

RAFFLES INSTITUTION YEAR 6 GENERAL PAPER 2023 STUDENTS' INFORMATION PACKAGE Unit: Global Issues			
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1. Introduction

Global Issues aims to give a broad overview of recent issues that have significance on a global scale. A quick survey of international news media will reveal the prominence of issues such as globalisation, climate change, population growth, poverty and migration due to their wide-ranging global impact that will likely endure for many years to come. Given the sheer breadth of these issues, *Global Issues* has adopted an approach that focuses on facilitating a quick grasp of fundamental concepts needed for active participation in class discussions and critical evaluation of issues. It is hoped that the factsheets/infosheets and the views and perspectives articulated by notable individuals will give students a broad framework within which they can appreciate the dynamic development of global issues.

What this package is:

This package is meant to supplement your learning in class by spurring independent thinking and facilitating active discussion on questions and key issues. It is also intended for self-study to gain content knowledge, as well as reflection upon key issues raised. The articles in this package are selected and customised to be of the standard of comprehension expected of an A-level candidate. Related examination questions are highlighted beneath each article—these are meant to guide your thinking and focus your learning. For students interested in going further, links and suggested readings are provided where appropriate. For students requiring background information, particularly with regards to specific countries, additional links are also provided beneath the appropriate articles.

What this package is not:

This package is NOT an exercise in memory and regurgitation, nor is it a “model answer”. General Paper is not about thoughtless memorisation of facts and/or essay scaffolds. It is about close reading of sources, critical analysis of issues raised, and the formation and clear expression of your own logically sound opinions, which are substantiated by factual evidence.

Please note that American spelling has been retained for some articles as they are by American writers or from American publications.

2. Enduring Understandings and Essential Questions:

Enduring Understandings: What will students understand as a result of this unit?

EU1: Globalisation is a multi-faceted phenomenon: we see this **increased mobility, interconnectivity and exchange** economically, politically and socially.

EU2: The particular circumstances of different countries and individuals have a significant bearing on whether they are on the receiving end of the benefits or detriments of globalisation.

Globalisation has brought about progress in various areas. However, this progress brings tensions and consequences, which governments, international organisations and individuals need to address.

EU3: States use the transnational structures and bodies facilitated by globalisation to advance national interests, but these also create global responsibilities that need to be balanced alongside national interests.

EU4: One key **trade-off** resulting from globalisation is that between **economic growth and environmental sustainability**.

EU5: Another consequence is that while globalisation has generated wealth, uneven distribution of both resources and growth has contributed to **poverty and inequality**.

EU6: There are also social and cultural consequences; the **renewed interest in cultural preservation** and the rise of xenophobia are symptoms of the backlash against globalisation.

EU7: Additionally, there are geopolitical consequences: the nature of conflict has changed, in line with changing social, political, economic factors and technological advances.

EU8: Moreover, there are consequences for health security: **perennial health threats are exacerbated through transnational networks of people and goods**.

Essential Questions: What are the essential questions of this unit?

- Is globalisation a positive or negative development?
- Does globalisation make the state obsolete? How do global issues and interests influence the development of the state today?
- What forces influence, challenge, resist and/or conciliate and mitigate the processes and consequences of globalisation?
- What causes an issue to become a global issue?
- Is human security 'freedom from fear' or 'freedom from want', or both?

3. For Further Reading and Viewing

Recommended reading:

1. **50 facts that should change the world** by Jessica Williams (2004) [362.9090511 WIL]
2. **Beyond the Age of Innocence: Rebuilding Trust Between America and the World** by Kishore Mahbubani (2005) [327.73 MAH]
3. **Bound Together** by Nayan Chanda (2007)
4. **False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism** by John Gray (2002) [330.122 GRA]
5. **Journey Into Islam: The Crisis of Globalisation** by Akbar Ahmed (2007) [297.09 AHM]
6. **Globalisation and Its Discontents** (2002) and **Making Globalisation Work** (2006) by Joseph Stiglitz [337 STI]
– *the Nobel Prize-winning economist and former World Banker looks at the flaws of globalisation and suggests ways of making it work for both rich and poor.*
7. **In Defence of Globalisation** by Jagdish Bhagwati (2007) – *response to Stiglitz* [303.482 BHA]
8. **One No, Many Yeses: a journey to the heart of the global resistance movement** by Paul Kingsnorth (2004) – *informal travelogue* [303.484 KIN]
9. **The Borderless World** (1994) & **The End of the Nation State: The Rise of Regional Economies** (1996) by Kenichi Ohmae – *the management guru argues that nations are becoming obsolete from an economic viewpoint* [909.82 OHM/ 337.1 OHM]
10. **The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time** by Jeffrey Sachs (2005) – *analysis and guided tour of the world's poorest regions* 339.46 SAC]
11. **The Future of Globalisation: explorations in the light of recent turbulence** (ed.) by Ernesto Zedillo (2008) [337 FUR]
12. **The Globalisation Myth: Why the Protesters Have Got It Wrong** by Alan Shipman (2002) [338.88 SHI]
13. **The Clash of Civilisations and the Remaking of World Order** by Samuel P. Huntington (2002) [909.829 HUN]
14. **The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalisation** (2000) and **The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Globalised World in the 21st Century** (2005) by Thomas Friedman [337 FRI/ 303.4833 FRI]
15. **The New Asian Hemisphere : The Irresistible Shift of Power to the East** by Kishore Mahbubani (2008) [327.5 MAH]
16. **How To Avoid A Climate Disaster: The Solutions We Have and the Breakthroughs We Need** by Bill Gates (2021)

Recommended documentaries/films:

1. BBC Documentaries: **Masters of Money** and **Why Poverty?** (Available on YouTube)
2. **Illicit: The Dark Trade** (364.135 ILL)
3. **The Corporation (2003)** (Film is available on YouTube)
4. Economist: **Will covid kill globalisation? (2020)** (Available on YouTube)
5. Financial Times: **How the world could change in 2021** (Available on YouTube)

4. Related Cambridge and RI Essay Questions

Global Issues

A. Cambridge Exam Questions

1. 'Consumerism is more of a curse than a blessing.' How true is this of your society? (Cambridge 2022)
2. Since the extinction of species is a natural phenomenon, is there any point in trying to prevent it? (Cambridge 2022)
3. To what extent can individuals shape their own lives when the world is so unpredictable? (Cambridge 2022)
4. Are global tourism and travel still necessary when everything can be experienced or achieved online? (Cambridge 2021)
5. Given greater levels of international cooperation, how necessary is it for countries to engage in the arms trade? (Cambridge 2020)
6. Should politicians pursue the popular viewpoint or their own convictions, if they conflict? (Cambridge 2020)
7. How far can prosperity and uncontrolled population growth go hand in hand? (Cambridge 2020)
8. Is globalisation to be welcomed or feared today? (Cambridge 2019)
9. 'A leader's responsibility should always be to his or her own country, not other nations.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
10. How far should countries have relations with others whose human rights record is poor? (Cambridge 2019)
11. 'Science is the only answer to global hunger.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
12. 'In the global village we inhabit, there is no justification for national boundaries.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2018)
13. Discuss the view that all countries have an equal responsibility to counter terrorism. (Cambridge 2018)
14. 'Works of art which have been removed from their country of origin should be returned.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2018)
15. 'Foreign aid does not solve long-term problems.' To what extent is this a fair viewpoint? (Cambridge 2018)
16. 'Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2016)
17. 'No cause is ever worth dying for.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2015)
18. How far is it possible for one country to forgive another for its past actions? (Cambridge 2015)
19. How far should firms be allowed to limit their worker's rights when profits are at stake? (Cambridge 2014)
20. How far is it important for people to be aware of current events in countries other than their own? (Cambridge 2014)
21. Is there any point in trying to predict future trends? (Cambridge 2013)
22. 'The world would be a better place if more political leaders were women.' What is your view? (Cambridge 2013)
23. Discuss the claim that in the modern world people should care more about international than national issues. (Cambridge 2013)
24. Why should we be concerned with current affairs when most of them will soon be forgotten? (Cambridge 2013)
25. Is there any value in preserving minority languages in the world? (Cambridge 2012)
26. How far can an individual be held responsible for crimes against humanity? (Cambridge 2010)

B. RI Exam Questions

1. Consider the view that a more sustainable future lies in the way we eat, not in renewable energy. (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)

2. Big companies are concerned only with profits.' Is this a fair assessment? (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
3. 'Workers today have never had it better.' Is this an accurate view? (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
4. Is conflict inevitable in today's volatile world? (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
5. Consider the value of travelling for leisure in the world today. (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2022)
6. Consider the view that only the developed world can afford to be concerned about animal welfare. (RI Y6 CT 2021)
7. 'We have paid too high a price for globalisation.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT 2021)
8. 'International organisations are ineffective at resolving conflict.' To what extent do you agree? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
9. In view of the global health threats today, should international travel still be encouraged? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
10. Should international sporting events be used to highlight issues unrelated to sport? (RI Y5 Common Essay Assignment 2021)
11. 'International organisations are ineffective at resolving conflict.' To what extent do you agree? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
12. In view of the global health threats today, should international travel still be encouraged? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
13. Should a country still be concerned with national boundaries in today's interconnected world? (RI Y6 CT2 2020)
14. Why is it that, in spite of international efforts, world peace remains unattainable? (RI Y6 CT1 2020)
15. How effective have global efforts been in addressing the spread of diseases? (RI Y6 CT1 2020)
16. To what extent are young people in your society prepared for a world that is constantly changing? (RI Y6 Prelim 2019)
17. In the light of increasing security threats, should countries still embrace the notion of a borderless world? (RI Y6 CT2 2019)
18. Assess the view that international organisations are mostly ineffective. (RI Y6 Prelim 2018)
19. To what extent is the idea of a world with no national boundaries a realistic one? (RI Y6 CT2 2018)
20. 'The provision of financial or material aid to countries in need does more harm than good.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2018)
21. 'The surge of global tourism is starting to feel overwhelming.' Is this reflective of tourism today? (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
22. Should refugees be viewed as a burden in modern society? (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
23. Should international sporting events be used to highlight issues unrelated to sport? (RI Y5 CT 2018)
24. How far can scientific or technological developments be a solution to global problems? (RI Y5 CT 2018)
25. Is harmony possible in a diverse world? (RI Y6 CT2 2017)
26. 'In an increasingly uncertain world, there is little point in predicting the future.' Discuss. (RI Y6 Prelim 2017)
27. 'If you have not left your borders, you have not learnt much.' How true is this? (RI Y5 CT1 2017)
28. 'Migration should be encouraged in today's world.' How far do you agree? (RI Y6 CT1 2017)
29. Discuss the view that countries should always take in refugees. (RI Y6 CT1 2016)
30. 'The use of violence inevitably leads to more problems.' What is your view? (RI Y6 CT1 2016)
31. 'The strong do what they want, the weak suffer what they must.' To what extent is this true of the world today? (RI Y6 CT2 2016)
32. 'We care for the developed world at the expense of the developing world.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2016)
33. To what extent should the movement of people across borders be restricted in the modern world? (RI Y6 Prelim 2016)

34. Examine the extent to which one country's intervention in another country's problems is justified. (RI Y6 Prelim 2016)
35. Should international aid only be given to others during times of economic prosperity? (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)
36. Migration creates more problems than it provides solutions. Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2015)
37. Can the trade in weapons ever be justified? (RI Y6 CT2 2015)
38. 'All talk but no action.' Discuss this in relation to global response to acts of aggression today. (RI Y6 CT1 2015)
39. 'Migration is a necessity, not an option.' What do you think? (RI Y5 Promo 2015)
40. 'Human trafficking can never be abolished.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT1 2014)
41. 'Multiculturalism has failed utterly.' Is this an accurate assessment of societies today? (RI Y6 CT1 2014)
42. 'International cooperation has not solved the global problems of today.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2014)
43. With reference to the developments in the world today, to what extent would you agree that the future holds much promise for young people? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)
44. 'Globalisation has made us more vulnerable.' To what extent is this true? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)
45. Can we ever eliminate terrorism? (RI Y6 CT2 2013)
46. How important is it for an individual to be aware of international events and issues? (RI Y6 CT2 2013)
47. 'Foreign intervention in a developing nation does more harm than good.' Comment. (RI Y6 Prelims 2013)
48. "Developing countries can only benefit from tourism." Discuss. (RI Y5 CT 2012)
49. Consider the importance of global trends in your society. (RI Y5 CT 2012)
50. To what extent can a world that is increasingly multicultural be stable? (RI Y6 CT2 2012)
51. "Global businesses today have lost sight of their moral compass." Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2012)
52. "The rise of the East and fall of the West are inevitable." Do you agree? (RI Year 6 CT2 2012)
53. Consider the view that globalisation destroys culture. (RI Y5 CT 2011)
54. 'The prospect of a global village is a depressing one.' Discuss. (RI Y6 Prelims 2011)

Environment

A. Cambridge Exam Questions

1. Assess the view that attempts to control climate change can never be truly effective. (Cambridge 2017)
2. Assess the view that most natural disasters are the result of human activity. (Cambridge 2016)
3. In your society, how well are the demands of the economy and the environment balanced? (Cambridge 2015)
4. Should there be any controls over the production of energy when the need for it is so great? (Cambridge 2015)
5. Discuss the view that, with an increasing global need for energy, every possible source should be exploited to the full. (Cambridge 2014)
6. How important is it to save plant and animal species which are in danger of extinction? (Cambridge 2013)

B. RI Exam Questions

1. 'Sustainable development is not sustainable.' Comment. (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2022)
2. How far do you agree that good governance is key to the protection of the environment? (RI Y6 Prelim 2021)
3. 'Saving the environment is all talk and no action.' Do you agree? (RI Y5 CT 2021)
4. 'As long as economic goals remain a priority, the environment is a lost cause.' Comment. (RI Y6 Prelim 2020)
5. 'All countries should have an equal responsibility in tackling climate change.' How far do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2020)
6. 'The effects of environmental degradation impact the poor the hardest.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2018)
7. 'The best way to combat climate change is through education.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT1 2018)

8. 'Consumerism is a curse on the environment.' Discuss. (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
9. 'All talk and no action.' How accurately does this describe environmental conservation today? (RI Y6 CT1 2017)
10. 'The greatest obstacle to environment conservations is human apathy.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2016)
11. In times of economic difficulty, should a country still be concerned with environmental conservation? (RI Y6 Prelim 2016)
12. Examine the claim that not enough has been done for the environment in your society. (RI Y5 Promo 2016)
13. 'The developed world should bear the burden of climate change.' Discuss. (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)
14. 'Not enough is being done to protect endangered animals.' Do you agree? (RI Y5 CT1 2015)
15. 'The environment should be the responsibility of the individual, not the government.' Comment. (RI Y6 Prelim 2014)
16. 'Everyone should be involved.' How practical is this approach in tackling environmental issues? (RI Y5 Promo 2013)
17. Consider the view that economic growth always brings environmental damage. (RI Y6 CT1 2013)
18. "Protecting the environment is a futile pursuit." Discuss (RI Y5 Promo 2012)
19. Discuss the view that the environment can only be saved through the efforts of developed nations. (RI Y6 Prelims 2011)
20. Are concerns about the need for us to conserve the environment exaggerated? (RI Y5 Promo 2011)
21. Should the responsibility for environmental conservation be shouldered solely by developed nations? (RI Y5 CT 2010)
22. 'Going green is a luxury only developed countries can afford.' Comment. (RI Y6 CT1 2010)

World Poverty and Health

A. Cambridge Exam Questions

1. How far can prosperity and uncontrolled population growth go hand in hand? (Cambridge 2020)
2. 'Science is the only answer to global hunger.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
3. In times of economic hardship, should a country still be expected to provide financial or material aid to others? (Cambridge 2014)
4. How effective are international efforts to ease the problem of global hunger? (Cambridge 2010)

B. RI Exam Questions

1. 'The solution to global hunger is simply about providing more food.' How far do you agree? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2022)
2. Consider the impact of technology on world hunger today. (RI Y6 CT2 2019)
3. Assess the impact of technology on health in today's world. (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
4. 'The effects of environmental degradation impact the poor the hardest.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2018)
5. 'To what extent is education an effective way to combat poverty?' (RI Y5 CT1 2017)
6. 'Eradicating poverty is a battle we have no chance of winning.' Do you agree? (RI Y5 Promo 2016)
7. 'Disease is the greatest threat facing mankind today.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)
8. Is it possible to do more to protect the children of the world? (RI Y6 CT2 2013)
9. 'Make poverty history.' Is this a realistic goal? (RI Y5 CT 2013)
10. 'The problem of global food shortage can never be resolved.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 Prelim 2013)
11. Consider the view that modern technology is the only answer to world hunger. (RI Y6 Prelim 2012)
12. To what extent can international aid be truly effective? (RI Y6 CT2 2010)

SECTION A: FOUNDATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Reading 1: Globalisation – An Explainer

EU 1-5

This reading helps you understand:

- What globalisation really is
- How it is best conceptualised and defined
- How globalisation contributes to the emergence of a distorted global politics which is highly skewed in favour of a global political elite
- Some ethical challenges posed by the realities of this distorted global politics
- How a hyper-connected world has changed the face of globalisation

Globalisation has become one of the defining buzzwords of our time - a term that describes a variety of complex economic, political, cultural, ideological, and environmental forces that are rapidly altering our experience of the world.

A. What is globalisation? Is it simply inter-connectedness?

It is a process characterised by:

1. A **stretching of social, political, and economic activities across political frontiers** so that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe. Civil wars and conflicts in the world's poorest regions, for instance, increase the flow of asylum seekers and illegal migrants into the world's affluent countries.
2. The intensification, or the **growing magnitude**, of **inter-connectedness**, in almost every sphere of social existence from the economic to the ecological, from the activities of Microsoft to the harmful spread of microbes, such as the SARS virus, from the intensification of world trade to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.
3. The **accelerating pace of global interactions** and process as the evolution of worldwide systems of **transport and communication** increases the rapidity and velocity with which ideas, news, goods, information, capital, and technology move around the world. **Routine telephone banking interactions in the UK are handled by call centres in India in real time**, while the 2008 financial crisis displayed a synchronised collapse of stock markets within hours rather than in weeks as in the Great Crash of 1929. Look at how Covid-19 is spreading across the world.
4. The **growing extensity, intensity, and velocity** of global interactions is associated with a deepening enmeshment of the local and global in so far as local events may come to have global consequences and global events can have serious local consequences, creating a growing collective awareness or consciousness of the world as a shared social space, that is **globalism**. Clearly, there is more to globalisation than simply inter-connectedness.

B. What are the engines of globalisation?

1. **Technology**: central to any account of globalisation since it is a truism that without a **modern communications infrastructure**, a global system or worldwide economy would not be possible
2. **Economics**: as crucial as technology; **capitalism's insatiable demand for new markets and profits** inevitably leads to the globalisation of economic activity
3. **Politics**: shorthand here for ideas, interests, and power; if technology provides the physical infrastructure of globalisation, politics provides its normative structure.
4. **Culture**: Cultural consumption, which is the sharing of ideas, meanings, hobbies, and values around the world intensifies social relations. This process has been diffused by the Internet, popular culture, the media, and international travel.

C. What are the patterns of contemporary globalisation?

Globalisation, to varying degrees, is evident in all the principal sectors of social interaction:

1. Economic:

- In the economic sphere, patterns of worldwide trade, finance and production are creating global markets, and in the process, a single global capitalist economy.
- MNCs organise production and marketing on a global basis while the operation of global financial markets determines which countries get credit and upon what terms.

2. Military:

- In the military domain, the **global arms trade**, the proliferation of WMDs, the growth of transnational terrorism, the growing significance of military corporations, and the discourse of global insecurity point to the existence of a global military order.

3. Legal:

- The expansion of **transnational and international law** from **trade to human rights** alongside the creation of new world legal institutions such as the International Criminal Court is indicative of an emerging global legal order.

4. Ecological:

- A shared ecology involves shared **environmental problems, from global warming to species protection**, alongside the creation of multilateral responses and regimes of global environmental governance.

5. Cultural:

- This involves a complex mix of homogenisation and increased heterogeneity given the **global diffusion of popular culture, global media corporations, communications networks, etc.** simultaneously with the reassertion of nationalism, ethnicity, and difference. Few cultures are hermetically sealed off from cultural interaction.

6. Social:

- Shifting patterns of migration from South to North and East to West have turned migration into a major global issue as movements come close to the record levels of the great 19th century movements of people.

7. Health:

- Globalisation and surging trade and travel within countries and across national borders has **lifted billions out of poverty** but has also **spread infectious diseases**.
 - o E.g. The epicentre of Covid-19, Wuhan, is typical of many mid-size Chinese cities. In 30 years it has grown from 2 million to over 11 million people, and average incomes have shot up. As in other mushrooming cities, poor hygiene and lax enforcement of regulations co-exist with people and animals living in proximity, near airports from which a virus can spread anywhere in 36 hours.
- Pandemics are unlike other global risks in that they can originate anywhere. In the case of threats posed by financial systems, climate change, antibiotic resistance or in cyber space, a few actors can reduce the risk. Not so with pandemics, where **capacity to monitor and intervene to isolate outbreaks everywhere is vital**, especially in the poorest countries. A global effort to develop vaccines is needed. Sharing information and resources is essential.

D. Globalisation and Ethical Challenges

Globalisation is a powerful force, but because by definition it extends across political and social boundaries, the traditional mechanisms which shape and control human behaviour and decision making may prove ineffective in maintaining ethical behaviour and decision making.

There is nothing wrong with greater manifestations of social interdependence that emerge as a result of globalisation. However, these transformative social processes must have a moral compass and an ethical

polestar guiding our collective efforts: the building of a truly egalitarian global order that protects universal human rights without destroying the cultural diversity that is the lifeblood of human evolution.

Focus: TNCs/Global Businesses and Ethical Dilemmas

Since the 1970s, globalisation, deregulation and technological change triggered a rapid expansion of multinational corporations (MNCs) to every corner of the planet. **By the year 2000, some 63,000 multinational companies with more than 690,000 foreign affiliates accounted for 25% of world production.** These “new Leviathans” became increasingly powerful and regulating them became more challenging. Corporations took advantage of regulatory arbitrage, relocating to low tax jurisdictions and lax regulations on labour and environment. Multinationals structured global value chains by relocating purchase, sales, support and product development activities to locations where they could be done better, faster or cheaper. These are major ethical dilemmas facing TNCs.

1. Labour standards

When companies started offshoring in the 1960s and 1970s, they wanted to take advantage of **lower costs** available overseas, especially in less developed economies. Offshoring raised a number moral dilemmas ranging from sweatshops, child labour, differences in worker safety standards, etc.

2. Environmental standards:

Technological progress triggered exponential growth in human ability to alter the environment. While this has countless benefits, it also raises a number of dilemmas about the use of natural resources in societies with poor environmental regulations.

3. Human rights

Global businesses linked to operations with governments accused of violating human rights

4. Cultural diversity

Principles of international law hold that corporations ought to respect the customs and culture of the communities where they operate. Traditional values can be lost to the homogenising trends introduced by globally integrated production processes. Some amount of change is inevitable and certain local practices may not deserve protection if they violate important minimum global norms.

5. Corruption

Corruption is a concept that agglomerates practices ranging from multi-million dollar payments to high government officials to a few dollars bribe to a low-level bureaucrat. It is estimated that over \$1 trillion are paid in bribes annually, which squanders public resources and deprives millions of food, education and other government services to which they are entitled.

However, when should a norm be respected because of cultural diversity considerations and when should it be ignored because it violates a global minimum?

Case Study: Global production networks: Apple’s iPhone and iPad

- How should a company behave when the standards followed in the host country are lower than those followed in the home country?
- Do global production networks have ethical implications for consumers? Why or why not?

Across the world there are literally hundreds of millions of Apple product users, from the iPhone to the iPad. You may be one yourself. Have you ever thought about where these products are designed, manufactured, and assembled? Certainly many politicians do, as the practice of outsourcing production has become highly politicised given its impact on jobs and economic welfare. Such consequences are complex as there are both winners and losers, locally and globally. As consumers, we are often unaware of the extensive webs of global production and distribution

networks behind the products we purchase or the mobile devices that we hold in the palms of our hands.

These devices involve an extensive global production and distribution network, from design teams at Apple headquarters in the US to assembly plants in China and Brazil and over 700 suppliers across the world from Malaysia to Malta. To this must be added the global raw material supplier networks, for instance, cobalt for batteries, which are essential to the manufacture of every single component. There is no simple response to the question: where are iPhones and iPads made? The most accurate but least illuminating response might be: everywhere.

Global production networks are integral to our daily lives whether as consumers, workers, or producers. They raise novel and profound ethical, social, and political questions for us both as individuals and citizens. **In an economically interdependent world, we now have a shared responsibility for the fate and well-being of workers and communities in distant parts of the world.**

Read:

The Guardian: Life and Death in Apple's Forbidden City

<https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2017/jun/18/foxconn-life-death-forbidden-city-longhua-suicide-apple-iphone-brian-merchant-one-device-extract>

Research:

What are some major ethical dilemmas that Apple faces in the 21st century?

E. Opposing Opinions: Is globalisation a source of order or disorder in world politics?

For	Against
<i>Globalisation contributes to order by promoting interdependence and prosperity</i> - deepening interdependence and the spread of prosperity reinforce global stability and the diffusion of democracy	<i>Globalisation is a source of great power competition</i> - globalisation is an instrument of great power politics and control such that it is a source of inter-state rivalry and therefore global instability
<i>Interdependence promotes peaceful relations among great powers</i> - globalisation has been associated with the 'long peace' between the superpowers during the Cold War and the decline of inter-state war	<i>Globalisation creates an increasingly divided and fractious world order</i> - Ipso facto capitalist globalisation is responsible for intensifying worldwide inequalities, economic rivalry, competition for resources, environmental degradation, and economic insecurity, producing a highly unstable world order primed for recurrent crises and conflict
<i>Globalisation enhances human security</i> - Economic globalisation has contributed to an unprecedented reduction in people living in poverty and an expanding global middle class, both of which are associated with the conditions for global stability, security, and peace.	<i>Globalisation is a source of conflict and insecurity</i> - Globalisation is sometimes viewed as neo-imperialism in many parts of the world - This has provoked cultural, political, and sometimes violent backlashes, followed by Western counter-responses which all make for an increasingly unruly and disordered world
<i>Globalisation creates the conditions for a more stable world order</i>	<i>Globalisation generates the conditions for a more unruly world</i>

- Globalisation has contributed to the emergence of new power centres and thereby to a multipolar world order limiting the likelihood of any single power becoming a dominant or a global hegemon	- The same infrastructure that enables globalisation also facilitates transnational criminal activity, human trafficking, the drugs trade, transnational terrorism, and other forces that contribute to societal insecurity and an unruly world
<i>Globalisation requires shared rules, thereby promoting the international rule of law</i> - With globalisation has come a growing rule of law in international relations and the emergence of a global civil society, both of which contribute to stability and world order	<i>Globalisation is a source of crisis</i> - In a more inter-connected world, the everyday functioning of societies is increasingly vulnerable to distant threats or systemic crises, from cyber disruption to terror attacks, from the global financial crisis to health pandemics, generating new insecurities and instabilities that make for a disorderly world

F. How does globalisation affect our everyday life?

1. Globalisation also influences everyday life as much as it does events happening on a world scale. Globalisation isn't only about what is 'out there', remote and far away from the individual. It is an 'in here' phenomenon too, influencing intimate and personal aspects of our lives.
2. The debate about family values (sexuality, marriage, and family values), for example, that is going on in many countries might seem far removed from globalising influences. It isn't. Traditional family systems are becoming transformed, or are under strain, in many parts of the world, particularly as women stake claim to greater equality. There has never before been a society, so far as we know from the historical record, in which women have been even approximately equal to men. In most parts of the world, women are staking claim to greater autonomy than in the past and are entering the labour force in large numbers. This is a truly global revolution in everyday life, whose consequences are being felt around the world in spheres from work to politics.
3. Such aspects of globalisation are at least as important as those happening in the global market-place. They contribute to the stresses and strains affecting traditional ways of life and cultures in most regions of the world. The traditional family is under threat, is changing, and will change much further. Other traditions, such as those connected with religion, are also experiencing major transformations.
4. An emerging consequence of the above is that the battleground of the twenty-first century will pit fundamentalism against cosmopolitan tolerance. In a globalising world, where information and images are routinely transmitted across the globe, we are all regularly in contact with others who think differently, and live differently, from ourselves. Cosmopolitans welcome and embrace this cultural complexity. Fundamentalists find it disturbing and dangerous. Whether in the areas of religion, ethnic identity or nationalism, they take refuge in a renewed and purified tradition – and, quite often, violence.

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SECTION A: FOUNDATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Reading 2: World Order and Challenges to It - Understanding the State of the World Today

EU 3, 7

This set of FAQs helps you:

- Understand the state of the world today
- The evolving power dynamics between nation-states, in particular, the superpowers
- The role of international organisations and non-state actors in shifting the geopolitical balance of power

1) What is the world order and why do we want to understand it?

The world order refers to a global system recognised by most countries, especially a set of arrangements established internationally for preserving global political stability. It is an international relations term describing the distribution of power amongst world powers.

Particularly today, as the balance of power shifts from a **unipolar world order to a multipolar world order**, it is important for us to understand this evolving and dynamic polarity. As nations shift and re-align themselves in the geopolitical balance of power, it affects every aspect of our lives, from large-scale multi-lateral intervention into wars, to economic disruptions in global and national trade, to local policy-making that affects the lives of everyone in society.

2) Wait, what is polarity?

This refers to how power is distributed amongst the world powers. For instance, in a *unipolar world order* (the world, since the collapse of the USSR, which left America as the sole superpower), there is only *one* superpower¹, who sets out the rules of international engagement, and acts as the arbiter in conflict situations.

This has both strengths as well as flaws, as with only one dominant power in the world, there can be stability and peace. However, the assumption is that the sole superpower acts *in the best interests of the world*. We can pause here to consider: to what extent has America in the past decades acted for the betterment of all nations?

In a bi- or multi-polar world order, there are more than one superpower. This can be beneficial for other countries, as the power of a dominant nation can be checked. However, it can also be a source of greater conflict and tension, as with more than one superpower, other nations can be drawn into unnecessary conflict, and are forced to choose sides.

This is more or less the state of the current world: we are changing **from a unipolar world order to an unknown world order**. America is waning in might economically, financially and technologically, in addition to Trump's isolationist approach which deliberately withdraws America from international engagements ranging from climate change pacts to trade deals and beyond. Meanwhile, China is rising fast, in particular, in the economic arena. With its stipulated globalist approach (evident in projects such as the One Belt One Road initiative), China is concertedly building diplomatic ties with other nations and investing heavily into them. Then there is Russia as well, with Vladimir Putin as a strongman, often allied with China.

¹ *Superpowers refer to nations which dominate the world in terms of wealth, economy & trade, science & technology, military might and even soft cultural power.

This sets up much global tension, as a waning superpower (the U.S.) is confronted with an emergent superpower (China) as well as a resurgent one (Russia). The current US-China trade war is one manifestation of this conflict: it has affected many other nations apart from just the superpowers themselves, as global supply chains are hit and countries forced to choose sides.

In addition, proxy wars—such as that in Syria (with the US supporting anti-government rebels, and China and Russia supporting the government of Bashar al-Assad)—lead to protracted conflict in other nations, which are dragged into this battle for world supremacy². It also lends itself to the emergence of phenomena such as terrorism and international criminal cartels, who take the opportunity to run operations in weak nations where a power vacuum exists, due to lack of government. For instance, the conflict in Syria led to a power vacuum which resulted in the emergence of ISIS, just as the overthrow of Gaddafi in Libya in 2011 (direct intervention by NATO to support the rebels) led to human trafficking rings operating openly in Libya, where the current government is powerless to stop such crime³.

3) Okay, given this current battle for global dominance amongst superpowers, what are the challenges we may see in the coming years?

There are many challenges on multiple fronts. Three of the most pressing ones are:

(i) The return of geopolitical competition and the risk of superpower conflict (otherwise known as Great Power conflict)

Since 1991, the world has enjoyed a great power peace where war between the major states was highly unlikely. Unfortunately, this period appears to be ending. Several major powers are engaged in a robust security competition. The greatest risk stems from the rivalry between China and Japan in the East China Sea but rivalry also exists in Southeast Asia, between the United States and China, and to a lesser degree in Eastern Europe. In the Middle East, old enemies Iran and Saudi Arabia consistently destabilise the region through covert and overt means. The return of great power security competition not only threatens global peace—it might also complicate international cooperation to tackle common challenges.

(ii) Contagion effect in the global economic order

Many funds invest globally now as compared with the past. As well, global supply chains are now interlinked: an Apple iPhone for instance, could have its parts coming from factories in at least 5 different countries⁴. This means that when a trade war occurs, or if there is disruption in one country (due to natural disasters, epidemics economic sanctions, etc.), global supplies of goods and services could be badly affected. We see this in the Covid-19 situation happening in 2020: with countries in lockdown, trade freezes almost instantly, and countries will almost certainly be in recession. In addition, there is the complex new reality of the two top economies of U.S and China having very different structural dimensions and levels of per capita development: how they approach trade and allow for investments are different, and multi-national corporations need to be equipped to handle this.

(iii) The emergence of non-state actors

With the advancement of technology, in particular in weaponry and communications technology, there are new challenges to world order from an unconventional source: non-state actors.

Non-state actors refer to non-governmental parties, who have the power to influence events globally. Their influence could be beneficial or disruptive. From your ordinary man-in-the-street, who may launch a global campaign via social media activism—commonly referred to as the Fifth Estate—to international organisations,

² <https://time.com/5162409/syria-civil-war-proxy-battles/>

³ <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-libya-trafficking-migrants-trfn/trafficking-risk-high-for-hundreds-of-migrants-sent-back-to-libya-idUSKBN1ZE15G>

⁴ <https://www.lifewire.com/where-is-the-iphone-made-1999503>

multi-national corporations, terrorist groups as well crime cartels, there are many players now who can work to stabilise or destabilise world order.

For instance, the Arab Spring which began in 2010 and the “Liberate Hong Kong” movement (slogan first popularised in 2016) were mostly started by citizens, who organised themselves via social media. The former resulted in the overthrow of many Middle Eastern dictators, while the latter poses one of the trickiest challenges to China’s paramount leader, Xi Jinping. Social media also lays claim to many hashtag activism movements which have raised global awareness of a number of causes, such as #MeToo to #BlackLivesMatter, and even to nation-specific issues, such as #BringBackOurGirls.

Terror groups now operate internationally as well, with cells in multiple countries: while Al-Qaeda is no longer as it was under Osama bin Laden, the group today has splintered into many different cells, which operate from countries as diverse as Pakistan, Algeria, Yemen and more. The power vacuums in weak nations such as Syria, Libya, and Yemen provide hotbeds and breeding grounds in which these groups can operate. In addition, with terror groups utilising the Internet, extremist ideology and propaganda spread beyond national borders now, and people who are discontented and disenfranchised within their own countries can become radicalised online, even without leaving their homes. The list of terror groups is endless: al-shabab, ISIS, Boke Haram... All of these groups cause problems for governments in the spectres of protracted conflict zones with multiple warlords and terror groups fighting for power, and lone wolf attacks, which occur in developed nations.

For further reading:

- <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-state-of-the-international-order/>
- <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2018/01/five-facts-you-need-to-understand-the-new-global-order/>

4) If this is world order, then where do international organisations (IOs) come in? What are IOs?

International organisations can be either governmental or non-governmental. International governmental organisations (IGOs) comprise of member states, who agree together on standards, protocols and conventions, which are then carried out in individual states. They provide a platform for collaboration and decision-making, as well as enable pooling of resources and coordination of efforts in the resolution of globalised or localised crises. The U.N is one such example, as are the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation.

International non-governmental organisations (INGOs) are essentially NGOs which have extended their operations to a global scale. These are mostly non-partisan, and have clearly stated aims and missions. For instance, the International Committee of the Red Cross’ mission is to ensure humanitarian protection of civilians affected by armed conflict and violence, and it is neutral⁵. Similarly, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF, or Doctors without Borders) is guided by its principles of adherence to medical ethics, impartiality, independence and neutrality⁶. These INGOs can play a critical role, particularly in relief operations in conflict zones due to their neutrality.

5) Are these IOs important in a globalised world?

IOs can be highly important, as they provide a way for the world to work together in the resolution of issues. With the ability to collaborate and cooperate, the international community thus can pool resources and information more efficiently and act in a clear, standardised manner, than if every country were to act on its own haphazardly.

⁵ <https://www.icrc.org/en/who-we-are/mandate>

⁶ <https://www.msf.org/>

This is evident in the current Covid-19 crisis—with WHO coordination and member states sharing information as well as scientific research, nations can rapidly learn from each other as well as share information on the movement of people across borders, such that the pandemic can be (hopefully) stopped. It is also evident in natural disasters in particular: with coordinated efforts, it ensures that those affected receive the help needed, while minimising wastage of resources.

International treaties and conventions also provide a way for the world to decide upon clear standards of acceptable behaviour, and form a platform to bring errant nation-states to task. For instance, the Geneva Conventions set out the rules of engagement for armed conflict, and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as well as the International Criminal Court (ICC) provide platforms for nations and citizens to seek redress for war crimes, which are often beyond the ability of individual nations to arbitrate impartially.

6) Sounds good; but are there any pitfalls and downsides to IOs?

One major negative of IOs is that the treaties signed are non-ratifying. That is to say, while there may be conventions and standards drawn up, they are not legally-binding. Thus, countries do not necessarily have to obey rulings. Rogue nations such as North Korea routinely choose to disregard standards, just as America can, and has, unilaterally decide on military intervention in other nations, even if the UN opposes (See Iraq War of 2003).

Another downside is that IOs are often beholden to powerful member states; as such, they may often do the bidding of their wealthiest sponsors, or end up in a situation of gridlock when powerful member states disagree, which delays necessary action. This can be seen in the WHO's refusal to grant Taiwan observer status in the world body, and its lateness in declaring a pandemic—despite clear indications at least a month earlier, and the WHO's own vision of health for all peoples and to keep the world safe⁷—as China is a powerful sponsor of the WHO. It can also be seen in the gridlock over Syria, and in the annexation of Crimea, where the superpowers are in de facto proxy wars.

Even INGOs are not necessarily better, as there can be mismanagement of funds and lack of transparency in accountability⁸. In 2019, the Associated Press (AP) announced that the WHO had launched an investigation into the U.N. agency, UNICEF, and other international agencies for financial fraud in Yemen. Allegedly, billions of untraceable dollars in aid had been received by the INGO's since 2015.

In all, IOs play a critical role in maintaining global peace and stability, however, they also have downsides to them.

⁷ <https://www.who.int/about/who-we-are/our-values>

⁸ <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/05/red-cross-haiti-black-hole-accountability-international-aid>

SECTION A: FOUNDATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Reading 3: The Global Economy: Issues and Implications

EU 1-2, 5

Adapted from *How does the global economy work?* | www.edology.com | Undated

This reading will help you to:

- Gain a broad understanding of how the global economy functions and also be made aware of the meaning of specific terms used in such contexts.
- Understand the pros and cons of having a global economy and the wider impact that it has on the rest of the world.

The global economy has changed significantly over the past few decades, in the way that it is organised and governed by collaborating nations. These changes have repercussions that not only affect the flow of goods and services between countries, but also the movement of people. As we've seen on occasions over the last century, too great a fluctuation in this international economic system can lead to a global economic crisis.

What is a global economy?

The global economy refers to the interconnected worldwide economic activities that take place between multiple countries. These economic activities can have either a positive or negative impact on the countries involved.

The global economy comprises several characteristics, such as:

Globalisation: Globalisation describes a process by which national and regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through the global network of trade, communication, immigration, and transportation. These developments led to the advent of the global economy. Due to the global economy and globalisation, domestic economies have become cohesive, leading to an improvement in their performances.

International trade: International trade is considered to be an impact of globalisation. It refers to the exchange of goods and services between different countries, and it has also helped countries to specialise in products which they have a comparative advantage in. This is an economic theory that refers to an economy's ability to produce goods and services at a lower opportunity cost than its trade partners.

International finance: Money can be transferred at a faster rate between countries compared to goods, services, and people; making international finance one of the primary features of a global economy. International finance consists of topics like currency exchange rates and monetary policy.

Global investment: This refers to an investment strategy that is not constrained by geographical boundaries. Global investment mainly takes place via foreign direct investment (FDI).

Why is the global economy important?

We can understand the importance of the global economy by looking at it in relation to emerging markets:

Economic importance at a micro and macro level: The increase in the world's population has led to emerging markets growing economically, making them one of the primary engines of world economic growth. The growth and resilience shown by emerging markets is a good sign for the world economy. Before delving into the next point, you need to understand the concept of microeconomics. It refers to the study of the behaviour of households, individuals, and firms with respect to the allocation of resources and decision-making. In simpler terms, this branch of economics studies how people make decisions, what factors affect their decisions, and how these decisions affect the price, demand, and

supply of goods in the market. Therefore, from the perspective of microeconomics, some of the largest firms with high market value and a few of the richest individuals in the world hail from these emerging markets, which has helped in the higher distribution of income in these countries. However, many of these emerging countries are still plagued by poverty, and work still needs to be done to work towards eradicating it.

Long-term world economic outlook: According to financial and economic projections based on demographic trends and capital productivity models, the GDP in emerging market economies in 2019 are likely to keep increasing at a positive rate. According to an emerging markets economic forecast for 2019 conducted by Focus Economics, the economy is set to increase by 7.5% in India, 6.6% in Philippines, 6.3% in China, 5.3% in Indonesia, 5.1% in Egypt, 4.9% in Malaysia, 3.8% in Peru and 3.7% in Morocco.

Who controls the global economy?

Many people think that the global economy is controlled by governments of the largest economies in the world, but this is a common misconception. Although governments do hold power over countries' economies, it is the big banks and large corporations that control and essentially fund these governments. This means that the global economy is dominated by large financial institutions. According to world economic news, US banks participate in many traditional government businesses like power production, oil refining and distribution, and also the operating of public assets such as airports and train stations. This was proven when certain members of the US Congress sent a letter to the Federal Reserve Chairman Ben Bernanke. Here's an excerpt from the letter:

"Here are a few examples. Morgan Stanley imported 4 million barrels of oil and petroleum products into the United States in June, 2012. Goldman Sachs stores aluminium in vast warehouses in Detroit as well as serving as a commodities derivatives dealer. This "bank" is also expanding into the ownership and operation of airports, toll roads, and ports. JP Morgan markets electricity in California. In other words, Goldman Sachs, JP Morgan and Morgan Stanley are no longer just banks – they have effectively become oil companies, port and airport operators, commodities dealers, and electric utilities as well."

How does the global economy work?

The functioning of the global economy can be explained through one word —transactions. International transactions taking place between top economies in the world help in the continuance of the global economy. These transactions mainly comprise trade taking place between different countries. International trade includes the exchange of a variety of products between countries. It ranges all the way from fruits and foods, to natural oil and weapons. Such transactions have a number of benefits including:

- Providing a foundation for worldwide economic growth, with the international economy set to grow by 4% in 2019 (source: World Trade Organisation);
- Encouraging competitiveness between countries in various markets;
- Raising productivity and efficiency across countries;
- Helping in the development of underdeveloped countries by allowing them to import capital goods (machinery and industrial raw materials) and export primary goods (natural resources and raw materials).

What are the effects of global economy?

Nearly every country in the world is in some way affected by things that happen in what may seem at times, like unrelated countries - due to the influence of the global economy. A good example of this is the economic impact that the Brexit vote will have on other countries, not only in Europe, but across the

75 globe. Brexit was referendum decision for the United Kingdom to withdraw from the European Union (EU).

The main cause of these effects is economics — based on the production and exchange of goods and services. Restrictions on the import and export of goods and services can potentially hamper the economic stability of countries who choose to impose too many. The purpose of international trade is similar to that of trading within a country. However, international trade differs from domestic trade in two aspects:

85 The currencies of at least two countries are involved in international trade, so they must be exchanged before goods and services can be exported or imported; occasionally, countries enforce barriers on the international trade of certain goods or services which can disrupt the relations between two countries.

Countries usually specialise in those products that they can produce efficiently, which helps in reducing overall manufacturing costs. Then, countries trade these products with other countries, whose product specialisation is something else altogether. Having greater specialisation helps countries take advantage of economies of scale. Economies of scale refer to the proportionate saving in costs gained by an increased level of production. Manufacturers in these countries can focus all their efforts on building factories for specialised production, instead of spending additional money on the production of various types of goods.

Occasionally countries add barriers to international trade. Some of these barriers include trade tariffs (taxes on imports) and trade quotas (limitation on the number of products that can be imported into a country). Trade barriers often affect the economies of the trading countries, and in the long run, it becomes difficult to keep employing such barriers.

What are the benefits of global economy?

There are numerous benefits of a global economy, which include:

100 **Free trade:** Free trade is an excellent method for countries to exchange goods and services. It also allows countries to specialise in the production of those goods in which they have a comparative advantage.

Movement of labour: Increased migration of the labour force is advantageous for the recipient country as well as for the workers. If a country is going through a phase of high unemployment, workers can look for jobs in other countries. This also helps in reducing geographical inequality.

105 **Increased economies of scale:** The specialisation of goods production in most countries has led to advantageous economic factors such as lower average costs and lower prices for customers.

Increased investment: Due to the presence of global economy, it has become easier for countries to attract short-term and long-term investment. Investments in developing countries go a long way in improving their economies.

Factors affecting the global economy

110 According to the latest economic news, here are some of the key factors that influence and affect how well the global economy works:

1. Natural resources;
2. Infrastructure
3. Population
4. Labour
- 115 5. Human capital
6. Technology
7. Law

For discussion/reflection:

- The author asserts that in effect, ‘big banks and large corporations’ (line 47) control the global economy, rather than governments. What are some reasons why this might be unacceptable?
- Lines 98 – 108 list the benefits of the global economy. In your opinion, are these benefits accessible to all? Why or why not? Explain why specific groups are more and less able to enjoy these benefits.

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Is globalisation to be welcomed or feared today? (Cambridge 2019)
2. Is there any point in trying to predict future trends? (Cambridge 2013)
3. ‘We have paid too high a price for globalisation.’ Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT 2021)
4. ‘Globalisation has made us more vulnerable.’ To what extent is this true? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)

SECTION A: FOUNDATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

Reading 4: Is it too late for the US to join the CPTPP?

EU 1-3

Christian La Miere | Channel News Asia | 26 November 2020

This reading will help you to:

- Understand the implications of trade agreements in terms of why some countries need to forge such economic ties while acknowledging that some trade-offs are necessary
- Understand why free trade agreements often meet with domestic opposition
- Recognise the political and social ramifications when things go wrong via a recent case study for analysis.

In the wake of the signing of the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) on Nov 15, trade has again become a key issue for Asian geopolitics and geoeconomics. RCEP was a clear indication that Asian states would press on, and even undertake the heavy lifting of drawing up regional trade agreements without the leadership or participation of the US. Now, another agreement that formerly involved the US is set to be the focus for regional diplomacy. Just days after the RCEP agreement, as the ink was still drying, Chinese President Xi Jinping gave a speech to the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation CEO Dialogue.

Xi left little doubt that China will continue to pursue multilateral trade agreements in the region. In fact, he suggested that Beijing would be open to joining the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP). But a Biden administration has also indicated its desire to re-join the CPTPP, setting up a binary choice for current members on the direction the agreement should take.

Not so easy for China to join CPTPP

The CPTPP is one of myriad agreements in Asia – which analysts often refer to as the “noodle bowl” of multiple and sometimes overlapping accords – but with a very different genesis to the RCEP. While the RCEP came about as an extension of existing trade agreements signed by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations with other states, the CPTPP is the successor to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which brought together a disparate group of 12 nations around the Pacific rim to draw up a more ambitious set of trading rules.

20 The TPP died in January 2017, when the new Trump administration withdrew from the agreement (despite it already being signed), and the 11 remaining nations decided to continue as the CPTPP. However, without US involvement and pressing for more stringent trade liberalisations and rules, the CPTPP watered down some 22 provisions, including issues on intellectual property, patent protection and investor-state dispute settlement. The CPTPP may still be a stretch for China to join. In contrast
25 to the RCEP, the CPTPP ensures member states share information on state-owned enterprises and their subsidisation, a key step to limiting or at least regulating state intervention.

For China, whose economy relies heavily on state-owned enterprises and state control, this might prove too onerous a request to contemplate joining. The CPTPP also includes higher-level labour standards that require members to legislate acceptable conditions of work that might make Beijing
30 wary given its vast and cheap labour pool for low-cost manufacturing.

US outside of growing trade in Asia

Nevertheless, the fact that this discussion is happening at all in public is testament to the fact that China is looking to distinguish itself from the US as an engaged member of the regional trade process. Asia, meanwhile, having been dismayed by the Trump administration's isolationism, seems keen to
35 move on even without US involvement. They have done this through signing the RCEP and now with leading trading nations such as Japan reportedly eager to expand the CPTPP.

The US therefore now finds itself on the outside of key decisions being made and structures being built in Asia. The country's exclusion from Asia-Pacific decision-making was aptly symbolised by a stark visual reminder last week. As the 21 heads of government and state gathered for the virtual APEC CEO
40 Dialogue, they all sat in front of the approved blue APEC background, except one – US President Donald Trump sat under a presidential seal in front of a yellow wall.

Free trade a hard sell in the US

This might change under a new president. For President-elect Joe Biden, who has put forward a far more internationalist manifesto, re-engaging with the CPTPP in order to help guide and shape the
45 rules that will determine how the world's largest economies interact seems like an obvious goal. But getting domestic approval to do so might not be so easy. Developing free trade agreements was once the bipartisan consensus in Washington. Doing so bolstered economic growth and ensured that the US was a global leader in trade regulations and rule making in the post-Cold War era. Only a minority of voices on the left of the political spectrum raised objections as the US signed the North American
50 Free Trade Agreement in 1994 and a slew of bilateral FTAs followed in the 2000s.

But President Trump, since his 2016 presidential campaign, has ably capitalised on a growing resentment among the working class in the US at the perception of jobs being offshored and FTAs undercutting US industry. Now, free trade agreements are a much harder sell domestically, with both Democrats and Republicans wary of undermining support from blue-collar communities.

Unclear what CPTPP the US may be signing

Even if Biden were able to muster sufficient support in Congress to sign and ratify a new multilateral trade deal, it is unclear what the US would be signing with the CPTPP. The 22 provisions watered down when the US withdrew in 2017 were only suspended and not revoked, leaving the door open to them being reinstated should the US wish to return. But it is far from clear that the 11 other nations in the
60 agreement would be happy to revise the existing agreement, let alone reinstate the original TPP, to appease a US that has proven both inflexible and capricious in the past. For close US allies such as Japan, South Korea, Canada and Australia, having the US return would no doubt be an economic and diplomatic boon, but for others such as ASEAN members Vietnam and Malaysia that have a more balanced relationship with China and the US, the calculus may differ.

65 Countries such as these may make careful calculations based on the facts of geography that make China a neighbour. Would it be better to appease the US, or further develop a more integrated Asian economy by encouraging Chinese participation? Further, it is unclear if CPTPP members would prefer a more stringent CPTPP with the US included, or the current CPTPP with China forced to accept already more rigorous trade rules by joining. As such, even if Biden is able to muster sufficient domestic support to re-join the CPTPP, there is a risk that Asia will already have moved on. With 15 Asian nations having signed the RCEP, and further negotiations ongoing for agreements such as the trilateral China-Japan-South Korea FTA, the region's trade architecture is being developed without the US. Asian states need to make a political as well as economic choice – a shallower free trade area with China involved, or a deeper one with the US.

75 **A Biden Administration Goal**

Despite the domestic and international difficulties, joining the CPTPP will likely be a Biden administration goal, particularly with an internationalist like Tony Blinken as Secretary of State. Biden has already expressed a desire to do so. By re-entering a key Asian trade deal, Washington can aim to create the gold standard for free trade in the region, while also bringing together its closest allies.

80 There are potentially ancillary benefits for current US policy as well, particularly the desire in Washington to strengthen Taiwan. Taipei has expressed a desire to join the CPTPP, and with the US encouraging this process from inside the agreement, it could improve the chances of such an outcome. The challenge, though, may be in convincing a domestic audience of the benefits and persuading current states in Asia that the US is welcome again.

For discussion/reflection:

- What are the major challenges that the US and China are facing to join the CPTPP?
- Complete research independently to investigate the key differences between the RCEP (line 1) and the CPTPP. How might the differing origins of each agreement help explain these key differences?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'A leader's responsibility should always be to his or her own country, not other nations.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
2. 'In the global village we inhabit, there is no justification for national boundaries.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2018)
3. 'International cooperation has not solved the global problems of today. Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2014)

SECTION B: THE STATE OF THE WORLD TODAY

Reading 5: The Changing Nature of Globalisation in Our Hyperconnected, Knowledge-Intensive Economy

EU 1

Irving Wladawsky-Berger | Wall Street Journal | June 2014

This reading will help you understand:

- How fast the world economy is transforming;
- How the world has transitioned from a *connected* to an increasingly *hyperconnected* world;
- What a hyperconnected economy is
- How digital technologies and growing mobile subscriptions are driving cross-border flows
- How the nature of cross-border flows are changing in a knowledge-intensive economy.

In April, 2005, NY Times columnist Tom Friedman published *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Globalized World in the Twenty-first Century*. Mr. Friedman's bestseller did much to explain to a wide audience the impact of the Internet and related technologies on the connected, global economy that was rising all around us.

- 5 A few years later, Mr. Friedman was a keynote speaker at a 2011 conference commemorating IBM Corp.'s Centennial. To illustrate the incredibly fast pace of change, Mr. Friedman noted that in the short time-span since *World is Flat* was published, we were already transitioning from a *connected* to an increasingly *hyperconnected* world. Many of the companies and technologies that are now part of our everyday conversations—Facebook Inc., Twitter, the cloud, smartphones, Big Data, LinkedIn Inc.,
- 10 4G, Skype—were not mentioned in the *connected* global economy he wrote about only six years earlier because they had not been born or were in their infancy.

- What do we mean by a *hyperconnected* economy? I recently found a really good answer in an excellent study by the McKinsey Global Institute, *Global Flows in the Digital Age*. The study takes an in-depth look at the expansion of cross-border flows in the economy. It carefully analyzed these flows
- 15 in five different categories: goods, services, finance, people and data and communications. It then developed the MGI Connectedness Index, which measures these five flows in 131 countries, examined how the flows had changed over the past 10 to 20 years, and predicted how they are likely to evolve over the next decade.

- Two major forces have been driving the growth of cross-border flows. First is the continuous advances
- 20 in digital technologies, in particular, the spread of Internet access around the world. We've been going through a kind of digital *perfect storm*, where a number of major IT trends are each gathering speed while interacting with and amplifying each other: mobile devices, cloud computing, Internet of Things, social networks and Big Data and analytics.

- The number of mobile subscriptions around the world is already approaching 7 billion, while close to
- 25 3 billion have access to the Internet. Cross-border Internet traffic has been going up by over 50% since 2005. As the cost of smartphones and Internet access keep dropping, data and communications flow—the enabling foundation for all other digital flows—will continue increasing at a similar torrid pace.

- Even more dramatic is the expected rise in global prosperity over the next decades. McKinsey estimates that over the coming decade, up to three billion additional people will connect to
- 30 the Internet with mobile devices and wireless networks. They will thus become part of the global digital economy, and will see significant improvements in their standard of living. "By 2025, 1.8 billion

people around the world will enter the consuming class, nearly all from emerging markets, and emerging-market consumers will spend \$30 trillion annually, up from \$12 trillion today.”

- 35 What is the impact of technology advances and rising economic prosperity on the global economy? According to the MGI study, the combined value of trade in goods and services plus financial flows grew from \$5 trillion or 23% of global GDP in 1990 to \$26 trillion or 36% of world GDP in 2012. If present trends continue, the value of these flows could triple by 2025, thus having a major impact on economic growth.
- 40 The MGI Connectedness Index measures the degree of *connectedness* of 131 countries across all five flows. For each country, it then calculates an overall *flow intensity*, a single measure that reflects that country’s connectedness across all flows. McKinsey’s analysis found an overall positive correlation between increased flows and GDP growth. Countries with the highest flow intensities can expect up a 40% increase in GDP growth compared to the least connected countries.
- 45 Not surprisingly, the Index found that developed economies have higher flow intensities, that is, are more connected than emerging economies. Germany tops the list, followed by Hong Kong, the U.S., Singapore, the UK, Netherlands, France and Canada. However, the situation is changing as emerging economies are rapidly gaining ground, including Brazil, China and India.

- Besides rising cross-border flows, the study uncovered that the very nature of these flows is changing.
- 50 The globalisation that Tom Friedman wrote about a decade ago was primarily based on the outsourcing of labour-intensive tasks from the developed world to developing countries with lower labour costs, as well as by commodity-intensive flows, like oil, from the countries with those resources. But things are different in our emerging knowledge-intensive economy. According to McKinsey: “Knowledge-intensive goods and services flows (as opposed to labour-, capital- or resource-
- 55 intensive ones) include goods and activities that have a high R&D component or utilise highly skilled labour. As such, they help transmit information, ideas, or expertise among exchanging parties. Examples include high-tech products such as semiconductors and computers, pharmaceuticals, automobiles and other machinery, and business services such as accounting, law, and engineering.” The study estimates that the value of knowledge-intensive flows was \$12.6 trillion in 2012, nearly half
- 60 the \$26 trillion total value of cross-border flows. Knowledge-intensive flows are growing at 1.3 times the rate of labour-intensive flows, and so their share will continue to increase.

- Moreover, digital technologies are continuing to transform many cross-border flows. Digital flows—with their lower costs of access, transport, and production—are replacing the flow of many physical goods, e.g. e-books, digital music, games, news and entertainment and streaming movies. Digital
- 65 communications and collaborations of all sorts are substituting for work that previously involved physical travel. 3-D printing holds the promise of revolutionizing the production of physical goods with an increasing portion of such goods being manufactured just-in-time at their point of consumption.

- Digital technologies are also playing a major role in improving the production, distribution and operations of physical goods, resulting in a significant improvement to their overall productivity and
- 70 quality. Examples include tracking shipments of goods, and monitoring and optimizing the performance of all kinds of physical things—i.e., the Internet of Things. In addition, online platforms make it easier to transact goods and services across borders. For example, 90% of eBay sellers export their goods to other countries, compared with an average of 25% for traditional small companies.

- In the not too distant past, global flows were concentrated in the more advanced economies, as well
- 75 as in large, global companies. But, digital technologies and rising prosperity are combining to

significantly disperse global flows, making it possible to include a larger number of countries as well as a larger number of participants across all countries. McKinsey notes that:

80 “The network of global flows is expanding rapidly as emerging economies join in. Rising incomes in the developing world are creating enormous new centers of consumer demand, global production, and commodities trade, as well as sending more people across borders for business and leisure. Existing routes of flows are broadening and deepening and new ones emerging as more countries participate. Developing economies now account for 38 percent of global flows, nearly triple their share in 1990. South–South goods flows between developing countries have grown from roughly \$200 billion (6 percent of goods flows) in 1990 to \$4.2 trillion (24 percent) in 85 2012.”

90 “Not only more countries but also more players are participating in global flows. Governments and multinational companies were once the only actors involved in cross-border exchanges. But today, digital technologies enable even the smallest company or solo entrepreneur to be a *micromultinational*, selling and sourcing products, services, and ideas across borders. Individuals can work remotely through online platforms, creating a virtual people flow. Microfinance platforms enable entrepreneurs and social innovators to raise money globally in ever-smaller amounts.”

95 Advances in technology and rising standards of living will continue to accelerate the pace of change in our hyperconnected, knowledge-intensive economy. “For players of all types- whether regions, countries, cities, businesses, or individuals – there are major economic opportunities from participating in global flows. The imperative for policy makers is to fully embrace the new era and ensure that their economies are positioned to benefit from it.”

For discussion/reflection:

- Examine how today’s more digital form of globalisation is changing who is participating, how business is done across borders, and where the economic benefits are flowing
- How has digitisation changed the economics of globalisation? How will this influence and impact the nature of relationships between: State and citizen; Enterprise and consumer; Enterprise and government
- Economic Anxiety: Why and how do seeds of dystopia take root when disparities in wealth become more transparent? How are the consequences of governance failure amplified in a hyperconnected world?
- How safe are our safeguards? Consider the policies, norms, regulations, or institutions through which we manage the complex systems on which global prosperity depends.
- How can we accelerate the transformation required to keep pace with accelerating technological innovation/disruption? How can we avoid massive social dislocation, or worse?
- Consider how governments, the private sector, civil society, and individuals need to collaborate to forge new common understandings.

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Is globalisation to be welcomed or feared today? (Cambridge 2019)
2. How far is it important for people to be aware of current events in countries other than their own? (Cambridge 2014)
3. ‘We have paid too high a price for globalisation.’ Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT 2021)
4. ‘The strong do what they want, the weak suffer what they must.’ To what extent is this true of the world today? (RI Y6 CT2 2016)

SECTION B: THE STATE OF THE WORLD TODAY

Reading 6: Global Risks Report 2022

EU 1, 4-5, 7

Adapted from the Executive Summary of Global Risks Report 2022 | World Economic Forum | 11 January 2022

This reading will help you to:

- Understand the broad challenges, especially those related to Covid-19, that may affect the majority of the world in 2022.
- Recognise that these challenges are exacerbated by the interconnected, networked nature of today's world.

As 2022 begins, COVID-19 and its economic and societal consequences continue to pose a critical threat to the world. Vaccine inequality and a resultant uneven economic recovery risk compounding social fractures and geopolitical tensions. In the poorest 52 countries—home to 20% of the world's people—only 6% of the population had been vaccinated at the time of writing. By 2024, developing economies (excluding China) will have fallen 5.5% below their pre-pandemic expected GDP growth, while advanced economies will have surpassed it by 0.9%—widening the global income gap.

The resulting global divergence will create tensions—within and across borders—that risk worsening the pandemic's cascading impacts and complicating the coordination needed to tackle common challenges including strengthening climate action, enhancing digital safety, restoring livelihoods and societal cohesion and managing competition in space.

The Global Risks Report 2022 presents the results of the latest Global Risks Perception Survey (GRPS), followed by an analysis of key risks emanating from current economic, societal, environmental and technological tensions. The report concludes with reflections on enhancing resilience, drawing from the lessons of the last two years of the COVID-19 pandemic. The key findings of the survey and the analysis are summarised below.

Global risks perceptions highlight societal and environmental concerns

Asked to take a view of the past two years, respondents to the GRPS perceive societal risks—in the form of “social cohesion erosion”, “livelihood crises” and “mental health deterioration”—as those that have worsened the most since the pandemic began. Only 16% of respondents feel positive and optimistic about the outlook for the world, and just 11% believe the global recovery will accelerate. Most respondents instead expect the next three years to be characterised by either consistent volatility and multiple surprises or fractured trajectories that will separate relative winners and losers.

For the next five years, respondents again signal societal and environmental risks as the most concerning. However, over a 10-year horizon, the health of the planet dominates concerns: environmental risks are perceived to be the five most critical long-term threats to the world as well as the most potentially damaging to people and planet, with “climate action failure”, “extreme weather” and “biodiversity loss” ranking as the top three most severe risks. Respondents also signaled “debt crises” and “gloeonomic confrontations” as among the most severe risks over the next 10 years.

Technological risks—such as “digital inequality” and “cybersecurity failure”—are other critical short- and medium-term threats to the world according to GRPS respondents, but these fall back in the rankings towards the long term and none appear among the most potentially severe, signaling a possible blind spot in risk perceptions.

35 The 2021-2022 GRPS included a question on international risk mitigation efforts. “Artificial intelligence”, “space exploitation”, “cross-border cyberattacks and misinformation” and “migration and refugees” are the areas where most respondents believe the current state of risk mitigation efforts fall short of the challenge—that is, efforts are “not started” or in “early development”. Meanwhile, for “trade facilitation”, “international crime” and “weapons of mass destruction”, large majorities perceived risk mitigation efforts to be “established” or “effective”.

A divergent economic recovery threatens collaboration on global challenges

40 Economic challenges flowing from the pandemic persist. The outlook remains weak: at the time of writing, the global economy was expected to be 2.3% smaller by 2024 than it would have been without the pandemic. Rising commodity prices, inflation and debt are emerging risks. Moreover, with another spike in COVID-19 cases towards the end of 2021, the pandemic continues to stifle countries’ ability to facilitate a sustained recovery.

45 The economic fallout from the pandemic is compounding with labour market imbalances, protectionism, and widening digital, education and skills gaps that risk splitting the world into divergent trajectories. In some countries, rapid vaccine rollout, successful digital transformations and new growth opportunities could mean a return to pre-pandemic trends in the short term and the possibility of a more resilient outlook over a longer horizon. Yet many other countries will be held back
50 by low rates of vaccination, continued acute stress on health systems, digital divides and stagnant job markets. These divergences will complicate the international collaboration needed to address the worsening impacts of climate change, manage migration flows and combat dangerous cyber-risks.

Short-term domestic pressures will make it harder for governments to focus on long-term priorities and will limit the political capital allocated to global concerns. “Social cohesion erosion” is a top short-
55 term threat in 31 countries—including Argentina, France, Germany, Mexico and South Africa from the G20. Disparities that were already challenging societies are now expected to widen—51 million more people are projected to live in extreme poverty compared to the pre-pandemic trend—at the risk of increasing polarisation and resentment within societies. At the same time, domestic pressures risk stronger national interest postures and worsening fractures in the global economy that will come at
60 the expense of foreign aid and cooperation.

A disorderly climate transition will exacerbate inequalities

Respondents to the GRPS rank “climate action failure” as the number one long-term threat to the world and the risk with potentially the most severe impacts over the next decade. Climate change is already manifesting rapidly in the form of droughts, fires, floods, resource scarcity and species loss,
65 among other impacts. In 2020, multiple cities around the world experienced extreme temperatures not seen for years—such as a record high of 42.7°C in Madrid and a 72-year low of –19°C in Dallas, and regions like the Arctic Circle have averaged summer temperatures 10°C higher than in prior years. Governments, businesses and societies are facing increasing pressure to thwart the worst consequences. Yet a disorderly climate transition characterised by divergent trajectories worldwide
70 and across sectors will further drive apart countries and bifurcate societies, creating barriers to cooperation.

Given the complexities of technological, economic and societal change at this scale, and the insufficient nature of current commitments, it is likely that any transition that achieves the net-zero goal by 2050 will be disorderly. While COVID-19 lockdowns saw a global dip in greenhouse gas (GHG)
75 emissions, upward trajectories soon resumed: the GHG emission rate rose faster in 2020 than the average over the last decade. Countries continuing down the path of reliance on carbon-intensive sectors risk losing competitive advantage through a higher cost of carbon, reduced resilience, failure to keep up with technological innovation and limited leverage in trade agreements. Yet shifting away

from carbon-intense industries, which currently employ millions of workers, will trigger economic volatility, deepen unemployment and increase societal and geopolitical tensions. Adopting hasty environmental policies could also have unintended consequences for nature—there are still many unknown risks from deploying untested biotechnical and geoengineering technologies. And poorly regulated green markets could create monopolies, while lack of public support for land use transitions or new pricing schemes could create political complications that further slow action. A transition that fails to account for societal implications will exacerbate inequalities within and between countries, heightening geopolitical frictions.

Growing digital dependency will intensify cyberthreats

Growing dependency on digital systems—intensified by COVID-19—has altered societies. Over the last 18 months, industries have undergone rapid digitalisation, workers have shifted to remote working where possible, and platforms and devices facilitating this change have proliferated. At the same time, cybersecurity threats are growing—in 2020, malware and ransomware attacks increased by 358% and 435% respectively—and are outpacing societies’ ability to effectively prevent or respond to them. Lower barriers to entry for cyberthreat actors, more aggressive attack methods, a dearth of cybersecurity professionals, and patchwork governance mechanisms are all aggravating the risk.

Attacks on large and strategic systems will carry cascading physical consequences across societies, while prevention will inevitably entail higher costs. Intangible risks—such as disinformation, fraud, and lack of digital safety—will also impact public trust in digital systems. Greater cyber threats also risk driving states apart if governments continue to follow unilateral paths to control risks. As attacks become more severe and broadly impactful, already-sharp tensions between governments impacted by cybercrime and governments complicit in their commission will rise as cybersecurity becomes another wedge for divergence—rather than cooperation—among nation-states.

Barriers to mobility risk compounding global insecurity

Growing insecurity resulting from economic hardship, intensifying impacts of climate change and political instability are already forcing millions to leave their homes in search of a better future abroad. “Involuntary migration” is a top long-term concern for GRPS respondents, while 60% of them see “migration and refugees” as an area where international mitigation efforts have “not started” or are in “early development”. In 2020, there were over 34 million people displaced abroad globally from conflict alone—a historical high. However, in many countries, the lingering effects of the pandemic, increased economic protectionism, and new labour market dynamics are resulting in higher barriers to entry for migrants who might seek opportunity or refuge.

These higher barriers to migration, and their spill-over effect on remittances—a critical lifeline for some developing countries—risk precluding a potential pathway to restoring livelihoods, maintaining political stability and closing income and labour gaps. At the time of writing, the United States faced over 11 million unfilled jobs in general and the European Union had a deficit of 400,000 drivers just in the trucking industry. In the most extreme cases, humanitarian crises will worsen since vulnerable groups have no choice but to embark on more dangerous journeys. In 2021, 4,800 migrants, including families and children, perished or went missing during the journey. Migration pressures will also exacerbate international tensions as it is increasingly used as a geopolitical instrument. Destination-country governments will have to manage diplomatic relationships and immigrant skepticism among their populations.

Opportunities in space could be constrained by frictions

While humans have been exploring space for decades, recent years have witnessed increased activity, not only creating new opportunities but also signaling an emerging realm of risk, particularly with growing militarisation and weaponisation in the arena. New commercial satellite market entrants are

disrupting incumbents' traditional influence over the global space commons in delivering satellite services, notably internet-related communications. A greater number and range of actors operating in space could generate frictions if space exploration and exploitation are not responsibly managed. With limited and outdated global governance in place to regulate space alongside diverging national-level policies, risks are intensifying.

One consequence of accelerated space activity is a higher risk of collisions, which could lead to a proliferation of space debris and impact the orbits that host infrastructure for key systems on Earth, damage valuable space equipment, or spark international tensions. Limited governance tools increase the likelihood of space activity escalating geopolitical tensions, and recent weapons tests in space underscore such risks. Increased space activity could also lead to unknown environmental impacts or raise costs for public goods such as weather monitoring or climate change surveillance.

Year two of the pandemic yields insights on resilience

In 2021, countries deployed new mechanisms to respond to a public health crisis with shifting characteristics, leading to both successes and failures. Two interlinked factors were critical for effective management of the pandemic: first, the readiness of governments to adjust and modify response strategies according to changing circumstances; and second, their ability to maintain societal trust through principled decisions and effective communication.

Reflecting on the distinct resilience goals of governments, businesses and communities will help ensure that agendas are aligned in achieving a whole-of-society approach to tackling critical risks of any nature. For governments, balancing costs, regulating for resilience, and adjusting data-sharing arrangements to ensure sharper crisis management are key to galvanizing stronger interaction between public and private sectors. Businesses—recognizing that better national-level preparedness is critical for planning, investing, and executing their strategies—can leverage opportunities in areas such as supply chains, codes of conduct within their industry, and inclusion of a resilience dimension into workforce benefit offerings.

Communities can help local governments to join up with national efforts, improve communication and support grassroots resilience efforts. At an organisational level, strategies such as grounding resilience analyses in key delivery outcomes, appreciating systemic vulnerabilities and embracing a diversity of approaches can help leaders build better resilience as well.

For Discussion/reflection:

- The report states several factors that reflect 'global risks'. Identify these factors.
- Which two factors are likely to have the greatest impact on your own society? Justify your reasons.
- In paragraph 7, the report claims that 'the current state of risk mitigation efforts' remains uneven in different areas. Why might this be so?

Related Cambridge/RI Essay Questions:

1. How far is it important for people to be aware of current events in countries other than their own? (Cambridge 2014)
2. How effective have global efforts been in addressing the spread of diseases? (RI Y6 CT1 2020)
3. How far can scientific or technological developments be a solution to global problems? (RI Y5 CT 2018)
4. 'In an increasingly uncertain world, there is little point in predicting the future.' Discuss. (RI Y6 Prelim 2017)
5. 'Globalisation has made us more vulnerable.' To what extent is this true? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)

SECTION C: THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Reading 7: Are the SDGs Unsustainable?

EU 4-5

Nigel Howard | Eco-Business | 23 May 2018

This reading will help you:

- Recognise that while sustainable development is desirable, it has to be carefully managed to minimise ramifications.
- Acknowledge the tension between improving the quality of life of people in developing countries and addressing the issue of climate change.
- Assess conditions needed for successful sustainable development.

The Asia Pacific region is failing to meet almost two-thirds of the targets set by the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), according to a recent report by the UN. The report found that the world's most populous region has fallen behind on 37 out of 57 SDGs' targets.

But how can anyone be surprised? Asia Pacific has the largest population of people clawing their way out of poverty, while the developed world ruthlessly exploits them for our own well-being. Following the developed world models of GDP growth means only part of the population reaps the benefits of development, leaving countries without the luxury of acting on SDG goals such as climate change, life below water, and life on land, as they try to grow wealth to meet the exploitative demands of the developed world.

Whatever progress might seem to have been made in the short-term, our collective failure on climate change and biodiversity represent an existential threat, and the fault is the SDGs themselves. There seem to be three major problems with the SDGs:

1. Failure to acknowledge the exploitation of the developing world by the developed world

Although it is comfortable to believe that the rising tide raises all ships, globalisation has shown to increase inequity and exploitation of the poor by the wealthy. Reducing poverty, Goal 1 of the SDGs, requires economic growth and employment (Goal 8), creating a tension between meeting domestic needs and producing for export. Global market competition gives the developed nations access to the cheapest sources of exports, allowing them to exploit developing nations and prolong their poverty.

2. The goals are wide ranging, interconnected and riddled with contradictions

Production for export requires a density of workers for mass production that promotes urbanisation (Goal 11). This concentrates prosperity within cities and increases inequality between city and rural populations, contradicting the aims of Goal 10, reduced inequality.

Reduced poverty leads to greater consumption (Goal 12) - more cars, greater energy use (Goal 7), more land and water exploitation (Goal 6) competing with domestic food production exacerbating hunger for those left behind. This undermines Goals 2 and 3, which are zero hunger and good health & well-being, respectively.

Greater consumption and producing goods for export increases waste and pollution, and greatly exacerbates global climate impacts (Goal 13), setting the world back in its professed goals to protect biodiversity, manage the impacts of waste (Goals 14 & 15), and preventing health damage to the population (Goal 3) – think China.

More consumption strains infrastructure to move goods (Goal 9), provide affordable energy (Goal 7), clean water and sewage disposal (Goal 6), and to safely handle waste – think India. The increasing pressure to survive and prosper economically causes conflicted priorities for the poor between time for work and education (Goal 4) or to grow their own food (Goal 2).

- 35 Gender equality (Goal 5) and peace, justice and strong institutions (Goal 16) are highly shaped by history and culture but will also be affected by development - women becoming more autonomous, but perhaps also more exploitation of women and children.

- 40 Goal 17, Partnerships for the Goals, is an insidious goal. It undermines critics of the SDGs as non-team-players, but if we are to make the SDGs achieve their potential, we need to critically debate and improve the SDGs.

3. The goals are unprioritised

- 45 This is probably the most critical problem with the SDGs. Economic and social development goals are listed ahead of environmental sustainability goals (Goals 13, 14 & 15), but if we continue to fail on climate action then we will certainly fail at all SDGs. Climate change may affect the poor first, but it poses an existential threat to all of mankind. The SDGs must not be complacent to these threats.

We already have year-on-year global temperature rises, more extreme weather events, accelerated melting of polar ice, sea level rises, ocean acidification, coral bleaching and death, drought and wildfires, crop failure and the collapse of fisheries (Goals 2 & 3) and the mass extinction of species (Goals 14 & 15).

- 50 As the “third pole” of Himalayan ice recedes, the river flows feeding the most populated areas on Earth may change dramatically. Conflict over water will almost certainly increase (Goals 6, 2 & 16).

As desertification advances and crops fail and as low lying regions become inundated, migration and conflict (Goal 16) will increase as the haves try to hold onto what they have (Goal 10), and the have nots must fight for their survival.

- 55 The ecological systems that provide our food are also collapsing. Our insatiable demand to turn wilderness into dollars (Goals 1 & 8), our reckless climate impacts (Goal 13), our intensive agriculture for growing populations and our soil degradation (Goal 15), exacerbated by our pollution and waste is overwhelming nature’s capacity to respond (climate change, ozone layer depletion, acidification, ocean plastics, and so on).

- 60 The UN Paris Climate Accord and Biodiversity Conventions should cause Goals 13, 14 and 15 to never be compromised to any other goal. Any corporation or government that claims achievements in any of the SDGs is trading in greenwash if they cannot first demonstrate rapid transition to renewable energy (Goal 7) and emissions reductions commensurate with a 1.5 degrees Celsius climate stabilisation.

- 65 If the SDGs are to fulfil their potential, sustainability must be prioritised over development, because to fail to live within the earth’s carrying capacity is not sustainable. You can’t breathe, eat or drink money.

For discussion/reflection:

- Nigel Howard compares the SDGs and points out apparent contradictions. Must zero hunger come at the cost of the environment? What about the other contradictions he raises?
- He stresses the need to prioritise certain Sustainable Development Goals over others. Do you agree with Nigel's ranking of 13, 14 and 15 as most important?
- Rank your top five SDGs and explain why you consider them most important.

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'Science is the only answer to global hunger.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
2. Is globalisation to be welcomed or feared today? (Cambridge 2019)
3. 'Environmental concerns and economic growth cannot co-exist.' What do you think? (Cambridge 2011)
4. 'Sustainable development is not sustainable.' Comment. (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2022)
5. How far do you agree that good governance is key to the protection of the environment? (RI Y6 Prelim 2021)
6. 'All countries should have an equal responsibility in tackling climate change.' How far do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2020)
7. Consider the impact of technology on world hunger today. (RI Y6 CT2 2019)
8. 'Leading healthy lives is increasingly challenging in today's world.' Discuss. (RI Y5 Promo 2019)
9. 'The developed world should bear the burden of climate change.' Discuss. (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)
10. Consider the view that economic growth always brings environmental damage. (RI Y6 CT1 2013)

SECTION C: THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Reading 8: Plenty of fish in the sea? Seafood-loving Singapore may not have its fill in the future

EU 1, 3-4

William Chen | Channel News Asia | 23 July 2021

This reading will help you:

- Understand how concerns with food security are influenced by global and local consumption trends
- Recognise how efforts to promote sustainability consumption are promising and problematic at the same time

The Netflix documentary *Seaspiracy* has triggered discussion about the ills of the global seafood industry. While it got blowback for its sensationalism and quoting studies out of context, the film has shone a spotlight on issues such as overfishing and plastic pollution, convincing many viewers to swear off seafood. But is abstaining from seafood consumption really the solution?

- 5 That doesn't sound like an easy task when Singaporeans love seafood. Each person consumes an average of 22kg of seafood per year, above the global average of around 20kg. In 2020, Singapore imported 134,000 tonnes of seafood worth S\$760 million, mostly from countries in the region such as Indonesia and Malaysia. But this rate of seafood imports might give one pause given the finite number of fish in oceans and Singapore's food security goals.

A seafood-loving nation

- 10 A 2016 report by WWF revealed that 75 per cent of the seafood consumed in Singapore is unsustainable, meaning they are irresponsibly fished or farmed. A notorious industrial fishing method

is bottom trawling, in which a large fishing net is used to comb the seabed. The net collects everything in its path, including juvenile fish, turtles and marine mammals, and destroys coral reefs in the process. Species that are trawled include ikan kuning (the fish typically served in nasi lemak), silver pomfret and swordtip squid. Yet, Singapore is highly dependent on these imports. Over 90 per cent of the food we eat is imported, with only 9 per cent of fish produced in local farms, according to the Singapore Food Agency (SFA).

This makes Singapore vulnerable to temporary shocks in supply chains. The Jurong Fishery Port, a source of a growing COVID-19 cluster, has been closed for deep cleaning until Jul 31, causing short-term disruptions to the supply of chilled seafood. The Ministry of Health noted on Jul 17 that there was a rush to buy fish and urged visitors to avoid crowds when marketing. It's therefore no surprise that Singapore aims to beef up its food security with its "30 by 30" goal: To produce 30 per cent of its nutritional needs locally by 2030.

The Global Picture

But the problem goes beyond Singapore. Worldwide, seafood consumption has reached 156 million tonnes every year. The United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimated global fish consumption per capita more than doubled from 9kg in 1961 to 20.5kg in 2018.

The annual growth in seafood consumption has outpaced population growth twofold and is higher than the growth in consumption of all other animal proteins. The world's insatiable appetite for seafood has led to overfishing and resulting declining fish populations. In 1974, 90 per cent of the world's fish stocks were at healthy levels. That figure dropped to 65.8 per cent in 2017, according to FAO. Fifty years ago in Thailand, 300kg of seafood could be fished per hour. Today, only 18kg of seafood can be fished per hour.

Farming practices such as aquaculture can fill the shortfall in consumer demand for seafood. But aquaculture has also been associated with environmentally harmful practices, including overfishing, ironically, when an unsustainable number of wild fish is caught to feed the farmed fish.

There've been health scares linked to cultivated seafood too. For instance, the US Food and Drug Administration issued an import alert in 2016 on shrimp and prawns from Malaysia, alleging the presence of antibiotics that prevent disease in farmed crustaceans, but are harmful to humans.

The ongoing pandemic has added another layer of complexity. According to a recent FAO information paper, the slowdown in consumer demand, disruption to fishing supplies and health measures for crew members have all affected the seafood industry. In the US, fishing catches dropped by 40 per cent at the peak of COVID-19. With all these stresses on the seafood industry, it's time to think about the bigger questions during our trips to the supermarket.

Sustainable Seafood Labels – A Guarantee?

One solution to the depletion of fish stocks is to eat responsibly. The big boys know this trend is on the horizon. Marina Bay Sands, for instance, is starting to use more certified sustainable products in their kitchens with Marine Stewardship Council (MSC) being the dominant seafood sustainability certifier. MSC labels caught or farmed seafood as sustainable based on three criteria: Using sustainable fish stocks, minimising environmental impact and effective management. Other certifiers include the Aquaculture Stewardship Council (ASC) and the Global Aquaculture Alliance's Best Aquaculture Practice (BAP).

Still, there's understandable public scepticism over sustainable seafood labels, not to mention the green-washing risk of seafood being wrongfully claimed as sustainable, or simply mislabelled. In 2018,

CNA enlisted a laboratory to test eight samples of certified sustainable fish, and found one product did not match its packaging label of Pacific cod.

55 Nonetheless, seafood labels do go some way to raise public awareness about sustainable seafood and guide consumers in making better choices. In a study conducted by consultancy GlobeScan, 75 per cent of people in Singapore felt consumers should protect fish stocks so others can enjoy them in the future. But sustainable seafood is still by far the exception rather than the norm. Walk through the seafood section in a local supermarket and you'll find that only about one in 10 seafood products have
60 any of the three sustainability labels (MSC, ASC, or BAP).

Taking matters into our own hands

How should we as consumers prepare ourselves now for the future that we are aware of global threats to seafood availability? We could get educated, for a start. WWF Singapore published a sustainable seafood guide in 2016, identifying species that are sustainable and those that should be avoided. But
65 the industry too must step up. Food vendors today may have no idea whether their fish is sustainable and where it comes from, or even what is in a product such as fish balls. The good news is that aquaculture using sustainable technology is showing results and gaining support as part of Singapore's "30 by 30" plan.

Consumers can now choose from a growing range of seafood products from local farms (like fish, prawns and crabs). Operated and monitored according to the sustainability guidelines by SFA, consumers have less to worry about compared to labels from MSC and the like.
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Food safety of new local aquaculture products will also receive a boost from NTU's recently launched Future Ready Food Safety Hub (FRESH), which uses data analytics to cut down the risk of food fraud so Singaporeans can feel more confident in these products. Innovations in food science and technology have produced higher nutrient values in familiar seafoods like seabass, groupers and soon hock. For example, the St John's sea bass, a new breed developed by SFA and Temasek Life Science Laboratory, is healthier for consumers and easier for farmers to produce.
75

It's true the current scale and production yield of Singapore's aquaculture are not yet comparable with the economies whose seafood exports we rely on. That's why local innovations should be shared with
80 neighbouring countries, in the hopes that regional collaboration can address the threats to seafood supply. Already, local aquaculture firms Barramundi Asia and Apollo Aquaculture are expanding their operations into Brunei. In the meantime, responsible seafood consumption – such as eating less sambal stingray and steamed red grouper – may be a small way of ensuring that we can continue enjoying these dishes in the years to come.

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[See end of Reading 9 for discussion/reflection questions.]

SECTION C: THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Reading 9: Wildlife- The Underreported Illegal Trade

EU 1, 3, 8

Chadwick A. Burges and Niha Wig | Adapted from ACAMS/June 2020

The following readings will help you to:

- Understand the factors that sustain transnational networks in illegal wildlife trade
- Consider the challenges involved in eradicating a global problem

Although anti-money laundering (AML) investigations are ever evolving, one major source of illegal profit internationally remains largely underreported—wildlife trafficking. Wildlife trafficking is a major illegal trade¹ and an environmental crime that is estimated to generate between seven billion US dollars and 23 billion US dollars annually.² The number of critically endangered species and the involvement of poachers is well documented. However, the illicit financial trail of this lucrative illegal trade is only sparsely covered. The unfortunate truth is that ignoring the figurative elephant in the room—wildlife trafficking—contributes to the extinction of actual elephants and other critically endangered species.

Wildlife trafficking is defined as the illegal trade, smuggling, poaching, capture or collection of endangered species, protected wildlife, their derivatives or by-products.³ The illegal wildlife trade threatens the extinction of various animal and plant species. It is a practice that impacts more than 7,000 species worldwide to satisfy the illegal market demands for endangered wildlife and their by-products including leather, food, medicines, exotic pets and more.

The impact goes beyond biodiversity—wildlife trafficking generates billions in revenue annually for criminal networks that often have wide international reach. According to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), wildlife trafficking has been referred to as a major trafficking enterprise and it contributes to broader areas of environmental crimes worldwide or ‘green crimes’.⁵ Organised crime networks and criminal cartels commit environmental crimes to raise lucrative proceeds and launder illicit funds according to reports by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) and Interpol.⁶ To highlight the potential for illicit profit compared to other trafficking enterprises, the black market value of one kilogram of rhino horn⁷ was once comparable to the value for the equivalent weight in gold, heroin or cocaine.⁸ Despite these staggering statistics, money laundering investigations related to wildlife trafficking and illicit financial flows have been limited. Criminal investigations tend to focus on the predicate offences such as poaching and illegal possession but beyond poachers, other actors in the cycle—including traders and resellers of endangered species and protected wildlife—also earn illegal proceeds. Historically, this has presented a challenge for international law enforcement agencies in detecting and investigating this crime.

Three Stages of Wildlife Trafficking

Wildlife trafficking is a global crime that impacts different regions across the world. Worldwide, countries can be involved in, or impacted by, one or more of the three stages of wildlife trafficking: source, transit and destination.

Source: The first stage indicates where initial activities occur (ie the jurisdiction where poaching and initial transport takes place). These crimes are often facilitated by bribing corrupt officials or individuals with access to the targeted species. At the source location, the profits generated are often the lowest and source countries are potentially the most impacted by the illegal wildlife trade from a biodiversity and economic standpoint.

Transit: The second stage represents the movement of poached or illegally obtained goods that are disguised and consolidated with other items for transportation. These concealed items clear customs due to known weaknesses in customs controls and/or bribery of corrupt officials.

Destination: The final stage involves poached, illegally acquired or trafficked goods arriving at their final destination for sale. As the sale of these products may be illegal in some countries, they are often sold at in-person or online black marketplaces where profits for distributors are often the highest.

Wildlife Trafficking in Europe

Wildlife trafficking has often been addressed as a problem both in and for developing countries. However, Europe, as well as western countries including Canada and the US, may be impacted by all three stages of illegal wildlife trade. European countries have been identified as source regions and exporters of certain endangered species, including the European eel and the illegal caviar from sturgeon. European eels, or glass eels, are often illegally exported from Europe to China, Taiwan, Korea and Japan, where they are used for human consumption or in fashion accessories.¹⁰ Decreasing populations of wild sturgeon (including the critically endangered beluga), have been an ongoing concern as the international demand has fuelled illegal markets and allowed criminals to thrive. Due to its high price and rarity, caviar is often traded illegally.¹¹ Thus ongoing illegal fishing and trade in caviar, specifically in European countries including Romania and Bulgaria, is threatening the survival of sturgeons.

Interpol cites European countries as major transit regions for wildlife trafficking.¹² For example, European countries have been identified as transit regions for the illicit trafficking of products¹³ such as ivory, rhino horn and pangolins, which primarily flow from Africa to Asia. Nevertheless, transit through Europe is not limited to ivory, rhino horn or pangolins. In 2015 alone, approximately 2,000 live reptiles were seized at European borders together with corals and ivory as well as a long list of mammals and live bird species.

In addition to the source and transit stages, European countries, Canada and the US have also been identified as destination regions for endangered species and their by-products. This includes purchases of rare reptiles and birds as pets or purchases of elephant ivories, animal furs, claws as well as other parts of protected species for collection.¹⁵ The high demand for rare specimens and illegal wildlife products in destination countries shows that black market values can be very high for certain species. In addition, high demand, limited supply and generally low penalties are all key factors that influence the participation of organised crime syndicates and criminal cartels in illegal wildlife trade at all stages.¹⁶ Therefore, criminal syndicates will continue to benefit from the lucrative trade of illegal wildlife if law enforcement and prosecutors do not improve the abilities to detect, investigate and prosecute these crimes quickly.

Corruption and Organised Crime

Corruption and organised criminal networks facilitate the illegal trade of endangered species internationally. Such a growing threat demands education and collaboration for the various partners in the public and private sectors that are responsible for identifying, deterring and arresting wildlife traffickers.

In 2019, a collaborative report by the Wildlife Monitoring Network (TRAFFIC), World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), Anti-Corruption Resource Centre (U4), Utrecht University and Northumbria University focused specifically on corruption and wildlife crime in relation to the illegal caviar trade. The report also cites corruption as a severe threat to wildlife conservation globally, which has negatively impacted conservation program efforts; weakened laws; reduced law enforcement and political support; undermined current laws and regulations; and been a key indicator of the presence of organised crime

groups.¹⁸ Fuelled by the high demand for wild-sourced products and restricted supplies, organised crime groups have notoriously been involved in trafficking caviar.

Corruption is a key enabler for criminals involved in illegal wildlife trade at all stages. Moving illegal contraband across borders involves a high level of corruption in conjunction with crimes such as smuggling; forgery of permits; misdeclaration at the time of export or import; fraudulent invoicing; avoidance of human or animal health quarantine as well as other transportation requirements; illegal immigration and use of false passports or identity documents; the payment of bribes; the establishment of front companies to engage in illicit trade; and equipping gangs and organised criminals to engage in illegal logging, fishing and animal poaching.

Historically, investigations related to the illegal wildlife trade have focused on predicate offences such as poaching or possession of illegal species and their by-products. Despite increasing awareness of the financial component of wildlife trafficking and the lucrative proceeds that fuel criminal involvement at all stages, enforcement and investigations have rarely focused on the financial aspect of the crime. However, due to the nature of this crime, wildlife traffickers need funds to cross multiple jurisdictions and they rely heavily on the financial system to conduct transactions that can be identified in order to trace their activities.

The Role of Law Enforcement and FIs in Combatting Wildlife Trafficking

Illegal wildlife trade is a transnational crime that relies on established trade routes already used by organised criminal networks for other illegal international trades including human, drugs and arms trafficking. To identify, investigate and understand money laundering as it relates to wildlife trafficking, AML professionals may be able to learn from established money laundering typologies and red flags used to detect and investigate other trafficking-related crimes as well as trade-based money laundering. However, effective and ongoing partnership with law enforcement and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) is important for establishing red flags specific to the illegal wildlife trade. If these techniques prove to be successful, AML professionals may be able to help law enforcement move beyond investigating on predicate offences and expose those who are benefiting financially from the illegal trade throughout the cycle. While this technique will help address the supply side of wildlife trafficking, addressing the demand side through increased awareness and collaboration is equally important.

Wildlife trafficking is becoming an increasing priority for AML professionals and organisations worldwide. The Financial Action Task Force (FATF) declared, ‘...wildlife trafficking is estimated to be the fourth largest criminal enterprise, generating billions of dollars in revenues every year. The illegal trade has links to modern slavery, drugs and arms trade while causing catastrophic damage to endangered species.’²² In September 2019, FATF President Xiangmin Liu met with Prince William and Lord William Hague at Kensington Palace to discuss the United for Wildlife Financial Taskforce, spearheaded by Prince William and The Royal Foundation. They discussed how to build this initiative by focusing the governments of the 205 FATF and the FATF-style regional bodies’ member jurisdictions on tackling wildlife trafficking by following the money.

AML professionals play a key role in combatting wildlife trafficking. Criminals exploit formal and informal banking channels at various stages of the illegal trade through payments for bribery, facilitating transport, purchasing and selling poached or trafficked goods, as well as laundering illicit proceeds. It is vital that AML professionals establish red flags and typologies indicative of wildlife trafficking throughout the source, transit and destination stages of this illegal cycle. AML professionals may be able to leverage established AML red flags and typologies related to other trafficking crimes as well as trade-based money laundering to identify potential wildlife trafficking red flags and typologies. However, the unique nature of wildlife trafficking will require additional efforts in

establishing red flags and typologies specifically aimed at identifying and investigating money laundering related to this crime.

One way FIs can combat wildlife trafficking is by joining the United for Wildlife Financial Taskforce and signing the Mansion House Declaration. Key commitments from the United for Wildlife Financial Taskforce and the Mansion House Declaration include the following:

- Utilising current suspicious activity reporting mechanisms to provide intelligence related to potential wildlife trafficking activity to the relevant regulatory body or law enforcement agency, where permitted by law
- Reviewing intelligence alerts received by the United for Wildlife Financial Taskforce and, where relevant, taking appropriate actions including due diligence screening and necessary steps to identify, investigate and report potentially suspicious financial activity related to wildlife trafficking
- Considering additional actions, including policy amendments that would support the aims of the Taskforce in addition to mechanisms related to financial crime
- Supporting the work of the United for Wildlife Financial Taskforce, promoting the Mansion House Declaration and, where possible, supporting external mechanisms that will enhance the ability of the financial industry to identify potentially suspicious activity related to wildlife trafficking

Although recent updates provide hope, more work is needed from the public and private sectors to combat wildlife trafficking and eradicate senseless extinction caused by poaching, trading and selling endangered species worldwide. Increasing awareness related to the impacts of wildlife trafficking is needed to further invoke action from governments, law enforcement, border services agencies, NGOs and private sector industries, including but not limited to FIs. Increased awareness of the impacts of wildlife trafficking may also result in a decreased public demand for poached, illegally acquired or trafficked species, reducing illicit profits for those involved in all stages of the illegal trade. Despite increasing awareness on the subject and ongoing initiatives aimed at addressing the illegal wildlife trade, continued efforts are required to ensure endangered species are protected while the illicit funds involved are sufficiently investigated by the private and public sectors.

For discussion/reflection:

- To what extent are local and international measures sufficient in tackling over-fishing (Reading 8) and the illegal wildlife trade (Reading 9) on a global scale?
- In your view, how is the concept of 'sustainable seafood consumption' subject to 'greenwashing' as stated in Reading 8?
- Both articles list factors such as consumption trends, corruption, organised crime as underlying causes that give rise to food shortages and wildlife trafficking. What role do non-governmental organisations play in combatting these issues? How do their methods differ from state intervention? Why might this be a significant observation?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Since the extinction of species is a natural phenomenon, is there any point in trying to prevent it? (Cambridge 2022)
2. Consider the view that a more sustainable future lies in the way we eat, not in renewable energy. (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
3. 'Saving the environment is all talk and no action.' Do you agree? (RI Y5 CT 2021)
4. Examine the claim that not enough has been done for the environment in your society. (RI Y5 Promo 2016)

SECTION C: THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Reading 10: One Planet, Divided under Global Warming

EU 2-4, 7

Adapted from One planet, divided under global warming | Amy Harder | Axios | 14 January 2019

This reading will help you:

- Better understand the factors between countries when it comes to issues of climate change and why particular countries may deviate from what is meant to be a global effort.
- Make links to how politics can influence global efforts for climate change, and similarly, how stances on climate change can influence how countries treat each other.

Sure, we all share this one planet. But the warming Earth is poised to divide — not unite — us.

One cornerstone of the 2015 Paris Climate Agreement is that nations have a shared responsibility to address global warming. But the reality is that climate change won't affect everyone the same way. The impacts, while immense, aren't shared evenly around the world, and the solutions will affect some nations more than others. Two reports out last week show the uneven effects of a warming world and a transition to cleaner energy sources. Certain regions, particularly those with economies based on fossil fuels, are set to lose under the Paris deal while others, particularly China, are poised to gain.

The reality of a warmer world and government policies aiming to slow that warming are no longer a matter for the future. They're both happening now. And the convergence of those two turning points is exacerbating tensions that have been simmering for years.

Two main splits exist

The most well-known division is between developed nations that have emitted the most greenhouse gases in the past and those still developing their economies like China and India, which are increasingly emitting the most today. Those fault lines are well-documented, but others emerged more forcefully at a United Nations climate change conference last month in Poland between nations that produce fossil fuels and those that don't. In an interview at the conference with Carbon Brief, a United Kingdom-based climate news website, a senior climate-change negotiator for the Saudi Arabian government said:

"As a matter of fact, we are impacted by climate change, perhaps more than anybody else. We are a desert country that heavily relies on this single source of income. We have such a vulnerable economy, fragile economy, and with oil, we eat, we feed, we travel, we educated our people, we have medical care and everything."

— Saudi climate negotiator Ayman Shasly

That may seem like an unconvincing thing to say, given that some low-lying island nations are projected to literally disappear beneath rising sea levels within 80 years thanks to emissions from other nations' fossil fuels, including Saudi oil. But actually, Shasly has a point: as a desert nation, Saudi Arabia is set to face the impacts of a warmer world with more intense droughts and heatwaves. But it's also set to face the brunt of the economic pain from transitioning away from fossil fuels — if the world follows through with the Paris deal ambitions (a big if).

"You can see their concern is legit," said Adele Morris, an economist who in her role at the Brookings Institution co-wrote one of the reports released last week on this topic. That report found two regions — Australia and the nations in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) cartel,

including Saudi Arabia — would be worse off under the Paris deal in 2030, in part because they're big fossil-fuel exporters. All other regions, including China and even Russia, would be better off. "Even if countries like Australia or the OPEC countries take very modest [climate] targets, they're still going to experience the spillover from what everyone else does, and there's nothing they can do about it," Morris said.

The report considered economic effects and domestic environmental benefits of reducing emissions, but it excludes the costs of a warming planet itself, both in monetary terms and public health and safety. The latest science from the UN and others suggest those costs are likely to be significant in both Australia (i.e., worsening wildfires) and Saudi Arabia (droughts and heatwaves).

President Trump, who has vowed to withdraw America from the Paris deal, is providing political openings for nations concerned about a shift away from fossil fuels. At an event the Trump administration hosted at the conference in Poland extolling fossil fuels, an Australian government official was a last-minute addition to the panel. Also there, the U.S. joined Saudi Arabia and Russia in refusing to "welcome" a recent landmark UN report on climate change that called for drastic cuts in emissions.

What's next

As the world warms more and the renewable-energy transition increases, other divisions could emerge: several colder-climate nations, including Russia, are set to benefit or already are benefiting from warmer temperatures, such as with better agricultural output, according to a 2018 UN report. Scientists say these benefits are temporary and are offset by negative impacts. Temporary in climatic terms is still a matter of decades, which is a lifetime in politics.

Nations with clean-tech manufacturing and patent dominance could have geopolitical leverage over those that don't, according to the other report released last week that was coordinated by the International Renewable Energy Agency. That makes China, a leader in both, a clear winner.

For discussion/reflection:

- Should countries be obliged to invest in and support efforts to curb climate change even at the cost of their own economic or geographical well-being?
- What issues might arise with some countries having leverage over others in terms of their expertise and production capabilities for green technology?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'As long as economic goals remain a priority, the environment is a lost cause.' Comment. (RI Y6 Prelim 2020)
2. 'All countries should have an equal responsibility in tackling climate change.' How far do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2020)
3. In times of economic difficulty, should a country still be concerned with environmental conservation? (RI Y6 Prelim 2016)
4. 'The developed world should bear the burden of climate change.' Discuss. (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)

SECTION C: THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Reading 11: What's in the Glasgow Climate Pact?

EU 3-4

Richard Valdamanis and Kate Abnet | Reuters | 16 November 2021

This reading will help you to:

- Keep up to speed with global cooperation efforts at the recent 2021 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP26)
- Understand the significance and importance of global cooperation in addressing climate change.

Nearly 200 nations agreed to adopt the Glasgow Climate Pact on Saturday after more than two weeks of intense negotiations, with the UK host of the talks saying the deal would keep alive international hopes of averting the worst impacts of global warming. Here are the biggest achievements of the deal:

RATCHETING UP AMBITION

- 5 The agreement acknowledges that commitments made by countries so far to cut emissions of planet-heating greenhouse gases are nowhere near enough to prevent planetary warming from exceeding 1.5 degrees above pre-industrial temperatures. To attempt to solve this, it asks governments to strengthen those targets by the end of next year, rather than every five years, as previously required.

- 10 Failure to set, and meet, tougher emissions-cutting goals would have huge consequences. Scientists say that to go beyond a rise of 1.5C would unleash extreme sea level rise and catastrophes including crippling droughts, monstrous storms and wildfires far worse than those the world is already suffering. "I think today we can say with credibility that we've kept 1.5 (degrees Celsius) within reach," said Alok Sharma, the president of the COP26 summit. "But its pulse is weak, and we will only survive if we keep our promises."

TARGETING FOSSIL FUELS

- 15 The pact for the first time includes language that asks countries to reduce their reliance on coal and roll back fossil fuel subsidies, moves that would target the energy sources that scientists say are the primary drivers of manmade climate change.

- 20 The wording was contentious, though. Just before the Glasgow deal was adopted, India requested that the deal call on countries to "phase down", instead of "phase out" unabated coal. That minor word change triggered a lot of angst in the plenary hall, but delegations agreed to the request to save the deal. The deal's wording on "inefficient subsidies", meanwhile, kept the "phase out" phrasing. Questions remain about how to define "unabated" and "inefficient".

PAYMENTS TO POOR AND VULNERABLE NATIONS

- 25 The deal made some headway on the demands of poor and vulnerable countries that wealthy countries responsible for most emissions pay up. The deal, for example "urges developed country Parties to at least double their collective provision of climate finance for adaptation to developing country Parties from 2019 levels by 2025."

- 30 It also, for the first time, made mention of so-called "loss and damage" in the cover section of the agreement. Loss and damage refers to the costs that some countries are already facing from climate change, and these countries have for years wanted payment to help deal with it. Under the deal, though, developed countries have essentially just agreed to continue discussions on the topic. We will see where that leads.

RULES FOR GLOBAL CARBON MARKETS

- 35 Negotiators also closed a deal setting rules for carbon markets, potentially unlocking trillions of dollars for protecting forests, building renewable energy facilities and other projects to combat climate change. Companies as well as countries with vast forest cover had pushed for a robust deal on government-led carbon markets in Glasgow, in the hope of also legitimising the fast-growing global voluntary offset markets. Under the accord, some measures would be implemented to ensure credits
- 40 are not double-counted under national emissions targets, but bilateral trades between countries would not be taxed to help fund climate adaptation - that had been a core demand for less developed countries.

- Negotiators also reached a compromise that sets a cut-off date, with credits issued before 2013 not being carried forward. That is intended to ensure too many old credits don't flood the market and
- 45 encourage purchases instead of new emissions cuts.

SIDE DEALS

- There were a number of notable side deals too. The United States and the European Union spearheaded a global methane cutting initiative in which around 100 countries have promised to reduce methane emissions by 30% from 2020 levels by 2030.
- 50 The United States and China, the world's two biggest carbon emitters, also announced a joint declaration to cooperate on climate change measures, a deal that reassured observers of Beijing's intention to accelerate its efforts to combat global warming after a long quiet period. Companies and investors also made a slew of voluntary pledges that would phase out gasoline-powered cars, decarbonise air travel, protect forests, and ensure more sustainable investing.

For discussion/reflection:

- Who are the key stakeholders involved in carrying out the pledge made in this summit?
- What are some likely concerns which may arise from their involvement?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Assess the view that attempts to control climate change can never be truly effective. (Cambridge 2017)
2. 'As long as economic goals remain a priority, the environment is a lost cause.' Comment. (RI Prelims 2020)
3. 'All talk and no action.' How accurately does this describe environmental conservation today? (RI Y6 CT1 2017)
4. 'The greatest obstacle to environmental conservation is human apathy.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2016)
5. 'The environment should be the responsibility of the individual, not the government.' Comment. (RI Y6 Prelim 2014)

SECTION C: THE GLOBAL POLITICS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Reading 12: Climate refugees – the world's forgotten victims

EU 1-3

Tetsuji Ida | Kyodo News | 18 June 2021

This reading will help you:

- Understand how climate change can affect human communities on a significant scale
- International and local efforts to mitigate issues vary in terms of efficiency and effectiveness

As the global climate crisis worsens, an increasing number of people are being forced to flee their homes due to natural disasters, droughts, and other weather events. These people are sometimes called “climate refugees”. Who are these climate refugees? And how can the international community properly address this issue?

Who are climate refugees?

- 5 Today, many people in developing countries are suffering from droughts and windstorms on a scale never seen before, depriving them of daily food and basic needs. It is still fresh in our memories that last November many people from the Central American countries of Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, which were hit by two massive hurricanes, poured across the border into Mexico and headed toward the US border.
- 10 The term “climate refugees” was first coined to describe the increasing large-scale migration and cross-border mass movements of people that were partly caused by such weather-related disasters.

- 15 In April, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) released data showing that the number of people displaced by climate change-related disasters since 2010 has risen to 21.5 million, pointing out that “in addition to sudden disasters, climate change is a complex cause of food and water shortages, as well as difficulties in accessing natural resources.”

- 20 Sea-level rise is another threat. Over the past 30 years, the number of people living in coastal areas at high risk of rising sea levels has increased from 160 million to 260 million, 90% of whom are from poor developing countries and small island states. For example, in Bangladesh it is predicted that 17% of the country will be submerged by the rise in sea level by 2050, and 20 million people living there will lose their homes.

The Ecosystem Threat Register (ETR) released in September 2018 by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), an Australian international think tank, points out that at least 1.2 billion people could be displaced by these threats by 2050. In this context, the international response to the problem has gradually begun to progress.

A global response

- 25 The Global Compact on Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, adopted by the UN in 2018, clearly states that one of the factors causing large-scale movements of people is “the adverse impacts of climate change and environmental degradation,” which includes natural disasters, desertification, land degradation, drought and rising sea levels. For migrants who are forced to leave their countries of origin due to environmental degradation, the compact clearly states that governments should work
- 30 to protect climate refugees in the countries of their arrival by devising planned relocation and visa options if adaptation and return is not possible in their countries of origin.

Earlier, in March 2018, the UN Human Rights Council adopted an outcome document that discussed the issue of cross-border movement of people brought about by climate crises from the perspective of human rights protection.

35 The document pointed out that there are many people who do not fit the definition of “refugees” among those who are forced to migrate long distances and cross borders due to climate impacts, and that the legal system to protect their human rights is inadequate, as the “non-refoulement principle”, which states that people who have crossed borders should not be deported or repatriated to their original countries against their will, is not applied. It then urged governments to “incorporate the
40 concept of human rights protection into the planning and implementation of climate change measures,” including preventing large-scale displacement by allowing people to live in conditions that protect their human rights, and promoting human rights-conscious planned relocation as a means of adapting to climate change.

The decision made by the UN Commission on Human Rights in January 2018 also attracted a great
45 deal of attention from those concerned.

Ioane Teitiota from Kiribati, an island nation in the South Pacific that is in danger of losing its land due to rising sea levels, applied for refugee status as a “climate refugee” with the New Zealand government, but his application was rejected and he was repatriated to Kiribati in 2015. In 2016, he filed a complaint with the UN Covenant on Civil Liberties, claiming that his right to life had been violated by the
50 repatriation.

Although the Committee upheld the New Zealand government's decision, stating that Mr Teitiota was not facing an imminent threat to his life, it acknowledged that “the effects of climate change”, such as rising sea levels, “pose a serious threat to the right to life of people living in countries like Kiribati.” It concluded that national courts and others must take this into account when challenging the
55 repatriation of migrants to their countries of origin. The decision held that people facing climate change impacts that violate their right to life cannot be repatriated to their country of origin. The decision has been hailed as “a decision that opens the door to climate change-related refugee claims.”

Government action

Governments are also becoming more aware of the issue. In 2015, just prior to the adoption of the Paris Agreement, the then-president of the European Union, Jean-Claude Juncker, stated in his policy
60 speech: “Climate change is even one [of] the root causes of a new migration phenomenon. Climate refugees will become a new challenge – if we do not act swiftly,” he said, pointing out the importance of strengthening efforts. Discussions have also begun in the European Parliament.

In February, shortly after taking office, US President Joe Biden issued an executive order asking Jake Sullivan, assistant to the president for national security, to discuss with the relevant federal
65 departments and agencies about formulating a position on how to identify climate refugees who have been displaced by climate change and what kind of protection and support the US government can provide to them. The report is expected to be submitted to the president in August.

However, it is hard to say that the international community and governments are doing enough to deal with climate change refugees, given the seriousness of the problem.

70 One of the reasons for this is the lack of a clear climate refugees definition, and the absence of international organisations and institutions to address and clarify the issue. Climate change refugees are not covered by the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which protects people who have a well-founded fear of persecution on racial, religious or other grounds, nor are they eligible

75 for protection under the Convention. Official data on climate refugees is virtually non-existent – this is why they are called the “forgotten victims of climate change.”

As the problem of climate change refugees worsens, there is an urgent need to clarify the definition of climate refugees, including comprehensive data on internally displaced persons (IDPs), and create an international mechanism to protect them. It may be desirable to further discuss how to tackle this issue under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

80

For discussion/reflection:

- Why are some governments and the international community hesitant in following through with the directives listed by the UN Human Rights Council?
- What does this case study reflect about the limitations of international organisations in dealing with global problems?
- What is the link between environmental issues and social/political concerns?
- What does this article reveal about the complexities involved in concerns related to climate change?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Should a country still be concerned with national boundaries in today’s interconnected world? (RI Y6 CT2 2020)
2. In the light of increasing security threats, should countries still embrace the notion of a borderless world? (RI Y6 CT2 2019)
3. Should refugees be viewed as a burden in modern society? (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
4. ‘The effects of environmental degradation impact the poor the hardest.’ Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2018)
5. Discuss the view that countries should always take in refugees. (RI Y6 CT1 2016)
6. International cooperation has not solved the global problems of today.’ Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2014)

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 13: Does globalisation help or hurt the world's poor?

EU 5

Pranab Bardhan | *Scientific American* | 26 March 2006

This reading will help you to:

- Identify some reasons why economic globalisation may simultaneously reduce and increase global poverty.
- Explain how domestic policies and institutions, together with the effects of economic globalisation, may lift or entrench a nation in poverty.
- Identify some ways in which international organisations and partnerships can reduce the negative impact and accentuate the positive impact of economic globalisation on poverty.

Globalisation and the attendant concerns about poverty and inequality have become a focus of discussion in a way that few other topics, except for international terrorism or global warming, have. Most people I know have a strong opinion on globalisation, and all of them express an interest in the well-being of the world's poor. The financial press and influential international officials confidently assert that global free markets expand the horizons for the poor, whereas activist-protesters hold the opposite belief with equal intensity. Yet the strength of people's conviction is often in inverse proportion to the amount of robust factual evidence they have.

As is common in contentious public debates, different people mean different things by the same word. Some interpret globalisation to mean the global reach of communications technology and capital movements, some think of the outsourcing by domestic companies in rich countries, and others see globalisation as a byword for corporate capitalism or American cultural and economic hegemony. So it is best to be clear at the outset of this article that I shall primarily refer to economic globalisation--the expansion of foreign trade and investment. How does this process affect the wages, incomes and access to resources for the poorest people in the world? This question is one of the most important in social science today.

For a quarter century after World War II, most developing countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America insulated their economies from the rest of the world. Since then, though, most have opened their markets. For instance, between 1980 and 2000, trade in goods and services expanded from 23 to 46 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) in China and from 19 to 30 percent in India. Such changes have caused many hardships for the poor in developing countries but have also created opportunities that some nations utilise and others do not, largely depending on their *domestic* political and economic institutions. (The same is true for low-wage workers in the U.S., although the effects of globalisation on rich countries are beyond the scope of this article.) The net outcome is often quite complex and almost always context-dependent, belying the glib pronouncements for or against globalisation made in the opposing camps. Understanding the complexities is essential to taking effective action.

Neither Plague nor Panacea

The case for free trade rests on the age-old principle of comparative advantage, the idea that countries are better off when they export the things they are best at producing, and import the rest. Most mainstream economists accept the principle, but even they have serious differences of opinion on the balance of potential benefits and actual costs from trade and on the importance of social protection for the poor. Free traders believe that the rising tide of international specialisation and investment lifts all boats. Others point out that many poor people lack the capacity to adjust, retool and relocate with changing market conditions. These scholars argue that the benefits of specialisation materialise

in the long run, over which people and resources are assumed to be fully mobile, whereas the adjustments can cause pain in the short run.

The debate among economists is a paragon of civility compared with the one taking place in the streets. Antiglobalisers' central claim is that globalisation is making the rich richer and the poor poorer; proglobalisers assert that it actually helps the poor. But if one looks at the factual evidence, the matter is rather more complicated. On the basis of household survey data collected by different agencies, the World Bank estimates the fraction of the population in developing countries that falls below the 1-a-day poverty line (at 1993 prices)--an admittedly crude but internationally comparable level. By this measure, extreme poverty is declining in the aggregate.

The trend is particularly pronounced in East, South and Southeast Asia. Poverty has declined sharply in China, India and Indonesia--countries that have long been characterised by massive rural poverty and that together account for about half the total population of developing countries. Between 1981 and 2001 the percentage of rural people living on less than 1 a day decreased from 79 to 27 percent in China, 63 to 42 percent in India, and 55 to 11 percent in Indonesia.

But although the poorest are not, on the whole, getting poorer, no one has yet convincingly demonstrated that improvements in their condition are mainly the result of globalisation. In China the poverty trend could instead be attributed to internal factors such as the expansion of infrastructure, the massive 1978 land reforms (in which the Mao-era communes were disbanded), changes in grain procurement prices, and the relaxation of restrictions on rural-to-urban migration. In fact, a substantial part of the decline in poverty had already happened by the mid-1980s, before the big strides in foreign trade or investment. Of the more than 400 million Chinese lifted above the international poverty line between 1981 and 2001, three fourths got there by 1987.

Similarly, rural poverty reduction in India may be attributable to the spread of the Green Revolution in agriculture, government antipoverty programs and social movements--not the trade liberalisation of the 1990s. In Indonesia the Green Revolution, macroeconomic policies, stabilisation of rice prices and massive investment in rural infrastructure played a substantial role in the large reduction of rural poverty. Of course, globalisation, by expanding employment in labour-intensive manufacturing, has helped to pull many Chinese and Indonesians out of poverty since the mid-1980s (though not yet as much in India, for various domestic institutional and policy reasons). But it is only one factor among many accounting for the economic advances of the past 25 years.

Those who are dubious of the benefits of globalisation point out that poverty has remained stubbornly high in sub-Saharan Africa. Between 1981 and 2001 the fraction of Africans living below the international poverty line increased from 42 to 47 percent. But this deterioration appears to have less to do with globalisation than with unstable or failed political regimes. If anything, such instability reduced their extent of globalisation, as it scared off many foreign investors and traders. Volatile politics amplifies longer-term factors such as geographic isolation, disease, overdependence on a small number of export products, and the slow spread of the Green Revolution.

Sweatshops

Global market competition in general rewards people with initiative, skills, information and entrepreneurship in all countries. Poor people everywhere are handicapped by their lack of access to capital and opportunities to learn new skills. Workers in some developing countries--say, Mexico--are losing their jobs in labour-intensive manufacturing to their counterparts in Asia. At the same time, foreign investment has also brought new jobs. Overall, the effect appears to be a net improvement. In Mexico, low-wage poverty is declining in the regions that are more involved in the international economy than others--even controlling for the fact that skilled and enterprising people migrate to

those regions, improving incomes there independently of what globalisation accomplishes. A recent study by Gordon H. Hanson of the University of California, San Diego, which took into account only people born in a particular region (thus leaving out migrants), found that during the 1990s average incomes in the Mexican states most affected by globalisation increased 10 percent more than those least affected.

In poor Asian economies, such as Bangladesh, Vietnam and Cambodia, large numbers of women now have work in garment export factories. Their wages are low by world standards but much higher than they would earn in alternative occupations. Advocates who worry about exploitative sweatshops have to appreciate the relative improvement in these women's conditions and status.

In 2001 Naila Kabeer of the University of Sussex in England and Simeen Mahmud of the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies did a survey of 1,322 women workers in Dhaka. They discovered that the average monthly income of workers in garment-export factories was 86 percent above that of other wage workers living in the same slum neighborhoods.

Another indication of this relative improvement can be gauged by what happens when such opportunities disappear. In 1993, anticipating a U.S. ban on imports of products made using child labour, the garment industry in Bangladesh dismissed an estimated 50,000 children. UNICEF and local aid groups investigated what happened to them. About 10,000 children went back to school, but the rest ended up in much inferior occupations, including stone breaking and child prostitution. That does not excuse the appalling working conditions in the sweatshops, let alone the cases of forced or unsafe labour, but advocates must recognise the severely limited existing opportunities for the poor and the possible unintended consequences of fair trade policies.

The Local Roots of Poverty

Integration into the international economy brings not only opportunities but also problems. Even when new jobs are better than the old ones, the transition can be wrenching. Most poor countries provide very little effective social protection to help people who have lost their jobs and not yet found new ones. Moreover, vast numbers of the poor work on their own small farms or for household enterprises. The major constraints they usually face are domestic, such as lack of access to credit, poor infrastructure, venal government officials and insecure land rights. Weak states, unaccountable regimes, lopsided wealth distribution, and inept or corrupt politicians and bureaucrats often combine to block out the opportunities for the poor. Opening markets without relieving these domestic constraints forces people to compete with one hand tied behind their back. The result can be deepened poverty.

Conversely, opening the economy to trade and long-term capital flows need not make the poor worse off if appropriate domestic policies and institutions are in place--particularly to help shift production to more marketable goods and help workers enter new jobs.

Contrasting case studies of countries make this quite apparent. Although the island economies of Mauritius and Jamaica had similar per capita incomes in the early 1980s, their economic performance since then has diverged dramatically, with the former having better participatory institutions and rule of law and the latter mired in crime and violence. South Korea and the Philippines had similar per capita incomes in the early 1960s, but the Philippines languished in terms of political and economic institutions (especially because power and wealth were concentrated in a few hands), so it remains a developing country, while South Korea has joined the ranks of the developed. Botswana and Angola are two diamond-exporting countries in southern Africa, the former democratic and fast-growing, the latter ravaged by civil war and plunder.

The experiences of these and other countries demonstrate that antipoverty programs need not be blocked by the forces of globalisation. There is no race to the bottom in which countries must abandon social programs to keep up economically; in fact, social and economic goals can be mutually supportive. Land reform, expansion of credit and services for small producers, retraining and income support for displaced workers, public-works programs for the unemployed, and provision of basic education and health can enhance the productivity of workers and farmers and thereby contribute to a country's global competitiveness. Such programs may require a rethinking of budget priorities in those nations and a more accountable political and administrative framework, but the obstacles are largely domestic. Conversely, closing the economy to international trade does not reduce the power of the relevant vested interests: landlords, politicians and bureaucrats, and the rich who enjoy government subsidies. Thus, globalisation is not the main cause of developing countries' problems, contrary to the claim of critics of globalisation--just as globalisation is often not the main solution to these problems, contrary to the claim of overenthusiastic free traders.

What about the environment? Many conservationists argue that international integration encourages the overexploitation of fragile natural resources, such as forests and fisheries, damaging the livelihoods of the poor. A common charge against transnational companies is that they flock to poor countries with lax environmental standards. Anecdotes abound, but researchers have done very few statistical studies. One of the few, published in 2003 by Gunnar Eskeland of the World Bank and Ann Harrison of the University of California, Berkeley, considered Mexico, Morocco, Venezuela and Ivory Coast. It found very little evidence that companies chose to invest in these countries to shirk pollution-abatement costs in rich countries; the single most important factor in determining the amount of investment was the size of the local market. Within a given industry, foreign plants tended to pollute less than their local peers.

Like persistent poverty, lax environmental standards are ultimately a domestic policy or institutional failure. A lack of well-defined or well-enforced property rights or regulation of common property resources often leads to their overuse. Responding to pressure from powerful political lobbies, governments have deliberately kept down the prices of precious environmental resources: irrigation water in India, energy in Russia, timber concessions in Indonesia and the Philippines. The result, unsurprisingly, is resource depletion. To be sure, if a country opens its markets without dealing with these distortions, it can worsen the environmental problems.

When Talk Gives Way to Action

Fortunately, the two sides of the globalisation debate are – slowly – developing some measure of agreement. In many areas, advocates in both camps see the potential for coordination among transnational companies, multilateral organisations, developing country governments and local aid groups on programs to help the poor. Going beyond the contentious debates and building on the areas of emerging consensus and cooperation, international partnerships may be able to make a dent in the poverty that continues to oppress the lives of billions of people in the world. Here are some measures under discussion.

Capital controls. The flow of international investment consists both of long-term capital (such as equipment) and of speculative short-term capital (such as shares, bonds and currency). The latter, shifted at the click of a mouse, can stampede around the globe in herdlike movements, causing massive damage to fragile economies. The Asian financial crisis of 1997 was an example. Following speculators' run on the Thai currency, the baht, the poverty rate in rural Thailand jumped 50 percent in just one year. In Indonesia, a mass withdrawal of short-term capital caused real wages in manufacturing to drop 44 percent. Many economists (including those who otherwise support free trade) now see a need for some form of control over short-term capital flows, particularly if domestic financial institutions and banking standards are weak. It is widely believed that China, India and

Malaysia escaped the brunt of the Asian financial crisis because of their stringent controls on capital flight. Economists still disagree, though, on what form such control should take and what effect it has on the cost of capital.

170 **Reduced protectionism.** The major hurdle many poor countries face is not too much globalisation but too little. It is hard for the poor of the world to climb out of poverty when rich countries (as well as the poor ones themselves) restrict imports and subsidise their own farmers and manufacturers. The annual loss to developing countries as a group from agricultural tariffs and subsidies in rich countries is estimated to be 45 billion; their annual loss from trade barriers on textile and clothing is estimated to be 24 billion. The toll exceeds rich countries' foreign aid to poor countries. Of course, the loss is not equally distributed among poor countries. Some would benefit more than others if these import restrictions and subsidies were lifted.

180 **Trust-busting.** Small exporters in poor nations often lack the marketing networks and brand names to make inroads into rich-country markets. Although transnational retail companies can help them, the margins and fees they charge are often very high. Restrictive business practices by these international middlemen are difficult to prove, but a great deal of circumstantial evidence exists. The international coffee market, for example, is dominated by four companies. In the early 1990s the coffee earnings of exporting countries were about 12 billion, and retail sales were 30 billion. By 2002 retail sales had more than doubled, yet coffee-producing countries received about half their earnings of a decade earlier. The problem is not global markets but impeded access to those markets or depressed prices received by producers, as a result of the near-monopoly power enjoyed by a few retail firms. In certain industries, companies may actively collude to fix prices. Some economists have proposed an international antitrust investigation agency. Even if such an agency did not have much enforcement power, it could mobilise public opinion and strengthen the hands of antitrust agencies in developing countries. In addition, internationally approved quality-certification programs can help poor-country products gain acceptance in global markets.

190 **Social programs.** Many economists argue that for trade to make a country better off, the government of that country may have to redistribute wealth and income to some extent, so that the winners from the policy of opening the economy share their gains with the losers. Of course, the phrase to some extent still leaves room for plenty of disagreement. Nevertheless, certain programs stir fairly little controversy, such as assistance programs to help workers cope with job losses and get retrained and redeployed. Scholarships allowing poor parents to send their children to school have proved to be more effective at reducing child labour than banning imports of products.

200 **Research.** The Green Revolution played a major role in reducing poverty in Asia. New international private-public partnerships could help develop other products suitable for the poor (such as medicines, vaccines and crops). Under the current international patent regime, global pharmaceutical companies do not have much incentive to do costly research on diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis that kill millions of people in poor countries every year. But research collaborations are emerging among donor agencies, the World Health Organization, groups such as Doctors Without Borders and private foundations such as the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

205 **Immigration reform in rich countries.** A program to permit larger numbers of unskilled workers into rich countries as guest workers would do more to reduce world poverty than other forms of international integration, such as trade liberalisation, can. The current climate, however, is not very hospitable to this idea.

- 210 Simplistic antiglobalisation slogans or sermons on the unqualified benefits of free trade do not serve the cause of alleviating world poverty. An appreciation of the complexity of the issues and an active interweaving of domestic and international policies would be decidedly more fruitful.

For discussion/reflection:

- Based on lines 32-35, what concerns do critics have of free trade??
- Summarise the main reasons why benefits of globalisation on the poor have not been 'convincingly demonstrated' (lines 48-49).
- What might be the 'possible unintended consequences of fair trade policies' (line 98) of attempts by advocates (line 97) to target 'sweatshops' (line 96) in poor, developing countries?
- Explain why the author argues that the 'transition [into new jobs from old ones] can be wrenching' (lines 100-101).
- What are some reasons why economic globalisation may have reduced or heightened global poverty?
- In your opinion, what contributes more to global poverty - domestic policies and institutions or international flows of economic capital? Why?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

- How far can prosperity and uncontrolled population growth go hand in hand? (Cambridge 2020)
- Is globalisation to be welcomed or feared today? (Cambridge 2019)
- To what extent are young people in your society prepared for a world that is constantly changing? (RI Y6 Prelim 2019)
- 'International cooperation has not solved the global problems of today.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2014)
- 'Make poverty history.' Is this a realistic goal? (RI Y5 CT 2013)

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 14: Globalisation, Technology and Inequality

EU 5

Zia Qureshi | *The Brookings Institution* | 16 Feb 2018

This reading will help you to:

- Understand how globalisation and technology have led to the rise in inequality.
- Consider the potential of policy as a plausible solution.

We are living in a time of mounting societal discontent and political divisiveness—a “fractured world,” as captured in the theme of the recent World Economic Forum meeting in Davos. In many countries, social disaffection with economic outcomes is up sharply, roiling the political landscape and stoking populist and nationalist sentiment. Brexit and the outcome of the 2016 United States presidential election are but the more dramatic examples of these socio-political dynamics that hold wider sway.

What explains the rising tide of socio-economic unhappiness? The world has not become less prosperous. It is true that the global financial crisis caused major setbacks, but economic growth has recovered. The economic pie is growing—although not as fast as before, as economic growth is being held down by a longer-term decline in productivity growth. The increasingly unequal sharing of the economic pie lies at the heart of the rising social discontent.

Income and wealth inequalities have risen practically in all major economies, and sharply in several of them. In the U.S., for example, the income share of the richest 1 percent has more than doubled since the early 1980s to around 22 percent, with the wealth share rising to almost 40 percent. Those with middle-class incomes have been squeezed and the typical worker has seen largely stagnant real wages. In the “land of opportunity,” social mobility has been stalling. Even as economic growth gathered steam in 2017, economic disparities continued to mount. According to a report released on the eve of the Davos meeting, 4 out of 5 dollars of the increase in global wealth in 2017 accrued to the top 1 percent.

In the cauldron of political debate, much of the blame for the rise in inequality is heaped on globalisation—often from both ends of the political spectrum. The popular backlash against globalisation has been fed by a negative political crescendo. Another factor blamed is technological change—digitisation, the rise of robots, artificial intelligence—that is seen to favor capital and higher-level skills at the expense of ordinary workers. More and more, we hear calls to throw sand in the wheels of technological change, reflecting an ascendant neo-Luddism.

Most dynamic economic change inevitably creates winners and losers. Globalisation and technology are no exceptions. They are key forces that drive innovation, productivity, and economic growth. But they also have been important factors behind the rise in inequalities we have witnessed—with technological change playing a stronger role. The distributional consequences of these forces, however, are not pre-ordained. Outcomes that are more inclusive are certainly possible. Much depends on policies. Sadly, policies for the most part have not risen to the new challenges. Indeed, they have often exacerbated rather than ameliorated the outcomes.

Attempting to inhibit globalisation or technological change would be the wrong response to the rising popular discontent with their distributional outcomes. Instead, policies must do better to ensure that

the economic gains are more widely shared. This means improving the enabling environment for firms and workers—to broaden access to opportunities that come with globalisation and technological change and to enhance capabilities to adjust to the new challenges. Fresh, out-of-the box thinking is needed to bring policies in step with today’s economic transformations.

Competition must be strengthened in industry and finance to check the growth of monopolistic structures and abuse of market power. Competition policies must be revamped for the digital age marked by the rise of winner-take-all technology giants. Technology policies must be reformed so that they promote innovation and wide diffusion rather than serve primarily to lock in incumbents’ advantages as under the current patent systems.

Access to quality education and training must be greatly improved, including putting in place stronger and smarter programs for worker upskilling and reskilling and lifelong learning to respond to the shifting demand for skills. New models of public-private partnerships and technology-enabled solutions must be explored. Labour market policies and social protection systems must be adapted to the realities of a dynamic job market with more frequent shifts between jobs and more diverse work arrangements.

Governments must reorient expenditure priorities and find the fiscal space to restore public investment programs in infrastructure and research and development that have been allowed to run down. They must also review tax and transfer systems that have seen erosion of their redistributive role.

Reforms are needed at the international level as well, so that rules of engagement between countries in trade and other areas are fair. But the dominant part of the agenda to make globalisation work better and for all rests with policies at the national level. A few years ago, Richard Haass wrote a book entitled “Foreign Policy Begins at Home.” In the same vein, globalisation begins at home. Rather than decry globalisation, politicians should exert more to put national policy houses in order.

The political debate needs to shift from frenzied rhetoric to take up the cudgels against primal forces to a calmer and more serious focus on policies that matter. The aphorism “it’s the economy, stupid” captured the political zeitgeist of the not too distant past. “It’s the policies, stupid” would be an apt renewal of that exhortation for our time.

[See end of Reading 15 for discussion/reflection questions.]

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 15: AI Is a Game-Changer in the Fight Against Hunger and Poverty

EU 5

Joseph Bennington-Castro | Mach | 22 June 2017

This reading will help you:

- Identify some ways the latest technologies, especially artificial intelligence, can alleviate global poverty and hunger.

For good or bad, artificial intelligence has become ubiquitous.

Thanks to AI, Amazon recommends items based on your browsing and purchase history. Facebook presents you with targeted ads after crawling your online profile and learning your behavior. And artificially intelligent smartphone apps respond to queries, recognise faces in photographs, and help you remember where you parked your car.

But researchers don't just see AI as a tool to predict and address our everyday needs. It can now be used to help solve some of the most important social and economic issues of our day. In fact, scientists are harnessing AI's data-mining ability in the fight against poverty—what the United Nations calls today's greatest global challenge. Technology, in general, "puts us in a better position to solve issues we've never been able to solve," says Elisabeth Mason, founding director of the Stanford Poverty & Technology Lab, an incubator for technology-based solutions to poverty. But given the many causes of poverty—including lack of affordable local food, low levels of education and skills, natural disasters, and epidemics, to name a few — there's no "silver bullet" to tackling this issue, she says.

Some researchers are using AI to pinpoint the regions most in need. Other scientists are integrating AI into research designed to improve agriculture, possibly giving the world's poorest farmers a way to elevate their financial status. AI is also an effective tool for increasing access to information and boosting education and literacy, among other things. "We are in a time of huge hope and huge risk," Mason says. "As a society, we make choices in what we invest in. So, what choices are we going to make?"

Finding Those in Need

Fixing poverty first requires knowing where it occurs. In many developed nations, household surveys and census data can be used to identify poor neighborhoods. But this information isn't readily available in developing countries, including some in Africa and South Asia. What's more, gathering this kind of data on the ground can be slow, difficult, and prohibitively costly.

The solution? Gather it from above. In recent years, scientists have leveraged the constant stream of photographs taken by satellites — particularly those that reveal the planet at night — to get a feel for global economic activity. Simply put: Regions that glow brightly tend to be wealthy.

The problem with this approach is that these images can't be used to tell places of near-poverty from those of absolute poverty. In 2016, Stanford University economist Marshall Burke turned instead to daytime satellite images, using AI to fill the informational gaps. "Instead of us hand-curating the data and telling the computer what features to look for, we wanted to allow the computer to figure it out on its own," Burke says.

To do this, Burke and his colleagues fed an algorithm both nighttime and daytime images from Uganda, Tanzania, Nigeria, Malawi, and Rwanda, all of which have household survey data available — and

35 instructed the algorithm to find features in the daytime imagery that are predictive of places that are
lit up at night. The model found numerous features that relate to such things as agricultural regions,
bodies of water, and urban areas, but also various elements that were hard to interpret. Some features,
Burke says, “were patterns to the eye that don't look like anything we recognise, but they're patterns
that the model found useful.”

40 The researchers then fed the computer the survey data and instructed it to predict the distribution of
poverty throughout the countries. In all, the algorithm could predict poverty 81 percent to 99 percent
more accurately than a nightlight-only model. With this kind of information, policy makers could
monitor economic wellbeing in various parts of the world and evaluate the effectiveness of
antipoverty programs, Burke says. The satellite imagery and AI could also be used to identify areas
that require the most aid.

Improving Agriculture

45 While researchers like Burke want to pinpoint poverty-stricken areas, other scientists seek to give poor
people the tools they need to lift themselves out of poverty. One such means is better agriculture.
Global poverty and agriculture are intricately linked, with 65 percent of poor working adults making a
living through agriculture, according to the World Bank. Investing in the agriculture sector is up to four
times more effective in reducing poverty than investing in other economic sectors, making agricultural
50 development a powerful poverty-reduction tool.

Here in the U.S., selective crop breeding programs have ensured that valuable foods like corn and
wheat are optimised to grow in our environment. "We're growing more corn every year," says George
Kantor, a roboticist at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. "But other parts of the world don't
have that same trend."

55 To address this issue, Kantor and his colleagues recently launched FarmView, a project that combines
AI with robotics to improve the agricultural yield of certain staple crops, in particular sorghum. In
developing countries like India, Nigeria, and Ethiopia, this drought- and heat-tolerant plant is a
valuable cereal crop that has huge genetic potential thanks to its more than 40,000 varieties. To make
the perfect crop with the right combination of disease resistance, nutrition, and yield, farmers must
60 selectively combine different crop varieties to create new "children" crops to test. But keeping track
of different seed strains and their individual attributes makes this process slow and time-consuming.
Robots and AI can speed things up dramatically. Scientists are able to understand plant growth like
never before, including the minute details of how genetics and environment affect plant
characteristics and yield.

65 "In Africa now, a breeder could be looking at maybe 100 varieties of sorghum a year," Kantor says.
"We want increase that to 1,000." In Kantor's lab, four-wheeled robots drive through a field of
sorghum plants, using cameras, laser sensors, and multispectral sensors to measure everything from
the size and color of the plant to the nutritional content of its leaves, to signs of disease. The robots
use AI to safely navigate by analyzing its field of view to differentiate between plants and soil.

70 At the end of the growing season, Kantor and scientists at Clemson University in South Carolina will
feed the massive amount of environmental, growth, and genetic data collected from hundreds of
sorghum varieties into an AI model. By parsing the data for hidden patterns, the AI will help the
scientists predict the yield of a particular variety based on early-season plant attributes or associate
specific desirable traits with genetic markers. If this initiative is successful, the researchers could
75 conduct similar trials in agriculture-heavy countries like Kenya, giving poor farmers the information
they need to cultivate the most nutritionally packed crop of sorghum possible for their environment—
at the highest possible yield.

The Right Investments

Using AI to find impoverished areas or improve agriculture techniques is just a start. Mason says there are dozens of other ways that AI can help alleviate poverty. For one, AI could help remedy the education deficits that many poor people experience. "Access to information has always been a big differentiator with poverty," Mason says. "If we can use the right tools and develop the right programs, we're looking at a different world."

In places where children receive subpar education in schools (or no education at all), self-guided computer learning programs like Khan Academy — which, as its website describes, allows anyone to "learn anything" for free — can help, but there is room for improvement. If developers implemented AI into such programs, the tools could learn from and respond to users, adapting to their specific needs. And these programs could help even more people, Marson says, if they were translated to mobile platforms, which are slowly becoming universal.

Artificial intelligence juggernaut IBM has its own approach to the information access problem. As part of its Science for Social Good initiative, IBM launched Overcoming Illiteracy, a project whose aim is to use AI to decode complex texts and convey them to adults with limited reading skills via visuals and simple spoken messages. And IBM's AI can help the poor in other ways, such as by predicting storm trajectories and tracking the spread of diseases, both of which hit poor communities especially hard.

Of course, poverty affects developed nations like the U.S., too. And here AI could be used to tackle huge data sets involving the distribution of resources. For example, Mason says, AI could help determine if it's better for a struggling single mother to receive education, training, and food stamps or for her children to receive early childhood education and Medicaid.

"There are hundreds more ways that AI could be useful that people aren't even trying to deploy yet," Mason says. "But whatever AI tools governments, policy makers, and humanitarian organisations use, it's important to implement the technologies where they'll do the most good. There's no question that the majority of our investments don't go to the poor and are instead to improve upper middle-class people to wealthy standards across the world," Mason says. "The real issue is that we're not making investments into the things that we should be if we really want to combat poverty."

For discussion/reflection:

Reading 14

- How have globalisation and technology led to income and wealth inequalities?
- The author believes that policies that span different aspects such as education, national expenditure and tax structure, fair competition within industries, and access to technological advancement need to be adjusted in our effort to address inequalities. To what extent is this acknowledged by key stakeholders in Singapore? Cite specific examples to support your stand.

Reading 15

- How might the latest technologies like Artificial Intelligence be used to reduce global poverty?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'Science is the only answer to global hunger.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
2. How effective are international efforts to ease the problem of global hunger? (Cambridge 2010)
3. 'The solution to global hunger is simply about providing more food.' How far do you agree? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2022)
4. Consider the impact of technology on world hunger today. (RI Y6 CT2 2019)

Additional readings on how technology can alleviate global poverty

- a. How access to technology can alleviate poverty in African countries: <https://www.forbes.com/sites/jonathanmoed/2018/08/15/how-technology-can-make-south-africa-a-more-equal-country/#761b1272a86f>
- b. How big data can alleviate poverty: <https://www.gsb.stanford.edu/insights/solving-poverty-using-tools-silicon-valley>

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 16: From the Great Resignation to Lying Flat, Workers Are Opting Out **EU 1, 5-6**

Allen Wan et al. | Bloomberg Businessweek | 8 December 2021

This reading will help you:

- Understand the global trend of workers leaving their jobs due to wage stagnation and overworking.
- Consider the economic, political, and social implications of the change in mindset towards work.

The Great Resignation has U.S. workers quitting their jobs in record numbers—more than 24 million did so from April to September this year—and many are staying out of the labour force. Germany, Japan, and other wealthy nations are seeing shades of the same trend. The pandemic has taken a toll, with surveys showing an increase in feelings of burnout and a deterioration in mental health in many nations. But the pressure has been building in developed countries for decades. Incomes have stagnated, job security has become precarious, and the costs of housing and education have soared, leaving fewer young people able to build a financially stable life.

Although the Great Resignation is a phenomenon among those who are younger than 40, it's also reverberating across the economy and forcing a broader conversation about work. Millennials (born between 1980 and the late 1990s) and Generation Z (the demographic cohort after them) tend to marry, buy houses, and have children later than their forebears—if at all.

China's "lie flat" movement, jump-started by a social media post from which it got its name, is also about opting out. It's a reaction against a system in which a grueling "996" work schedule—9 a.m. to 9 p.m., six days a week—is common in industries like technology. So is unrelenting pressure from family, society, and even the government to keep climbing the ladder.

The country's economy has doubled in size over the past decade, but not everybody is reaping the benefits: In many big cities the rising cost of living is outstripping wage growth. As a result, some see the lie flat phenomenon as a warning of impending Japan-style stagnation—one that's arrived unexpectedly early in the economy's development. Others argue it's more of the 1960s-style counterculture movements that cropped up in the U.S. and parts of Western Europe, with ordinary people seeking a lower-pressure society that's more focused on personal development. "It's basically a coincidence that these two discourses emerged at the same time," says Xiang Biao, director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Germany. "But we can make a connection. It's about how the economy has become overheated and unsustainable, both in an environmental sense and in a mental sense."

Almost half of the world's workers are considering quitting, according to a Microsoft Corp. survey. About 4 in 10 millennial and Gen Z respondents say they'd leave their job if asked to come back to the office full time, a global survey by advisory company Qualtrics International Inc. found—more than

30 any other generation. Some among older generations have criticised these attitudes as privileged and lazy. But the reality is that working hours have been dropping in richer countries for decades across all age brackets.

In the face of existential threats such as the pandemic and climate change, the Great Resignation and ‘Lie Flat’ movement have the potential to spark a deeper discussion about the relentless pursuit of
35 wealth, at the individual level and for nations as a whole. “When confronted with the prospect of mortality, people definitely behave differently,” says Benjamin Granger, head of employee experience advisory services at Qualtrics. “People are looking at work through a very different lens. The lens is things like, ‘I am not working for a paycheck. That’s not what this is about. I need to be fulfilled.’”

Lying Flat in China

40 What started as a witty expression of Chinese youthful rebellion has become a movement that even Xi Jinping has acknowledged. In a speech in August, the president urged the country to “avoid involution and lying flat” and instead “open channels for upward mobility.”

45 “I haven’t been working for two years, and I don’t see anything wrong with this,” read the April post on the Baidu Tieba platform that sent lie flat viral. “Pressure mainly comes from comparisons with your peers and the values of the older generations. But we don’t have to follow them.”

The poster, who went by the name Kind-Hearted Traveler, drew a comparison with the ancient Greek philosopher Diogenes, an ascetic who lived in a barrel. “Lying flat is my philosophical movement.”

50 The movement’s spiritual home may be Shenzhen, in southeastern China. The booming technology hub is home to giant electronics factories and companies such as Huawei Technologies Co. and Tencent Holdings Ltd.—as well as 18 million people, many of whom have moved there from other parts of China to chase their dreams of affluence. Now, as the economy slows, some are wondering if those dreams are worth the effort.

55 Jack, a 32-year-old tech worker who gave only one name for fear of reprisal from his employer, was full of ambition when a telecommunications company hired him five years ago. But a punishing workload failed to translate into the success he’d hoped for, and over time his enthusiasm drained away. He’s still working, but not as hard.

Rethinking Work After the Pandemic

60 “Many internet industries have reached a stage where there is no explosive growth,” Jack says. “But all the heavy work is still here. All the stress is still here. You lose hope.”

That Shenzhen is among the world’s least affordable cities adds to his woes. “Even for well-paid professionals like me and my girlfriend, it’s still crazy,” he says. “The down payment for a flat in Shenzhen is 2, 3 million yuan [about \$314,000 to \$471,000]. That’s like both our savings, plus very huge help from our parents.”

65 In October thousands of employees at companies including Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. and TikTok owner ByteDance Ltd. participated in an online campaign branded “Worker Lives Matter” by posting information on when they start and end their workdays on a public spreadsheet. ByteDance has since mandated a shorter workweek.

70 In memes and online posts, younger Chinese people call their generation “mouse people” and “salted fish.” (In Cantonese a salted fish is a metaphor for a corpse, but it can also mean people lacking ambition or drive.) If such attitudes become pervasive, they could accelerate population decline:

China's birthrate dropped to a record low in 2020, a major concern because the labour force is already shrinking.

75 At the Sanhe employment exchange in the north of Shenzhen, dozens of recent arrivals from other parts of China gather to browse job postings. While the country's migrant workers were once celebrated for their industriousness, these men and women have developed a reputation for whiling away their time playing online games or streaming TV, picking up day jobs only when they need money to pay their phone bill or rent. Shunning longer-term work and factory jobs in favor of less demanding service roles, they sum up their lifestyle in a simple mantra: "Work for a day, have fun for three."

80 On a recent morning, Mr. Li, a 32-year-old from Shaanxi province who declined to give his full name, surveyed the market's bulletin board with little enthusiasm. When a recruiter approached with a smartphone video from a factory seeking workers, Li rejected the job as soon as he saw it involved operating heavy machinery.

85 Li's attitude suggests the lie flat movement may be a symptom of a new stage in China's economic development: As a nation gets richer, its workers can afford to be more choosy. In the U.S. and Europe, the formation of a large middle class was key to the rise of 1960s counterculture and, later, the so-called slacker generation of the '90s.

90 In an echo of those Western movements, middle-class young Chinese people—with prospects beyond anything their parents could ever have hoped for—say their society is too conformist and materialistic. "There is a rather limited definition of success," says Chen Ziyang, 25, who's living in Shenzhen while studying online for a master's degree from the University of Chicago.

"We all know Jack Ma and those CEOs. But if everyone pursued that kind of career, of course there will be more competition and depression," she says over drinks at an upscale teahouse. "Some people give up and lie flat."

95 **American Resignation**

In the U.S. the financial anxieties of millennials long predate Covid-19. Because of the combination of an explosion in student debt and the plodding recovery from the Great Recession, this generation is likely to be the first in U.S. history to be less wealthy than their parents.

100 The pandemic appears to have brought these concerns to a head. Two-thirds of millennials who left their jobs in 2021 cited mental health reasons, according to a Mind Share Partners survey, and the proportion for Gen Z was even higher, at 81%.

The human and economic carnage caused by Covid has also left many young people questioning their priorities.

105 In July 2020 the federal agency in Washington, D.C., where Ben Anderson worked summoned its staff back to the office without supplying safety equipment or making accommodations for social distancing. After a colleague became a Covid long-hauler, Anderson began to wonder whether a steady job was the key to security and a good life after all. "As the world collapsed, I don't think they gave a shit about me," the 29-year-old says.

110 Quitting had been on his mind for a few years already. He'd earned top grades in college, relocated to a big city for work, and spent seven years in a full-time, white-collar job. Yet he still couldn't save enough to buy a home. "Work was crazy stressful, and I was far from my family," he says. "And at a certain point it was like, 'For what?' I was working in a gigantic bureaucracy in which you don't effect

change. It's not built for that. I just got jaded." He's now living in Los Angeles and acting in television shows and commercials. "I have as much chance in something as insane as Hollywood as running the gauntlet at a government job," he says.

Although the Great Resignation is often thought of as a youth movement, at least one study shows employees from age 30 to 45 are also quitting at high rates. Nate Mann, who at 40 is among the oldest millennials, spent almost half his life as a bartender in Washington, D.C. He put up with late nights and high stress in return for about \$80,000 a year. But when Covid closed the bar at which he worked in March 2020, he decided to focus on something he'd been doing on the side for a while: painting.

"I all of a sudden had all this time, so I just hunkered down and focused on the art," he says. Many of his friends are also shifting out of poorly paid or unfulfilling jobs. "People have felt their power now," he says. "They won't be embarrassed to advocate for themselves or tell the people: 'No. I'm not going to do that. That's not fair or right.'"

Mann was one of the many who used money he'd saved over the years to facilitate his reinvention. The U.S. personal savings rate skyrocketed during the pandemic thanks to enhanced unemployment benefits and stimulus checks.

Global Burnout

In Japan the conversations taking place in China and the U.S. about how to balance work and other pursuits sound familiar. In the 1990s the media painted an unflattering portrait of youthful "freeters" who rejected Japan's demanding office culture, with its rigid hierarchies and 15-hour workdays, in favour of working odd jobs.

Young people said their lifestyle had been forced on them by a stagnant economy and a deregulation of the labour market that resulted in fewer salaried positions and more job insecurity. By 2010 freeters had acquired a less disparaging label as part of a bigger phenomenon—the "satori generation"—referring to a state of enlightenment in Japanese Buddhism achieved by giving up material desires.

Kairu Taira, 22, works for a consumer-goods company in Kobe and runs a satori generation blog. While not a freeter, he considers himself a minimalist, with a limited wardrobe that includes only four T-shirts and four long-sleeved shirts. He says the satori generation gets blamed for "not helping the economy enough," because they spend so little. "But I think each of us is more able to see what's really important in life," he says. "In that sense, I like the term."

The growing acceptance of the satori generation may reflect that lower growth rates and less stable employment are here to stay. The number of newborns in the country, already in decline for decades, fell to a record low in 2020. "With freeters there was a lot more shame, fear, and anger being expressed," says Robin O'Day, a professor at the University of North Georgia who studies Japanese youth culture. "Now it seems that there's nothing that can be done."

Young people's prospects took a similar hit from Taiwan's economic slowdown in the early 2000s. At the time, A-Gui was a video editor in Taipei. Burned out by a job that once had him spend three days straight in the office finishing a project, he quit in 2006 and became a freelancer. "As long as I had enough to live, it was enough," he says. "There were times when my money almost ran out, but something would always come along."

Eventually, A-Gui got married, and in 2016 he went back to work full time. But he sees frustrated younger people today following the same path. "No matter how hard you work, you won't be able to

155 buy a house,” he says. “The threshold is always rising, so it’s becoming more unobtainable. What’s the point?”

160 Even in more welfare-minded Europe, where employment retention programs prevented pandemic layoffs on the scale seen in the U.S., many people are rethinking their careers. Across the euro area about 2 million fewer people are in employment than before the coronavirus struck. Milena Kula, 26, says she was “relieved” when her contract at a Berlin nonprofit organisation focused on politics expired in April 2020. “I hated working a desk job,” she says. “The best part of my day was my 45-minute cycle to work.”

165 She now lives in the Brandenburg countryside, where she plans to set up a communal space for people who, like her, want to live in a more environmentally sustainable way. The idea is not to drop out of society, but to help create one they believe in, she says. “I needed a different approach to how I was doing things, and to be free from manipulation to create the life I want.”

Working, Reworked

Often what’s portrayed as a change in young people’s attitudes is simply a manifestation of longer-term trends, says Bobby Duffy, director of the Policy Institute at King’s College London, whose book *The Generation Myth* challenges stereotypes around generational shifts.

170 Many people in their 20s and 30s seek different things from work than their older peers, such as prioritizing learning new skills over stability, Duffy says, but older cohorts held broadly similar views when they were young.

175 The vast number of people quitting their jobs in the U.S. and Europe is a sign of a structural, psychological shift, according to Qualtrics’s Granger. He says people are being driven to “work on something that’s going to be meaningful, have a higher purpose. We’ve seen a lot of evidence for that.”

180 In China the shift may prove to be even more fundamental. The Communist Party is trying to defuse the lie flat phenomenon by promising continued upward mobility, with plans to double the size of the middle-income segment of the population by 2035. But slowing economic growth is leading the party to focus more on how those gains are distributed. Recent policies aimed at improving conditions for gig workers and moderating housing and education costs aim to support a better quality of life.

If these preoccupations about the value of work persist, they may—in time—influence the course of economies. “Lying flat and the Great Resignation are raising difficult questions, without making specific demands for change. This is good momentum,” says Xiang of the Max Planck Institute. “This can be energy to push for new growth paradigms.”

For discussion/reflection:

- Explain why the “Great Resignation and ‘Lie Flat’ movement” (lines 33-34) arose out of a “relentless pursuit of wealth” (lines 34-35)?
- The President of China, Xi Jinping, was quoted as telling the nation to “avoid involution and lying flat” (line 40) and to “open channels for upward mobility” (line 41). What might have given rise to these remarks? Cite examples to support your response.
- What similarities and differences do you see in the case studies offered in China and America? What are some reasons for such differences, based on differing cultural values and beliefs, and the nature of the social compact between the government and the people?
- What are some new insights gained in your understanding of inequality here?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. How far should firms be allowed to limit their workers' rights when profits are at stake? (Cambridge 2014)
2. Why should we be concerned with current affairs when most of them will soon be forgotten? (Cambridge 2013)
3. 'Workers today have never had it better.' Is this an accurate view? (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
4. 'We have paid too high a price for globalisation.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT 2021)
5. With reference to the developments in the world today, to what extent would you agree that the future holds much promise for young people? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)
6. Consider the importance of global trends in your society. (RI Y5 CT 2012)

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 17: Lost generation feared as COVID school closures fuels inequality

EU 1-2, 5

Annie Banerji and Hedwig Arinaitwe | Reuters | 10 March 2022

This reading will help you to:

- Understand how the global pandemic has exacerbated educational inequality in India and Uganda.
- Consider long-term effects of Covid-19 on the younger generation of children whose lives are affected by school closures

5 Standing in front of India's Taj Mahal, tour guide Raju Usmani fears for his daughter's future. With COVID-19 decimating his income, he may have to pull her out of school just as she is catching up after nearly two years stuck at home. Areeba, 10, is among 1.6 billion children globally - more than 90% of all school students - who have been affected by pandemic school closures, which threaten to widen wealth inequalities both within and between countries.

"We're running the risk of a lost generation," U.N. education expert Robert Jenkins told the Thomson Reuters Foundation. "It's a now-or-never moment to turn things around." Without urgent action, many countries could end up without the skilled workers they need for their future development, said Jenkins, head of education at UN children's agency UNICEF.

- 10 He is also increasingly concerned about the risk of social instability in countries where a large number of youths are left without skills, jobs or hope. Children in low-and middle-income nations have been disproportionately affected as their schools tended to shut for longer and they were less able to access remote learning, UNICEF said ahead of the pandemic's two-year anniversary on Friday. There are no global figures on the numbers who have dropped out. But evidence from Uganda - where schools
- 15 reopened in January after being shut for a record 22 months - suggests up to 30% of children may not return to class.

- 20 School closures have increased child labour, adolescent pregnancies and early marriages, children's rights activists say. And many parents impoverished by lockdowns can no longer afford to send their children to school. The World Bank says classroom shutdowns could cost children \$17 trillion in lifetime earnings - the equivalent of 14% of today's global gross domestic product (GDP) - as education losses limit their future opportunities.

CRITICAL MOMENT

Educators say the world is at a crossroads. Reopening classrooms is not enough - schools must assess children and adapt curriculums to help them catch up. Evidence from past crises such as the 2005 Pakistan earthquake show learning losses may even grow after children return to school if teaching does not adjust to meet their needs.

In India, Usmani's problems are far from over. His earnings have fallen to about \$5 a day from \$13 pre-pandemic. His wife is sick and his children have fallen way behind as they do not have internet access for online learning. Areeba, who wants to become a teacher, finally returned to school in January, rejoining the same grade she was in two years ago. She has forgotten sums she used to whizz through. Her brother Ayazuddin, 5, is back in kindergarten, struggling to remember his English and Hindi alphabets. It is a common problem worldwide, with some teachers saying children have not only forgotten what they have learnt, but how to learn.

"My children's future depends on the education they get right now," said Usmani, 38, who pays about \$20 a month for private schooling because he says the state system is poor. "I don't want them to get a half-baked education like I did." Areeba is thrilled to be back in school and rushes home after class to show her father the teachers' stars in her exercise book. "She really missed school," he said. "Gone are the days when children dreaded going to school. Corona has changed that for sure."

HOLISTIC APPROACH

Education was in crisis even before the pandemic, with 53% of 10-year olds in low- and middle-income countries unable to read a simple story, the World Bank says, warning this could now soar to 70%, with potential consequences lasting decades. But children have not only missed learning. They have also lost opportunities to develop social skills with friends, play sport and, for some, escape troubled homes beset by abuse. Many have struggled with feelings of isolation, and an estimated 5.2 million are grieving the loss of a parent or carer from COVID-19.

UNICEF's Jenkins said schools must take a holistic approach as they welcome children back, addressing their mental, psychosocial and physical wellbeing. In many countries, girls have been disproportionately impacted. They often have less access to technology than their brothers, and are more likely to have to help with domestic chores when classrooms shut. Parents may also prioritise sending a son back to school over a daughter if money is tight.

But for hundreds of thousands of girls there is another barrier to resuming lessons – they have become pregnant. In 2020, aid agency World Vision estimated 1 million girls across sub-Saharan Africa may drop out because of pregnancies. Rwanda and Sierra Leone have received praise for measures to reintegrate young mothers back into schools. But stigma, poverty and lack of childcare could still conspire to keep many out of class.

FUTURE IMPACT

Educators say governments must do far more to assess the numbers who have left school, and address obstacles preventing their return. Many children have quit to earn money. Globally, 9 million risk being pushed into child labour by the end of 2022 because of the pandemic, according to UNICEF.

In the Ugandan capital, Kampala, Kareem Kato, a top science student with ambitions to become an engineer, was about to start secondary school when the pandemic struck. But the lockdown hit his parents' finances, scuppering his dreams.

At 14, he started work as a carpenter to help support his siblings. His twin sister, Sumaya, hoped to become a lawyer so she could fight social injustice, but was also forced to drop out and now helps her mother on her market stall. "My schoolmates have nicknamed me 'omuyiribi' which means hustler,"

said Kareem, holding back tears as he stuffed cushions for a couch. "Sometimes I cry when I watch them returning from school happy, and I'm sweating in the workshop."

70 Even before the pandemic, Uganda lacked the skilled workforce it needs, analysts said. "We may not see the impacts right now, but we're going to see it in the future," said Muhire Francis, an economist at Makerere University Business School. "Two years of school closure is really huge. The impact is going to be long-term and massive."

For discussion/reflection:

- The article raises several wider implications related to school closures due to the global pandemic. What are they?
- Among all the points listed, which was the most surprising for you? Why?
- What does this tell us about the underlying causes related to educational inequality caused by the global pandemic?
- To what extent is this problem only prevalent in developing countries?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Is globalisation to be welcomed or feared today? (Cambridge 2019)
2. 'Eradicating poverty is a battle we have no chance of winning.' Do you agree? (RI Y5 Promo 2016)
3. 'Disease is the greatest threat facing mankind today.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)
4. 'Globalisation has made us more vulnerable.' To what extent is this true? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 18: Why Foreign Aid is Hurting Africa

EU 5

Dambisa Moyo | Wall Street Journal | 21 Mar 2009

This reading will help you to:

- Recognise how money from rich countries has trapped many African nations in a cycle of corruption, slower economic growth and poverty.
- Understand that the foreign aid failures described are real and frustrating, and they underscore why it's important to wrestle with the flaws in foreign policy and the issues that critics of developmental aid raise.

5 A month ago I visited Kibera, the largest slum in Africa. This suburb of Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, is home to more than one million people, who eke out a living in an area of about one square mile -- roughly 75% the size of New York's Central Park. It is a sea of aluminium and cardboard shacks that forgotten families call home. The idea of a slum conjures up an image of children playing amidst piles of garbage, with no running water and the rank, rife stench of sewage. Kibera does not disappoint.

10 What is incredibly disappointing is the fact that just a few yards from Kibera stands the headquarters of the United Nations' agency for human settlements which, with an annual budget of millions of dollars, is mandated to "promote socially and environmentally sustainable towns and cities with the goal of providing adequate shelter for all." Kibera festers in Kenya, a country that has one of the highest ratios of development workers per capita. This is also the country where in 2004, British envoy Sir Edward Clay apologised for underestimating the scale of government corruption and failing to speak out earlier.

15 Giving alms to Africa remains one of the biggest ideas of our time -- millions march for it, governments are judged by it, celebrities proselytise the need for it. Calls for more aid to Africa are growing louder, with advocates pushing for doubling the roughly \$50 billion of international assistance that already goes to Africa each year.

20 Yet evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that aid to Africa has made the poor poorer, and the growth slower. The insidious aid culture has left African countries more debt-laden, more inflation-prone, more vulnerable to the vagaries of the currency markets and more unattractive to higher-quality investment. It's increased the risk of civil conflict and unrest (the fact that over 60% of sub-Saharan Africa's population is under the age of 24 with few economic prospects is a cause for worry). Aid is an unmitigated political, economic and humanitarian disaster.

25 Few will deny that there is a clear moral imperative for humanitarian and charity-based aid to step in when necessary, such as during the 2004 tsunami in Asia. Nevertheless, it's worth reminding ourselves what emergency and charity-based aid can and cannot do. Aid-supported scholarships have certainly helped send African girls to school (never mind that they won't be able to find a job in their own countries once they have graduated). This kind of aid can provide band-aid solutions to alleviate immediate suffering, but by its very nature cannot be the platform for long-term sustainable growth.

30 Whatever its strengths and weaknesses, such charity-based aid is relatively small beer when compared to the sea of money that floods Africa each year in government-to-government aid or aid from large development institutions such as the World Bank. Over the past 60 years at least \$1 trillion of development-related aid has been transferred from rich countries to Africa. Yet real per-capita income today is lower than it was in the 1970s, and more than 50% of the population -- over 350 million people -- live on less than a dollar a day, a figure that has nearly doubled in two decades.

35 Even after the very aggressive debt-relief campaigns in the 1990s, African countries still pay close to \$20 billion in debt repayments per annum, a stark reminder that aid is not free. In order to keep the system going, debt is repaid at the expense of African education and health care. Well-meaning calls to cancel debt mean little when the cancellation is met with the fresh infusion of aid, and the vicious cycle starts up once again.

40 In 2005, just weeks ahead of a G8 conference that had Africa at the top of its agenda, the International Monetary Fund published a report entitled "Aid Will Not Lift Growth in Africa." The report cautioned that governments, donors and campaigners should be more modest in their claims that increased aid will solve Africa's problems. Despite such comments, no serious efforts have been made to wean Africa off this debilitating drug.

45 The most obvious criticism of aid is its links to rampant corruption. Aid flows destined to help the average African end up supporting bloated bureaucracies in the form of the poor-country governments and donor-funded non-governmental organisations. In a hearing before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in May 2004, Jeffrey Winters, a professor at Northwestern University, argued that the World Bank had participated in the corruption of roughly \$100 billion of its loan funds
50 intended for development.

As recently as 2002, the African Union, an organisation of African nations, estimated that corruption was costing the continent \$150 billion a year, as international donors were apparently turning a blind eye to the simple fact that aid money was inadvertently fueling graft. With few or no strings attached, it has been all too easy for the funds to be used for anything, save the developmental purpose for
55 which they were intended.

In Zaire -- known today as the Democratic Republic of Congo -- Irwin Blumenthal (whom the IMF had appointed to a post in the country's central bank) warned in 1978 that the system was so corrupt that there was "no (repeat, no) prospect for Zaire's creditors to get their money back." Still, the IMF soon gave the country the largest loan it had ever given an African nation. According to corruption watchdog agency Transparency International, Mobutu Sese Seko, Zaire's president from 1965 to 1997, is reputed to have stolen at least \$5 billion from the country.

It's scarcely better today. A month ago, Malawi's former President Bakili Muluzi was charged with embezzling aid money worth \$12 million. Zambia's former President Frederick Chiluba (a development darling during his 1991 to 2001 tenure) remains embroiled in a court case that has revealed millions of dollars frittered away from health, education and infrastructure toward his personal cash dispenser. Yet the aid keeps on coming.

A nascent economy needs a transparent and accountable government and an efficient civil service to help meet social needs. Its people need jobs and a belief in their country's future. A surfeit of aid has been shown to be unable to help achieve these goals. A constant stream of "free" money is a perfect way to keep an inefficient or simply bad government in power. As aid flows in, there is nothing more for the government to do -- it doesn't need to raise taxes, and as long as it pays the army, it doesn't have to take account of its disgruntled citizens. No matter that its citizens are disenfranchised (as with no taxation there can be no representation). All the government really needs to do is to court and cater to its foreign donors to stay in power.

Stuck in an aid world of no incentives, there is no reason for governments to seek other, better, more transparent ways of raising development finance (such as accessing the bond market, despite how hard that might be). The aid system encourages poor-country governments to pick up the phone and ask the donor agencies for next capital infusion. It is no wonder that across Africa, over 70% of the public purse comes from foreign aid. In Ethiopia, where aid constitutes more than 90% of the government budget, a mere 2% of the country's population has access to mobile phones. (The African country average is around 30%.) Might it not be preferable for the government to earn money by selling its mobile phone license, thereby generating much-needed development income and also providing its citizens with telephone service that could, in turn, spur economic activity?

Look what has happened in Ghana, a country where after decades of military rule brought about by a coup, a pro-market government has yielded encouraging developments. Farmers and fishermen now use mobile phones to communicate with their agents and customers across the country to find out where prices are most competitive. This translates into numerous opportunities for self-sustainability and income generation -- which, with encouragement, could be easily replicated across the continent.

To advance a country's economic prospects, governments need efficient civil service. But civil service is naturally prone to bureaucracy, and there is always the incipient danger of self-serving cronyism and the desire to bind citizens in endless, time-consuming red tape. What aid does is to make that danger a grim reality. This helps to explain why doing business across much of Africa is a nightmare. In Cameroon, it takes a potential investor around 426 days to perform 15 procedures to gain a business license. What entrepreneur wants to spend 119 days filling out forms to start a business in Angola? He's much more likely to consider the U.S. (40 days and 19 procedures) or South Korea (17 days and 10 procedures).

Even what may appear as a benign intervention on the surface can have damning consequences. Say there is a mosquito-net maker in small-town Africa. Say he employs 10 people who together manufacture 500 nets a week. Typically, these 10 employees support upward of 15 relatives each. A Western government-inspired program generously supplies the affected region with 100,000 free

mosquito nets. This promptly puts the mosquito net manufacturer out of business, and now his 10 employees can no longer support their 150 dependents. In a couple of years, most of the donated nets will be torn and useless, but now there is no mosquito net maker to go to. They'll have to get more aid. And African governments once again get to abdicate their responsibilities.

105 In a similar vein has been the approach to food aid, which historically has done little to support African farmers. Under the auspices of the U.S. Food for Peace program, each year millions of dollars are used to buy American-grown food that has to then be shipped across oceans. One wonders how a system of flooding foreign markets with American food, which puts local farmers out of business, actually helps better Africa. A better strategy would be to use aid money to buy food from farmers within the
110 country, and then distribute that food to the local citizens in need.

Then there is the issue of "Dutch disease," a term that describes how large inflows of money can kill off a country's export sector, by driving up home prices and thus making their goods too expensive for export. Aid has the same effect. Large dollar-denominated aid windfalls that envelop fragile
115 developing economies cause the domestic currency to strengthen against foreign currencies. This is catastrophic for jobs in the poor country where people's livelihoods depend on being relatively competitive in the global market.

To fight aid-induced inflation, countries have to issue bonds to soak up the subsequent glut of money swamping the economy. In 2005, for example, Uganda was forced to issue such bonds to mop up
120 excess liquidity to the tune of \$700 million. The interest payments alone on this were a staggering \$110 million, to be paid annually. The stigma associated with countries relying on aid should also not be underestimated or ignored. It is the rare investor that wants to risk money in a country that is unable to stand on its own feet and manage its own affairs in a sustainable way.

Africa remains the most unstable continent in the world, beset by civil strife and war. Since 1996, 11 countries have been embroiled in civil wars. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research
125 Institute, in the 1990s, Africa had more wars than the rest of the world combined. Although my country, Zambia, has not had the unfortunate experience of an outright civil war, growing up I experienced first-hand the discomfort of living under curfew (where everyone had to be in their homes between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m., which meant racing from work and school) and faced the fear of the uncertain outcomes of an attempted coup in 1991 -- sadly, experiences not uncommon to many
130 Africans.

Civil clashes are often motivated by the knowledge that by seizing the seat of power, the victor gains virtually unfettered access to the package of aid that comes with it. In the last few months alone, there have been at least three political upheavals across the continent, in Mauritania, Guinea and Guinea
135 Bissau (each of which remains reliant on foreign aid). Madagascar's government was just overthrown in a coup this past week. The ongoing political volatility across the continent serves as a reminder that aid-financed efforts to force-feed democracy to economies facing ever-growing poverty and difficult economic prospects remain, at best, precariously vulnerable. Long-term political success can only be achieved once a solid economic trajectory has been established.

Proponents of aid are quick to argue that the \$13 billion (\$100 billion in today's terms) aid of the post-
140 World War II Marshall Plan helped pull back a broken Europe from the brink of an economic abyss, and that aid could work, and would work, if Africa had a good policy environment. The aid advocates skirt over the point that the Marshall Plan interventions were short, sharp and finite, unlike the open-ended commitments which imbue governments with a sense of entitlement rather than encouraging innovation. And aid supporters spend little time addressing the mystery of why a country in good

145 working order would seek aid rather than other, better forms of financing. No country has ever achieved economic success by depending on aid to the degree that many African countries do.

The good news is we know what works; what delivers growth and reduces poverty. We know that economies that rely on open-ended commitments of aid almost universally fail, and those that do not depend on aid succeed. The latter is true for economically successful countries such as China and India, 150 and even closer to home, in South Africa and Botswana. Their strategy of development finance emphasises the important role of entrepreneurship and markets over a staid aid-system of development that preaches hand-outs.

African countries could start by issuing bonds to raise cash. To be sure, the traditional capital markets of the U.S. and Europe remain challenging. However, African countries could explore opportunities to 155 raise capital in more non-traditional markets such as the Middle East and China (whose foreign exchange reserves are more than \$4 trillion). Moreover, the current market malaise provides an opening for African countries to focus on acquiring credit ratings (a prerequisite to accessing the bond markets), and preparing themselves for the time when the capital markets return to some semblance of normalcy.

160 Governments need to attract more foreign direct investment by creating attractive tax structures and reducing the red tape and complex regulations for businesses. African nations should also focus on increasing trade; China is one promising partner. And Western countries can help by cutting off the cycle of giving something for nothing. It's time for a change.

[See end of Reading 19 for discussion/reflection questions.]

SECTION D: WORLD POVERTY AND INEQUALITY

Reading 19: The Case for Aid

EU 5

Jeffrey Sachs | Foreign Policy | 21 January 2014

This reading will help you to:

- Understand the compelling case for aid and why how it brings about benefits to developing countries.

5 I have long believed in foreign aid as one tool of economic development. This is not an easy position to maintain, especially in the United States, where public misunderstanding, politics, and ideology all tend to keep aid an object of contempt for many people. Yet the recent evidence shows that development aid, when properly designed and delivered, works, saving the lives of the poor and helping to promote economic growth. Indeed, based on this evidence, Bill and Melinda Gates released a powerful letter to the public today also underscoring the importance and efficacy of foreign aid.

As experience demonstrates, it is possible to use our reason, management know-how, technology, and learning by doing to design highly effective aid programs that save lives and promote development. This should be done in global collaboration with national and local communities, taking 10 local circumstances into account. The evidence bears out this approach.

Of course, I do not believe that aid is the sole or main driver of economic development. I do not believe that aid is automatically effective. Nor should we condone bad governance in Africa -- or in Washington, for that matter. Aid is one development tool among several; it works best in conjunction

with sound economic policies, transparency, good governance, and the effective deployment of new technologies.

Professor William Easterly of New York University has long been a vocal opponent of aid, and recently declared that the aid debate was "over," claiming victory for his theory that large-scale aid projects are doomed to fail. This blanket claim flies in the face of recent experience. Prof. Easterly has been proven wrong in both diagnosis and prescription.

During the past 13 years, the greatest breakthroughs in aid quantity and quality came from the field of public health (unlike other social sectors, such as education and sanitation, where aid increases were far less notable). As a result, the outcomes in public health in poor countries have also advanced markedly. Not only did aid quantities for public health improve; new public health institutions, such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria and the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunisation, were created to promote the effective delivery of the increased aid.

The approach of increased aid that is well-targeted through innovative institutions has been enormously successful in improving public health in low-income countries. One could cite many examples ranging from the scale-up of vaccine coverage (largely through GAVI and UNICEF) to increased treatment coverage for HIV/AIDS and expanded tuberculosis control (through the Global Fund and the U.S. PEPFAR program), but I will focus specifically on malaria control, since Prof. Easterly was particularly pointed in his opposition to the mass scale-up of malaria control that has proved to be so successful. Fortunately, the global community did not heed Easterly's erroneous advice, and followed a path that the public health community strongly advocated.

At the turn of the new century, malaria was front and center of the global aid debate. Research by myself and others, and evidence garnered in the report of the World Health Organization (WHO) Commission on Macroeconomics and Health that I had the honor to chair, showed that in addition to being a health catastrophe, malaria imposes a significant economic burden, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa. Luckily, though, the world was starting to take notice. In 2000, the U.N. Millennium Declaration, The African Summit on Malaria, and the G8 Declaration all addressed the burden of malaria and committed the world to action. The debate soon turned to the issue of policy: how could the malaria burden be reduced?

Here we must look at some key details in order to keep aid in careful perspective. Starting in the late 1990s, malariologists at WHO, in academia, and in various government agencies around the world, described how malaria control could be made highly effective. The malariologists emphasised the ability of insecticide-treated bed nets to reduce the transmission of the disease. They also emphasised the urgency of shifting to a new generation of first-line medicines, notably those using artemisinin (a powerful anti-malaria drug developed by Chinese scientists) in combination with other medicines, because the old-line medicines (mainly chloroquine) were losing efficacy to growing drug resistance. The combination of bed nets and effective medicines (known in the jargon as "vector control" and "case management" respectively), supported by rapid diagnosis of infections, makes for a powerful one-two punch in saving lives and reducing malaria transmission.

Indeed, epidemiological theory and practical experience strongly suggested that if bed net coverage could be raised to a sufficiently high rate (typically around three-quarters, depending on local conditions), the transmission of malaria would be sharply reduced even for those not directly protected by their own bed nets. The "spillover" of protection to the non-users is called a mass-action effect, similar to the way that high vaccine coverage protects even unvaccinated people because the disease stops spreading when fewer people are susceptible to infection. This mass-action

phenomenon of course strongly argued for a malaria control strategy that would lead to a high level of bed net coverage.

60 There was one more detail of great policy significance: Not all bed nets are equal. The high-quality bed nets work not only mechanically (by covering the body) but also chemically, by a treatment with insecticide that repels or kills mosquitoes that land on the bed net. A bed net without insecticide treatment is far less effective than a treated net. Until the early 2000s, bed nets required frequent retreatment with insecticide (e.g. by bathing the nets in tubs filled with insecticide) in order to remain effective. Then, Sumitomo Chemical developed long-lasting insecticide-treated nets (LLINs) that were
65 specially engineered to keep the insecticide intact even when the nets were repeatedly washed. The new nets could therefore remain effective for around five years or even more. Other companies, such as Vestergaard and BASF, also developed their own varieties of LLINs. This was a great breakthrough, but the new nets were more expensive to manufacture than the preceding generation of simpler nets.

70 All of these developments -- new nets, new medicines, improved diagnostics, and a surging epidemic -- were crucial to developing a successful malaria control policy after the year 2000. Taken together, they motivated the case for increased donor aid to support the mass free-distribution of LLINs and free access to the new generation of artemisinin-based medicines and rapid diagnostic tools. Without financial support, poor people could not afford either the LLINs or the new medicines. Attempts to
75 sell the nets at a discount, known as social marketing, had very little take up, since many poor families simply lacked any cash income at all. The prospect of achieving "mass action" protection through social marketing was very small. Moreover, impoverished households would often scrape together the needed money only to buy the cheaper but ineffective nets, rather than the more expensive but more effective LLINs.

80 Governments of low-income African countries needed donor support for the scale-up effort since their own domestic tax revenues, even when amply allocated to public health, could not cover the costs of a basic primary health system including scaled-up malaria control. The financial calculations, laid out by the Commission on Macroeconomics and Health, showed that an impoverished country with a GDP of around \$500 per capita, typical for a poor country in Africa, may be able to muster around \$15 per
85 person per year out of domestic revenues for primary health (directing 15 percent of domestic revenues to health, as the Abuja target for health spending recommends), while the costs of a basic public health system (measured in 2014 dollars) would be around \$50-\$60 per person per year.

Prof. Easterly would have none of it. He took special and early aim at these recommendations in his 2006 book *The White Man's Burden*, claiming that free nets "are often diverted to the black market, become out of stock in health clinics, or wind up being used as fishing nets or wedding veils." After
90 this specious claim, he then went on to write that "a study of a program to hand out free [malaria bed] nets in Zambia to people ... found that 70 percent of the recipients didn't use the nets." Yet this particular study, which was conducted by the American Red Cross and CORE, actually showed the program was a success, with high rates of net adoption. Prof. Easterly's claim misconstrued this and
95 other evidence being developed by the ARC and others about the mass distribution of nets, which had found that the free distribution of malaria bed nets was achieving high coverage and adoption rates.

Prof. Easterly's arguments added to a highly visible narrative against the needed global action on malaria control. Yet despite this anti-aid narrative, a global turning point finally came in 2007-08. This turning point was helped by the early success of Kenya. Kenya's Minister of Health at the time, Charity
100 Ngilu, led a government effort during 2006-7 to scale up mass bed net distribution based, in part, on the example of free LLIN distribution in the Sauri Millennium Village. Kenya's policies led to a sharp drop of malaria nationwide.

Next, WHO swung its powerful weight behind the mass free distributions of bed nets throughout sub-Saharan Africa. Soon after, U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon established the mass free distribution of bed nets as policy for all U.N. agencies, and called on the world's governments and NGOs to support the scale-up effort. Ban's leadership tipped the global scales decisively. Close to 300 million bed nets were freely distributed from 2008-2010, with the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria and the U.S. President's Malaria Initiative program paying for a substantial share of the scale-up.

The evidence is overwhelming that malaria declined precipitously as a result of these bold measures. WHO's latest report finds a stunning 51 percent drop in malaria deaths of African children under the age of five between the years 2000 and 2012. These results are historic. Roughly a half-million children, if not more, are being saved each year that otherwise would have succumbed to malaria. Even more success is possible, but only if development aid continues to back the effective control of malaria. The Global Fund is struggling to fill its request for \$5 billion per year of funding, essential to supplement the health budgets of poor countries. Prof. Easterly's continued denunciations of aid, and his declarations that large-scale aid has failed, are injurious to the public support needed for the replenishment.

Across the board, the post-2000 improvements in public health in sub-Saharan Africa have been dramatic, strongly supported by scaled-up aid. Up to 10 million HIV-infected individuals are now receiving life-saving, anti-retroviral medicines thanks at least in part to aid programs. Tuberculosis (TB) patients are being treated and cured, with a global TB mortality rate drop of 45 percent since 1990, and an estimated 22 million people alive due to TB care and control from 1995-2012, thanks to Global Fund support, which provides the lion's share of donor financing to fight TB. With increased donor support, antenatal health visits, institutional deliveries, and access to emergency obstetrical care are all on the increase, contributing to a decline in sub-Saharan Africa's maternal mortality rate (the annual number of female deaths per 100,000 live births) from 850 in 1990 to 740 in 2000 to 500 in 2010. Deaths of children under five worldwide have declined from 12.6 million a year in 1990 and 10.8 million in 2000 to 6.5 million in 2012.

These successes demonstrate a key lesson: that well-designed aid programs with sound operating principles, including clear goals, metrics, milestones, deliverables, and financing streams, can make an enormous difference, and that such programs should be devised and applied on a large scale in order to benefit as many people as possible. Such quality design needs to be based on the details of best practices, such as the combination of medicines, bed nets, and diagnostics used in cutting-edge, community-based malaria control. The economics profession needs to do a much better job working with experts in other fields, such as public health, in order to design effective aid interventions that reflect the nitty-gritty of high-quality systems delivery. While Prof. Easterly begrudgingly admits that some health aid programs have worked, for him this contradiction seems to make no difference to his overarching claim that aid is doomed to fail, for reasons that are hard to explain. All the evidence and all the exceptions have not mattered to his rhetoric, or for that matter, to his harsh attacks on me personally.

The aid successes of the past decade have saved millions of lives, a worthy use of money (which has totalled just a tiny fraction of rich world income) on its own. Yet aid has delivered more than lives saved and improved. Various kinds of aid, including public health outlays, debt cancellation under the IMF and World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative (providing debt relief and cancellation for the poorest countries), and other programmatic and budget support, have helped to put sub-Saharan Africa on a path of much higher economic growth and development. For the first time in decades, Africa's poverty rate has come down notably (from 58 percent in 1999 to 48.4 percent in 2010) and the region's economic growth is now around 5 percent per year, making it the region with the second fastest growth (following Asia).

- 150 Of course, aid didn't cause this success by itself, as there are many factors in play. But aid has helped. Research distinguishing the types and timing of aid has shown that development aid raises economic growth, though the effects will differ across countries and depend on the quality of aid. The malaria example is one of the clearest and most dramatic examples, but across the continent, aid has helped with improvements in education, agriculture, sanitation, infrastructure, and more.
- 155 In *The White Man's Burden*, Prof. Easterly declared, "You just have to do whatever you discover works with your modest resources to make a difference in the lives of poor people." Prof. Easterly's emphasis on "modest resources" mischaracterises our real global situation. We are living in a world of great wealth. We need not accept the fallacy perpetuated by the rich that global resources available are quite so "modest," when total aid to sub-Saharan Africa in 2012 amounted to roughly 0.1 percent of the GDP of the donor countries (around \$45 billion per year). We can and should mobilise more support. Just fractions of 1 percent of GDP of the rich countries can make a profound difference to ending extreme poverty throughout the world. Of course, we should also certainly agree to focus on what works, and take effective programs to large scale. The positive evidence since 2000 shows that well-designed aid has made a tremendous impact.
- 160
- 165 The issue is not "yes" or "no" to aid. Aid is needed, and can be highly successful. The issue is how to deliver high-quality aid to the world's poorest and most vulnerable people.

For discussion/reflection:

- Identify Moyo's arguments for why foreign aid is hurting Africa. Conversely, why does Sachs say that foreign aid should continue to flow into Africa? In your opinion, who is more convincing?
- Based on your understanding of the impact of aid on Africa, what kinds of aid would benefit poor countries? To start you off, consider some novel strategies adopted by the UN's World Food Programme: <https://www.wfp.org/our-work>. In what ways are these strategies more promising in delivering aid?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'Foreign aid does not solve long-term problems.' To what extent is this a fair viewpoint? (Cambridge 2018)
2. In times of economic hardship, should a country still be expected to provide financial or material aid to others? (Cambridge 2014)
3. 'The problem of global food shortage can never be resolved.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 Prelim 2013)
4. 'Foreign intervention in a developing nation does more harm than good.' Comment. (RI Y6 Prelim 2013)
5. To what extent can international aid be truly effective? (RI Y6 CT2 2010)

SECTION E: GLOBALISATION AND THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

Reading 20: The Story of Migration Is More Positive Than We've Been Led to Believe

EU 1-3, 6

Mo Ibrahim | TIME | 4 Apr 2019

This reading will help you to understand:

- The complexities involved in the issue of migration in the African continent as well as globally
- The often overlooked benefits of migration
- How migration has been mismanaged, and how to remediate the situation

The story of migration from Africa is typically told as a mass exodus from conflict or climate change. Images of vulnerable families crossing oceans on precarious boats and enduring winters in makeshift refugee camps have become ingrained parts of this narrative. There are human lives behind each image, and their experiences must never be dismissed. But this is not the full picture. The reality of this phenomenon and its root causes are very different. The story of African migrations needs to be reset.

This is not just an African concern: we must urgently push back against the corrosive global discourse that has perpetuated a distorted and harmful picture that betrays the reality. Because without a doubt, distorted narratives lead to distorted policies.

Despite popular belief, in almost 30 years, the scale of the global migrant population has increased only marginally, from 2.9% of the global population in 1990 to 3.4% in 2017. Migration patterns may have changed, but they have not significantly increased.

African migrants account for only 14% of the global migrant population: significantly less than migrants from Asia, which account for 41%, or Europe, which account for 24%. In fact, in 2017, the top ten migration flows from Africa accounted for less than the single migration flow from Mexico to the U.S. Most African migrations *begin and end* on the continent.

Yet migration evokes strong emotions: it gets tangled up with suspicion of difference, hostility to anyone outside the “we” group. In an age of fake news and deliberate misinformation, migration is perhaps most susceptible to this distortion. In recent years, we’ve seen the issue exploited for political ends across the globe.

We can do better than this. Migration is not an inherently negative phenomenon. For centuries, migration has fostered global trade links, shaped nations, fueled human endeavors and enabled skills and cultures to be shared across the globe. As world leaders recognised in the first-ever United Nations Global Compact on Migration in December 2018, migration, “is a source of prosperity, innovation and sustainable development in our globalised world.”

Data shows that migrants support GDP growth in destination countries and are valuable, often indispensable parts of the workforce. Their economic contribution is considerable. Migrants’ contribution to GDP is estimated at 19% in Côte d’Ivoire, 13% in Rwanda and 9% in South Africa.

Migration can invigorate growth, plug labour market gaps and offer constructive opportunities for energetic and growing youth populations. Today, 60% of Africa’s population is under the age of 25 and by 2100, Africa’s youth could be equivalent to twice Europe’s entire population. However, the match between education and the skills needed by employers is worse than in any other world region. Technological progress in recent years has created new jobs and business models, but opportunities for young African’s to master this innovation are still lacking across the continent.

- 35 This is a huge challenge we must take on. If we do not manage and foster mobility, we run the risk of losing our greatest asset: our young people.

Refusal to create legal migration routes, insufficient policies and weak mobility frameworks mean criminal networks often profit from migration more than governments. When migration is poorly managed, we all lose out. In 2016, illegal smuggling generated \$7 billion in income, equivalent to the
40 amount spent by the United States or European Union countries on global humanitarian aid in the same year. These are sobering numbers.

Humanity has always been on the move. Migrations are the fabric of our shared existence and have strengthened continents, countries and communities for millennia. Supporting migration, rather than thwarting it, is essential if we wish to meet the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals and end poverty.

- 45 The political challenge for Africa — and, indeed, the world — is to incentivise migration in the right way, be it geographical, educational or professional.

The African Union's recent protocol on free movement, adopted a year ago, is a key step. This commitment to removing some of the barriers to migration will allow employers to recruit the skills they need, supporting economic development across Africa. But in Africa as elsewhere, the popular
50 political will needs to press ahead. Attitudes in Africa towards migration are more positive than anywhere else in the world. African citizens are ready.

Movement within and across continents is one of the great drivers of human history. Economic uplift is not a zero-sum game — in which one country's loss is another's gain. Progress cannot be achieved by trapping ambitious young people in jobless markets. The answer must be not to forbid migration
55 but to better manage it — and to overturn the corrosive global discourse on migration in the process.

For discussion/reflection:

- The author asserts that 'we must urgently push back against the corrosive global discourse that has perpetuated a distorted and harmful picture that betrays the reality. Because without a doubt, distorted narratives lead to distorted policies.' (lines 7-8)
 - Give examples of such 'corrosive global discourse' on migration
 - What are some 'distorted policies' on migration that you observe in the world today?
- In line 15, why does the writer use italics for the verbs '*begin*' and '*end*'? What point is he trying to make here?
- Do you agree with the writer that we should "incentivise migration"? Why or why not?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'In the global village we inhabit, there is no justification for national boundaries.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2018)
2. Should a country still be concerned with national boundaries in today's interconnected world? (RI Y6 CT2 2020)
3. Should refugees be viewed as a burden in modern society? (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
4. 'Migration should be encouraged in today's world.' How true is this? (RI Y5 CT 2017)
5. 'Migration is a necessity, not an option.' What do you think? (RI Y5 Promo 2015)

SECTION E: GLOBALISATION AND THE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

Reading 21: The Other Pandemic: Human Trafficking

EU 1-3, 5

Mark Oprea | Ozy | 13 June 2021

This reading will help you to:

- Gain a broad understanding of how the global pandemic has affected other societies already dealing with hidden social problems
- Understand the contexts and limitations in addressing this global issue and how human trafficking has a wider impact on vulnerable communities around the world

After a year of COVID-19-fueled lockdowns, one might have expected cases of human trafficking — defined as enslavement to sex or labour via force or coercion — to plummet. After all, we’ve all been traveling and interacting less. But, surprisingly, COVID-19 created an environment of greater risk for increased trafficking. With government funds prioritised elsewhere, many victims of slavery in the U.S. and globally have gone under the radar. Today’s Daily Dose shines a light on this hidden pandemic.

Viral Strain of Slavery

A 15-year-old Congolese girl trafficked after fleeing a forced marriage. Children exploited in a plastics factory in Sudan. Seventeen Malawians rescued from a Chinese factory in South Africa, where they were forced to work inhumane hours, starved and physically abused. These are just some of the heartbreaking stories to emerge from Interpol raids earlier this year in a massive operation nicknamed Weka, Swahili for “stop.” The effort freed nearly 500 people and saw 151 arrests on charges of human trafficking and people smuggling — proof that human trafficking has been flourishing despite COVID-19. “Operation Weka once again demonstrated how closely linked migrant smuggling and human trafficking are, particularly in a global health crisis when the most vulnerable are desperate to escape hardship, and the criminal networks are just keen to turn a profit,” the agency said.

Progress Reversed

“Global suffering has vastly increased vulnerabilities to trafficking,” the U.N. warned in its recent Global Report on Trafficking in Persons. The body says that despite lockdowns and travel restrictions, there have been international surges in places, and while convictions have tripled since 2003, the report says: “We cannot allow the pandemic recession to reverse this progress, or put more women, men and children in danger of being trafficked.” Yet human trafficking is happening all the time, sometimes even in the most unlikely of places.

Surely Not Here

Findlay, Ohio, is about as far from the brothels of Bangladesh as you can get. Residents of this manufacturing hub once known as “Flag City, USA” couldn’t believe it when local Catholic priest Michael Zacharias was charged with sex trafficking last year. It was “a reminder that trafficking can happen anywhere,” Teresa Merriweather, a licensed trafficking awareness coordinator based in the Buckeye State, tells OZY. It is not a foreign problem, she stresses, but one “in and around the interstates, truck stops and hair salons of our Midwestern states.” In January, Ohio expanded the state’s Human Trafficking Task Force, following a nationwide trend that’s seen similar measures taken in Colorado and Virginia, and some progress made in other Midwestern states such as Iowa and Minnesota.

Online Abuse Rises

But law enforcement needs to go further than policing truck stops, because like everything else during the pandemic, abuse has moved increasingly online. Reports made to the National Center for Missing

& Exploited Children reached 4.2 million in April 2020, up from 2 million the previous month. Several factors account for the surge, one being that children are spending more time online at home and are therefore more at risk of being “groomed.” “We’ve seen child traffickers who have started to evolve their business model,” said John Shehan, the organisation’s vice president. “With COVID, the customers aren’t necessarily trying to do face-to-face interactions as much.”

Facts vs. Myths: Why Now?

Total isolation during the pandemic has made more people vulnerable to trafficking. Polaris Project, a U.S.-based anti-trafficking institute, found that roughly 3 out of 5 victims are recruited by an “intimate partner” or family member — which is obviously still possible during a lockdown. Joblessness, desperate financial straits and potential eviction create the perfect storm. “When we talk about trafficking in times of crisis, usually we’re thinking about a conflict situation or a natural disaster,” Samantha McCormack, a trafficking legal specialist, told Foreign Policy. But experts were not prepared for a pandemic.

Long Trek

Thousands of Central Americans, including Salvadorans, were walking toward the U.S.-Mexico border in March, fleeing violence, including sex trafficking. They hoped to start a new life in the U.S., buoyed by the promise of a new president in the White House. Back in El Salvador, lawmakers finally moved to act on trafficking — increasing law enforcement efforts and prosecuting more cases than in the previous year. The Northern Triangle of Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador is one of the worst regions in Central America for trafficking, where experts say COVID-19 is amplifying existing holes in laws designed to combat it. President Joe Biden’s administration just launched a new task force to combat human trafficking from the region.

Fighting Falsehoods

Republicans and former President Donald Trump constantly warned that such “caravans” from Latin America were a threat to the U.S. and needed to be stopped. But oddly enough, fighting human trafficking has become somewhat of a cause celebre⁹ among those on the right, with Fox News pundits regularly raising the alarm about its dangers. Followers of the baseless QAnon conspiracy theory are also obsessing over the topic. QAnon claims that elite Democrats are trafficking children, and sometimes recruit new followers through the misleading hashtag #SaveTheChildren. Remember Pizzagate? Experts fear such fake news detracts from how trafficking really happens.

The Biggest Case

While QAnon folks spuriously believe the Dems are behind the trafficking of minors, one of the biggest human trafficking cases in recent times involved not a street pimp or Russian gang but a member of the elite: wealthy financier Jeffrey Epstein. Even a British royal, Prince Andrew, has had his name tarnished due to his friendship with Epstein, who committed suicide while awaiting trial in 2019. Epstein’s associate Ghislaine Maxwell is also facing charges — she has pleaded not guilty — that she procured teenage girls for Epstein and his friends to sexually abuse.

New Tactics Against Trafficking: Salon Survival School

A tattoo of a man’s name across a woman’s chest, a makeover in a small-town salon, an overly nervous patient at a doctor’s office. There are many ways to tell if someone is in trouble. (Before COVID-19, Super Bowl weekend was a big alert weekend for trafficking, with airlines giving tips to staff on how to identify passengers who were traveling with potential victims.) Since 2012, Ohio has made it a requirement that cosmetologists undergo anti-trafficking training, which recently became law in Texas as well. Merriweather, the Ohio-based trafficking awareness trainer, has worked with more than 70 salons and 150 cosmetologists, as well as with real estate agents, nurses, Subway restaurant

⁹ A cause celebre is an issue that attracts a lot of attention and is supported by a lot of people (Oxford Dictionary)

employees and others. She teaches her students how to spot signs of possible victims by having them act out trafficking scenarios.

Tattoo Tells

75 Dozens of grassroots organisations across the U.S. are getting around COVID-era financial deficits by funding programs independently. In Stevens Point, Wisconsin, trafficking survivor Ally Burke runs Tattoos for Triumph, an ink-themed non-profit that raises cash and awareness while dishing out hundreds of discounted tats. Sometimes, traffickers brand their victims with tattoos to identify them as the property of a pimp or a gang, and Burke provides free cover-ups to victims who want to get rid of them. “Anyone can look for the signs of trafficking or someone who might be a victim,” she told
80 OZY. “If you know what to look for, it just might save a life.”

Financial Trap

The horrors of human trafficking are intimately tied to poverty. Nowhere is that more evident than in India, where young children in some regions are forced to work at factories for just 70 cents an hour. Founded in the East Khasi Hills of Meghalaya in the '90s, the Impulse NGO Network works with more
85 than 160 humanitarian organisations around the world to fight trafficking in the world's largest democracy. It is led by former lawyer Hasina Kharbhih and incorporates a 12-step model to reintegrate everyone from enslaved maids to tea stall workers back into society.

What's Working and What's Not?

Last year, the U.S. National Human Trafficking Hotline reported that contact from victims shot up nearly 20% between 2018 and 2019. More calls, texts and emails were received than ever before — a trend Polaris noted was continuing even at the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic. But one key finding
90 in the 2020 report was that texting was the most prominent form of communication received by the hotline. So why are anti-trafficking apps failing globally? In February, Wired reported on an authority-alert app called Be My Protector, created by Malaysian Kelvin Lim. Though Lim's endeavor was noble, it failed to help victims as intended. An analysis of his app and hundreds of similar initiatives found that the main problem was that victims were unaware of their existence, and that the majority of the
95 tools were only available in English.

No Room of One's Own

“I spent 37 years of my life a homeless drug addict, a victim of human trafficking on the streets . . . I truly knew it was my destiny to die out there,” says sex-trafficking survivor Barb Davis. Homelessness is a common cause, and result, of trafficking, and is a problem being tackled by legal housing advocates. But the COVID-19 recession has caused shelters across the U.S. to shut down. Los Angeles-based NGO
100 the Coalition to Abolish Slavery and Trafficking said it has seen a considerable uptick in homeless trafficking victims requesting assistance since the start of the pandemic.

Stigma Without Borders

When “Trishna” was rescued from a trafficking network outside of West Bengal state in India and returned to live with her family, it was not the homecoming she might have hoped for. The police harassed her, townsfolk urged her to commit suicide, her classmates called her “dirty” and her family
105 was ostracised. The stigma faced by survivors like Trishna is a global problem. “Families are not willing to take back trafficked victims. So there are a lot more cases of re-trafficking,” Ajailiu Niumai, a professor of sociology at the University of Hyderabad, told OZY.

Diversity Is Key

As the world reopens, so too will the offices of therapists, either in halfway homes or at inner-city nonprofits like SAFE in Maryland or Impulse. Experts say it's time to ramp up the effectiveness of post-
110 trafficking therapy — namely “by hiring more therapists who look like the victims,” Merriweather says.

In major urban centers, many victims are Black, Hispanic or LGBTQ youth. “We’re more at risk, more vulnerable,” Merriweather, who is African American, told OZY. “When it comes down to rescuing a victim, I don’t care what colour you are. Yet, I want to make sure you don’t end up back because of the wrong care.”

For discussion/reflection:

- In a time when ‘lockdowns and travel restrictions’ (line 16) are the norm, why does the global problem of human trafficking persist during Covid-19?
- What was Merriweather’s intention in listing ‘interstates, truck stops and hair salons’ (line 26) as examples of places where human trafficking might be taking place?
- What are possible reasons why human trafficking has become a ‘cause celebre’ (line 54) for the political right in America? Is this a positive or negative phenomenon? Justify your response.
- Explain why the ‘horrors of human trafficking are intimately tied to poverty’. (line 81)
- According to Oprea, what is the main limitation of ‘anti-trafficking apps’ (line 91) to address human trafficking as a global issue?
- Apart from triggering the ‘COVID-19 recession [that] has caused shelters ... to shut down’ (line 99), in what other ways might the ongoing pandemic exacerbate the problem of human trafficking?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Discuss the claim that in the modern world people should care more about international than national issues. (Cambridge 2013)
2. ‘Disease is the greatest threat facing mankind today.’ To what extent do you agree with this statement? (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)
3. ‘Human trafficking can never be abolished’ Discuss. (RI Y6 CT1 2014)
4. With reference to the developments in the world today, to what extent would you agree that the future holds much promise for young people? (RI Y6 CT1 2013)

SECTION F: CHANGING FACE OF CONFLICT

Reading 22: Neither War nor Peace

EU 7

Special Report | The Economist | 25 Jan 2018

This reading will help you to understand:

- The complex, multifaceted nature of interstate conflict in the world today.
- The geopolitical, economic and technological reasons that collectively contribute to the changing dynamics of conflict involving major global powers today.
- The concept of 'grey zone' conflict highlighted in this article, and the attendant issues and implications involved in such a model of interstate conflict.

A key element of Chinese strategy is to "know your enemy". The generals who worked at the Academy of Military Science in Beijing studied every aspect of America's "revolution in military affairs" in the 1980s, driven by advances in microprocessors, sensors and communications. They concluded that although China was well placed to exploit the new technologies to create its own version of "informationised" warfare, it would not be in a position to challenge American military might directly until the middle of the 21st century. To do so sooner would be suicidal. H.R. McMaster, Donald Trump's national security adviser, once observed: "There are two ways to fight the United States: asymmetrically and stupid."

Accordingly, the Chinese generals and their Russian counterparts, who had been equally impressed by the precision-strike capabilities that America demonstrated in the first Gulf war, sought ways to reap some of the political and territorial gains of military victory without crossing the threshold of overt warfare. They came up with the concept of a "grey zone" in which powers such as Russia, China and Iran can exercise aggression and coercion without exposing themselves to the risks of escalation and severe retribution. Mark Galeotti of the Institute of International Relations in Prague describes this approach as "guerrilla geopolitics".

A key aspect of grey-zone challenges is that they should be sufficiently ambiguous to leave targets unsure how to respond. If they do too little, they will face a series of small but cumulatively significant defeats. If they do too much, they risk being held responsible for reckless escalation. As Hal Brands of the Philadelphia-based Foreign Policy Research Institute argues, grey-zone tactics are "frequently shrouded in misinformation and deception, and are often conducted in ways that are meant to make proper attribution of the responsible party difficult to nail down". They are drawn from a comprehensive toolset that ranges from cyber-attacks to propaganda and subversion, economic blackmail and sabotage, sponsorship of proxy forces and creeping military expansionism.

The clearest recent cases of grey-zone challenges are Russia's intervention in Ukraine, China's assertive behaviour in the South and East China Seas and Iran's use of proxy militias to establish an arc of influence from Iraq through Syria into Lebanon. All three countries recognise and to some extent fear superior Western military power. But all of them also see vulnerabilities that they can exploit.

A Russian grey-zone strategy is to undermine faith in Western institutions and encourage populist movements by meddling in elections and using bots and trolls on social media to fan grievances and prejudice. The result, the Kremlin hopes, will sap the West's capacity to respond resolutely to acts that defy international norms. If Russian cyber-attacks did help to get Donald Trump elected, they have been astonishingly successful in their broader aim, if not in the narrower one of relieving Ukraine-related sanctions.

There is no evidence of Chinese complicity in Russian-style hacker attacks on the West, but officially sanctioned trolls send out hundreds of millions of social-media posts every year attacking Western values and pumping up nationalist sentiment. The advent of Mr Trump serves Chinese aims too. His repudiation of the Trans-Pacific Partnership removed a challenge to China's regional economic hegemony, a key objective of its grey-zone strategy. And the American president's hostility to free trade and his decision to withdraw from the Paris climate accord has allowed Xi Jinping to cast himself, improbably, as a defender of the international order.

As for Iran, America's inconsistency and lack of a long-term strategy in the Middle East has offered boundless opportunities for grey-zone advantage-seeking. Both George W. Bush and Barack Obama in their different ways allowed Iran to use a combination of soft religious and hard power through well-trained and equipped Shia militias to turn first Iraq and then most of Syria into something resembling Iranian satrapies.

Grey-zone success depends on patience and an ability to blend together all the instruments of state power in ways that pluralistic, democratic societies find harder to achieve. Hybrid warfare may be as old as warfare itself, but in Ukraine, Russia provided a near-textbook example of it in its modern form, using a variety of techniques: sophisticated propaganda that stirred up local grievances and legitimised military action; cyber-attacks on power grids and disruption of gas supplies; covert or deniable operations, such as sending "little green men" (soldiers in unmarked green army uniforms) into Crimea and providing weapons and military support to separatist irregular forces; the threat of "escalating to de-escalate", even including limited use of nuclear weapons. All this dissuaded the West from even contemplating a military response of any kind. Whenever the sale of defensive weapons to Ukraine was mooted in Washington, Mr Putin threatened to expand and intensify a war in which he claimed not to be a participant.

Russia's objective is not to "win" a war in Ukraine but to reverse the country's attempt to move out of Russia's orbit; to discourage other countries, such as Belarus, from trying anything similar; and to stoke nationalist and anti-Western sentiment at home. The effort has not been without cost. Sanctions have hurt. Making Crimea a viable entity will take time and lots of money. Most important of all, NATO has rediscovered some of its sense of purpose. But neither Mr Putin nor any likely successor would hesitate to apply the same hybrid-warfare techniques in the future should the need arise.

China's grey-zone campaign to assert uncontested control over the South China Sea and jurisdiction over disputed islands in the East China Sea has been going on for much longer, and has turned a darker shade of grey over time as the country's confidence and power has grown. Since 2009, when China submitted a map to the United Nations showing a "nine-dash line" that supported its claim to "indisputable sovereignty" over 90% of the South China Sea (see map), it has applied what James Holmes of the US Naval War College has described as "small-stick diplomacy" (as opposed to the big stick of conventional naval power), using its highly capable coastguard and militiamen embedded in its fishing fleet to push other littoral states out of waters to which it claims ancestral rights.

It has been able to cow most of its neighbours into sulky acquiescence while avoiding a direct confrontation with American naval ships, which did not want to risk a major incident over what China portrayed as maritime policing. When in 2013 China took its provocations a step further by sending civil engineers to the Spratly and Paracel archipelagoes to construct artificial islands, Xi Jinping said China had no intention of militarising them. But in 2017, satellite images released by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies showed shelters for missile batteries and military radar installations being constructed on the Fiery Cross, Mischief and Subi Reefs in the Spratly Islands. Fighter jets will be on their way next. Mr Holmes suggests that such strategic gains cannot now be reversed short of open warfare, which means they will almost certainly not be. Unlike traditional warfare, grey-zone strategies will not produce decisive results within a defined time frame. But both

China and Russia have demonstrated that hybrid warfare, if not pushed too far, can achieve lasting, if not costless, results.

85 Hybrid warfare is hard to deter unless the target state itself resorts to hybrid strategies. Mr Brands sees no reason why America and its allies cannot play that game too. America has potent economic and financial tools at its disposal, along with an arsenal of cyber weapons, expert special forces, a network of alliances and unmatched soft power. But the West tends to think about conflict in a binary way: you are either at war or at peace; you win or you lose. Its adversaries are more attuned to conflict somewhere between war and peace, and to blurring distinctions between civil and military assets in pursuit of their goals. So for opponents of the rules-based system, the grey zone will remain fertile territory.

90

For discussion/reflection:

- Explain what the concept of 'grey zone' (line 12) conflict encompasses. Why is the label of 'guerrilla geopolitics' (line 15) particularly apt? How might such conflicts shape the nature of wars and warfare in the future?
- The author avers that the utility of acts of grey zone conflict lie in how they are 'sufficiently ambiguous to leave targets unsure how to respond' (lines 16-17). Explain why this aspect might be useful to state actors. Conversely, why would this characteristic be concerning?
- In your view, which aspects of 'grey zone' conflicts do you think would prove most challenging for the international community to tackle, and why? Justify your opinions, with additional reading and research on your own.

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Given greater levels of international cooperation, how necessary is it for countries to engage in the arms trade? (Cambridge 2020)
2. 'Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2016)
3. How far is it possible for one country to forgive another for its past actions? (Cambridge 2015)
4. In the light of increasing security threats, should countries still embrace the notion of a borderless world? (RI Y6 CT2 2019)
5. Is harmony possible in a diverse world? (RI Y6 CT2 2017)
6. Examine the extent to which one country's intervention in another country's problems is justified. (RI Y6 Prelim 2016)

SECTION F: CHANGING FACE OF CONFLICT

Reading 23: Seven ways Russia's war on Ukraine has changed the world

EU 1, 3, 7

Chatham House Experts | 20 February 2023

This reading will help you:

- The shifts in geopolitical alliances, security, energy, and supply chains since the war between Ukraine and Russia started
- Understand the repercussions that are affecting the world
- Consider whether these changes are likely to be long-lasting

President Vladimir Putin's decision to launch a full-scale re-invasion of Ukraine one year ago was a global shock which 'marked an abrupt end to 30 years of globalization and all the international co-operation that made that possible' with serious implications for countries around the world, outlined Chatham House director Bronwen Maddox in her inaugural lecture. Not only has the war threatened the stability of Europe but it has also impacted food and energy security globally including in the Middle East and Africa, creating shock waves in a world barely recovering from the COVID-19 pandemic.

1. Realignment – shifting alliances

The realization of a major war breaking out in Europe after almost eight years of a simmering conflict created a political constellation of three different groups of nations: those who sided with Putin's Russia, those who pledged support to Ukraine, and a group of non-aligned nations resisting involvement and/or hedging their bets.

European Union (EU) states were quick to respond with major sanctions and action against Russia. Despite some fragmentation – for example, on the oil price cap, and Germany's reluctance to send tanks and other weaponry, the bloc has mainly remained together, against Russian expectations and hopes. 'The EU has shown resolve and, at times surprising, unity in its response to the war,' says Pepijn Bergsen, research fellow in the Chatham House Europe programme. The UK has been keen to stress its 'special relationship' with Kyiv with a desire especially by former prime minister Boris Johnson to lead the pack with strong rhetoric and military support. The opportunist move, says Chatham House UK in the World Initiative director John Kampfner, is an obvious promotion of its post-Brexit 'Global Britain' credentials. Elsewhere, there was less solidarity with Ukraine. Putin predictably called in favours of old allies, such as Syria's Bashar al-Assad and Belarus's Aliaksandr Lukashenka and entered a closer strategic relationship with Iran.

A week after the invasion, the UN General Assembly resolution condemning Russia's aggression was passed by an overwhelming majority. However, there were 35 abstentions, among them three Commonwealth states – South Africa, Pakistan, and India. In Asia, only a handful of governments stood strongly with Ukraine – Singapore, South Korea, and Japan. The region's largest rising powers – China, India, and Indonesia – have all refused to take a side. 'While many in the West hoped that Russia's invasion would rally nations in the developing world behind the rules-based order, Asia has largely rejected Western framings of the conflict as a battle between might and right,' says Ben Bland, Chatham House Asia-Pacific programme director. 'Although they might find Russia an increasingly awkward partner, most Asian nations pragmatically choose to maintain their relationships for a combination of economic, military, and diplomatic reasons.'

Asia has largely rejected Western framings of the conflict as a battle between might and right.

The shift has been mirrored across much of Africa too says Chatham House Africa programme director Dr Alex Vines, highlighting that most abstentions (51 per cent) condemning Russia's invasion at the UN came from African countries, marking a partial resurgence of what was many African nations' default position in the Cold War. Dr Vines says: 'Non-alignment is much more comfortable than being pigeonholed as part of a Western position – or indeed an Eastern position.' But, he says, a position of 'multipolarity' rather than being forced to choose between democratic or autocratic super-powers would then give them more agency.

Iran has taken advantage of both tactical and strategic deals, says Chatham House Middle East and North Africa deputy director Dr Sanam Vakil – providing Russia with sanctions busting support and hundreds of attack drones while, in return, Moscow provided surveillance to help Tehran suppress recent domestic protests. Gap-bridging Turkey has also emerged as a major new diplomatic player – helping broker the grain blockade deal, acting as a humanitarian base for hostage swaps, and hosting (to date, failed) peace talks while simultaneously blocking Finland's, and particularly Sweden's, NATO accession for its own security reasons.

2. Security – redrawing the lines

'For many of Russia's neighbours, the Russian invasion of Ukraine confirmed that they had been correct in their analysis of the threat posed by Moscow's regional ambitions,' says Alice Billon-Galland, research fellow in the Europe programme. Before Russia's invasion, European states, such as France and Germany, had failed to adapt to new geopolitical realities in the region and Russia's actions would lead to a dramatic reappraisal of European security posture.

Indeed, European countries responded with significant increases in their defence budgets, most notably Germany committing to two per cent of its GDP in Chancellor Olaf Scholz's recalibrating 'Zeitenwende' speech. The fundamental decision by Germany is something Jamie Shea, associate fellow in the Chatham House International Security programme, says 'I thought I would never see in my lifetime', bringing security policy alongside foreign policy for the first time in decades. However, Germany has remained slow to act on key decisions, such as Leopard tanks, often communicating good intent but failing to follow up with real action.

Although central, eastern and Baltic states have been more hawkish on Russia compared to states like Germany and France, they haven't stopped the EU's overall response. In fact, the war has accelerated actions which were 'unthinkable' before the war says Kataryna Wolczuk, associate fellow in the Chatham House Russia and Eurasia programme, such as the fast-tracking of Ukraine's EU candidate status within three months. Similarly, the budget from the European Peace Facility, little used before the war in Ukraine, has been employed five times, providing €2.5 billion of cash and hardware for Ukraine's defences.

Russia's invasion has also strengthened NATO's deterrence posture and increased its forward presence in Eastern Europe. Putin has 'managed the trick of pulling NATO closer than ever before' says Jamie Shea, with larger exercises, more readiness, and reinforcement strategies. Finland and Sweden, two countries which have until now shunned NATO membership to avoid antagonizing Russia, are also set to join the alliance in a historic shift.

Crucially, US support for NATO and security in Europe also appears cemented with bipartisan support at home, although this is something Chatham House US and the Americas programme director Dr Leslie Vinjamuri says should not be taken for granted following four years of a US president who 'courted' Putin. She says: 'Neglecting European security would not only undermine the security order but would also undermine the broader effort to manage China's role in the Indo-Pacific, in Europe, and in multilateral institutions.'

China's intentions in the Indo-Pacific remain a concern for Western allies, especially the US. Although many observers doubt an invasion is imminent, the CIA recently warned China has plans to take Taiwan by 2027 and the world is now watching closely. It is speculated that President Xi had been led to believe the Ukraine invasion would be swift and has now distanced himself from Putin in the wake of a protracted war that has attracted a harsh Western backlash. For a Chinese economy struggling to rebuild post COVID-19, isolation from the West is not something it wants to risk, according to Dr Yu Jie, senior research fellow for China in the Asia-Pacific programme, who says: 'President Xi and his colleagues have begun to realize that cooperation with Russia comes with substantial limits to avoid undermining China's own political priorities and longer-term economic interests.'

She says Ukraine's resilience and the sanctions faced by Russia have provided a 'live simulation' of the reaction an invasion of Taiwan could face, and is causing pause in Beijing. 'Nor is its population willing to give up their reasonable living standard and economic liberty for a conflict that brings long term pain and generational division across the Strait.'

Drone wars

One conundrum has been that, despite anticipating a full cyber war, major Russian attacks upon Ukraine infrastructure have largely failed to materialize. Although attacks are still relentless and numerous, Ukraine's security has been backed with strengthened NATO cyber security coupled with a motivated Ukraine vigilante 'cyber army'. Alongside the changes to Europe's security architecture, Russia's illegal invasion has ushered in a new type of information warfare says Magdalene Karalis, Chatham House Stavros Niarchos academy fellow, especially the widespread use of open-source intelligence (OSINT). She says that by harnessing the capabilities of satellite imagery, smartphones and social media, Ukrainian forces have 'altered' the traditional kill chain, and outsourced parts of it to civilians reporting Russian movements, thereby building a more 'extensive and resilient network'.

The war could also be seen as the first long-term, sustained conflict where all the currently available uses for drones are integrated into combined operations on both sides, according to Keir Giles, senior consulting fellow in the Russia and Eurasia programme, who says: 'That's also true for cyber – and in fact the nexus of cyber and drone operations. It's clear an unpublicized cyber contest between Russian and Ukrainian drone operators is playing out – a kind of cat-and-mouse game of operators and their adversaries struggling for control.'

3. Nuclear weapons – risks return

Since the end of the Cold War and the advent of US-Russian arms control, the threat of nuclear weapons has become less salient. However, the past year has seen regular nuclear weapons threats from Russia, some veiled, some on 'escalation', and some directly aimed at NATO countries such as the UK. Warnings have also emerged from the West, with US president Joe Biden declaring the risk of a nuclear armageddon to be at its highest level for 60 years, bringing the nuclear issue firmly back to the forefront of discussion. While the threats are not new, there is still a question over their credibility and how the West responds. They must be taken seriously, says Dr Patricia Lewis, director of the International Security programme, but she adds they are also 'scare tactics' designed to 'beat the chest' of Russian people and bully the West.

Nonetheless, Keir Giles points out, the scare tactics have been highly effective. He says: 'Russian statements like placing Russia's nuclear forces on a 'special regime of combat duty' in February 2022 may be meaningless, but still generate a fearful reaction across the West.' 'Both the US and Germany have explicitly linked restraint in supporting Ukraine to Russia's nuclear threats. But instead, the West should pay attention to Moscow's real nuclear posture, rather than fixating on the rhetorical frothing on TV.'

125 Putin placed his country's strategic nuclear weapons on 'high alert' at the start of the war – perhaps,
says Dr Lewis, to give him combat readiness status domestically, enabling other senior Russian
personnel to order their use. But as the phrase had not been used before, what it exactly means is
still, perhaps deliberately, unclear. Many of the threats have been directed at use within Ukraine. Dr
Lewis says another new disturbing development in Russia's wider intimidation strategy has been
130 'playing fast and loose' with the safety of nuclear energy in Ukraine, such as the shelling and attacks
around the Zaporizhya plant and fears of a dirty bomb detonated as a 'false flag' attack. Putin will be
all too aware of the fears this would cause, particularly in Ukraine as the site of the world's worst
nuclear power accident – Chernobyl in 1986.

Dr Lewis argues that if the war is truly about Putin's 'imperial legacy project' and an attempt to bring
Ukrainian territory back under his control, then creating an uninhabitable post-nuclear wasteland,
135 would make 'little strategic sense'. She says the war has also seen a departure in NATO and western
allies' indulging in any 'tit for tat' moves that might escalate the conflict.
But, warns Jamie Shea, 'the risk of escalation is ever present with a Russian regime on the back foot
and willing to lash out.'

4. Energy and food – fuelling the crisis

As two major suppliers of both energy, food and fertilizer commodities, Russia's conflict with Ukraine
140 has caused disruption in supply for both developing and developed countries. The most fundamental
change has been Europe's shift away from reliance on Russian gas. 'Europe will never return to
meaningful dependency on Russian fossil fuels,' says Antony Froggatt, deputy director of the Chatham
House Environment and Society programme. 'Even if the war finished tomorrow, trust has been
broken between European consumers and what has been their primary supplier.'

145 Europe reacted to the supply disruption in two ways; looking for its gas elsewhere and accelerating
the move to renewable energy. Pre-2022, the EU pledged to reduce emissions by 40 per cent and
attain 32 per cent renewables. The war has seen those targets raised to 57 per cent and 45 per cent
respectively. If met, it would see an almost fully decarbonized power sector across the bloc (with the
odd nuclear plant still online) by 2030/35. 'The war has probably brought forward decarbonization by
150 five to ten years,' says Froggatt although huge and unparalleled expansion in capacity of offshore wind,
solar, and other sources will be needed to meet targets.

The collapse of the supply of piped gas from Russia has forced Germany and many of its neighbours
to source energy elsewhere including from Asia, the Middle East, and potentially Africa. 'These two
things – Europe buying up everyone else's energy and the concern of being over-reliant on China for
155 supply of renewable energy materials – have had knock-on geopolitical implications,' says Froggatt.
Suddenly, a number of African states such as Mozambique and Nigeria have found themselves being
'wooed' by both West and East, says Dr Alex Vines. 'This is a game-changer in the way that Europe in
particular is looking at African energy to help in the energy transition.' With China currently producing
around 70 per cent of all the world's solar panels, some nations have already started to restructure
160 their industries to be more self-reliant in renewables production. The US has its protectionist Inflation
Reduction Act (IRA) offering large subsidies for domestic production of electrical vehicles and other
'green' sectors, and the EU recently announced a revised 'Green Deal Industrial Plan' it hopes will rival
it.

With a history of 'keeping the gas flowing' throughout even the Cold War, Soviet invasion of
165 Afghanistan, and nuclear crisis of the 1980s, Russia banked on Europe losing its nerve, says John Lough,
associate fellow in the Russia and Eurasia programme. 'Putin's efforts to use gas as a weapon have so
far failed despite the huge costs of subsidizing expensive alternatives to Gazprom's supplies,' he says.

170 It has made short-term gains through high prices of gas and oil, taking 28 per cent more revenue than before the war. But with Europe's vast pipelines now standing idle, Russia has to look further afield for new customers to avoid stranded assets and further economic disaster.

175 It has found some success. Alongside India, China is now the equal largest importer of Russian oil and has signed a new 30-year gas deal. But the markets have fundamentally changed with new deals, renewables on the rise, and both governments and consumers alike all too aware of the dynamics and fragility of the global supply network. With both Russia and Ukraine being major exporters of agricultural fertilizers, the disruption to global food chains drove up prices to all-time highs, fuelling a cost-of-living crisis in both developed and developing nations.

180 Additionally, disruption of both harvests and a Russian grain blockade threatened to create a humanitarian catastrophe in developing countries as many – such as 85 per cent of Africa – depend on imported wheat. The World Food Programme (WFP) says the crisis remains at 'unprecedented proportions' with ten times the number of people facing famine compared to five years ago. 'It's impossible to separate the food crisis from the continuing energy crisis. High fuel prices drive up fertilizer prices and transport costs, which in turn squeeze farmers' profits while increasing the price of food for consumers,' says Laura Wellesley, senior research fellow in the Environment and Society programme.

185 Global stocks are 'worryingly low' adds Environment and Society programme director Professor Tim Benton, with an escalation in the war, further trade restrictions, plus climate change creating future threats. He says: 'There are significant potentials for disruptive weather ahead, and whilst the cost-of-living squeeze remains, the global situation remains very fragile.'

5. Russia the pariah state

190 Putin's decision for a full, illegal re-invasion of Ukraine was a huge gamble which many Russia analysts say he has already likely lost by pushing the nation back out into the cold and putting the regime under threat. James Nixey, director of the Russia and Eurasia programme, says: 'There is no going back after this. The war now is as much about Russia's regime survival as it is about the survival of Ukraine.' He adds that the strength and breadth of 'unprecedented' economic sanctions imposed by the West were more than Moscow had expected, putting the idea of a robust 'Fortress Russia' economy to the test.

195 John Lough adds: 'While Russia has made short-term gains on inflated gas and energy prices, the sanctions have successfully targeted the heart of the Russian financial system.' As Putin has not made any real concessions since the sanctions hit, there is an argument they are not working says Nixey. 'However, the reality is that sanctions have dealt Russia a chronic blow, limiting its room to manoeuvre in the future.'

200 In addition, self-sanctioning by thousands of companies, from Apple to McDonald's, who either ceased or curtailed operating in Russia has effectively added to pressure. This exodus, coupled with a national 'mobilization' conscription drive in 2022, has also led to hundreds of thousands of Russian citizens fleeing the country, according to estimates. Observers say it adds to the 'brain drain' upon an already ailing economy.

205 The war also cast a spotlight into some hitherto dark corners of the Russian – and Western economies, waking the world up to the issue of Russian and regional kleptocracy. An estimated one trillion US dollars has left Russia in 'capital flight' according to author Oliver Bullough, with a significant amount ending up in the UK and London as a 'capital haven for dirty money'. Chatham House research found money and reputation laundering in the UK was rife. Forced to crack down on such activities of

210 oligarchs and their associates, UK and other states have realised they cannot keep letting this cash flow in while trying to leverage sanctions and take the moral high ground.

Perhaps one of the biggest surprises of the war has been the exposure of Russia's military weakness. The narrative of a swift targeted 'special military operation' run by an effective army has collapsed in the face of major defeats, huge casualties, loss of equipment, munitions shortages, and military blunders. Seemingly underestimating a well-organized, uber-motivated Ukraine resistance – armed and trained in using the latest Western-supplied military hardware – has also been key. But the swift elimination of the most modern and capable elements of Russia's land forces isn't the same as the destruction of Russia's military overall, warns Keir Giles. 'Even after the end of the current fighting in Ukraine, Russia's neighbours will still need to be wary of Moscow's air and naval power, and its willingness to throw less capable men and material into combat,' he says.

Reports of mounting casualties have sparked rare demonstrations of dissent across Russia. Some experts predict a consequence of the war will be a collapse of Russia within a year or two. Timothy Ash, associate fellow in the Russia and Eurasia programme, says that while there is a small possibility of positive change with reforming forces emerging, more likely is the disintegration of the Russian federation into many new states.

Others are less confident about any imminent regime collapse. Dr Joanna Szostek, associate fellow in the Russia and Eurasia programme, says Russian authorities excel at suppressing protest and have stepped up a regime of repression. 'Experience shows mass public protest generally only poses a real threat to an entrenched authoritarian regime if there is division within the elite as well,' she says. 'The problem is that the Russian imperial itch is deeply embedded within the elite and popular imagination,' says James Nixey. 'This must be removed if there is to be any meaningful change in Russia's behaviour in the future.'

6. A new Ukraine – new hopes

Russia's brutal assault on Ukraine has taken a heavy toll on its citizens but has also united the country in a way not seen before. Observers have been surprised by the strength of Ukraine's resistance, resilience, and national cohesion. Despite an estimated 14 million people displaced and with its infrastructure, energy, and transport networks under constant attack, Ukraine has remarkably remained functioning. 'Since the start of the war, Ukrainians have emerged and shattered the country's inferiority complex of being Russia's 'little brother'. They will never again live in shadow of the Russian empire and are confident it will collapse,' says Orysia Lutsevych, head of the Ukraine Forum at Chatham House.

One man who has come to personify this unity and defiance is Ukraine's president Volodymyr Zelenskyy. One year into the largest military assault on Europe since World War Two, his journey from TV comedian to 'Churchillian' wartime leader and the 'revered face of European liberal democracy is extraordinary' says John Kampfner. Zelenskyy's refusal of the airlift offered by President Biden early in the war represented a 'rebirth moment' for him and for Ukrainian politics, says Lutsevych. 'His decision to stand firm and face the horrors of war with his people, despite being headhunted by mercenaries, was hugely significant,' she says.

Before Zelenskyy, Ukrainian domestic politics was highly contentious, with low public trust in political figures many of whom faced corruption allegations. The power of Zelenskyy, despite being from a Russian-speaking part of Ukraine, is that in 2019 he garnered support across different regions and generations around change, fighting corruption and bringing peace, says Lutsevych. 'This marked a change from the ethnic identity divides which had previously defined Ukrainian elections and saw

Zelenskyy become the manifestation of a new modern Ukraine where values and a turn towards Europe mattered more than language and local identity.'

255 Zelenskyy was an outsider in Ukrainian politics, emerging from the creative economy rather than the oligarchical class, giving him credibility and popularity, she adds. In his trademark khaki T-shirt and with canny social media lobbying, Zelenskyy has campaigned tirelessly to build a global coalition in support of Ukraine, zooming, quite literally, onto parliamentary screens across the world. Even at times of war, he stresses commitment to tackling corruption and strengthening the rule of law in
260 Ukraine. 'This is so vital' says Lutsevych as impunity 'undermines effective resistance in the war and derails Ukraine's ambitions for closer ties with Europe'.

Playing to Putin's fears, Ukraine's heroic resistance anchors it with the EU and NATO. Although the issue of future NATO membership for Ukraine is often diplomatically kicked down the road, Europe reached out in a gesture of solidarity with a decision to grant Kyiv EU candidate status, making full
265 membership a possibility (with conditions) within a few years. 'Even with a long road ahead, still the membership perspective is essential. It would be a vote of confidence the Ukrainians desperately need,' says Kataryna Wolczuk. Any future president would be expected to deliver a new Ukraine which is a member of both NATO and the EU, and strive to build a safe and successful country, says Orysia Lutsevych.

270 So how would that be reached? Most agree that any ceasefire without Russia's agreement to pull out of occupied territories will simply not be tolerated by Ukraine, which aims to militarily defeat Russian forces on its territory. Restoring territorial integrity, delivering justice for war crimes, and making the Kremlin pay for destruction, all constitute key elements of a Ukraine victory and are the foundation for renewed European security architecture, says Lutsevych. 'The future is hard to predict but,
275 whatever the next few months may bring, it is clear we are living in a true historic moment where we will see the reshaping of the Eurasian continent and the process of ending the Russian imperial ambition, and that is a legacy worth fighting for,' she says.

7. International law – ripping up the rulebook

Russia's re-invasion of Ukraine breached the UN Charter and fundamental international law, says Chatham House International Law programme director Rashmin Sagoo. 'As a UN Security Council
280 member entrusted to maintain international peace and security, there was a sense of déjà vu with the US-led invasion of Iraq, and Russia's annexation of Crimea in 2014.'

But as observers have pointed out, the rule of law quickly swung into action. The dizzying speed of coordinated global sanctions on an unprecedented scale catalysed a domino effect of mass corporate exits from Russia. In February 2022, the UN Security Council tabled a resolution, deploring Russia's
285 actions in Ukraine and calling for withdrawal of its troops – only to be blocked by a Russian veto. Any Security Council attempt to refer Russia to the International Criminal Court (ICC) would likely face a similar fate. So, within days of the invasion, discussions to establish a new crime of aggression tribunal began. 'Regardless of the legal merits and demerits and whether it goes ahead, there is huge political appetite for this ad hoc tribunal,' says Sagoo.

290 Even in times of war, rules apply, including international humanitarian law or the law of war. Potential war crimes were reported. The ICC received the largest ever state party referral to open an investigation. The International Court of Justice demanded Russia 'immediately suspend the military operations' in Ukraine. Avenues via the European Court of Human Rights and domestic courts were primed, and the UN Human Rights Council started its own investigation using mounting evidence of
295 Russian attacks on civilians and civilian infrastructure.

Russia's expulsion from the Council of Europe after 26 years of membership was unprecedented. But the move by Europe's largest and oldest intergovernmental organisation, established to protect human rights, democracy and law, could have other serious ramifications says Sagoo.

It means Russia is no longer bound by the standards in the European Convention on Human Rights. Russian citizens will no longer be able to rely on their Convention rights nor have redress to the European Convention on Human Rights for new cases. Russia is also reported to be starting the process of withdrawing from other Council of Europe treaties. 'Irrespective of the strong political rationale, the move is likely to steer the country further away from accountability for human rights violations,' says Sagoo.

Talk of war crimes, reparations, and punishment may seem premature, and some may doubt the efficacy of law to ever bring perpetrators to court. But Ukraine foreign affairs minister Dmytro Kuleba told a Chatham House event: 'This is the only tool of civilization that is available to us to make sure that in the end all those who made this war possible will be brought to justice and the Russian Federation ... will also be held accountable for its deeds.' Peace negotiations, by nature, invariably involve some compromise but there is a real risk in leaving Ukraine's sovereignty insecure and Russia 'sitting on the edge and threatening to regroup' says Bronwen Maddox.

In a more positive vein, others point out that despite the colossal tests of multilateralism and the rule of law, nations are still demonstrating they can come together. International negotiations are underway to reach agreement on crucial global issues such as plastics and biodiversity. The UN Security Council (by and large) continues to operate and the General Assembly has found innovative ways to tackle Security Council vetoes. 'Despite the challenges, there is international resolve. It's pretty remarkable that states have agreed to get around the table on these issues because there's been so much trust and good will lacking, an increase of nationalism and so on. The question to ask is what if we didn't have these systems?' says Rashmin Sagoo. Dr Leslie Vinjamuri adds: 'The Western liberal order was designed to do exactly what it is presently doing, working collectively to deter the use of force to violate territorial integrity and national sovereignty.' As Russia's war on Ukraine rages on, only time will tell whether that will be enough.

For discussion/reflection:

- How has President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's leadership impacted Ukraine's response to the invasion, and what has been his role in unifying the country?
- What can be done to resolve the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, and how can the international community help?
- How has the conflict impacted the relationship between Ukraine and its neighboring countries?
- What lessons can the world learn from the conflict between Ukraine and Russia, especially regarding the dangers of aggression and the importance of international cooperation?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Given greater levels of international cooperation, how necessary is it for countries to engage in the arms trade? (Cambridge 2020)
2. Is conflict inevitable in today's volatile world? (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
3. 'International organisations are ineffective at resolving conflicts.' To what extent do you agree? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
4. 'Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2016)
5. Why is it that, in spite of international efforts, world peace remains unattainable? (RI Y6 CT1 2020)

SECTION F: CHANGING FACE OF CONFLICT

Reading 24: The world is facing an upsurge of nuclear proliferation

EU 7

The Economist | 30 Jan 2021

This reading will examine how:

- Nuclear proliferation is still a major issue that our world needs to face with.
- It has never been more important for the U.S. and other superpowers to agree on more binding treaties to control the spread of nuclear weapons.

Thirty-one countries from Brazil to Sweden, have flirted with nuclear weapons at one time or another. Seventeen launched a formal weapons programme. Just ten produced a deliverable bomb. Today nine states possess nuclear arms, no more than a quarter-century ago. Yet the long struggle to stop the world's deadliest weapons from spreading is about to get harder.

- 5 In the past 20 years most countries with nuclear ambitions have been geopolitical minnows, like Libya and Syria. In the next decade the threat is likely to include economic and diplomatic heavyweights whose ambitions would be harder to restrain. China's rapidly increasing regional dominance and North Korea's growing nuclear arsenal haunt South Korea and Japan, two of Asia's largest powers. Iran's belligerence and its nuclear programme loom over the likes of Saudi Arabia and Turkey.
- 10 Proliferation is not a chain reaction, but it is contagious. Once the restraints start to weaken they can fail rapidly.

- The nuclear omens are bad. Arms control between America and Russia, which saw cuts of 38,000 warheads—a 79% fall—in 1991-2010, has dwindled. On January 26th Presidents Joe Biden and Vladimir Putin agreed to extend the last remaining pact, the New start treaty, for five years. That is
- 15 welcome, but prospects for a follow-on are dim. China, India, North Korea and Pakistan are all expanding and modernising their nuclear forces. There is dismal progress towards global disarmament, the ultimate aim of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (npt), the cornerstone of the nuclear order. A new treaty banning the bomb, which was signed by 86 countries and came into force on January 22nd, channels the frustration among nuclear have-nots. It accomplishes little else.

- 20 If nuclear weapons are not going away, and security threats are worsening, some states will be tempted to pursue a bomb of their own. In decades past America kept nuclear aspirants in line, threatening to withdraw security guarantees from errant friends, like Taiwan, and using sanctions and military force to dissuade enemies, such as Iraq. Yet the currency of American power is weaker today. Donald Trump's tempestuous term has sown doubts about America's appetite to defend allies and
- 25 enforce rules. They will linger, however much Mr Biden seeks to restore an orthodox foreign policy.

- Consider the nuclear umbrella that America extends over Asian allies. It amounts to a promise that, should North Korea or China strike Seoul or Tokyo, America would retaliate against Pyongyang or Beijing. For decades, America could issue that threat confident that its own cities were out of range of North Korean missiles. Now they are not. An American strike on Pyongyang would put San Francisco
- 30 at risk. That may make Mr Biden reluctant to act—a calculation that could embolden Kim Jong Un to attack Seoul. No wonder that, particularly in times of crisis, most South Koreans say that they would like to see a return of the American tactical nuclear weapons withdrawn from their soil in 1991 or, failing that, an indigenous South Korean bomb.

- In democracies like South Korea, Japan and Taiwan, nuclear ambitions are tempered by political reality.
- 35 The Middle East is different. The nuclear deal curtailing Iran's nuclear programme is collapsing. Even

if Mr Biden revives it, many of its provisions expire in a decade. Should Iran at any time look as if it is contemplating going nuclear, Saudi Arabia will not want to fall behind. Muhammad bin Salman, the Saudi crown prince, has few domestic checks on his authority and ambitious plans for nuclear technology. Turkey could well follow.

40 If the nuclear order starts to unravel, it will be almost impossible to stop. Hence the importance of acting today. America, China, Europe and Russia share an interest in stopping proliferation. Russia does not want a nuclear Iran any more than America does. The prospect of a nuclear-armed Japan would be among China's worst nightmares. The Iranian nuclear deal in 2015 showed that rivals can muster a response to proliferation.

45 The nuclear states should start with the basics. America and Russia still have 90% of the world's nuclear warheads, so any effort begins with them. Now that New start will be extended, they should begin work on a successor that would include other weapons, such as hypersonic gliders and lower-yield warheads, which Russia has in abundance. More radical ideas should also be discussed. America operates a triad of nuclear forces: silos on land, submarines at sea and bombers in the air. Retiring the
50 land-based missiles would demonstrate genuine progress towards disarmament, without eroding deterrence.

Arms control between America and Russia might persuade China that its existing arsenal could survive an attack, helping avoid a destabilising surge in its forces. Chinese restraint would, in turn, reassure India and Pakistan.

55 America's most important role in calming nerves over North Korea and Iran remains its value as an ally, and here Mr Biden has already promised to repair ties. Even if one presidency is not enough to restore confidence completely, Mr Biden should make a start by reaffirming and strengthening America's nuclear umbrella over Japan and South Korea. That includes the role of American troops on the ground, who serve not only as a line of defence but also as an assurance to allies and a warning to
60 enemies that America could not sit out a conflict.

Stopping proliferation also requires spotting it. Intelligence agencies have understandably focused on the familiar gallery of rogues, like Iran. Their gaze should widen to include early warning of shifts in nuclear technology, public opinion and political intentions in such places as South Korea or Turkey. The International Atomic Energy Agency, the world's nuclear watchdog, does a commendable job of
65 monitoring civilian nuclear sites and policing Iran's programme with the strongest inspections regime ever instituted. Yet the agency is overburdened and underfunded, and needs to keep up with technological change.

Heed the doomsday alarm clock

The world has plenty on its mind. Even so, it cannot afford to downplay the dangers of nuclear proliferation. Today's nuclear diplomacy may seem a slog, but it is as nothing compared with the lethal
70 instabilities that arise whenever regional nuclear-armed rivals confront each other. There is no time to lose.

[See end of Reading 25 for discussion/reflection questions.]

SECTION F: CHANGING FACE OF CONFLICT

Reading 25: Getting To Grips With Military Robotics

EU 7

Special Report | The Economist | 25 Jan 2018

This reading will examine how:

- The competition for AI dominance between various nation states presently is fuelling an arms race which, in turn, raises fears of a new era of global insecurity.
- Such an arms race is especially destabilising for the international community, since the capabilities of robotic weapons systems may not be fully clear until a state or non-state actor endeavours to use them.

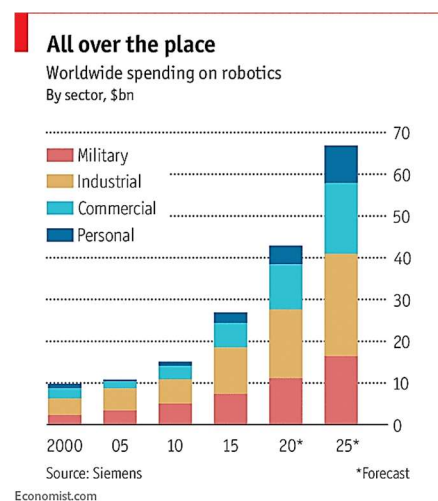
Peter Singer, an expert on future warfare at the New America think-tank, is in no doubt. “What we have is a series of technologies that change the game. They’re not science fiction. They raise new questions. What’s possible? What’s proper?” Mr Singer is talking about artificial intelligence, machine learning, robotics and big-data analytics. Together they will produce systems and weapons with varying degrees of autonomy, from being able to work under human supervision to “thinking” for themselves. The most decisive factor on the battlefield of the future may be the quality of each side’s algorithms. Combat may speed up so much that humans can no longer keep up.

Frank Hoffman, a fellow of the National Defence University who coined the term “hybrid warfare”, believes that these new technologies have the potential not just to change the character of war but even possibly its supposedly immutable nature as a contest of wills. For the first time, the human factors that have defined success in war, “will, fear, decision-making and even the human spark of genius, may be less evident,” he says.

Weapons with a limited degree of autonomy are not new. In 1943 Germany produced a torpedo with an acoustic homing device that helped it find its way to its target. Tomahawk cruise missiles, once fired, can adjust their course using a digital map of Earth’s contours. Anti-missile systems are pre-programmed to decide when to fire and engage an incoming target because the human brain cannot react fast enough.

But the kinds of autonomy on the horizon are different. A report by the Pentagon’s Defence Science Board in 2016 said that “to be autonomous, a system must have the capability to independently compose and select among different courses of action to accomplish goals based on its knowledge and understanding of the world, itself, and the situation.” What distinguishes autonomous systems from what may more accurately be described as computerised automatic systems is that they work things out as they go, making guesses about the best way to meet their targets based on data input from sensors. In a paper for the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, Mary Cummings of Duke University says that an autonomous system perceives the world through its sensors and reconstructs it to give its computer “brain” a model of the world which it can use to make decisions. The key to effective autonomous systems is “the fidelity of the world model and the timeliness of its updates”.

A distinction needs to be made between “narrow” AI, which allows a machine to carry out a specific task much better than a human could, and “general” AI, which has far broader applications. Narrow AI is already in wide use for civilian tasks such as search and translation, spam filters, autonomous vehicles, high-frequency stock trading and chess-playing computers. General AI may still be at least 20 years off. A general AI machine should be able to carry out almost any intellectual task that a human is capable of. It will have the ability to reason, plan, solve problems, think abstractly and learn quickly from experience. The AlphaGo Zero machine which last year learned to play Go, the ancient strategy board game, was hailed as a major step towards creating the kind of general-purpose algorithms that will power truly intelligent machines. By playing millions of games against itself over 40 days it discovered strategies that humans had developed over thousands of years, and added some of its own that showed creativity and intuition.



Mankind is still a long way from the “singularity”, the term coined by Vernor Vinge, a science-fiction writer, for the moment when machines become more intelligent than their creators. But the possibility of killer robots can no longer be dismissed. Stephen Hawking, Elon Musk, Bill Gates and many other experts believe that, handled badly, general AI could be an existential threat to the human race.

In the meantime, military applications of narrow AI are already close to bringing about another revolution. Robert Work, the architect of America’s third offset strategy, stresses that this is not all about autonomous drones, important though they will increasingly become. His main focus has been on human-machine collaboration to help humans make better decisions much faster, and “combat teaming”, using unmanned and manned systems together.

Autonomous systems will draw on machine deep learning to operate “at the speed of light” where humans cannot respond fast enough to events like cyber-attacks, missiles flying at hypersonic speed or electronic warfare. AI will also become ever more important in big-data analytics. Military analysts are currently overwhelmed by the amount of data, especially video, being generated by surveillance drones and the monitoring of social-media posts by terrorist groups. Before leaving the Pentagon, Mr Work set up an algorithmic-warfare team to consider how AI can help hunt Islamic State fighters in Syria and mobile missile launchers in North Korea. Cyber warfare, in particular, is likely to become a contest between algorithms as AI systems look for network vulnerabilities to attack, and counter-autonomy software learns from attacks to design the best response.

Autonomous “uninhabited” vehicles, whether in the air, on the ground or under the sea, offer many advantages over their manned equivalents. Apart from saving money on staff, they can often be bolder and more persistent than humans because they do not get tired, frightened, bored or angry. They are also likely to be cheaper and smaller than manned versions because they do not have to protect people from enemy attack, so they can be deployed in greater numbers and in more dangerous situations.

Increasingly autonomous drones will be able to perform a range of tasks that will soon make them indispensable. UAVs will carry out the whole range of reconnaissance or strike missions, and stealth variants will become the tip of the spear for penetrating sophisticated air defences. Some will be designed to loiter at altitude while waiting for a target to emerge. Israel already deploys the Harop,

75 an autonomous anti-radiation drone which can fly for up to six hours, attacking only when an enemy air-defence radar lights up. Autonomous high-altitude UAVs will be used as back-up data links in case satellites are destroyed, or as platforms for anti-missile solid-state lasers. Larger UAVs will be deployed as tankers and transport aircraft that can operate close to the action.

80 Underwater warfare will become ever more important in the future because the sea offers a degree of sanctuary from which power can be projected within A2/AD zones. Unmanned undersea vehicles (UUVs) will be able to carry out a wide range of difficult and dangerous missions, such as mine clearance or mine-laying near an adversary's coast; distributing and collecting data from undersea anti-submarine sensor networks in contested waters; patrolling with active sonar; resupplying missiles to manned submarines; and even becoming missile platforms themselves, at a small fraction of the
85 cost of nuclear-powered attack submarines. There are still technical difficulties to be overcome, but progress is accelerating.

Potentially the biggest change to the way wars are fought will come from deploying lots of robots simultaneously. Paul Scharre, an autonomous-weapons expert at CNAS who has pioneered the concept of "swarming", argues that "collectively, swarms of robotic systems have the potential for
90 even more dramatic, disruptive change to military operations." Swarms can bring greater mass, coordination, intelligence and speed.

As Mr Scharre points out, swarming will solve a big problem for America. The country currently depends on an ever-decreasing number of extremely capable but eye-wateringly expensive multi-mission platforms which, if lost at the outset of a conflict, would be impossible to replace. A single F-
95 35 aircraft can cost well over \$100m, an attack submarine \$2.7bn and a Ford-class carrier with all its aircraft approaching \$20bn.

By contrast, low-cost, expendable distributed platforms can be built in large numbers and controlled by relatively few humans. Swarms can make life very difficult for adversaries. They will come in many shapes and sizes, each designed to carry out a particular mission, such as reconnaissance over a wide
100 area, defending ships or troops on the ground and so on. They will be able to work out the best way to accomplish their mission as it unfolds, and might also be networked together into a single "swarmanoid". Tiny 3D-printed drones, costing perhaps as little as a dollar each, says Mr Scharre, could be formed into "smart clouds" that might permeate a building or be air-dropped over a wide area to look for hidden enemy forces.

105 It is certain that autonomous weapons systems will appear on the battlefield in the years ahead. What is less clear is whether America will be the first to deploy them. In July 2017 China produced its "Next-Generation Artificial-Intelligence Development Plan", which designates AI as the transformative technology underpinning future economic and military power. It aims for China to become the pre-eminent force in AI by 2030, using a strategy of "military-civil fusion" that America would find hard to replicate. And in September Vladimir Putin told Russian children returning to school that "artificial
110 intelligence is the future, not only for Russia but for all of mankind...whoever becomes the leader in this sphere will become the ruler of the world." Elon Musk, of Tesla and SpaceX fame, responded by tweeting that "competition for AI superiority at national level [is the] most likely cause of WW3."

Peter Singer is less apocalyptic than Mr Musk, but he agrees that the competition for AI dominance is fuelling an arms race that will itself generate insecurity. This arms race may be especially destabilising because the capabilities of robotic weapons systems will not become clear until someone is tempted to use them. The big question is whether this competition can be contained, and whether rules to ensure human control over autonomous systems are possible—let alone enforceable.
115

For discussion/reflection:

For Reading 24

- Reading 24 suggests that “[o]nce the restraints start to weaken they can fail rapidly.” (lines 10-11). Suggest reasons why is this so, based on ideas from the reading, and on what you understand about global conflict.
- Based on lines 5-54, summarise the key reasons for greater concern about the state of nuclear proliferation today.
- What does “political reality” (line 34) refer to, and why would that curb the ambition of South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan to acquire nuclear weapons?

For Reading 25

- Based on lines 1-12, what the main ways in which the use of AI would fundamentally change conflict and warfare?
- Reading 25 lists a number of ways that AI have been used to enhance warfare, ranging from ‘autonomous systems’ (line 56) to ‘autonomous drones’ (line 71), and to ‘unmanned undersea vehicles’ (line 80). While these applications have the potential to greatly reduce the loss of human lives, what detrimental effects might there be if such systems become increasingly viable and effective?
- Military technology has sometimes been termed ‘the dark side of innovation’. How far would you agree with the view that improvements in military technology have resulted in a more conflict-ridden world presently?
- In your opinion, does technology shape war, or does war shape technology? Justify your views, with additional reading and research on your own.

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. Given greater levels of international cooperation, how necessary is it for countries to engage in the arms trade? (Cambridge 2020)
2. ‘Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.’ How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2016)
3. Examine the extent to which expenditure on arms and the armed forces is justifiable in the modern world. (Cambridge 2014)
4. Can the trade in weapons ever be justified? (RI Y6 CT2 2015)

SECTION F: CHANGING FACE OF CONFLICT

Reading 26: Don't Forget About Water in 2023

EU 4 & 7

Antonia Colibasanu | *Geopolitical Futures* | 18 Jan 2023

This reading will examine how:

- Water will have plenty of countries on edge in the coming year.
- The constraints countries are facing to secure their fresh water supply and how it may lead to conflict across nations.

On Jan. 16, the Chinese Ministry of Water Resources announced that Beijing invested more than 1 trillion yuan (\$148 billion) on water resource management in 2022, a whopping 44 percent increase from the previous year. Elsewhere, Pakistan suggested that water resource management projects need to become a priority for the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor because by 2025 Pakistan is expected to be a water-scarce country. Weeks earlier, an Iranian official confirmed that 270 cities and towns were suffering from acute water shortage as water levels at dams dropped to critically low levels.

Factories in southwest China had to suspend their work last summer after a record-breaking drought caused some rivers in the country – including parts of the Yangtze – to dry up. Hydropower and shipping were also affected; Sichuan province was deemed to be in a “grave situation” because it generates more than 80 percent of its energy from hydropower.

Pakistan is in a similar situation. The Indus River is a source of more than 17 gigawatts of hydropower, and it provides water to the Indus basin irrigation system, which supports more than 90 percent of the country's agricultural output. Poor water management, rapid population growth, and drought and floods have created a truly dire situation.

In Iran, a semi-arid climate and declining precipitation over the past decade have played their part in the crisis, but perennial inefficient water management since the 1990s is perhaps the larger problem. After the 1979 revolution, the new regime advanced a policy of national food self-sufficiency, which involved producing enough staple crops to meet the country's own needs instead of relying on imports. To that end, agricultural production became reliant on groundwater extraction, and slow-filling aquifers have not been able to keep up with the growing number of water users and withdrawals.

These issues may not be new, but they are all getting worse. And the fact that these three countries are geographically interconnected has been a wake-up call for other nations around the world that have dealt with, or are soon to deal with, similar water shortages and their associated consequences.

Indeed, water is so fundamental to geopolitics that it is often overlooked. Water supplies play critical roles in sustaining life, agriculture and industry. The supply levels themselves can fluctuate dramatically for reasons outside of a government's control. However, given the increasing threat of water shortages and the consequences arising from them, governments are increasingly more aggressive in taking what action they can to ensure supply.

Disputes over control of water resources historically end in violence. The historical dispute between Ethiopia and Egypt over water from the Nile River is probably the one that has garnered the most attention. Even today, the water supply in Donbas is carefully managed on both sides, and in Kherson, understanding the way water supplies to Crimea could be cut was key to understanding the fighting on the ground. More, the Russian attack on the Dnipro hydropower plant was meant to sever

35 electricity to the region as part of the Russian strategy to down Ukraine's critical infrastructure. In war, water is at once a weapon and a casualty.

But water is only part of the equation. The droughts of 2022, followed by the warmest winter in years in the Northern Hemisphere, have many governments on edge this year as the downstream effects of water shortage take shape. The potential food crisis, initially the result of last year's energy crisis, may
40 only get worse. The impact will be felt the most in places like Africa and the Middle East, where water scarcity is a constant concern. Refugee flows from places like Iraq, Syria and Yemen may well increase. Food insecurity will likely grow in countries like Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. And because it's unclear how much food will be available for export from otherwise large producers such as Russia and Ukraine in 2023, countries with limited domestic production have even more reason for concern, especially as
45 their citizens grow more restive.

But even for major powers like China, Pakistan and Iran, things will likely get worse before they get better. All three are already dealing with socio-economic distress. It's unknown how much the COVID-19 pandemic hurt the Chinese economy, but it isn't good, with reports painting a particularly bleak picture for youth unemployment. (That is to say nothing of the economic problems China faces
50 independent of the pandemic.) Pakistan is seeing its worst socio-political crisis in years. Iran has been embroiled in high-profile protests for some time. Inflation is high in all three countries, as is economic unrest from class inequality. Adding water stress could make things even more explosive.

Further instability in any of the three major players will likely have a spillover effect in the Middle East and beyond. A troubled Pakistan and Iran at the same time will certainly make Turkey and Saudi Arabia
55 nervous. And what happens in China – one of the world's largest consumers of resources and one of its biggest economic engines – matters to the rest of the world. Factory shutdowns due to water shortages in post-pandemic China would trigger new supply chain shocks affecting both Europe and the U.S. Neither is decoupled enough from the Chinese powerhouse to ignore such shocks.

Both have their own water issues to deal with. Lower levels in the Rhine triggered alarms for European inland shipping last year; further reductions will likely hamper economic activity in Western Europe.
60 Last year, water scarcity compelled the U.S. government to limit water releases in western states. If things get worse, U.S. policymakers will be forced to choose between water releases, electricity generation and industrial and food production on the one hand and water conservation on the other.

Water is finite, so it's clear that concerns over its use and distribution will increase as reserves dwindle.
65 Under higher pressure from citizens, governments will search for quick fixes. If a fix for one country comes at the expense of another, tensions will inevitably arise – perhaps violently. Each government will manage, or try to manage, the situation differently. In poorer countries, militias may continue to fight over water, while in wealthier nations, new policies over water usage and likely new technologies for keeping and improving water infrastructure will be debated. All in all, water stress highlights
70 another socio-economic challenge that the world needs to tackle before it gets worse.

For discussion/reflection:

- What are some of the challenges that China, Pakistan, and Iran are facing with regards to water resource management?
- How can water scarcity lead to socio-economic instability in countries?
- Based on lines 25-36, why does Colibasanu believe that water 'is [fundamental] to geopolitics' (line 25)? Is this relationship between water and geopolitics likely to strengthen or weaken in time to come?
- What are some potential downstream effects of water shortages and how can they impact countries and geopolitics beyond the affected region?
- What steps can governments take to manage their water resources more efficiently?
- What role can international cooperation play in addressing water scarcity issues?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'Countries experiencing conflict should be left to sort out their own problems.' How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2016)
2. How far can prosperity and uncontrolled population growth go hand in hand? (Cambridge 2020)
3. Is there any point in trying to predict future trends? (Cambridge 2013)
4. Is conflict inevitable in today's volatile world? (RI Y6 Prelims 2022)
5. How effective have global efforts been in addressing the spread of diseases? (RI Y6 CT1 2020)

SECTION G: THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL HEALTH THREATS

Reading 27: The Coronavirus is Killing Globalisation as We Know It

EU 1, 3, 6, 8

Philippe Legrain | Foreign Policy | 12 Mar 2020

This reading examines how the COVID-19 crisis:

- Emphasises the downsides of extensive international integration.
- Highlights the overdependence on the China-centred supply chain in global business.
- Provides further fuel for nationalists favouring immigration control and other insular policies

Until recently, most policymakers and investors remained complacent about the potential economic impact of the coronavirus crisis. As late as the end of February, most wrongly assumed that it would have only a brief, limited, China-specific impact.

Now they realise that it is generating a global shock, which may be sharp – but which most still expect to be short. But what if the economic disruption has an enduring impact? Could the coronavirus pandemic even be the nail in the coffin for the current era of globalisation? The coronavirus crisis has highlighted the downsides of extensive international integration while fanning fears of foreigners and providing legitimacy for national restrictions on global trade and flows of people.

All sorts of businesses have suddenly realised the risks of relying on complex global supply chains that are specific not just to China – but to particular places such as Wuhan, the epicentre of the pandemic. Chinese people – and now Italians, Iranians, Koreans, and others – have become widely seen as vectors of disease; senior Republican politicians in the United States have even labelled the disease the “Chinese coronavirus”.

Meanwhile, governments of all stripes have rushed to impose travel bans, additional visa requirements, and export restrictions. The travel ban on most arrivals from Europe that US President Donald Trump announced on March 11 is particularly broad, but far from unique. All of this is making economies more national and politics more nationalistic.

Rethinking the supply chain?

Much of this disruption may be temporary. But the coronavirus crisis is likely to have a lasting impact, especially when it reinforces other trends that are already undermining globalisation. It may deal a blow to fragmented international supply chains, reduce the hypermobility of global business travellers, and provide political fodder for nationalists who favour greater protectionism and immigration controls.

The complex China-centred global supply chains on which so many Western companies have come to rely are particularly at risk. The cost advantage of producing in China has eroded in recent years as the country has become richer and wages have soared. The risks of doing so were highlighted by President Trump’s imposition of punitive tariffs on imports from China in 2018 and 2019, leading businesses to scramble for alternatives.

While the January deal marked a fragile truce in the US-China trade war, the perils of producing in China remain; both Democrats and Republicans increasingly view China as a long-term strategic rival that needs to be contained. And no sooner had the trade war abated than the coronavirus intervened. The extended shutdown of many Chinese factories has pushed exports down 17 percent in the first two months of the year compared with a year earlier, and it has disrupted the production of European cars, iPhones, and other consumer goods.

35 Inertia is a powerful thing. And there are still many advantages to producing in China, such as scale and efficient logistics. But the coronavirus crisis could mark a tipping point that prompts many businesses to remodel their supply chains and invest in more resilient and often more local patterns of production.

One option is to shift and diversify operations across other Asian economies, such as Vietnam or
40 Indonesia. Another is to shorten supply chains, with US companies moving production to Mexico and European ones to Eastern Europe or Turkey. A third is to invest in robots and 3D printing within advanced economies, producing locally closer to consumers.

Impact on travel

45 A second enduring consequence of the coronavirus crisis may be reduced business travel. Technology gurus have long argued that videoconferencing and chat apps would eliminate the need for most business travel and allow many people to work from home more. Yet until the coronavirus crisis, business travel had continued growing, seemingly inexorably.

Now, whether because of government bans, business decisions, or individual caution, all but the most
50 essential international travel has been cancelled, and those who can work from home are increasingly staying put.

Thanks to this forced grounding, businesses may discover that while face-to-face meetings are sometimes necessary, technological alternatives are often just fine – and also much less costly, time-consuming, and detrimental to family life. And at a time of increasing concern about the impact of
55 airplane emissions on the climate, and with many businesses keen to highlight their commitment to environmental awareness and sustainability, there is both an environmental reason and an economic one why business travel may decline.

Fanning nationalism

Perhaps most significantly, the coronavirus crisis plays into the hands of nationalists who favour
60 greater immigration controls and protectionism.

The speed and scope of the virus's spread across the globe have spotlighted people's vulnerability to seemingly distant foreign threats. The coronavirus has not just spread to global hubs such as London and New York. It has also leaped directly to provincial cities such as Daegu, South Korea's fourth-largest city; nursing homes in the suburbs of Seattle; and even small towns such as Castiglione d'Adda
65 (population: 4,600) – one of the 10 towns in Lombardy first quarantined by the Italian government in February.

While internationally minded leaders have mouthed fine words about the need for cross-border cooperation in the face of an unprecedented common threat, their actions have often belied this. Many ostensibly liberal governments have slapped restrictions on travel and trade more
70 draconian than even Trump dared impose at the height of his conflict with China last year. Jacinda Ardern, New Zealand's leftist prime minister, was quick to bar travellers from China who are not New Zealand citizens from entering the country. While such blanket bans may or may not be warranted on public health grounds, they provide greater legitimacy for those who view closing the border as the solution to every ill.

75 Even within the European Union's ostensibly barrier-free single market, France and Germany have banned the export of face masks; so much for the liberal internationalism and commitment to the EU of President Emmanuel Macron and Chancellor Angela Merkel. More shocking still is that none

of the 26 other EU governments has responded to Italy's urgent appeal for medical assistance—though China has.

- 80 Granted, the coronavirus crisis has also exposed the hollowness of nativists' assertions that their anti-immigration and protectionist policies make people safer. Even though the nationalist coalition that runs Lombardy's provincial government is led by Matteo Salvini's far-right League party, it has not been successful in protecting the region from the coronavirus. Nor, for all his desire to decouple from China, has Trump been able to prevent the coronavirus from reaching the United States.
- 85 Trump himself may yet pay a price in November's presidential election for his insouciance and inept mismanagement of a public health crisis. But in general, the coronavirus crisis is a political gift for nativist nationalists and protectionists.

- It has heightened perceptions that foreigners are a threat. It underscores that countries in crisis can't always count on their neighbours and close allies for help. And with India limiting exports of life-saving drugs from its vast pharmaceutical sector, it provides ammunition to those who wish to localise production of all sorts of products on national security grounds. More broadly, it may strengthen those who believe in strong government, prioritizing societal needs over individual freedom, and national action over international cooperation.
- 90

- As a result, the coronavirus crisis threatens to usher in a less globalised world. Once the pandemic and panic abate, those who believe that openness to people and products from around the world is generally a good thing will need to make the case for it in fresh and persuasive way.
- 95

[See end of Reading 26 for discussion/reflection questions.]

SECTION G: THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL HEALTH THREATS

Reading 28: Why COVID-19 is likely to change globalisation, not reverse it

EU 1, 3, 6, 8

Mark Trumbull | Christian Science Monitor (adapted) | 9 Mar 2020

This reading posits that the COVID-19 crisis may spur:

- Businesses to make their supply chains more resilient.
- The acceleration of the globalisation of "digital" desk jobs
- Increased intra-regional trade

- For many Americans looking to get hitched this year, it is starting to feel like someone dropped the wedding cake. Heavily dependent on Chinese dressmakers who toil in well-lit factory floors from Wuhan and beyond, the \$78 billion US wedding industry is facing turmoil unlike any it's ever seen. Waiting times for dresses have gone from six months to who knows when. Chinese suppliers have sent out apologetic but blunt notices that back orders could last for months.
- 5

- The COVID-19 crisis comes at the absolute worst time: Late winter is when shopkeepers like Mia Mayer make nearly their entire year's profit as nervous young women and their families waltz in and out of the changing booths. "Wedding dresses, the decorations, the linen – all that stuff comes from China. The truth is, I never thought about this risk. You think about a decline in business, but that's something that you can do something about. Now, there is no fix. There is no Plan B."
- 10

The upheaval in the realm of weddings is just one example of a severe shock – a possibly transformative jolt – that is now rippling through an interconnected world economy. And marriage

ceremonies may be an apropos image to keep in mind: the coronavirus emergency seems to be testing whether a “wedded” global economy will hold together or fall apart.

15 **Chance for a more diversified globalisation?**

The test comes as the very idea of “globalisation” – long vaunted as a path to shared prosperity for richer and poorer nations alike – has already come under assault in the realms of public opinion, public policy, and even economics. Some nationalists in Europe and the US, already predisposed against unfettered trade, are now pointing to the virus as an added reason to seal the borders and bring
20 factories back home.

The vast majority of business experts say the real lesson of the new coronavirus outbreak is, if anything, the very opposite. They don’t foresee any wholesale retreat from today’s web of far-flung commercial ties among nations, or benefits in doing so. Still, they expect the virus outbreak will alter the patterns of trade, perhaps in ways that have a local as well as a global character.

25 “To the extent that this crisis appears to be heading toward a global phenomenon, it is a nudge toward a different, more diversified globalisation rather than less globalisation,” says Mary Lovely, a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics in Washington.

Indeed, supply-chain specialist Rolf Zimmer in Germany says his clients are looking to make their supply networks more resilient, not more insular. “This [epidemic] may end up as a great ‘teaching
30 moment’ where we see that multilateral cooperation is essential,” says Richard Baldwin, an international economist at the Graduate Institute in Geneva.

A wake-up call

The coronavirus emergency is globalisation’s latest test. Some world leaders say it’s vital for nations to meet the crisis by collaborating across boundaries on both health and economic matters. “There is
35 a common enemy, [and] we need to fight in unison,” Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus, director-general of the World Health Organization, said in a recent public appearance. “This coronavirus is a wake-up call. It’s, ‘Wow. We are much more vulnerable than we thought,’” says Mr Zimmer in Germany, chief solutions officer at Riskmethods, which provides software to help companies manage supply chain risks.

40 It’s not that manufacturers haven’t thought about the need for resilience before. Many got a similar wake-up call in 2011 from an earthquake in Japan and floods in a Thai centre of hard-drive production. But risks to supply networks may lie beneath the surface. Even if a manufacturer has multiple suppliers, Mr Zimmer cautions, what happens when those suppliers all rely on a single source for a key material?

45 Supply-chain experts say the worst of the China-related disruptions isn’t being felt in Western factories yet, due to the lag time of shipments arriving. The flow of global goods from pharmaceuticals to electronics hinges on two unknowns: How long will it take for Chinese factories to get back up to speed, and how many other producers around the world will face interruptions due to the virus?

Deglobalisation forces

50 Yet the outbreak could be more than just an alarm-bell to diversify supplier networks. It might contribute to a broader reshaping of the global economy.

On the one hand, it promises to accelerate “telemigration,” or the globalisation of desk jobs that are becoming increasingly digital, argues Professor Baldwin, author of a 2018 book on the future of work. Already, the outbreak has prompted companies such as Twitter and JPMorgan Chase to ask thousands of employees to work from home. It’s not a long leap from such steps into a next phase of globalisation, in the service sector. Domestic telecommuting “is the thin edge of the wedge for international telecommuting,” he says.

On the other hand, if companies rethink their global footprints, several forces may nudge them to focus closer to home rather than further afield. The years since the 2008 financial crisis have already been marked by what some observers call “deglobalisation” – a slowdown in the growth of trade and a rebound in protectionist measures such as tariffs worldwide. “The virus adds to other reasons why firms are already rethinking their logistics,” writes Vicky Redwood of the forecasting firm Capital Economics, in a late-February report.

Beyond protectionist policies, those reasons include:

- Greenhouse gas emissions can be reduced when freight-transport distances are shortened.
- National security may be enhanced by moving important production homeward.
- It’s easier to customise products and respond to shifting consumer preferences when factories are close to the shoppers they serve.
- Rising automation is making labour costs a smaller factor in deciding whether to locate plants in high- or low-wage nations.

“Machines just repeat what they’re supposed to do, precisely,” says Harald Malmgren, a long-time presidential adviser and consultant to corporations on trade-related issues. “They work night and day. They don’t go on strike.”

Yet even if a trend toward more localised production accelerates, as Dr Malmgren expects, it won’t happen overnight. And it doesn’t imply an incoming tide of jobs to nations like the US, if service-sector jobs simultaneously become more globally “traded” and automated.

The virtues of trade

And whether the overall arc of globalisation bends upward or downward, the major economic takeaway may be for nations to avoid having “all eggs in one basket”. “China isn’t the problem. Lack of diversification is the problem,” says Belinda Archibong, an assistant professor of economics at Barnard College in New York. In Africa, “lack of regional, intra-Africa trade is the problem.”

That’s a long-standing discussion within the continent. “Maybe this crisis is going to force us to trade more amongst ourselves,” says Blandina Kilama, an economist and senior researcher at Research on Poverty Alleviation, a Tanzanian think tank.

In the US, John Melin is an eyewitness to the virtues of trade. Brown & Haley, the candy company where he is president and chief operating officer, has seen a rising share of its Almond Roca sales coming from overseas.

China is a big source of that demand, which helps keep the firm’s 175 employees near Tacoma, Washington, employed. Mr Melin and his team are working hard to keep the sales flowing and to pin down some alternative suppliers for packaging. “Part of the health of our country and our high standard of living comes from the fact that people fly on Boeing airplanes around the world, and people buy iPhones around the world, and people admire the values and institutions of the United States,” he says. That integration with the world “brings more good than bad.”

95 In Germany, Yorck Otto similarly sees globalisation as here to stay, and probably for the better. “No, this wheel cannot be turned back,” says Dr Otto, president of a business association representing small and medium-sized companies.

100 “The global supply chain will continue to get better and better every day. This globalisation will be refined, and hopefully it will be also covered under new humanitarian laws and regulations so that the world can be a little bit better through globalisation,” he says. “I’m not a great fan of kids sitting in Bolivia digging into soil to get materials to make batteries, for example.”

105 For now, back at the bridal shop, Ms Mayer doesn’t know of too many alternative materials for the dresses she needs. The supply predicament will likely push business toward do-it-yourself weddings, used wedding dresses on eBay, and a re-evaluation of price points to consider American dressmakers, if they can keep up with demand. “I’m sure [COVID-19] will get figured out in time,” says Ms Mayer. “But in our world, time can make or break you. It’s scary. It’s your livelihood.

For discussion/reflection:

- In Reading 27, Legrain asserts that the actions of ‘ostensibly liberal governments [who] have slapped restrictions on travel and trade’ (lines 68-69) serve to ‘provide greater legitimacy for those who view closing the border as the solution to every ill’ (lines 73-74). How fair is this claim?
- Of the ‘other reasons’ (line 61), mentioned by Turnbull in Reading 28, for firms ‘rethinking their logistics’ (line 62) in the wake of COVID-19 (lines 65-70), which do you think is/are the most and least compelling and why?
- Legrain argues that ‘the coronavirus crisis threatens to usher in a less globalised world’ (Reading 27, line 94), while Turnbull cites an expert who believes instead that ‘it is a nudge toward a different, more diversified globalisation’ (Reading 28, lines 25-26). Whose view do you find more convincing and why?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. ‘In the global village we inhabit, there is no justification for national boundaries.’ How far do you agree? (Cambridge 2018)
2. ‘We have paid too high a price for globalisation.’ Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT 2021)
3. In view of the global health threats today, should international travel still be encouraged? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
4. ‘Leading healthy lives is increasingly challenging in today's world.’ Discuss. (RI Y5 Promo 2019)
5. ‘Disease is the greatest threat facing mankind today.’ To what extent do you agree with this statement? (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)

SECTION G: THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL HEALTH THREATS

Reading 29: To Democratised Vaccine Access, Democratised Production

EU 1, 3, 6, 8

Kavanagh, Pillinger, Singh and Ginsbach | Foreign Policy | 1 March 2021

This reading helps you understand:

- The current factors that serve to limit vaccine production and render unequitable access to vaccines
- Practical and ethical justifications to tap into Africa, Asia, and Latin America's enormous production capacity for vaccine production
- The role that governments need to play to achieve more equitable access to vaccines, including strategic funding and policy to incentivise patent sharing and technology transfers

As wealthy countries inoculate millions of their citizens against COVID-19 and other countries wait to even begin the rollout, G-7 leaders are increasingly struggling to address geopolitically charged vaccine inequities.

5 French President Emmanuel Macron recently noted his fear that countries would turn to China and Russia for vaccines and “the power of the West will ... not be a reality.” He later walked back his statement somewhat, clarifying that vaccines are a matter of public health—not power. They are, of course, both. But Macron and other leaders will never get either issue right as long as they remain focused on what portion of a relatively small supply of vaccines to share. Rather, the real game-changer lies in a very feasible effort to expand the pool of available vaccines.

10 At the moment, vaccine production approved in the United States and Europe is needlessly limited to a handful of companies struggling to get enough vaccines out the door to meet demand. Yet in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, there is enormous human and production capacity that could be mobilised to make more vaccines and address the needs of people in low- and middle-income countries. Governments and companies, especially in middle-income countries, have been asking to do so. As
15 Western firms have demurred, Russia has taken them up on their offers, sharing Sputnik V know-how for production in Brazil, India, Turkey, and South Korea. If U.S. and European Union leaders want to address both the public health and diplomatic imperatives facing them—while also vaccinating their own populations—they should consider doing the same.

20 Vaccine development is largely funded by public money. The United States and Europe have poured massive resources into research and development as well as advance purchase agreements that remove risks for companies to develop vaccines. The United States, for example, put \$2.48 billion into the new National Institutes of Health (NIH)/Moderna vaccine alongside a huge investment of effort in government scientists who pioneered them. Likewise, the German government provided \$445 million to develop the Pfizer-BioNTech vaccine.

25 This spending brought remarkable breakthroughs for stopping COVID-19 and for future global health security. The kinds of shots Moderna, Pfizer-BioNTech, and others have developed are messenger RNA (mRNA) vaccines, which are simpler to make, easier to scale, and faster to adapt in the face of variants than traditional vaccines. The technology might soon bring breakthroughs against HIV, malaria, or influenza and enable rapid COVID-19 vaccine development against new emerging diseases.
30 Logistical challenges that have dogged the deployment of COVID-19 vaccines, like cold chain storage, can be tackled. Moderna, for example, announced just before approval that its vaccine can now be kept refrigerated, not frozen, for 30 days.

The United States and Europe have far more to gain by sharing these technologies than by hoarding them, from preventing a never-ending cycle of new variants to rebuilding global trade and gaining soft-power influence. They should immediately work to allow production of cutting-edge COVID-19 vaccines in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Some observers have claimed that such an effort would not be possible, take too long, or cost too much. They are wrong, as the world's experience developing HIV medicines shows. After millions died without access to medications, today's cutting-edge HIV drugs frequently come to market with near-simultaneous production by multiple companies in low- and middle-income countries. This is a direct result of government investment in production capacity, sharing of technology, and use of voluntary and compulsory measures to overcome patent barriers.

With cooperative technology transfers, new production capacity, including for mRNA vaccines, could be up in months. A year ago, no company in the world had produced mRNA vaccines at scale; now hundreds of millions of doses are being made. Vaccine manufacturers have retrofitted dozens of factories—most in less than six months. For example, Swiss company Lonza created a plan to produce the Moderna vaccine within two months of receiving the know-how.

There's no reason such speedy progress can't be achieved by low- and middle-income countries too. For example, Biovac and Aspen in South Africa, Institute Pasteur in Senegal, and Vacsera in Egypt could rapidly retool factories to make mRNA vaccines. In India, looking beyond Serum Institute, which has been one of the few companies licensed to make the Western-developed vaccines, is key—there are potential partners like Cipla that have made key HIV/AIDS drugs. There are scores of other opportunities around the world.

Governments will need to use their legal and political authority to push companies to share patents and know-how. Washington was the first to put an HIV patent into the Medicines Patent Pool and encouraged companies that received NIH funding to follow. This led to sharing of patents for drugs now relied on by millions around the world. Today, the NIH holds intellectual property rights for several COVID-19 vaccine technologies and has funded much of the research on mRNA vaccines in particular. Under U.S. law, this gives Washington the right to order government use of these technologies and the leverage to push companies reliant on its support to share knowledge. Given a nudge, it seems highly likely that companies will agree to voluntary licenses.

Sharing patents is necessary but not sufficient. To expand production within six months, companies need to be incentivised to share know-how and technology. This is common practice among companies already. There is even a whole subindustry dedicated to conducting tech transfers by helping pharmaceutical companies teach contractors how to source materials, set up production lines, and ensure quality without burdening limited human resources in originator companies.

For key COVID-19 vaccines, the United States and EU could pay leading vaccine developers a one-time fee for technology transfers, and licenses could include royalties on sales made by companies in low- and middle-income countries. If history is any guide, these companies will not only ramp up supply but also make vaccines less expensively. Having been largely financed by public funds, vaccine makers have already recouped their investments and should be focused on supply, quality, and affordability rather than profit.

There is plenty of funding to make this work. For example, the United States Agency for International Development and the U.S. International Development Finance Corporation could fund projects that build factories and train staff. The World Bank has made \$12 billion available to finance COVID-19 vaccines and \$4 billion through the International Finance Corporation for manufacturing. Countries have largely not taken the funding because a coordinated effort to transfer know-how and technology

has been missing. The United States and EU could quickly find the missing pieces so factories can be retooled and vaccine production started in the coming months.

- 80 This investment of political attention and funding would be in United States' and Europe's economic best interests. Rich countries stand to lose \$4.5 trillion if lower-income countries are allowed to go unvaccinated. And this is certainly not the last pandemic. Opening vaccine technology and assisting countries around the world to manufacture them can help bring this pandemic to an end while addressing destabilizing geopolitical inequality that is driving COVID-19 deaths.

For discussion/reflection:

- The authors quoted French President Macron articulating his 'fear that countries would turn to China and Russia for vaccines and [that] "the power of the West will ... not be a reality." ' (lines 4-5). In what ways is access to vaccines a form of power? Apart from the ability to manage pandemics, what other global issues can you think of that present such unequal power relationships? What similar patterns or themes can you discern in terms of the control and wielding of power?
- The authors suggest that US and EU leaders would be able to 'address both the public health and diplomatic imperatives [they face]' (line 17) by 'sharing [vaccine production] know-how' (line 15). Explain what each 'imperative' is, and how sharing their expertise in terms of making vaccines would allow the US and the EU to fulfil them.
- From lines 34 to 35, the authors list benefits of sharing vaccine technologies to include:
 - i. 'preventing a never-ending cycle of new variants'
 - ii. 'rebuilding global trade'
 - iii. 'gaining soft-power influence'Explain the relationship between sharing vaccine technologies and each benefit
- Explain what the authors mean by asserting that '[s]haring patents is necessary but not sufficient' (line 62)
- Explain the authors' use of the phrase 'And this is certainly not the last pandemic' (line 82).

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. 'A leader's responsibility should always be to his or her own country, not other nations.' Discuss. (Cambridge 2019)
2. How effective have global efforts been in addressing the spread of diseases? (RI Y6 CT1 2020)
3. How far can scientific or technological developments be a solution to global problems? (RI Y5 CT 2018)
4. 'The strong do what they want, the weak suffer what they must.' To what extent is this true of the world today? (RI Y6 CT2 2016)
5. 'We care for the developed world at the expense of the developing world.' Discuss. (RI Y6 CT2 2016)
6. 'International cooperation has not solved the global problems of today.' Do you agree? (RI Y6 CT2 2014)

SECTION G: THE IMPACT OF GLOBAL HEALTH THREATS

Reading 30: Key Global Health Trends To Watch in 2023

EU 1, 3, 6, 8

Dr Nagesh Borse | Project Hope | 20 January 2023

This reading helps you understand:

- The ongoing efforts to tackle emerging diseases as countries attempt to rebuild health systems following Covid-19 disruptions.
- In the post-pandemic era, what some global health issues on the agenda of governments and NGOs
- The five topics that could lead global health headlines in 2023 and beyond.

The past three years have shocked the global health system, thwarting or halting progress on many levels. But we've still made gains. In 2022, we saw local frontline health workers, government agencies, and health systems play a critical role in fighting disease threats like Ebola in Uganda, the Mpox outbreak in western countries, and COVID-19 cases worldwide. Local health systems have also been called on to respond as disasters tied to climate change increase, whether it's flooding in Pakistan, generational drought in the Horn of Africa, or devastating hurricanes in the U.S. Global conflicts have only worsened the problem, affecting local health services namely in Ukraine and Ethiopia, along with political instabilities that disrupted the health of populations in places like Haiti and Venezuela. As we turn the page on 2022 and begin to rebuild health systems in a post-pandemic world, what's at the top of the global health agenda? Where should we as a global community be refocusing our efforts? What lost progress must be regained, and what are the greatest threats to headway and change?

As a global health organization that responds in times of crisis, it's our job to prepare for the worst. But there are plenty of reasons to be optimistic about what can be accomplished in the year ahead and the opportunities we have to improve equitable access to health opportunities for people everywhere. Here are five critical global health issues we'll be following in 2023.

1. Rebuilding routine primary health care services amid COVID-19, climate crises, and conflicts.

COVID-19 undid years of progress made in development and global health, as access to essential health services was disrupted around the world. In the first year of the pandemic, 97 million people were pushed into poverty, increasing their chances of poor health. Conflicts and extreme weather have further restricted access to health care, especially among vulnerable populations, and have led to an increase in deaths, disabilities, and mental health challenges.

One of the biggest setbacks of the last three years has been the decline in routine childhood immunization rates. As vaccination rates dropped, the number of children without any dose of vaccine—or zero-dose children—has greatly increased, leading to concerns of various outbreaks of vaccine-preventable diseases: Last year the number of measles cases more than doubled, and polio was detected in countries previously deemed polio-free. The reoccurrence of vaccine-preventable diseases like these poses an urgent risk to global health security, and local health systems are the first line of defense.

The decline in maternal health services has also been a serious concern. In a survey conducted by the World Health Organization, more than half of countries reported disruptions in antenatal care and about one-third in facility-based delivery services in the first few months of the pandemic. Now that COVID-19 has become endemic, we see refocusing on primary health care services as the top priority for global health. At Project HOPE, we're helping health systems rebuild their capacity and ability to provide these services and make up for lost time. This includes routine immunization; disease

detection and control; maternal and child health; and mental health well-being and resiliency programs for our frontline health workers. We're supporting local health systems in providing maternal care in high-risk countries like the Dominican Republic and Colombia. We're helping young people in Mexico avoid diabetes and other noncommunicable diseases, and we're helping girls in Namibia build a future free of HIV. And in the last 12 months, we've trained more than 58,000 health workers around the world to be able to provide better care for their communities.

Project HOPE is providing medical equipment and training for health workers in the Dominican Republic, which has one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the region. COVID-19 had devastating impacts on primary health care worldwide, including childhood immunization rates. Photo by Marie Arago for Project HOPE, 2022.

2. Improving global health security and pandemic preparedness

2022 showed us how a disease like Mpox in Western countries and Ebola in Uganda can quickly spread globally, causing major disruption as the world was busy responding to COVID-19. Various epidemics of vaccine-preventable diseases in 2022 show that there is still critical work that must be done to prevent avoidable outbreaks, improve early detection, and respond rapidly and effectively to meet global health security goals and prevent future pandemics. Luckily, there's international recognition for the need to prioritize and increase collaboration around global health security—collaboration that would address the blind spots and inequities exposed by COVID-19 and ensure access to information and vaccines for all.

Project HOPE is working within some of world's most vulnerable and marginalized communities to improve global health security and build health systems that are strong, resilient, and prepared to tackle public health threats. We're doing this in a variety of ways, from helping countries improve real-time surveillance and reporting, to developing eLearning platforms and curriculums to enable health workers to get the information and updates they need to respond effectively—and rapidly.

Additionally, global initiatives like PEPFAR can play a major role in meeting future threats. PEPFAR has already been leveraged to respond to COVID-19, H1N1 influenza, and Ebola with success. As PEPFAR Ambassador John Nkengasong put it earlier this year, we "don't need to build new systems" to fight future pandemics; we can expand the systems we already have.

The world cannot afford to once again complete another panic-and-forget cycle as we've done with past epidemics—we need global, national, and local actors to look at pandemic preparedness and response through an equity lens. If we learned anything from COVID-19, which continues to rage in some parts of the world, it is that we must better prepare the health system for future pandemics and use all the tools at our disposal to more fairly distribute information, therapies and vaccines.

3. Addressing the impact of the climate crisis on health

Climate change is the biggest health threat facing humanity—and it's getting worse. Nearly half the world's population live in places highly vulnerable to climate change. Between 2030 and 2050, 25 million people are expected to die every year because of climate change if further action isn't taken. At the 2022 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Egypt, discussions highlighted the undeniable link between climate change and health, with health professionals playing an increasingly important role in climate talks. The summit closed with the establishment of a dedicated fund to help vulnerable countries cope with the losses and damages—a breakthrough agreement after nearly three decades of neglect. There are still decisions to be made around where financing will come from, and we'll be watching as negotiations continue and efforts begin to design and fill the fund.

Climate change has devastating downstream effects on a person's health. We see the direct cost of a warming climate in our air pollution, food production, heat waves, and extreme weather, like in the

Horn of Africa. We can also see the effects more broadly, in widespread conflict and displacement, which leads to large outbreaks of infectious diseases. As climate change accelerates, the risk of exposure to water- and vector-borne illnesses will only worsen.

80 At Project HOPE, we'll continue to help communities build their resilience to the impacts, and stand ready to respond when natural disaster strikes. Last year, when Hurricane Fiona and Hurricane Ian struck the Caribbean and Florida, we worked hand-in-hand with local partners and ministries of health to empower and strengthen health systems when they needed it most. Abdul, 35, overlooks a dry riverbed near his home in Ethiopia. "The doctors left. There's no food and no water. But I love my village," he said. Project HOPE is helping reopen and restaff the critical health facility nearby, which has treated many cases of malnutrition due to the conflict and drought. Photo by James Buck for Project HOPE, 2022.

4. Keeping up the fight against noncommunicable diseases

In the beginning of the pandemic, 75% of countries experienced disruption to essential services to prevent and treat NCDs, exacerbating the burden of the world's number one killer. People living with noncommunicable diseases were also at higher risk of hospitalization and death due to COVID-19. Every year 17 million people under the age of 70 die of NCDs, and 86% of them live in low- and middle-income countries.

Comorbidities for those living with NCDs with infectious diseases are very concerning. People living with HIV are more likely than the general population to get lung cancer or cervical cancer, and people with diabetes are more likely to get TB. In 2020, 730,000 TB episodes were estimated to be linked to tobacco smoking. People with NCDs are more likely to have severe health outcomes not just from COVID-19, but also from diseases like TB and HIV. Programs like PEPFAR designed for infectious diseases like HIV now have to focus on providing more holistic health care as patients age—not just HIV treatment, but also support for health issues like hypertension, diabetes, and cancer.

100 In the latest report from WHO, new data underscores the scale of the threat: Every two seconds, someone under 70 dies of an NCD like heart disease, cancer, or diabetes. These chronic diseases now supersede infectious disease as the "top killers" worldwide. The report calls for urgent action at national and international levels: stronger leadership and commitment to increasing visibility, greater investment in specific prevention and treatment interventions, more robust health systems that include NCD services, and protection for populations at highest risk.

In 2022, Project HOPE programs reached more than 1 million people with or at risk of NCDs. This included helping 218,500 people get screened so they could begin treatment and helping 78,000 people living with NCDs better understand and manage their condition. This year, we'll remain committed to helping young people make healthier choices, building greater awareness around the links between NCDs and their leading risk factors, and ensuring health workers have the skills and tools they need to address these diseases. Said, 35, is a Regional District Pharmacy Director in Semera, Ethiopia, where the urgent health issues brought on by the conflict are compounded by high numbers of patients who have chronic diseases like diabetes and hypertension. Project HOPE has provided NCD medications to help pharmacies in the area ensure continuity of care for their patients. "There is a massive shortage of medicines," he said. "Many health care facilities have sustained damage and it is becoming too costly to repair them." Photo by James Buck for Project HOPE, 2022.

5. Improving access to mental health services

COVID-19 was a "wake-up call" for the urgent need to strengthen mental health systems worldwide. In addition, ongoing conflicts such as Russia-Ukraine conflict and extreme weather events have caused a rise in mental health needs. In the U.S., the new 988 national mental health crisis line has seen a

120 significant rise in call volume in six months. The U.S. Surgeon general last May raised the alarm on health worker burnout and resignation as there is a projected shortage of 140,000 physicians by 2033. Globally, frontline health workers have raised similar concerns due to a lack of protective gear, delays in salary payments, and a lack of appreciation for their efforts in pandemic response.

125 Despite the prevalence of mental health issues, and the alarming rise in numbers over the past few years—especially among young people, women, and health workers—mental health services were severely disrupted during the pandemic. These services are also still in a largely nascent stage. More attention is being paid to the crisis, but major gaps remain, and lack of access is still one of the main barriers to care in resource-limited settings. In many low-income countries, there is fewer than 1 mental health worker for every 100,000 people, and seeking support online (in lieu of face-to-face
130 attention) simply isn't an option.

Project HOPE is committed to ensuring everyone has access to the health care they need to reach their full potential, including mental health. Over the past few years, we have collaborated with NYC Health & Hospitals to adapt their mental health curriculum for frontline health workers and have trained more than 70,000 health workers in over 40 countries to protect their mental health and well-being.
135 In 2023, we'll continue expanding access to mental health care—not just for health workers, but also for refugees, new mothers, and communities globally.

For discussion/reflection:

- What are some of the challenges facing the rebuilding of routine primary health care services amid COVID-19, climate crises, and conflicts?
- How is Project HOPE helping health systems rebuild their capacity to provide primary health care services, and what are some specific examples of the work they are doing?
- Why is it important to approach pandemic preparedness and response through an equity lens (line 63), and what are some ways this can be achieved?
- The article recognises that there is a need to improve access to mental health care. How do you think we can improve access to mental health services for those who need it most?
- What can governments do to prioritise mental health services and support mental health research?

Related Cambridge/RI essay questions:

1. To what extent can individuals shape their own lives when the world is so unpredictable? (Cambridge 2022)
2. In view of the global health threats today, should international travel still be encouraged? (RI Y6 Timed Practice 2021)
3. 'Leading healthy lives is increasingly challenging in today's world.' Discuss. (RI Y5 Promo 2019)
4. Assess the impact of technology on health in today's world. (RI Y5 Promo 2018)
5. 'Disease is the greatest threat facing mankind today.' To what extent do you agree with this statement? (RI Y6 Prelim 2015)

END