Unit 2



Power and Nations

In Unit 1, you studied the concepts of leadership, and the power of the individual. Unit 2 takes a broader perspective and analyses the relationship between power and nations.

Unit 2

In this unit, you will study the following skills:

• **READING**

- Previewing
- Skimming
- Scanning
- Identifying points of reference
- Guessing unknown vocabulary
- Understanding figurative speech
- Reading between the lines
- Identifying main ideas
- Identifying the writer's technique

• WRITING

- Writing a reaction paragraph
- Using the target vocabulary learnt so far in writing
- Paraphrasing
- Synthesizing

• LISTENING

- Listening for specific information
- Listening and taking notes
- Identifying signposts in a lecture
- Identifying parts of a lecture

• SPEAKING

- Expressing an opinion
- Participating in a discussion
- Giving a mini presentation

• LANGUAGE

- Identifying word combinations
- Grouping words semantically
- Dealing with long sentences

• CRITICAL THINKING

- Making connections between ideas
- Reacting to an idea
- Reflecting on an idea
- Evaluating different viewpoints
- Making predictions
- Synthesizing

SYNTHESIZING

A. Discussion

1. a. Leaders use their power to grant the superiority and well-being of their countries. To achieve this, they make use of various strategies. Below is a list of these strategies. Examine the list and add any other strategy you can think of.

Weapons	Military force	Oppression
War	Language	Brain-washing
Cultural hegemony	Propaganda	Economic exploitation

b. Consider "power" a continuum. How would you place the above-listed concepts on the continuum of power? Locate the concepts from the most to the least explicit. Notice that the most explicit display of power is given as "war".



- 2. As seen above, "war" is the most explicit display of power. Why do you think countries engage in wars?
- 3. What might be the negative / positive outcomes of war?
- **4.** Do you think that humans are innately programmed to destroy one another? Can war be an instinct? Why / why not?
- 5. Will wars stop one day? Why / why not? If yes, how?

B. Collocations

Read the following sentences on war and decide which of the alternatives provided below completes the sentence best.

By then, Europe had been war for nearly two years.
 a. within b. at

2. These veterans understood what it meant to be war, what it meant to be far from home.a. in b. by

- **3.** Should women fight war the frontlines?a. in / onb. during/for
- 4. We could go on wars to protect our foreign supplies.a. doingb. fighting

5. Some people believe that humans war as they are by nature aggressive.a. makeb. create

- 6. Many countries are war on terrorism.a. wagingb. pursuing
- 7. The military has not lost its ability to fight and wars.a. earnb. win
- 8. We this war as soon as we started it.a. lostb. missed
- 9. Britain and France war Germany in 1939.
 a. declared / on b. announced / to
- **10.** Quite a few women went war, and quite a few were killed.a. forb. to
- **11.** All measures are taken to prevent war in the future.a. an outbreak ofb. a start of
- 12. The economy, ravaged war, collapsed.a. byb. with
- **13.** One of the anti-war films to denounce war was All Quiet on the Western Front.a. the fear ofb. the horrors of
- **14.** The country was war.a. in a state ofb. having the time of
- 15. It becomes increasingly difficult war, to distinguish "legitimate" violence from "illegitimate" violence.a. in the process ofb. in times of
- 16. In 1962, the world seemed to benuclear war.a. on the brink ofb. in the corner of



Making Connections

Below are some quotations on war. Examine them and combine two of the quotes you choose by finding similarities or differences between the two. To do this, use one of the linkers below to show the relationship between the ideas.

While	Whereas	However
Contrary to	Similarly	Likewise
Not only but also	Both and	

- 1. "There never was a good war or a bad peace." Benjamin Franklin
- 2. "We make war that we may live in peace." Aristotle
- **3.** "Can anything be stupider than that a man has the right to kill me because he lives on the other side of a river and his ruler has a quarrel with mine, though I have not quarrelled with him?" **Blaise Pascal**
- 4. "Warmaking doesn't stop warmaking. If it did, our problems would have stopped millennia ago." Colman McCarthy
- 5. "It is not only the living who are killed in war." Isaac Asimov
- 6. "It is an unfortunate fact that we can secure peace only by preparing for war." John F. Kennedy
- 7. "The real and lasting victories are those of peace, and not of war." Ralph Waldo Emerson
- 8. "I have never advocated war except as a means of peace." Ulysses S. Grant
- 9. "One is left with the horrible feeling now that war settles nothing; that to win a war is as disastrous as to lose one." Agatha Christie
- 10. "I know not with what weapons World War III will be fought, but World War IV will be fought with sticks and stones." Albert Einstein
- 11. "You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake." Jeannette Rankin
- 12. "War may sometimes be a necessary evil. But no matter how necessary, it is always an evil, never a good. We will not learn how to live together in peace by killing each other's children." Jimmy Carter
- 13. "War is a cowardly escape from the problems of peace." Thomas Mann

FOCUSING ON A SKILL

Synthesizing

In the task above, as in all the "Making Connections" sections in *The Compass: Route to Academic English I*, you have practiced your synthesizing skills because finding connections is necessary to synthesize information.

Look at the excerpts below. Considering the questions about the excerpts, analyse the sample syntheses that follow.

Original texts:

War is a hostile dispute, characterized by organized armed violence between national military units. War is an interaction in which two or more militaries have a struggle of wills. War is a conflict not between men but between states. Disagreements between people or ideologies cannot go beyond simple opposition. Thus, problems between individual persons do not count as a war, nor does a gang fight, nor does a feud on the order of some leading families.

Clausewitz, C. V. (1976). On war. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

(Note that this text is taken from page 34.)

Original texts:

War should be understood as any active hostility or struggle between people; a conflict between opposing forces or principles. This includes even non-violent clashes between systems of thought, such as of religious doctrines or of trading companies. In other words, riots and rebellions can also be considered examples of war.

Tzu, S. (2007). The art of war. New York, NY: Prentice Hall.

(Note that this text is taken from page 15.)

Questions to think before starting to synthesize:

1. What is the common point of discussion in the two excerpts?

- a. reasons for war
- b. definitions of war
- c. outcomes of war
- d. solutions of war
- e. kinds of war

Having determined the common point of discussion, now it is time to analyse the excerpts in detail in order to understand the relations. Now, examine how the tables below are converted into syntheses.

common points between the two excerpts	sample linkers / transitions that show this relationship
key components of war: hostility / conflict	Bothand Similarly, Like (Clausewitz) Likewise, (Tzu) too as well.

Sample synthesis of common points:

Both Clausewitz (1976) and Tzu (2007) dwell on the definition of war and the parties involved. In their definitions, both writers concentrate on hostility and conflict as the key components of war.

dissimilar points between the	sample linkers / transitions
two excerpts	that show this relationship
 Clausewitz: organized armed violence between armies of states conflict between states not between men disagreements between people or ideologies = oppositions individual persons, gang fights, a feud on the order of some leading families = not war Tzu: any active hostility or struggle between people, opposing forces, and principles non-violent clashes (between systems of thought between religious doctrines, trading companies) or riots and rebellions = war 	In contrast, Yet, However, Nevertheless, Nonetheless, While Whereas Unlike (Clausewitz)

Sample synthesis of disagreement:

While Tzu (2007) gives a more general definition saying that any "active hostility or struggle between people" or ideas constitute war, Clausewitz (1976) gives a specific account of the term and explains that war is "characterized by organized armed violence" between armies of states. In that sense, although Tzu accepts family feuds or non-violent resistance as war, to Clausewitz, only the organized battle between two states which use weapons can be regarded as war.

Sample synthesis:

(similarity) Both Clausewitz (1976) and Tzu (2007) dwell on the definition of war and the parties involved. In their definitions, both writers concentrate on hostility and conflict as the key components of war. (difference) Yet, while Tzu gives a more general definition saying that any "active hostility or struggle between people" or ideas constitute war, Clausewitz gives a specific account of the term and explains that war is "characterized by organized armed violence" between armies of states. In that sense, although Tzu accepts family feuds or non-violent resistance as war, to Clausewitz only the organized battle between two states which use weapons can be regarded as war.

What is synthesizing?

As in the previous example, synthesizing is the ability to see relationships between ideas and to bring them together. In other words, synthesizing is to combine different pieces of information into a new whole.

THINK: How do you use this skill in real life? Give examples.

Synthesizing information is important both for writing and reading skills as it involves critical thinking. Writers synthesize information when they borrow information from different sources to support their discussions or to add credibility to their papers. Similarly, readers synthesize information when they relate different discussions to one another or to their own background information, which in return fosters deeper comprehension of the written material.

In other words, a synthesis, in academic contexts, is a written discussion that draws on two or more sources. Therefore, your ability to write synthesis depends on your ability to infer relationships among sources - essays, articles, and also non-written sources such as lectures, interviews and observations. In an academic synthesis, you make the relationships that you have inferred among separate sources explicit. Clearly, before you are in a position to draw relationships between two or more sources, you must understand what those sources say; in other words, you must be able to *comprehend* these sources.

Steps in Synthesizing:

- **1.** Gather all the materials: this may include information from articles, magazines, reference books, journals, textbooks, the Internet, and the like.
- 2. Make sure you understand the passage you want to synthesize.
- 3. Summarize and / or paraphrase each passage in your own words.
- 4. Group together the ideas that are connected; i.e. do the ideas support / contradict / exemplify each other?
- 5. Combine the ideas in each group.
- 6. Organize the sentences into a logical sequence.
- 7. Write your synthesis using appropriate structures for the relationship(s) you have determined.
- 8. Check for accuracy and coherence.

To synthesize two or more excerpts, you need to figure out the relationship between them.

To Discover the Underlying Connection, Ask Questions Like These:

- 1. Do the authors express similar points of view on the same issue?
- 2. Do the authors express different points of view on the same issue?
- 3. Does one author make a point that is contradicted by the other author or authors?
- 4. What are the common or different points in between?
- 5. Which linker or linkers can best point out this relationship of ideas?



Read the excerpts below on the concept of "war" and find the relationship between the ideas in different excerpts by answering the questions below them. Then, synthesize the ideas by quoting, paraphrasing, or summarizing.

Excerpts 1 and 2

An analogy can be drawn between the concepts of "motherhood" and "motherland". The nation and country play an unconscious maternal role in our feelings, as expressed in the term "motherland." War and violence develop out of "love" and their wish to preserve and defend the sacred object to which people are attached, namely their early mother and their fusion with her. For the adult, nations are the sacred objects that they feel attached to. This instinctive feeling is the ultimate reason that generates warfare. The essence of war is sacrifice; that is to say, the astonishing willingness of human beings to die for their country, to give over their bodies to their nation.

Jackson, M. (2012). War: An introduction to a primal instinct. Retrieved from http://www.jacksonsdaily.com/violencean-introduction-to-a-primal-instinct

(Note that this excerpt is taken from page 55.)

Truth be told, humans in general and certain individuals in particular, want war. Violence is a component of humanity's gene pool, war being one manifestation of this violent tendency. An individual's violent nature might sometimes be a reproductive advantage. For this reason, the tendencies to behave violently and make war are passed on from generation to generation. In the age of weapons of mass destruction, our violent abilities might lead to self-extinction. The continued survival of human beings as species would be more secure if we could somehow eliminate violent genes from our genetic pool.

Wiggings, D. (2003, september 8). The real reason for war. Retrieved from http://www.lewrockwell.com/orig4/wiggins4.html

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 2.)

- 1. What is the focus of each excerpt above? From which perspective do the writers approach the concept of "war"? Identify their purpose.
- 2. Do the excerpts have similar or different ideas? What are the key words that characterize each excerpt?
- 3. Which linkers would best signal the relationship between the two excerpts?

Your synthesis:

Excerpts 3 and 4

War is possibly the oldest, easily the most profitable, and surely the most vicious way of attaining power. It is the only one international in scope. It is the only one in which the profits are reckoned in dollars and land, and the losses in lives. Out of war, nations acquire additional territory, if they are victorious. They just take it. This newly acquired territory is promptly exploited by the few - the self-same few who wrung dollars out of blood in the war. The general public shoulders the bill.

Butler, S. (n.d.). War is a racket. Retrieved from http://www.ratical.org/ratville/CAH/warisaracket.html#c1

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 1.)

People rarely win wars, governments rarely lose them. People get killed. Governments start wars and then mourn after the dead corpses while counting the dollars they accumulated. On both sides, in Afghanistan as well as America, civilians are now hostage to the actions of their own governments.

Roy, A. (2001). War is peace. Retrieved from http://www.globalissues.org/article/282/war-is-peace

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 4.)

- 1. What is the focus of each excerpt above? From which perspective do the writers approach the concept of "war"? Identify their purpose.
- 2. Do the excerpts have similar or different ideas? What are the key words that characterize each excerpt?
- 3. Which linkers would best signal the relationship between the two excerpts?

Your synthesis:

Excerpts 5, 6, and 7

A highly educated population composed of individuals who can shape the public opinion and the decisions of politicians, particularly in times of tension, would decrease frustration, insecurity, and fear, and discourage the governments to participate in war. In other words, people of a country have the power to reduce the likelihood of war.

Frankel, A. (2003). The causes of war: Biological theories. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2003/11/11/science /the-causes-of-war-bio-theories.html

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 1.)

Economic cooperation based upon an international division of labour and upon free trade among countries would minimize the incidents of wars because it will be for the benefit of everybody as commerce would be the great cure to overcome inequalities which often result in wars.

Mill, J. S. (2002). Liberal analysis. Retrieved from http://www.antiwar.com/stromberg/s0802.html

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 7.)

The only way to avoid war is to remove its basic cause, by replacing capitalism with socialism, thus abolishing both class struggle and free market. In its international relations, the capitalist state engages in wars because it is driven by the dynamism of its system—the constantly growing need for raw materials, markets, and supplies of cheap labour. Thus, the only way to avoid war is to remove its basic cause, by replacing capitalism with socialism, thus abolishing both class struggle and states.

Marx, K. (2007). The causes of war: Social theories. Retrieved from http://www.rationalrevolution.net/war/marxism.htm

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 18.)

- 1. What is the focus of each excerpt above? From which perspective do the writers approach the concept of "war"? Identify their purpose.
- 2. Do the excerpts have similar or different ideas? What are the key words that characterize each excerpt?
- 3. Which linkers would best signal the relationship among the three excerpts?

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Excerpts 8 and 9

Another school of thought argues that war can be seen as an outgrowth of economic competition in a chaotic and competitive international system. Wars begin as a pursuit of new markets, of natural resources, and of wealth. Unquestionably, from the empire building of Britain to the 1941 Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, the cause of some wars has been the pursuit of oil. This theory has been applied to many other conflicts.

Shaw, M. (2009, November 18). War and genocide. Retrieved from http://www.massviolence.org/War-and-Genocide?cs=print

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 3.)

Wars are a natural outgrowth of the class system. Wars occur not as an often voluntary instrument of state policy but as the result of a clash of social forces. All wars grow out of class struggle: when there is a hierarchy between the privileged groups and the oppressed, the war is inevitable since the inequalities and the unjust system cause tension.

Marx, K. (2007). The causes of war: Social theories. Retrieved from http://www.rationalrevolution.net/war/marxism.htm

(Note that this excerpt is taken from paragraph 6.)

- 1. What is the focus of each excerpt above? From which perspective do the writers approach the concept of "war"? Identify their purpose.
- 2. Do the excerpts have similar or different ideas? What are the key words that characterize each excerpt?
- 3. Which linkers would best signal the relationship between the two excerpts?

Your synthesis:

LISTENING

While-Listening: Psychological Warfare

Listen to the lecture "Psychological Warfare" which presents a different dimension of the concept of war. Fill in the chart below noting down the parts of the lecture and expressions that the speaker uses to signal the part that he will elaborate on next. The first one is done for you.

Subtopics of the Lecture	Expressions the Speaker Uses to Signal Different Parts of the Lecture
Giving the subject of the lecture	Today I will touch upon
Definition of psychological warfare	1.
2.	Now, let me move on to
3.	So in this part I will give some examples from
Contemporary cases of psychological warfare	4.
Summary of the lecture and final remarks	5.

THINK:

- 1. Imagine that you were asked to take notes of the entire lecture. Would you be able to write down everything that the speaker discusses? Why / why not?
- 2. While listening and taking notes, why would it be helpful to follow the signposts that the speaker uses?
- 3. Do you take notes in your departmental courses? If yes, what kind of strategies do you use?

FOCUSING ON A SKILL

What is Note-taking?

There may be times when one is required to attend conferences, lectures, and seminars in professional and / or academic contexts and thus, needs to follow oral information. Due to this reason, it is of utmost importance for the listeners to gain and develop an important skill – listening and note-taking- in order to be able to understand and process the information that the speaker presents. However, due to the nature of the spoken discourse, which is temporary and intense, note-taking can sometimes be a challenging task for the listeners. That is mainly because the pace of the speaker cannot be controlled and one may not be able to ask the speaker to repeat the information over and over again or stop for a while. It is a fact that every single speaker / lecturer has a different and unique style, method, and speed: while some prefer to present the material in an organized manner, some others may choose to share information in a less organized way including lots of details and anecdotes which forces the listeners to differentiate between what is important and what is not important. Therefore, one may have to adapt his / her note-taking style in accordance with the style of the speakers.

There are some important points to consider as one is taking down notes: One should be a good listener and stay focused, must be alert, and write as quickly as possible in order to take down notes effectively.

Before the lecture:

- **1.** *Self-preparation in advance:* Previewing or skimming the material in advance might be a good idea to become familiar with the topic.
- 2. Being physically ready to listen and take down notes: Making the necessary materials like pens, pencils, paper, or notebooks ready beforehand should also be considered.

During the lecture:

1. Paying attention to the organization of the lecture: Following the way a lecture / speech is organized carefully will not only help the listeners to take down well-organized notes but also will make it easier for them to spot the main idea and the messages.

Introduction:

The opening remarks of the speaker at the beginning of the lecture / speech do not have a purpose to instruct, but can give an idea about the tone of the lecture / speech.

Thesis:

This is the statement or sentence that speakers use to reveal the controlling idea of the lecture / speech.

Body:

This is the bulkiest part of the lecture / speech and thus, requires attentive listening.

Summary:

This is the part that most listeners tend to neglect. However, since the speakers go over the main points that they covered previously in this section, an effective listener should use this part as a means to check their understanding and to catch the parts that they may have missed during the lecture / speech.

"I like to listen; I have learned a great deal from listening carefully."

Ernest Hemingway

2. Using the cues to note the speaker's main idea: Successful listeners should be able to "read" a variety of verbal and non-verbal signals such as emphasis words (e.g., "the main reason was..."), transitory devices (e.g., "now let's have a look at..."), enumerations (e.g., "there are three ways of..."), repetitions (e.g., "let me remind you that...") as well as gestures and non-verbal movements. Following the speaker's cues will enable the listeners to find out and differentiate the controlling ideas. One might find it useful to note down a couple of examples as well to clarify the principles or main ideas and to make it easier to understand and reflect on the notes later on.

The expressions below may help the listeners to follow the lecture / speech and take down notes.

Giving an overview of the lecture

... I'd like to say a few words to you about...
Today, I'm going to talk to you about...
In the first part,...
Then, in the second part,... Finally,...
I'm going to explain to you today the main features of... First, I'll ... Second...Third, ...

"It is the province of knowledge to speak and it is the privilege of wisdom to listen."

Oliver Wendel Holmes

"When you are listening to somebody, completely, attentively, then you are listening not only to the words, but also to the feeling of what is being conveyed, to the whole of it, not part of it".

Jiddy Krishnamurti

Signalling different parts of the body

Now, let's move to the first part of my talk, which is about... There are two kinds of The first is...

I can see three points. The first one is... Now I would like to describe...

That brings me to the second part...

One is ... another is... The third reason / type / effect / result is...

Let's move on to...

Next, we see...

So now we come to... Finally...

Introducing supports

At this point, I want to show you an example of... We could compare the ... to a ... According to...

As the famous mathematician puts it, ... Another example to this is...

Let me explain this in more detail...

- ... can be defined as...
- Let me illustrate what I mean.
- ... is similar to ...

Concluding the lecture / Summarizing

That completes / concludes my talk... In conclusion, .../ To conclude, ...

I'd like to end with... On the whole,

In brief, ...

To summarize, ... In short, ...

In summary, ...

To sum up, ...

Let me briefly summarize the main points that I have raised.

Transitional words to help the audience follow the lecture:

Result:

Therefore, / Thus, / Hence,... As a consequence, / Consequently,... As a result, ... Accordingly, ... So, ...

Sequence:

First, / second, ...

Moreover, / Furthermore,... Also, ... In addition, ... Next, ... Then/ Afterwards, ... Finally, ...

Emphasis:

Even...

Actually /As a matter of fact / In fact, / Indeed,... Surely, / Obviously, ...

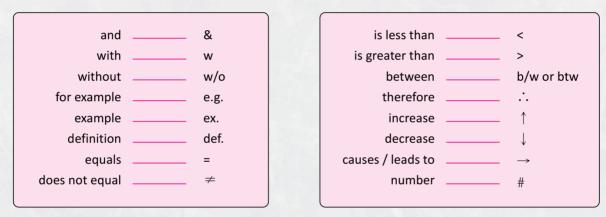
The primary / major / significant / crucial ...is... The foremost / dominant / leading...is

Exemplification:

For example / for instance / to illustrate... Namely,... An example of this... In particular,... **3.** Noting down the definitions and vocabulary items: The way that the speakers use specialized vocabulary items should also be paid attention to as one is taking down notes since the terms that are used, defined, or illustrated might be important to better understand the content.

In brief: What to note down

- Main idea, major points, principles, and arguments
- Summaries of the minor points and supports
- Examples and real-life illustrations that are important
- Simple diagrams
- Important dates and numbers
- Enough explanation to ensure continuity
- Specific terminology / definition of terms
- **4.** Using your own words: It is neither necessary nor possible to note down what a speaker says word-for-word. So, one must use his / her own wording while taking notes. That is to say, listeners can paraphrase the oral information as they are note-taking which will at the same time contribute to their understanding of the topic.
- 5. Using abbreviations and symbols: To be able to take down notes faster, listeners should consider using the *abbreviated forms* and *symbols* for common verbs and terms that appear frequently. Below is a list of commonly used abbreviations:



One can also find his / her own way and style of using symbols and abbreviations.

6. Writing notes that are legible: One should take down notes in such a way that the notes should be clear and make sense even after some time passes.

After the lecture / presentation:

- 1. Revising the notes after the class: It may not always be possible to take down notes in an organized way during the lectures / presentations due to lack of time and the pace of the speaker. Therefore, the listeners can change the organization of their notes and organize them into a neat pattern after the lecture / presentation as they reflect on them. However, it is important to check and rewrite the notes, make the necessary corrections in spelling, insert punctuation, and add or delete some vocabulary items as soon as possible while the memory of the listener is fresh. The listeners may also consider numbering or labeling the notes to show the relationship between the ideas if necessary as they go through their notes.
- **2.** *Reflecting on the meaning of the lecture:* When all of the stages of note-taking are considered, it can be said that reflection is actually the most important step. This is because during this step, the listeners integrate new information: they try to relate this new information to their previous knowledge about the topic and they try to add a personal meaning to the subject.

Also, thinking of some examples from one's own experience after the lecture usually contributes much to the meaning of the notes. Doing that, one can discover a point that is different from the speaker's or come up with some questions that they want to pursue further.

3. Meeting with other listeners: This might be an effective way to go over the notes and to check comprehension and understanding. Listeners who come together to review their notes may realize that they have missed some important points and can complete their notes. They may also see the relationship among the points / ideas raised during the lecture / speech that they have not realized before. In other words, they can also benefit from the other listener.

LISTENING AND NOTE-TAKING 1: Psychological Warfare

Now, listen to the same lecture and take down notes under the prompts below.

- Definition of psychological warfare

- Methods of psychological warfare

- Examples from history

- Contemporary cases

- Views on Psychological Warfare

Now, go to Appendix A-1 and answer the questions by using your notes.

LISTENING

() Getting Started

A. Discussion

- 1. What is oppression? How would you define this concept?
- 2. What is the difference / relationship between psychological war and oppression?
- 3. Can you think of cases of oppression from world history? Give examples of some groups / societies / nations / races that have been oppressed.
- 4. Why would people oppress one another?

B. Vocabulary

Sayfa 103: B Vocabulary kısmı soru 6 son satırdaki kelime reflected degil olacak.

- I. The following words in **bold** will be used in the listening task "Oppression". Match the words with the definitions in the box below.

- 3. Not giving some of the most basic rights, such as not giving the right to vote, is a way of **subordinating** minorities.
- 5. After losing the war, the country **resigned** itself **to** the rule of the enemy.
- 6. The supporters of other political parties felt a sense of **doom** and disappointment when the leader was reelected.
- 7. Increasing crime rates indicate social degradation, loss of values, and ethics.
 - a. to make oneself accept something that is bad but cannot be changed
 - b. to put someone or something in a less important position
 - c. decline to a low, destitute, or demoralized state
 - d. to treat some people or things better than others
 - e. something very bad that is going to happen, or the fact that it is going to happen
 - f. to give someone more control over their own life or situation; to give a person or organization the legal right to do something
 - g. the separation or isolation of a race, class, or ethnic group
- II. Below you will find some of the vocabulary items you studied in the previous section. Look at them, and decide whether they have a positive (+) or negative (-) meaning.

doom	 degradation	
empower	 privilege	
subordinate	 segregation	

LISTENING AND NOTE-TAKING 2: Oppression

Listen to the lecture on oppression and take down notes under the prompts below.

- The definition of oppression

- How oppressors affect the lives of the oppressed

- Types of oppression and their explanations

- Hierarchy of oppression

- Ways of coping with o	ppression
Acceptance:	a. Explanation
	b The speaker's opinion
Physical violence:	a. Explanation
	b. The speaker's opinion
Nonviolent resistance:	a. Explanation
	b. The speaker's opinion

Now, go to Appendix A-2 and answer the questions by using your notes.

🗧 READING

() Getting Started

A. Discussion

1. So far in this unit, you have studied the concepts of "war", "psychological war", and "oppression." Keeping this flow of concepts in mind, read the quotations below. Which side of the continuum of power (explicit or more subtle) you have seen at the beginning of this unit are we heading towards?

"In the democratic system, the necessary illusions cannot be imposed by force. Rather, they must be instilled in the public mind by more subtle means."

"Politics is war without bloodshed..." Mao Tse-Tungs

Noam Chomsky

- 2. What do you understand from the concepts of "hard power" and "soft power"? How do these two concepts differ from each other?
- 3. Which of these two types of power, hard power and soft power, do you think is more dominant in world politics today? Give examples.
- 4. Below are some concepts that might be important for a country to attain power. Choose five that you think are important, and rank those items according to their importance as a source of power in the international political arena. (Number 1= the most important). Discuss your ranking in groups.

economy	 peace-seeking foreign policy	
military force	 cultural attractiveness	
ideology	 geographical position	
raw materials	 advances in technology	
space technology	 nuclear energy	
victorious history	 environmental policies	
art	 high population	
educational policies	 membership in international organizations (EU, NATO)	

5. Which countries do you think are powerful today? In what ways do these countries gain power?

B. Glancing at the Text

1. Preview the text. What do you think the text is about? Write down what you think the writer will discuss.

- 2. Skim the text in 2 minutes to see if the content of the text matches your expectations.
- 3. Scan the text in 30 seconds and underline the names of the countries mentioned in the text.

C. Collocations

Read the following sentences on power and decide which of the alternatives provided below completes the sentence best.

- There are other positive strategies out there to power without resorting to deception.
 a. attain
 b. yield
- 2. People should more power over the decisions that affect them.a. dominateb. have
- **3.** Violence is a pattern of behavior used to **power** and control over another through emotional attack, fear, and intimidation.

a. establish b. launch

- 4. Space technologies the power of countries.a. enhanceb. enrich
- 5. How do leaders create, use and then..... power?a. maintainb. uphold
- 6. The army was allowed to vast powers under the Marcos dictatorship.a. exerciseb. execute

7. Some people may want to take part in politics to power, wealth, prestige, or praise.a. profitb. gain

- 8. Though the central banks..... enormous **power**, we should not overstate their ability to shape the economy in the long run.
 - a. serve b. wield
- 9. The drop in inflation purchasing power.a. boostsb. lifts
- 10. How do news media images power in shaping politics and public opinion?a. exertb. operate
- **11.** An atomic bomb embodies a **power** of destruction worthy of any mythic deity.a. corporalb. physical

- 12. Since the beginning of civilization,..... power has been the primary instrument that nation states have used to control each other.a. militaryb. armed
- 13. A new balance between and power is required to meet today's policy challenges.a. soft / hardb. easy / rigid

D. Vocabulary

The words in **bold** in the following sentences will appear in the text, "The Changing Face of Power". Match the words with their definitions provided in the box below.

- 1. The Turkish culture **embodies** the Ottoman heritage in its language, literature, and science.
- 3. The conquest of Istanbul in 1453 by Fatih Sultan Mehmet was one of the milestones in history.
- 4. A country's future **prosperity** depends, to an extent, on the quality of education of its people.
- 5. He was shot down in enemy territory during the war and taken as hostage to be imprisoned.
 - a. the state of being successful and having a lot of money
 - b. something that limits one's freedom to do what one wants
 - c. an area of land or sometimes sea that is owned or controlled by a particular country, ruler, or military force
 - d. the act of getting control of a country by fighting
 - e. to include as part of something

E. Dealing with Long Sentences

Below are some long sentences taken from the text "The Changing Face of Power". Read and answer the following questions by using the strategies you have learned.

- a. Dividing the sentence into chunks
- b. Crossing out the extra details
- c. Eliminating unknown vocabulary
- d. Subject-verb identification
- **1.** Because the ability to control others is often associated with the possession of certain resources, politicians and diplomats commonly define power as the possession of population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military forces, and political stability.
 - a. How do politicians and diplomats commonly define power?
 - b. What is commonly associated with the possession of certain resources?
 - c. Why do politicians and diplomats commonly define power as the possession of population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military forces, and political stability?

- 2. A combination of factors nuclear weapons that are too awesome to use, the difficulties of building empires in an age of nationalism, the unwillingness of western societies to send their troops into battle – has conspired to make war a last resort for most advanced countries.
 - a. What has conspired to make war a last resort for most advanced countries?
 - b. Which factors that are combined together have conspired to make war a last resort for most advanced countries?
 - c. What are western societies unwilling to do?
 - d. What has become a last resort for most advanced countries?
- **3.** The world has witnessed the reign of the United States for some time as the leading superpower, but now, political leaders are starting to use the term "multipolarity" to imply the return to a balance among a number of states with roughly equal power resources analogous to that of the nineteenth century when there were not one but many powerful countries.
 - a. What has the world witnessed for some time?
 - b. Why are political leaders starting to use the term "multipolarity"?
 - c. What two things are analogous to one-another?
 - d. When were there many powerful countries?
- **4.** Parents of teenagers have long known that if they have shaped their child's beliefs and preferences, their power will be greater and more enduring than if they rely only on active control like cutting off allowances or taking away the car keys.
 - a. What have parents of teenagers long known?
 - b. On what condition have parents of teenagers known that their power will be greater and more enduring?
 - c. On what condition have parents of teenagers known that their power will be limited and less enduring?
 - d. What are examples of active control?

TEXT Read the text below and do the exercises that follow.

The Changing Face of Power

What is Power?

- 1 Power is like the weather. Everyone depends on it and talks about it, but few understand it. Just as farmers and meteorologists try to forecast the weather, political leaders and analysts try to describe and predict changes in power relationships.
- 2 The dictionary tells us that power means an ability to do things and control others, to get others to do what they otherwise would not. At this most general level, power means the ability to get the outcomes one wants. The dictionary also tells us that power means having the capabilities to affect the behaviour of others. One can **coerce** others with threats; one can induce them with payments; or one can attract and co-opt them to want what you want.

Military Power - How Effective is it?

- **3** Because the ability to control others is often associated with the possession of certain resources, politicians and diplomats commonly define power as the possession of population, territory, natural resources, economic size, military forces, and political stability. Specifically, in the traditional view, the test of a great power has been its strength in war. In this perspective, war is regarded as the ultimate arena of international politics where estimates of relative power are proven (Nye, 2005).
- 4 Today, however, the foundations of power have been moving away from the emphasis on military force. A combination of factors - nuclear weapons that are too awesome to use, the difficulties of building empires in an age of nationalism, the unwillingness of western societies to send their troops into battle - have conspired to make war a last resort for most advanced countries. For most of today's great powers, the use of force would jeopardize their economic objectives. Even non-democratic countries that seldom feel moral constraints on the use of force have to consider its effects on their economic objectives (Nye, 2002). In the words of British diplomat Robert Cooper (2002), "A large number of the most powerful states no longer want to fight or conquer" (para.9). War remains possible, but it is much less acceptable now than it was even half a century ago.

The New Form of Power

5 Today, therefore, the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force and conquest that marked earlier eras because the games of world politics encompass different players at different tables with different piles of chips. With changing players around the gambling table of world politics come changing goals. In the traditional view, states give priority to military security to ensure their survival. Today, however, states must consider new dimensions of security. The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power, while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important.

6 What can we say about the changes in the distribution of power in the coming decades? The world has witnessed the reign of the United States for some time as the leading superpower. But now, political leaders are starting to use the term "multipolarity" to imply the return to a balance among a number of states with roughly equal power resources analogous to that of the nineteenth century when there were not one but many powerful countries. Time will show if the superpower of today will be able to sustain its power in the coming decades.

The Great Power Shift

- 7 The coming years may see continued American preeminence, but the sources of power in world politics are likely to undergo major changes that will create new difficulties for all countries in achieving their goals. Proof of power lies in the ability to change the behaviour of states. Thus, the critical question for the United States is to what extent it will be able to control the political environment and get other countries to do what it wants. Some trends in world politics suggest that it will be more difficult in the future for any great power to control the political environment. As world politics becomes more complex, the power of all major states to gain their objectives will be diminished. These states will have to confront the changing nature of power in world politics (Nye, 2005).
- 8 States are no longer the only significant actors in world politics as traditional view suggests. Other actors are becoming increasingly important. In the 1980s, the annual profits of IBM and Royal Dutch/Shell Group were each larger than the central government budgets of Colombia or Kenya. Similarly, world economy cannot be understood without considering the power of private banks which in a way operate as multinational companies.
- 9 Another important source of power today is information and effective communication. Information is becoming more and more plentiful and entails power, especially before it spreads. When combined with the flexibility to act first on new information, it ensures power. Thus, a capacity for timely response to new information is a critical power resource. With the rise of an information-based economy, organizational skills and flexibility become more important.

Soft Power

10 These trends suggest a second, more attractive way of exercising power than traditional means: soft power or

co-optive power. Co-optive power is the ability of a country to structure a situation so that other countries develop preferences or define their interests in ways consistent with its own. Therefore, using soft power, a state may achieve the outcomes it prefers in world politics because other states want to follow it or have agreed to a situation that produces such effects. In this sense, it is even more effective to set the agenda and attract others than to force them to change through threat or use of military weapons.

11 Though it may seem as a new concept, soft power has always been implemented in family life. Parents of teenagers have long known that if they have shaped their child's beliefs and preferences, their power will be greater and more enduring than if they rely only on active control like cutting off allowances or taking away the car keys. Similarly, political leaders and philosophers have long understood the power of attractive ideas or the ability to set the political agenda and determine the framework of debate in a way that shapes others' preferences. The ability to affect what other countries want tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions. Soft co-optive power is just as important as hard command power. If a state can make its power seem legitimate in the eyes of others, it will encounter less resistance to its wishes. If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow. If it can establish international norms consistent with its society, it is less likely to have to change (Nye, 2005).

Use of Soft Power in the Political Arena

- 12 The countries that are likely to gain soft power are those closest to global norms of liberalism, pluralism, and autonomy; those with the most access to multiple channels of communication; and those whose credibility is enhanced by their domestic and international performance. Therefore, countries usually foster their soft power through culture, domestic policies and values, and their foreign policies.
- 13 The United States is the perfect example of gaining soft power by spreading its culture all over the world. American popular culture, embodied in products and communications, has widespread appeal. Young Japanese who have never been to the United States wear sports jackets with the names of American colleges. Similarly, teenagers all around the world wear blue jeans, seek American recordings, and eat at McDonald's. This attraction is established by various means, one of which is the TV and cinema industry. American political messages are successfully conveyed in the multiple images portrayed by television or cinema. Hollywood films and TV shows are selling not only their products but also America's culture and values, the secrets of its success, to the rest of the world.

- 14 As for domestic policies, Asian countries such as Japan and China may set important examples of developing soft power. Japan is known to put specific emphasis on research and technology. <u>This</u> has made Japan to rank first in the world in the number of patents and third in expenditure in research. Thus, it is not surprising to see that Japan is home to three of the top 25 multinational brand names such as Toyota, Honda, and Sony. China, too, wields soft power through domestic policies such as hosting the Olympic Games or attracting foreign students to its universities.
- **15** <u>Those</u> whose credibility is enhanced by their international performance are likely to benefit from soft power. Therefore, another highly effective source of soft power is the countries' foreign policies. For instance, European image that supports peace adds to the credibility of European countries and thus help them boost soft power. European Union as a symbol of a uniting Europe itself carries a good deal of soft power. Many people have a favourable image of the European Union, and not only millions of individuals but also many states want to enter it. The idea that war is now unthinkable among countries that fought bitterly for centuries, and that Europe has become an island of peace and prosperity creates a positive image in much of the world.
- 16 In general, power is becoming less transferable, less coercive, and less tangible than ever. Although all three sources of power military, economic, and soft still remain relevant and countries use their power resources in accordance with their political agenda, soft power seems to have become more important in the mix.

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Working through the text

A. Text Comprehension

1. What kind of figurative language does the writer use to define the concept of "power"? Why does he prefer to use such a technique in the introduction?

Power means having the capabilities to affect the behaviours of others. How can one attain it? b. b. c. hat is the traditional view of power? ve two reasons why waging war is less acceptable in our century. To what game does the writer liken world politics in the following sentences? the games of world politics encompass different players at different tables with different piles of chips. With change players around the gambling table of world politics come changing goals" (par. 5) What does the writer mean by "players", "tables", and "chips" in the sentence above? Il in the table below. Figurative language "players" "tables" "chips" What they symbolize in the tillustrates the writer's claim that today tchnology, education and economic growth are more important than traditional understanding of power.		ng chart.				_
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8. Why does the writer claim that "states will have to confront the changing nature of power in world politics"? What are the factors contributing to this change?

9. While parents use soft power by

10. Fill in the table below.

	The U. S.	Asian Countries	European Countries
Soft power strategy			
Example practices / policies			

11. Which idea in the text does the following excerpt relate to?

"Since 2001 over 65 Turkish television series have been sold abroad, bringing in over 100 million \$ to the booming Turkish television industry. Noor (Gumus), Magnificient Century, Times Go By draw audiences across the Balkans, the Gulf and the Middle East. These series not only promote Turkish view of gender roles, family values and political history, but also put Turkey on the map".

B. Vocabulary

- I. Find a word or an expression from the text for each definition below.
 - 1. superiority, dominance (par. 7)
 - 2. face, encounter; deal with; undergo (par. 7)
 - 3. valuable but not existing physically; abstract (par. 11)
 - 4. the quality of deserving to be believed in and trusted (par. 12)
- II. Using the contextual clues in the text, guess the meanings of the following words, and write down their definitions or synonyms.
 - 1. coerce (par. 2)

 2. jeopardize (par. 4)

 3. sustain (par. 6)

III. a. Fill in the blanks with the appropriate prepositions to form meaningful word combinations.

	with	of	on	to	for	
1. to have posses	ssion	somethi	ng	5. in resp	onse	 something
2. to be associate	ed	somethi	ng	6. to put	emphasis	 something
3. to be analogo	us	somethi	ng	7. to be c	onsistent	 something
4. to have the ca	pacity	somethi	ng			

b. Match the verbs with the correct collocations.

1. to give:a. major changes2. to undergo:b. an example3. to set:c. the agenda4. to set:d. priority to something

C. Reference Words

Determine what the following words / phrases from the text refer to.

1. its (par. 4):
2. its (par. 6):
3. it (par. 11):
4. this (par. 14):
5. those (par. 15):

WRITER'S TECHNIQUE

Analyze the writer's technique and fill in the chart below.

Purpose				
to inform to persuade	to entertain to criticize	to narrate to describe		
Audience				
specify:				
Method of Development				
process analysis compare / contrast description	exemplification	problem solution	cause / effect definition	
Supporting Techniques				
examples definitions	facts / data	authority's opinion	description	
Writer's Tone and Attitude				
objective	subjective	write two adjectives:		



Making Connections

Below is an excerpt about how Iran uses soft power. Identify which method(s) of soft power (culture, domestic and foreign soft power) the country uses. Compare / contrast the U.S.'s use of soft power mentioned in the text "The Changing Face of Power" with that of Iran. Write your synthesis in the blank provided.

Iran and Soft Power

The country is exploiting an ever-widening array of instruments to build goodwill and strategic partnerships throughout the Muslim world and beyond. Even as it comes under growing pressure for its apparent pursuit of nuclear weapons capabilities and ongoing support for violent extremist groups in the region, Iran has successfully deployed an array of "soft power" instruments (including but not limited to media, trade and investment, local assistance, and cultural ties) to advance the country's international agenda.

The extent of Iran's trade in hydrocarbons—particularly with China—has been well documented elsewhere, and constitutes one of the major inducements for large and rapidly industrializing countries including India and Russia to expend political capital on Iran's behalf.

Examples of Iran extending its regional influence through trade include Iran's state-owned Khodro emerging as the largest carmaker in the Middle East, reportedly exporting over one million cars, trucks, and buses to over 30 countries in 2007.

Iran also recently signed trade and cooperation agreements with Afghanistan and Tajikistan to build railroad and power lines linking Iran and the Central Asian Republics to one another, as well as China and Russia.

Therefore, it seems that Iran has been skillful at identifying strategic partners in far-flung corners of the world, which in return helps enhance its soft power.

Chorin, E., & Malka, H. (2008). Iran's soft power creates hard realities. Retrieved from http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/ 0408 menc.pdf



Going one step further by speaking

- 1. Imagine two hypothetical countries, Hardistan and Softia, both with large populations, which have the same foreign policy goal: to influence other countries' actions and policies. However, their approaches to achieving this goal are different. Hardistan views power more traditionally, while Softia takes the "soft" power approach.
 - Get into groups of three (to form 6 groups at total).
 - 3 of the groups will work on the policies of Hardistan while the other 3 will work on the policies of Softia.
- 2. Match with a group which worked on the other country. Discuss the policies of each country, and decide which one is more effective in world politics.

TASK FOR THE GROUPS THAT DEAL WITH HARDISTAN: (3 of the groups)

- Brainstorm policies that **Hardistan** might pursue in each of the following categories. These policies should be consistent with the country's approach toward power. Fill in the chart below with your group members, and get ready to share your opinions with another group. Note that an example for the first category has been provided for you.

- You may follow the following organization pattern while sharing your ideas with the other group:

- 1st speaker: population and economy
- 2nd speaker: military and territory / natural resources
- 3rd speaker: political situation and foreign policy

	HARDISTAN
Population	Government promotes large families
Economy	
Military	
Territory and Natural Resources	
Political Situation	
Foreign Policy	

TASK FOR THE GROUPS THAT DEAL WITH SOFTIA: (3 of the groups)

- Brainstorm policies that **Softia** might pursue in each of the following categories. These policies should be consistent with the country's approach toward power. Fill in the chart below with your group members, and get ready to share your opinions with another group. Note that an example for the first category has been provided for you.
- You may follow the following organization pattern while sharing your ideas with the other group:
 - 1st speaker: population and economy
 - 2nd speaker: military and territory / natural resources
 - 3rd speaker: political situation and foreign policy

	SOFTIA
Population	Government promotes population control
Economy	
Military	
Territory and Natural Resources	
Political Situation	
Foreign Policy	

3. Your Country under Spotlight

- Which power type, hard power or soft power, do you think is dominant in your country's policy? Give examples to justify your opinion.
- Do you think that it is the right policy for your country? Why / why not?

While stating your opinion, you may use the following expressions:

Useful Expressions: Expressing an Opinion	
- I think that,	
- I (personally) think / believe / feel that	
- It seems to me that	
- Not everyone will agree with me, but	
- For me	
- (Un)Like X, I believe	
- While it may be true that, I still think it is	
- I absolutely believe that	
- Without a doubt, is	



Going one step further by speaking

In this unit, you have studied the concept of power in relation to world politics. Now that you have insight into the concept, you are ready to give a 3-minute-mini presentation on the power policies of a country you choose.

- Choose a country you think is powerful in some way (economy, culture, tourism, art, technology, cuisine, music, innovation, space technologies, military power, natural resources, labour force, weaponry...etc.)
- Do some research on the country's power resources and policies.
- Prepare your presentation and present it to the class considering the following pattern:

Introduction:

- Greetings ("Good morning / afternoon")
- Your full name
- Your topic ("Today I will be talking about...")

Body:

- Explain how the country attains its power. Does the country rely mostly on hard or soft power or is there a combination of different strategies? Give examples.
- Support your mini-presentation with your research material by giving oral citation (referring to the author and the date of publication).

E.g.

- "According to Brown's article published in 2009..."
- "It is stated on ... website that"
- "Brown in his 2010 article highlights that..."
- "The figures I got from ... website show that..."

Conclusion:

- Summarize the main points ("Today, I have talked about...")
- Thank the audience and invite questions ("Thank you for your attention. Do you have any questions?")

Going one step further by writing

The following are some of the ideas expressed by the writer in the text "The Changing Face of Power". Analyse the opinions expressed in the excerpts below and choose one of them to write a reaction paragraph of 150-200 words. To do this:

- Determine whether you agree or disagree with the writer's opinion.
- Find reasons to support your reaction.
- Give examples from world politics.
- A. For most of today's great powers, the use of force would jeopardize their economic objectives. Even non-democratic countries that seldom feel moral constraints on the use of force have to consider its effects on their economic objectives... War remains possible, but it is much less acceptable now than it was even half a century ago.
- **B.** The factors of technology, education, and economic growth are becoming more significant in international power, while geography, population, and raw materials are becoming somewhat less important.
- **C.** The coming years may see continued American pre-eminence, but the sources of power in world politics are likely to undergo major changes that will create new difficulties for all countries in achieving their goals.
- **D.** States are no longer the only significant actors in world politics as traditional view suggests. Other actors are becoming increasingly important. In the 1980s, the annual profits of IBM and Royal Dutch / Shell Group were each larger than the central government budgets of Colombia or Kenya. Similarly, world economy cannot be understood without considering the power of private banks which in a way operate as multinational companies.
- E. Today, therefore, the definition of power is losing its emphasis on military force.
- F. The ability to affect what other countries want tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions. Soft co-optive power is just as important as hard command power.
- **G.** Information is becoming more and more plentiful and entails power, especially before it spreads. When combined with the flexibility to act first on new information, it ensures power. Thus, a capacity for timely response to new information is a critical power resource.

In your paragraph, use at least 3 of the following words you have studied in Unit 2:

to attain / enhance / wield /
sustain / exercise power
to coerce someone
to jeopardize
to embody
to confront
to be consistent with

to give priority to to set agenda territory conquest pre-eminence intangible to undergo major changes prosperity constraints capacity for something to set an example possession of something credibility emphasis on



YOUR OUTLINE:

YOUR REACTION PARAGRAPH:

WORD COUNT:

Recycling Vocabulary through speaking

- Below are the new words you learnt in Unit 2.
- Pair up with another student.
- Ask the questions below to each other.
- Use the underlined words in bold while answering questions to revise the target vocabulary.

STUDENT A

- What kind of improvements do the new smart phones <u>embody</u>?
- 2. What are some of the major <u>constraints</u> that you observe on your country's development?
- **3.** Do you think the use of military <u>conquest</u> and expansion is a secure strategy in this age of globalization? Why/why not?
- 4. What are some factors (innovation, resources, relations...etc.) that are key to great <u>prosperity</u>?
- 5. How can journalists build credibility?

STUDENT B

- 1. What kind of academic misconduct would jeopardize a student's future success ?
- **2.** What kind of strategies do you use when you <u>confront</u> problems in life?
- **3.** What are some of the **intangible** qualities that your nation has that makes it different from other nations?
- 4. What makes the Internet an unexplored <u>territory</u> for many entrepreneurs?
- 5. How can nations sustain economic growth?