts.

##### **Theatre goers**

Growing numbers of men are attending the theatre and going to see musicals and shows; 49 per cent in 2008 compared with just 38 per cent in 1991. The corresponding figures for women are 57 and 51 per cent respectively.

##### **Opera lovers the oldest ...**

Since 1991, the number attending operas and operettas has been growing steadily; 8 per cent of women and 5 per cent of men in 2008. The majority of these were the more elderly part of the population, with 14 and 11 per cent aged 67–74 in 2008.

##### **... and cinema goers the youngest**

Going to the cinema is a popular pastime, with seven out of ten of the population visiting the cinema in 2008. In the same period, 95 per cent of women and 90 per cent of men aged 20–24 took a trip to the cinema. The average age of cinema goers is 34; the lowest of all users of cultural offers.

##### **Technical interests for men, art for women**

Visitor numbers for museums in Norway remained similar between 1991 and 2008, with 40 and 47 per cent each year for men and women. Whilst men more often visit technical museums, women choose art. The interest in natural history and archaeological museums is the same for both sexes. 36 per cent of men and 47 per cent of women had attended an art exhibition. This difference has remained constant since the start of the 1990s.

##### **More women at the library ...**

Fewer people are visiting public libraries than before, and the majority of visitors are women. Six out of ten women had visited a public library in 2008. Children and young people visit libraries the most. 69 per cent of boys and girls aged 9–12 visit a public library in a year. Visitors to libraries average 5.5 trips a year.

##### **... and men at sporting events**

More men (61 per cent) than women (50 per cent) attend sporting events. 72 per cent of boys aged 9–15 attend sporting events, whilst the corresponding figure for women aged 67–79 is just 23 per cent. Men attend more football matches than women, who are more likely to be found watching a handball match.

##### **Less TV**

Despite the increasing access to 24-hour television channels, we are not spending any more time watching TV. Approximately 80 per cent of men and women watched television on a typical day in both 1991 and 2008. News broadcasts are the most commonly watched type of programme, followed by television series, sport and entertainment programmes.

Obviously, there are gender differences in cultural preferences. More women than men go to the theatre, opera, art museums and libraries. Men favour sporting events and technical museums. However, going to the cinema appears to be equally popular with men and women; the same is true of TV watching. On the whole, women are most keen to take up cultural offers regardless of their age.

[For more information see *Making Data Meaningful Part 1*.

*A Guide to Writing Stories about Numbers*. United Nations New York and Geneva 2009]

# APPENDICES



## APPENDIX 1

### INDIVIDUAL PLAN #4 (SAMPLE)

(The West, the Rest, and Climate Change: 08.02 — 12.03)

**Group #**

**Student (name):<sup>1</sup>**

Section	Activity	Date <sup>1</sup>	Performance
<b>Listening 1 p. 16</b> Listening 2 p. 29 Listening 3 p. 30 Listening 4 p. 37 EAP: <b>Listening</b> (describing graphs p. 52)	Listening & viewing 1 Listening & viewing 2* Listening & viewing 3* Listening & viewing 4* Listening & taking notes		
<b>Reading &amp; Comprehension</b> <b>#1 p. 17, #2 p. 22,</b> <b>#3 p. 31</b>	Reading the texts and doing comprehension assignments		
EAP Corner Brushing Up Reading Skills p. 42–46	Reading the article in the EAP Corner*		
<b>EAP Corner Developing Logical Thinking Skills</b> <b>p. 47–51</b>	Learning to speak and write logically and to avoid logical fallacies		
<b>Speak Up</b> <b>p. 20, 27, 29, 30, 35, 38</b>	Discussion		
Follow Up p. 21, 27, 36 ( <b>one is a must</b> )	3-min presentation*		
Integrating Core Skills p. 39 Project Work Stage 1 Stage 2 Stage 3	St.1 Looking through the texts in the Reader St.2 Assessing the 'value' of the texts in the Reader * St.3 'Contributing' an article*		

<sup>1</sup> Fill in the date for activities marked with an asterisk (\*)

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

Section	Activity	Date1	Performance
Term presentation p. 29	Making a term presentation*		
<b>Panel Discussion p. 37</b>	Taking part as a panelist or audience		
<b>EAP Corner: Describing graphs, charts and tables p. 52</b>	Learning to describe non-textual material		
<b>Writing an essay</b> (Practice in EAP Corner p. 51)	Writing an Essay (home)		
<b>Vocabulary Practice 1, 2, 3; p. 21, 28, 36 Revision p. 39</b>	Learning new vocabulary; Revising Active Vocabulary and Grammar		
Follow Up p. 36	Compiling the list of topical vocabulary*		

**NB** The sections in bold are a MUST.

## APPENDIX 2

### КОНТРОЛЬНО-ИЗМЕРИТЕЛЬНЫЕ МАТЕРИАЛЫ

#### №1 (устный экзамен)

Факультет МО

Английский как второй иностранный, IV курс, 8 семестр

Билет № 1

Время на подготовку — 15 мин

Время на ответ 3–4 мин

Рассмотрено и утверждено на заседании  
кафедры английского языка № 1

Протокол № \_\_ от \_\_\_\_

Зав.кафедрой \_\_\_\_\_

**You have 15 minutes to prepare a 3–4 minute statement on the given topic. Make use of the following prompts or any other ideas you can think of. You are to announce your thesis statement and present your speech to your partner and the examiners. When you have finished, your partner will ask you two questions or will give you two counter-arguments which you are to comment on.**

#### ROLE OF ASEAN IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

- establishment goals
- accomplishments in maintaining security and stability
- relations with China
- challenges and ways to deal with them

**You will be allowed to use your outline only!**

- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

### №2 (письменный экзамен)

Факультет МО

Английский язык, второй иностранный, продолжающий поток, IV курс, 8 семестр

Время выполнения: 90 мин.

Рассмотрено и утверждено на заседании  
кафедры английского языка № 1

Протокол № \_\_ от \_\_\_\_

Зав.кафедрой \_\_\_\_\_

*Write an essay of 300–350 words on the topic:*

**“Is Freedom of Expression Just an Ideal?”**

### №3 (образец задания для промежуточного контроля)

THE WEST, THE REST AND CLIMATE CHANGE

*Write an essay of 300–350 words on one of the following topics:*

1. A Global Redistribution of Power.
2. Is BRICS a Viable Project?
3. Climate Change: Reasons for Skepticism.

### №4 (образец задания для промежуточного контроля)

Факультет МО

Английский язык, второй иностранный, IV курс, 8 семестр

*Write a summary of 300–350 words*

Время выполнения — 90 мин.

### **Time to silence terrorists on social media**

**By Ted Poe** / February 26, 2015

(CNN) Reports Wednesday that three men have been arrested over plans to travel from New York to join ISIS — and that one of them allegedly posted online about his desire to shoot the President of the United States — is simply the latest reminder that terrorist groups and their sympathizers are exploiting the freedom of cyberspace.

Earlier this month, ISIS posted a video of its horrific burning of a captured Jordanian pilot. Unfortunately, this was not the first time ISIS has used Twitter, an American social media company, to broadcast its barbaric acts to the world. In August, when ISIS released the gruesome beheading of American journalist James Foley, it also used social media. In fact, ISIS has been using Twitter for years. Nor is ISIS the only terrorist group on Twitter. Hamas, Hezbollah and the al Qaeda branch in Syria, al-Nusra Front, are all on Twitter.

There are many more examples from such groups, all of which have officially been listed as foreign designated terrorist organizations by the U.S. government. It's with this reality in mind that on January 27, my subcommittee held a hearing on terrorists' use of social media. At those hearings, experts detailed how terrorist use of social media platforms has long been a problem.

If social media is being used to help radicalize thousands of people and raise millions of dollars from many more, the question all this raises is this: Why is no one shutting them down? Because American companies aren't. And nor is the American government.

I've heard two arguments for why we should keep the status quo.

The first — and easiest to set aside — is the claim that if the U.S. government were to shut down terrorists' social media accounts, these measures would be violating terrorists' free speech rights.

My own belief is that the Constitution does not apply to terrorists. These thugs gave up their right to free speech the first time they killed innocent civilians. We should certainly not be helping them kill more. But this isn't just my thinking.

The Supreme Court has already held this to be the case in *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project*, when it ruled that if someone has aided a terrorist organization, their free speech rights were not protected. Indeed, free speech does not apply when it harms others, such as creating and distributing child pornography.

The second argument is that terrorists' use of social media provides the intelligence community with information that they would not otherwise be able to acquire. But while terrorists may slip up from time to time, they are also aware that by its very nature, social media is about sharing, which means what they say can easily become widely shared.

Nor is terrorist use of social media a new phenomenon. We have had years to weigh the kind of intelligence that we can gather about terrorist groups against the advantages in messaging and recruitment that terrorists gain from it. And from what I have heard, allowing this public, online jihad to continue has provided no significant intelligence breakthroughs. The fact that there are more terrorists using social media than ever before should say all we need to know about whether they are benefiting from it. To put it bluntly, private American companies should not be operating as the propaganda megaphone of foreign terrorist organizations.

So what needs to change?

For a start, social media companies themselves need to do more. It is not good enough to only pay attention when bad press threatens a company's public image after something truly horrific is posted online. Instead, companies not only have a public responsibility but a legal obligation to do more. Section 219 of the Immigration and Nationality Act states that it is unlawful to provide a designated foreign terrorist organization with "material support or resources," including "any property, tangible or intangible, or services." That's about as comprehensive as you can get.

What's more, most social media companies already have terms of service with prohibition of threats of violence that would preclude terrorist use of their platforms. But companies need to do a better job of enforcing their own terms. The lack of child pornography or stolen copyrighted material on social media platforms — content that is quickly removed if it appears at all — demonstrates what these companies can do.

With this in mind, they would do well to consider having dedicated teams that remove terrorist content, and also streamline reporting processes for offensive content so users can easily report terrorist use on their platforms. Companies have the technology and the resources to crack down

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

on terrorists' use of their platform; they just need the motivation to act. This is where the federal government can assist.

In 2011, the White House promised a strategy to prevent online radicalization. But more than three years later — and despite a summit last week aimed at tackling extremism — we are still waiting on that strategy. Without one, the federal government's efforts to combat terrorist use of social media will be as haphazard<sup>1</sup> and lackluster<sup>2</sup> as the efforts of private social media companies. Instead, we need a strategy that clearly articulates our goals and roles, and the responsibilities of each federal agency that needs to be involved, as well as how we are going to work with civil society.

It is mindboggling to think that those who behead and burn others alive are able to use our own companies against us to further their cause. But that is exactly what is occurring.

American newspapers would have never allowed the Nazis to place an ad for recruitment during World War II. Designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations should not be allowed to use private American companies to reach billions of people with their violent propaganda in an instant, all for free.

981 words

---

<sup>1</sup> Haphazard — having no plan, order or direction.

<sup>2</sup> Lackluster — not impressive.

## APPENDIX 3

## № 1. Параметры и критерии оценивания устного ответа на экзамене

Параметры	A (90–100%)	B (82–89%)	C (75–81%)	D (68–74%)	E (60–67%)	F (< 60%)
Структура (5–15%)	14–15	12–13	10–11	8–9	5–7	< 5
Содержание (20–40%)	38–40	35–37	30–34	25–29	20–24	< 20
Лексика/ грамматика (15–30%)	27–30	24–26	20–23	17–19	15–16	< 15
Форма (5–15%)	14–15	12–13	10–11	8–9	5–7	< 5

## Штрафные баллы

**Структура (max. 15%)**

- Отсутствие четкой структуры (вступление, основная часть, заключение) — 3–5%
- Отсутствие адекватных средств связи при аргументации — 3–5%

**Содержание (max. 40%)**

- Тезис не соответствует теме или не требует доказательств, etc. — 10%
- Неубедительная аргументация (аргументы не в полной мере соответствуют тезису и/или отсутствуют конкретные факты и примеры, подкрепляющие аргументы) — 10%
- Нарушения логики (необоснованные аналогии/обобщения) — 10%
- Отсутствие вывода, соответствующего теме, тезису и аргументам — 5%
- Вопрос, заданный собеседнику, не соответствует теме высказывания / нерелевантен — 10%
- Неадекватный ответ на вопрос собеседника — 10%

**Лексика/Грамматика (max. 30%)**

- Используемая лексика не соответствует этапу обучения — 5–7%
- Неадекватная лексическая сочетаемость — 7–10%
- Неуместно используется активный словарь — 5%
- Используемые грамматические конструкции не соответствуют этапу обучения — 5–7%
- Допускаются грубые грамматические ошибки — 10%

**Форма (max/ 15%)**

- Медленный темп речи и длительные паузы — 5%
- Несоблюдение официального стиля речи — 5%
- Произношение, затрудняющее понимание — 5%
- Отсутствие визуального контакта с собеседником — 3%
- Сообщение < 3 минут — 3%

- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

## № 2. Параметры и критерии оценивания письменных работ

### SUMMARY

#### Assessment of Content

Mistake	Penalty
No topic/no subject matter	2
Thesis statement/ message/ main idea not clearly stated	2
Main idea= supporting ideas	1–2
Division into paragraphs	1–2
No reference to the text	1
Too short/ too long	1
Repetition of ideas	0,5 per each case
Logic	0,5 per each case
Factual (distortion of ideas)	0,5 per each case
Quotation (with/without inverted commas)	0,5 per each case
No connectives	0,5 per each paragraph
Wrong paragraph structure	0,5 per each case

Penalties summed up	Grade		
0–0,5	5	A	100–90%
1–1,5	4+	B	89–82%
2–2,5	4–	C	81–75%
3–3,5	3+	D	74–67%
4–4,5	3–	E	66–60%
> 4,5	2	F	< 60%

## Assessment of Language

Mistake	Penalty
Sp (spelling)	0,1
P (punctuation)	0,1
Art (article)	0,2
Prep (preposition)	0,2
Ww (wrong word)	0,5
Wo (word order)	0,5
Gr (grammar)	0,5
St (style)	0,3
M / Sense (a mistake which makes the sentence meaningless)	1
Primitive language	1

**NB** Appropriate use of Active Vocabulary is rewarded (AV=0,5)

Penalties summed up	Grade		
0–1,1	5	A	100–90%
1,2–2,2	4+	B	89–82%
2,3–3,3	4–	C	81–75%
3,4–4,5	3+	D	74–67%
4,6–6,1	3–	E	66–60%
> 6,2	2	F	< 60%

■ Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

## ESSAY

### Assessment of Content

Mistake	Penalty
No title	1
Intro: No thesis statement	2
Thesis attempted but not covering same ground as essay	1
Body: Division into paragraphs	1–2
Conclusion: no restatement	1
Too short/ too long	1
Argumentation (relevance)	0,5 per each case
Repetition of ideas	0,5 per each case
Logic	0,5 per each case
Factual (distortion of ideas)	0,5 per each case
No connectives	0,5 per each paragraph
Wrong paragraph structure	0,5 per each case

Penalties summed up		Grade	
0–0,5	5	A	100–90%
1–1,5	4+	B	89–82%
2–2,5	4–	C	81–75%
3–3,5	3+	D	74–67%
4–4,5	3–	E	66–60%
> 5	2	F	< 60%

## Assessment of Language

Mistake	Penalty
Sp (spelling)	0,1
P (punctuation)	0,1
Art (article)	0,2
Prep (preposition)	0,2
Ww (wrong word)	0,5
Wo (word order)	0,5
Gr (grammar)	0,5
St (style)	0,3
M / Sense (a mistake which makes the sentence meaningless)	1
Primitive language	1

**NB** Appropriate use of Active Vocabulary is rewarded (AV=0,5)

Penalties summed up		Grade	
0–1,1	5	A	100–90%
1,2–2,2	4+	B	89–82%
2,3–3,3	4–	C	81–75%
3,4–4,5	3+	D	74–67%
4,6–6,1	3–	E	66–60%
> 6,2	2	F	< 60%

## SURVEY REPORT

### Assessment of Content

Mistake		Penalty
<b>Str (General)</b> (0. Title; 1. Introduction; 2. Body; 3. Conclusion)		2*
<b>Structure (Introduction)</b>	The purpose of the report (not stated / given vaguely)	2*
	The source of information not specified (when and how the information was gathered)	1
<b>Log (Body)</b>	Clarity	2*
	Necessary detail	2*
<b>Log (Conclusion)</b>	Logical sum up	2*
	Recommendations (if necessary)	(1)
<b>Cohesion (Links)</b>	Less than 1–2 links per paragraph	0,5 per paragraph
	Inappropriate use	0,5 per case
<b>Factual</b>		0,5 per case

**NOTE\*:** Asterisk (\*) means that the teacher decides whether the mistake deserves a penalty of '2' or less (up to 0,5, depending on how 'bad' the mistake is).

Penalties Summed up	Grade (Letter)	Grade (%)
0–0,5	A (5)	90–100%
1–1,5	B (4)	82–89%
2–2,5	C (4–)	75–81%
3–3,5	D (3)	67–74%
4–4,5	E (3–)	60–66%
5 and more	F (2)	< 60%

## Assessment of Language

Mistake	Penalty
Spelling (Sp)	0,1
Punctuation (P)	0,1
Article (Art)	0,2
Preposition (Prep)	0,2
A missing word (√)	0,1
An unnecessary word (/)	0,1
Wrong word (ww) / (Lex)	0,5
Word order (wo)	0,5
Grammar (Gr)	0,5
Style(St)	0,3
A mistake which makes the sentence meaningless (M/sense)	1

**NB** Appropriate use of Active Vocabulary is rewarded (AV=0,5)

Penalties Summed up	Grade	
0–1,1	90–100%	A
1,2–2,2	82–89%	B
2,3–3,3	75–81%	C
3,4–4,5	67–74%	D
4,6–6,1	60–66%	E
> 6,2	< 60%	F

- Английский язык для специальных и академических целей

## PRESENTATION ASSESSMENT

Parameter	Mistake	Penalty
<b>Structure</b> (max. 10%)	No introduction/outline/ conclusion	5%
	No signposting (transition from point to point)	5%
	Too short/long	5%
<b>Content</b> (max. 25%)	Topic irrelevant	10%
	Content loosely connected with the topic	10%
	Superficial analysis	10%
	Faulty logic	10%
<b>Presentation skills</b> (max. 30%)	No interaction with the audience	15%
	Reading from notes	20%
	Low emotional appeal	5%
<b>Screen design</b> (max. 15%)	Primitive design	5%
	Excess text	5%
	Indistinguishable font	5%
<b>Language</b> (max. 20%)	Unintelligible pronunciation	7%
	Low fluency	5%
	Grammatical and lexical mistakes	5–15%

100–90%	A
89–82%	B
81–75%	C
74–67%	D
66–60%	E
< 60%	F



# СПИСОК ЛИТЕРАТУРЫ



1. Ястребова Е.Б. Совершенствуем умение писать по-английски за 22 урока. Книга 2. Профессионально-ориентированный курс. М: "МГИМО-Университет", 2013.
2. Carter, Ronald and McCarthy, Michael. Cambridge Grammar of English. A Comprehensive Guide. Spoken and Written English. Grammar and Usage. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
3. Cathcart, Thomas & Klein, Daniel. Plato and a Platypus Walk into a Bar ...: Understanding Philosophy through Jokes. Penguin Books, 2008.
4. Chazal de, Edward. English for Academic Purposes. Oxford University Press, 2014.
5. Clapham, Andrew. Human Rights: a Very Short Introduction. OUP, 2007.
6. Forsythe, David P. Human Rights in International Relations, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
7. Demography and National Security. Ed. by Myron Weiner and Sharon Stanton Russell, Berghahn Books, 2001.
8. Friedman, George. The Next 100 Years: A Forecast for the 21st Century. Anchor Books, New York, 2010.
9. Helm, Dieter. The Carbon Crunch: How We Are Getting Climate Change Wrong — and How to Fix It. Yale University Press. New Haven and London, 2012.
10. Kristof, Nicholas D. The Power of Gender Equality. The Global Edition of *The New York Times*. August 2, 2013.
11. Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. Pearson Education, 2005.
12. Longman, Philip. The Global Baby Bust. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June, 2004.
13. Lopez, Mario A. Global Warming: Anthropogenic or Not. AITSE, January 20, 2013.
14. Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners. Macmillan, 2006.
15. Mahbubani, Kishore and Severino, Rhoda. ASEAN: The Way Forward. Available at [http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/public\\_sector/asean\\_the\\_way\\_forward](http://www.mckinsey.com/insights/public_sector/asean_the_way_forward)
16. Mishra, Pankaj. From the Ruins of Empire. The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia. Penguin Books Ltd., London, 2012.
17. Morris, Ian. Why the West Rules — for Now. Profile Books Ltd., London, 2011.
18. No Need to Panic about Global Warming. *The Wall Street Journal*, 27 January, 2012.
19. Oxford Collocations Dictionary for Students of English. Oxford University Press, 2003.
20. Pant, Harsh V. The BRICS Fallacy. *The Washington Quarterly*, summer 2013.
21. Parker, John. Opinion of Climate. *The Economist*, 12 November, 2014.
22. Rousseau, Richard. The Coming Global Population Decline. *Diplomatic Courier*, 5 October, 2012.
23. Sellers, Kirsten. The Rise and Rise of Human Rights. Phoenix Hill: Sutton Publishing, 2002.
24. Shattuck, John. Freedom on Fire: Human Rights Wars and America's Response. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.
25. The Sound of Silence. *The Economist*, 24 January, 2015.
26. Valuing the Global Environment. Actions and Investments for a 21<sup>st</sup> Century. Global Environment Facility, 1998.
27. Yoshihara, Susan & Sylva, Douglas A. Population Decline and the Remaking of Great Power Politics. Potomac Books, Washington D.C., 2012.

Учебное издание

*Иностранные языки в МГИМО*

**Кравцова** Ольга Анатольевна  
**Ястребова** Елена Борисовна

**Английский язык**  
**для специальных и академических целей**

Международные отношения  
и зарубежное регионоведение

**English for specific and academic purposes**

For students of international relations and regional studies

Учебное пособие

В двух частях

Часть 2

Уровень С1

Согласно Федеральному закону РФ от 29.12.2010 г. № 436-ФЗ  
данная продукция не подлежит маркировке

Оформление *М. М. Петухова*  
Компьютерная верстка *А. С. Туманова*

Подписано в печать 30.01.2016.

Формат 60×84<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>.

Усл. печ. л. 28,75. Уч.-изд. л. 14,8.

Тираж      экз. Заказ №      .

Издательство «МГИМО–Университет»  
119454, Москва, пр. Вернадского, 76

Отпечатано в отделе оперативной полиграфии  
и множительной техники МГИМО МИД России  
119454, Москва, пр. Вернадского, 76