
Climate Change and Transition Studies

An Interactive Online Learning Initiative

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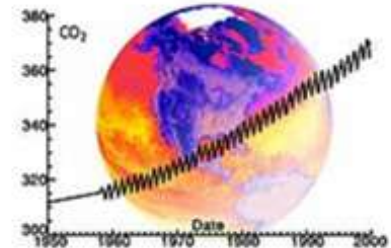
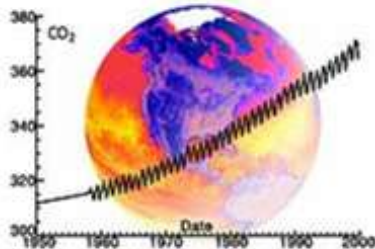
created by

Timothy C. Weiskel

Research Director, *Cambridge Climate Research Associates*

Climate Science for Human Survival

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Session 5

International Negotiations on a Global
Problem: Progress and the Major Remaining
Challenges for Global Leadership

9 August 2018

Since we began this course... some events...

**Temperatures in Spain, Portugal could reach 48°C
as Europe struggles with heatwave**

Posted on [August 8, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



[FRANCE 24 English](#)

Since we began this course... some events...

Europe Wildfires: Portugal battles fires as heatwave continues

Posted on [August 8, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



[TRT World](#)

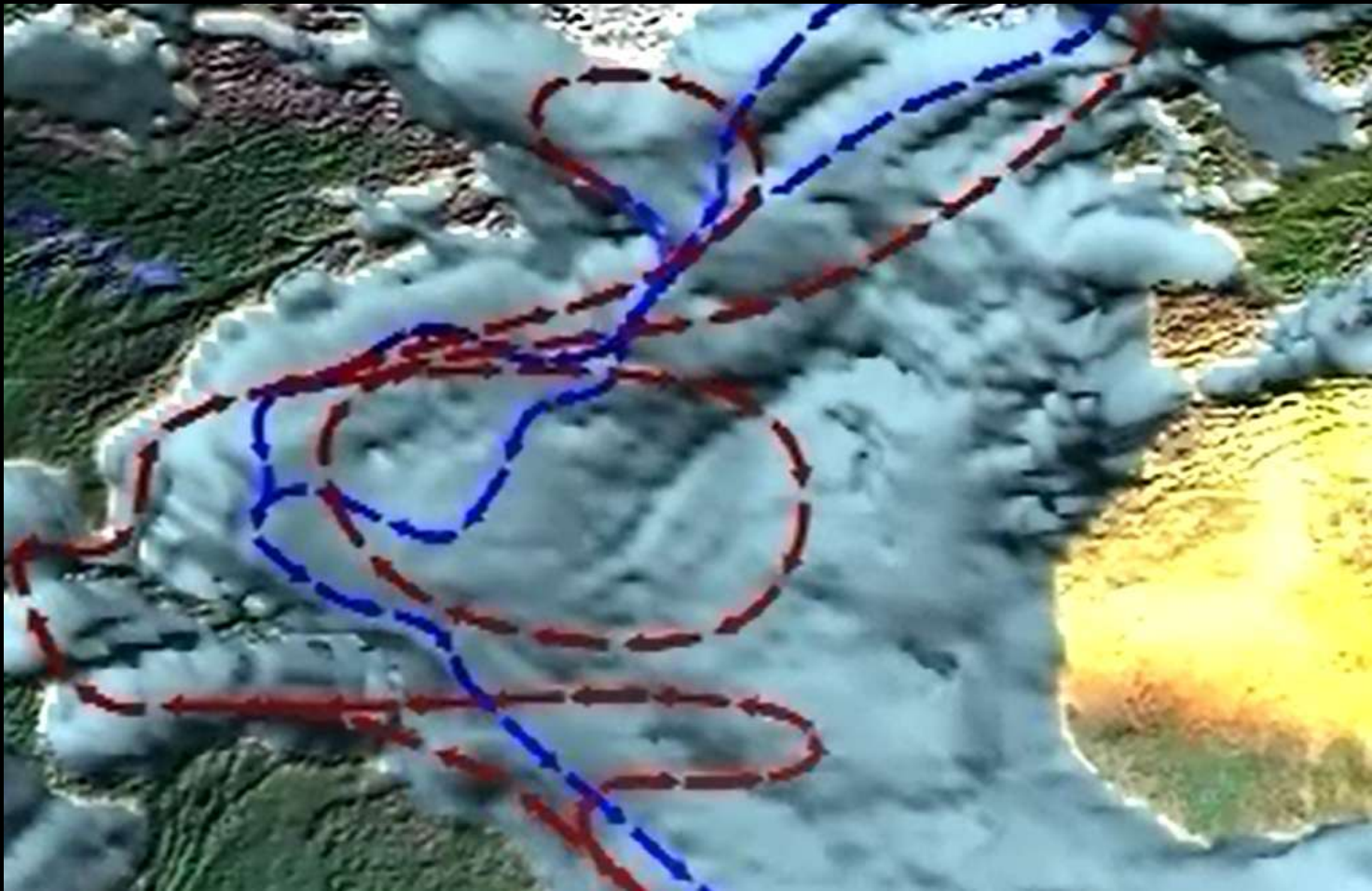
Remember Session 3...slides 58-62
[at 1:47:00 to 1:53:00 in Session 3 video]

...beyond questions of sea-level change...
we should consider the...

3. Potential

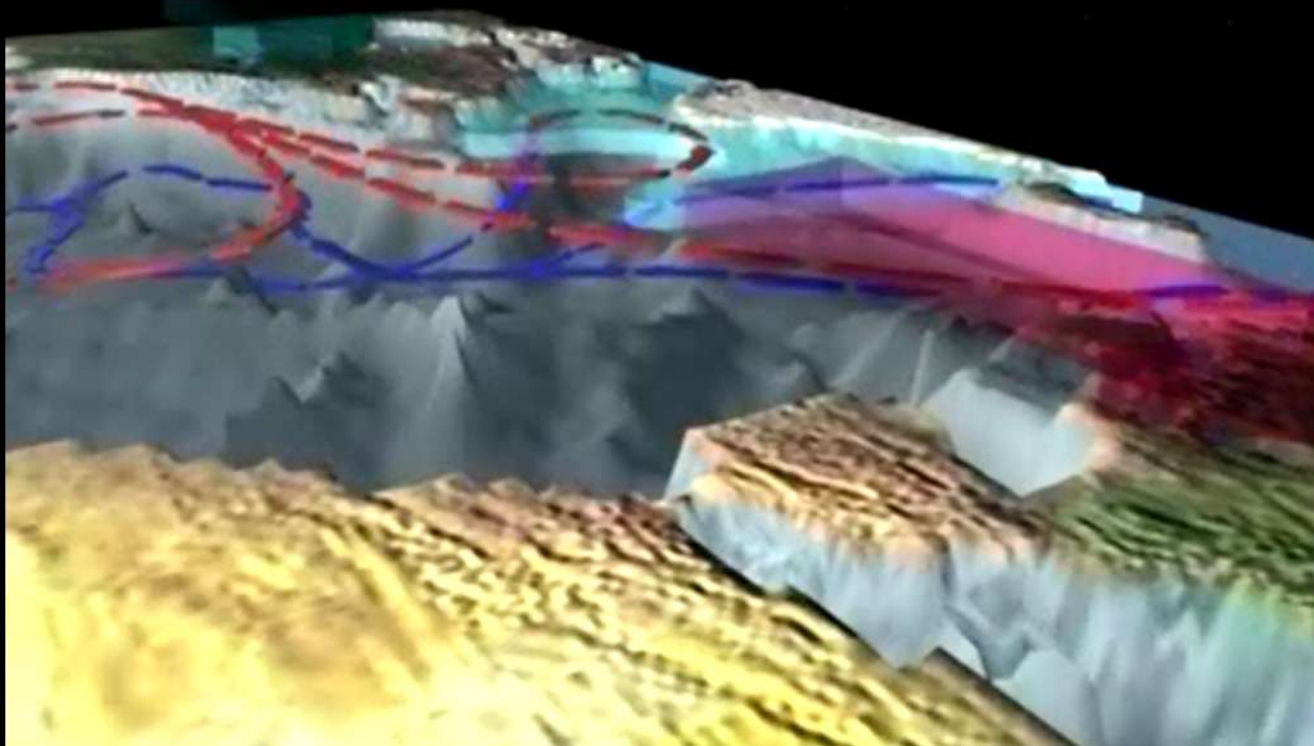
Changes in Ocean Currents

What about ocean currents and ocean-atmosphere-land interactions?



What might Greenland melting do to the North Atlantic “Thermo-Haline Circulation” (THC) system?

The melt water from Greenland’s glaciers might be disrupting the THC system, causing drought in the Mediterranean and wetter, colder weather further north in Europe.



The circulation of warm waters from the tropics toward the poles determines the “weather” over much of Earth. Any changes in this circulation can lead to abrupt changes in weather over time – ie. climate. The Asian monsoons need to be studied in addition to **the north Atlantic THC system.**



Paleo-climatologists (climate archeologists) are now finding evidence for an abrupt change in ancient climate leading to the simultaneous collapse of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia – *perhaps related to a shift in the Atlantic THC system*



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2014/07/08/why-ancient-egypt-fell-2/>

Since we began this course... some events...

Footage shows damage from heavy rainstorm in NW China

Posted on [July 26, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



[CGTN](#)

Published on Jul 22, 2018

Since we began this course... some events...

California wildfires could burn until September

Posted on [August 8, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



[CGTN America](#)

Published on Aug 8, 2018

Since we began this course... some events...

China Is a Climate Leader but Still Isn't Doing Enough on Emissions, Report Says – The New York Times

Posted on [July 19, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)

China Is a Climate Leader but Still Isn't Doing Enough on Emissions, Report Says



A layer of smog in January over Taiyuan, the provincial capital of Shanxi, China's biggest coal-producing region. Gilles Saboni for The New York Times

By Edward Wong

...a U.N Report on Food & Hunger

UN Releases Dire Report On Rising World Hunger Despite Ample Food Supplies

Posted on [June 23, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



Since we began this course...
...a scientific report

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PNAS Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America

Keyword, Author, or

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NEW RESEARCH IN Physical Sciences Social Sciences

Trajectories of the Earth System in the Anthropocene



Will Steffen, Johan Rockström, Katherine Richardson, Timothy M. Lenton, Carl Folke, Diana Liverman, Colin P. Summerhayes, Anthony D. Barnosky, Sarah E. Cornell, Michel Crucifix, Jonathan F. Donges, Ingo Fetzer, Steven J. Lade, Marten Scheffer, Ricarda Winkelmann, and Hans Joachim Schellnhuber

Since we began this course... ...a scientific report



The image shows a screenshot of a website with a blue header. The header contains the text "Submit About" and "PNA". Below the header, there are navigation links "Home" and "Ar". The main content area features a red heading "NEW RESEARCH I" and a large black heading "Trajectory Anthropo". Below this, there is a list of authors: "Will Steffen, Johan f", "Diana Liverman, Co", "Jonathan F. Donges", and "Hans Joachim Schellnhu".

Study suggests Earth may enter Hothouse Climate State

Posted on August 9, 2018 | [Leave a comment](#)

Study suggests Earth may enter Hothouse Clima...



The video player displays a graphic of Earth with several climate change indicators: "Novel entities", "Stratospheric ozone depletion", "Atmospheric aerosol loading", and "Ocean acidification". A red play button is centered over the video.

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2018/08/09/study-suggests-earth-may-enter-hothouse-climate-state/>

Since we began this course...

...a scientific report

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NEW RESEARCH IN Physical

Trajectories of the Anthropocene

Will Steffen, Johan Rockström, Katharina Liverman, Colin P. Summerhayes, Jonathan F. Donges, Ingo Fetzer, Stefan Held, Hans Joachim Schellnhuber

Runaway climate change could trigger 'Hothouse Earth' with 200ft sea level rises, warn scientists

Posted on [August 10, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



Runaway climate change could trigger 'Hothous... 720

The problem is this:

Our changing climate is *a global crisis...*

The problem is this:

Our changing climate is *a global crisis...*

This requires *a global response*

The problem is this:

Our changing climate is *a global crisis...*

This requires *a global response*

But what we have is

The problem is this:

Our changing climate is *a global crisis...*

This requires *a global response*

But what we have is

an *international response....*

Global problem

VS

International response

Global problem

VS

International response

In fact, we have a

Inter-national response

(ie. nation vs. nation)

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) – Science-based

**was set up to clarify the nature of the
global problem**

(WMO + UNEP)

Global problem

VS

Inter-national response

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) – Science-based

was set up to clarify the nature of the global problem

(WMO + UNEP)

Global problem

vs

Inter-national response

...but what will organize the *inter-national* response that is needed?

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Global problem

VS

? Inter-national response ?

...but what will organize the *inter-national* response that is needed?

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Global problem

VS

? Inter-national response ?

...but what will organize the *inter-national* response that is needed?

What is the “international” response? - Diplomacy

A “Protocol” – the “Kyoto Protocol” – not a
“treaty” but

“a preliminary memorandum often formulated
and signed by diplomatic negotiators as a
basis for a final convention or treaty.”

The **Kyoto Protocol**

.....is an international treaty which extends the 1992 **United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC)** that commits State Parties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, based on the scientific consensus that (a) global warming is occurring and (b) it is extremely likely that human-made CO₂ emissions have predominantly caused it. The **Kyoto Protocol** was adopted in Kyoto, Japan, on December 11, 1997 and entered into force on February 16, 2005.

**“Parties” and “Members”
(ie. signers of the Protocol)
meet annually in a
“Conference of Parties”
(COP)**

These take place in different venues around the world and are usually marked by the deliberations and public discussion of new approaches to limiting GHGs.

Key COP meetings have been:

Those held in:

Bali, Indonesia (COP 13) - 2007

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Durban, South Africa (COP 17) – 2011

Paris, France (COP 21) – 2015

and

Marrakech, Morocco (COP 22) – 2016

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Durban, South Africa (COP 17) – 2011

Paris, France (COP 21) – 2015

and

Marrakech, Morocco (COP 22) – 2016

SO let's look at the last 12 years!

In turn, then: **Bali, COP 13 – 2007**
... ten years ago...

Bali COP was the first to be held in a “Third World” country – so members from the “global south” were very interested in the agenda which included a lot of their concerns...

It was co-chaired by the Chair of the UNFCCC and the President of the host country.

UNFCCC Chair – Co-Chair of Bali Meetings in 2007



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/26/expectations-for-the-bali-climate-change-conference/>

China request for apology...



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/26/papua-new-guinea-drops-the-bomb-on-bali-for-un-climate-talks/>

m o m e n t o f t h e
B a l i b r e a k t h r o u g h

1 5 D e c e m b e r 2 0 0 7

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/26/moment-of-the-bali-break-through/>

US refusal ... and then reversal



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/26/un-climate-change-conference-bali-2007/>



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/26/america-get-out-of-the-way/>

Then what...?

Copenhagen, COP15 - 2009



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/05/03/climate-of-denied-opportunity-at-copenhagen-3/>



Democracy Now – Coverage
[Copenhagen Climate Summit 2009](#)

China gets blunt at Copenhagen summit

Posted on [December 8, 2015](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2015/12/08/china-gets-blunt-at-copenhagen-summit-4/>

What was China's *actual* position in Copenhagen?



https://www.democracynow.org/2009/12/21/us_led_copenhagen_accord_decried_as



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Durban, South Africa (COP 17) – 2011

Durban, COP17 – 2011

Public demand for...



CLIMATE SOS
POOR COUNTRIES DEMAND ACTION

Durban, COP17 – 2011

“Climate Justice”



CLIMATE SOS
POOR COUNTRIES DEMAND ACTION

COP17 -- Durban, South Africa
Was it a Deal Done? Or Was it "A Done Deal"?



Global Crisis – Global Voices

International and Intergenerational Equity in Durban



"This is not about India.... It is about the entire world. Does climate change mean that you give up equity?"

Goodman, Amy, and Denis Moynihan
"Cry, the Beloved Climate,"
TruthDig.Com
29 November 2011

The United Nations' annual climate summit descended on Durban, South Africa, this week, but not in time to prevent the tragic death of Qodeni Ximba. The 17-year-old was one of 10 people killed in Durban on Sunday, the night before the U.N. conference opened. Torrential rains pummeled the seaside city of 3.5 million. Seven hundred homes were destroyed by the floods.

Ximba was sleeping when the concrete wall next to her collapsed. One woman tried to save a flailing 1-year-old baby whose parents had been crushed by their home. She failed, and the baby died along with both parents. All this, as more than 20,000 politicians, bureaucrats, journalists, scientists and activists made their way to what may be the last chance for the Kyoto Protocol....



Click to Play, Pause, Stop

"Cry, the Beloved Climate,"
TruthDig.Com, (29 November 2011).

Alex Stark outlines the US position on Day 1 of the COP17 Climate Talks

OneWorldTV



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"Alex Stark outlines the US position on Day 1 of the COP17 Climate Talks,"

YouTube - OneWorldTV, (28 November 2011).



CLIMATE SOS
POOR COUNTRIES DEMAND ACTION



0:09 / 2:08

360p



"Effectiveness of SA climate summit questioned,"
YouTube - AlJazeeraEnglish, (29 November 2011).



"Steve speaking at the Occupy COP17 Event on the first day of the United Nations Climate Talks,"
YouTube - OneWorldTV, (28 November 2011).

Diana Vogel, 350.org, at the Global Day of Climate Action for COP17 in D

OneWorldTV



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"Diana Vogel, 350.org, at the Global Day of Climate Action for COP17 in Durban, South Africa,"

Martin Khor in COP17 Press Conference

by OneWorldTV



"Martin Khor in COP17 Press Conference,"
YouTube - OneWorldTV, (2 December 2011).

Durban Climate March: It's Time for Civil Disobedience (Kumi Naidoo)

OneWorldTV

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"Durban Climate March: It's Time for Civil Disobedience (Kumi Naidoo),"
YouTube - OneWorldTV, (3 December 2011).

Durban Climate March: It's Time for Civil Disobedience (Kumi Naidoo)

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Durban Climate March: "I Will Willingly Go to Prison" for Climate Struggle

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["Durban Climate March: It's Time for Civil Disobedience"](#)
[YouTube - OneWorldTV](#)

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2012/08/16/durban-climate-march-i-will-willingly-go-to-prison-for-climate-struggle->



A DAILY INDEPENDENT GLOBAL NEWS HOUR

With Amy Goodman & Juan Gonzalez

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COP17 United Nations Climate Change Conference Coverage

Democracy Now! is on the ground in Durban South Africa to report on the COP17 climate talks.

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France, Germany Back E.U. Treaty Changes in Eurozone Crisis

U.N.: Austerity Measures Could Worsen Recession

Report: U.S. Claims Pakistan Authorized Deadly Strike

U.S. Hands Over Largest Military Base in Iraq

Senate, E.U. Approve Iran Sanctions

Obama Unveils New Target for Global AIDS



President's informal stocktaking plenary

Mary Robinson: I hope occupy movement tackles the climate crisis
by OneWorldTV



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/?s=Mary+Robinson>



<http://www.youtube.com/embed/rPeX2LIVKOY>



20111206-BBC-TWT-Mary-Robinson



<http://www.climate-talks.net/2008-ENVRE130/Audio/20111206-BBC-TWT-Mary-Robinson.mp3>



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Page last updated at 08:07 GMT, Saturday, 10 December 2011

'Burst of optimism' at climate talks



Environmental correspondent Richard Black: "They've come back with a much much stronger draft, which talks about starting in the new year."



01.44



03.07

Talks are ongoing at the climate change conference in Durban in the hope of reaching some sort of deal. Environment correspondent Richard Black looks at



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At Last, Nations Agree To Landmark Climate Deal

by RICHARD HARRIS

**Listen to the Story***Weekend Edition Sunday*

[3 min 32 sec]

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Rajesh Jantilal/AFP/Getty Images

Delegates worked into the early hours of Sunday morning on the final day of the climate talks in Durban, South Africa.

December 11, 2011

text size **A A A**

After a third sleepless night, climate negotiators in Durban, South Africa, finally found a way to reach a compromise early Sunday morning. The deal doesn't set hoped-for new targets to limit global warming, but delegates ultimately decided to embrace it rather than risk a major collapse of this international process.

Few people had high expectations for this year's annual round of United Nations climate talks. The main hope was to finalize an agreement reached in principle the year before — that is, establishing a major new fund to help funnel billions of dollars from rich nations to poor nations. That will help them adapt to a changing climate and to produce clean energy so they don't contribute so much to climate change.



What Countries Are Doing To Tackle Climate Change

December 11, 2011

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Listen to the Story

Weekend Edition Sunday

[3 min 32 sec]

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Transcript

United Nations climate talks in Durban close with deal



11 December 2011 Last updated at 03:55 ET



UN climate talks have ended a marathon session with an agreement to work towards a legally enforceable deal, covering all countries, to take effect by 2020.

Management of a fund for climate aid to poor countries has also been agreed, though how to raise the money has not.

David Shukman reports.

Read More



President's Informal stocktaking plenary



India's Chief Climate Delegate at COP 17, Durban, South Africa, emphasized the problem of equity in reaching a global accord.

The case for international equity and fairness.



“This is not about India. It is about the entire world. Does climate change mean that you give up equity?...”

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/23/india2-durban-south-africa-cop/>

The case for intergenerational equity and fairness.



Anjali Appadurai
College of the Atlantic

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2013/07/21/get-it-done-urging-climate-justice-youth-delegate-anjali-appadurai-mic-checks-un-summit/>

Voices from “inside” and “outside” the negotiations.

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2014/11/17/frustrated-by-inaction-youth-delegates-occupy-cop-17-plenary-in-durban/>



Kumi Naidoo, Greenpeace International, was a powerful voice “outside” the formal negotiation process in what some called the “occupy Durban” movement.

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<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2013/07/21/lauding-collapse-of-global-warming-movement-inhofe-tells-un-summit-you-are-being-ignored-youtube/>

Senator James Inhofe – another “voice” from outside the talks – who claims that the “Kyoto process” is dead.

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA



KATE HORNER
Friends of the Earth

DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA



BOBBY PEAK
groundWork - South Africa

Real Rio Action is on the Streets



THE REAL NEWS

00:00 / 13:04

YouTube

After failure at Copenhagen, and Durban, Obama realized he needed a deal with China....

US and China strike deal on carbon cuts in push for global climate change pact | Environment | The Guardian

Posted on [July 23, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



US President Barack Obama looks on as Chinese President Xi Jinping speaks during a joint press conference in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing

Photograph: Greg Baker/AFP/Getty Images

John Kerry took over from Hilary Clinton as Secretary of State and reached out to China.

US-china carbon deal: A historic milestone in the global fight against climate change | Damian Carrington | Environment | The Guardian

Posted on [July 23, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



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Paris, France (COP 21) – 2015

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

New England Edition

Today, mostly cloudy; spots snowing showers, mild, high 42. Tonight, clouds, low 33. Tomorrow, overcast, drizzle, rain becoming steady, mild, high 54. Weather icon: Page 42

VOL. CLXV, No. 57,079

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SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 2015

\$6.00

NATIONS APPROVE LANDMARK CLIMATE DEAL



Negotiators of a climate pact achieved what had been unreachable for two decades: agreement from rich and poor countries alike.

In France, Consensus on a Need to Lower Carbon Emissions

By CORAL DAVENPORT

LE BOURGET, France — With the sudden bang of a gavel Saturday night, representatives of 195 nations reached a landmark accord that will, for the first time, commit nearly every country to lowering planet-warming greenhouse-gas emissions to help stave off the most drastic effects of climate change.

The deal, which was met with an eruption of cheers and reactions from thousands of delegates gathered from around the world, represents a historic breakthrough on an issue that has stalled decades of international efforts to address climate change.

Traditionally, such pacts have required developed economies like the United States to take action to lower greenhouse-gas emissions, but they have exempted developing countries like China and India from such obligations.

The accord, which United Nations diplomats have been working toward for nine years, changes that dynamic by requiring action in some form from every country, rich or poor.

"This is truly a historic moment," the United Nations secretary-general, Ban Ki-moon, said in an interview. "For the first time, we have a truly universal agreement on climate change, one of the most crucial problems on earth."

President Obama, who regards tackling climate change as a central element of his legacy, spoke of the deal in a televised address from the White House. "This agreement sends a powerful signal that the world is fully committed to a low-carbon future," he said, minutes before the deal was signed. "The world has both the will and the ability to deliver this challenge."

The deal fell apart. The Elms Tower was illuminated with that phrase Friday night.

The new deal will not, on its own, solve global warming. At best, scientists who have analyzed it say, it will cut global greenhouse-gas emissions by about half enough as is necessary

Continued on Page 23

NEWS ANALYSIS

Healing Step, If Not a Cure

An Accord Recognizes Its Own Shortcomings

By JUSTIN GILLIS

LE BOURGET, France — After the stamping and chewing that drove, and the hugs and tears that ended, a question hung in the air as the climate conference came to a close: What does the new deal really mean for the future of the Earth?

Scientists who closely monitored the talks here said it was not the agreement that humanity really needed. If, by itself, it will not save the planet.

The great ice sheets remain unperished, the oceans are still rising, forests and reefs are under stress, people are dying by tens of thousands in heat waves and floods, and the agricultural system that feeds seven billion humans has barely begun to shift at all.

And yet 35 years after the first warning of a global warming was put on the map, after a half-century of scientific research, the world has finally reached an agreement that it will do something to address the problem.

Visa Screening Missed an Attacker's Zealotry on Social Media

This article is by Matt Apuzzo, Michael S. Schmidt and Julia Preston.

WASHINGTON — Tasheen Malik, who with her husband carried out the massacre in San Bernardino, Calif., passed three background checks by American immigration officials as she moved to the United States from Pakistan. Some uncovered what Ms. Malik had made little effort to hide — that she talked openly

on social media about her views on violent jihad.

She said she supported it. And she said she wanted to be a part of it.

American law enforcement officials said they recently discovered those tid — and previously unreported — postings as they pieced together the lives of Ms. Malik and her husband, Syed Rizwan Farook, trying to understand how they pulled off the deadliest terrorist attack on American soil

since Sept. 11, 2001.

Had the authorities found the posts years ago, they might have kept her out of the country. But immigration officials do not routinely review social media as part of their background checks, and there is a debate inside the Department of Homeland Security over whether it is even appropriate to do so.

The discovery of the old social media posts has exposed a significant — and perhaps inevitable —

shortcoming in how foreigners are screened when they enter the United States, particularly as people everywhere disclose more about themselves online. Tens of millions of people are cleared each year to come to this country to work, visit or live. It is impossible to conduct an exhaustive investigation and secure the social media accounts of each of them, law enforcement officials say.

In the aftermath of terrorism at

Continued on Page 23

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The New York Times

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Today, mostly cloudy; spots snowing showers, mild, high 42. Tonight, clouds, low 33. Tomorrow, overcast, rain becoming steady, mild, high 54. Weather icon. Page 42

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The new deal will not, on its own, solve global warming. At best, scientists who have analyzed it say, it will cut global greenhouse-gas emissions by about half enough as is necessary

Continued on Page 23

NEWS ANALYSIS

Healing Step, If Not a Cure

An Accord Recognizes Its Own Shortcomings

By JUSTIN GILLIS

LE BOURGET, France — After the stamping and chewing of deal done, and the hugs and tears ended, a question hung in the air as the climate conference came to a close: What does the new deal really mean for the future of the Earth?

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The great ice sheets remain unperished, the oceans are still rising, forests and reefs are under stress, people are dying by tens of thousands in heat waves and floods, and the agricultural system that feeds seven billion humans hangs in peril at risk.

And yet 50 years after the first warning of a global warming was put on the map, the world has not done enough to prevent it, and climate change is now a reality.

Visa Screening Missed an Attacker's Zealotry on Social Media

This article is by Matt Apuzzo, Michael S. Schmidt and Julia Preston.

WASHINGTON — Tasheen Malik, who with her husband carried out the massacre in San Bernardino, Calif., passed three background checks by American immigration officials as she moved to the United States from Pakistan. Some uncovered what Ms. Malik had made little effort to hide — that she talked openly

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Had the authorities found the posts years ago, they might have kept her out of the country. But immigration officials do not routinely review social media as part of their background checks, and there is a debate inside the Department of Homeland Security over whether it is even appropriate to do so.

The discovery of the old social media posts has exposed a significant — and perhaps inevitable —

shortcoming in how foreigners are screened when they enter the United States, particularly as people everywhere disclose more about themselves online. Tens of millions of people are cleared each year to come to this country to work, visit or live. It is impossible to conduct an exhaustive investigation and seize the social media accounts of each of them, law enforcement officials say.

In the aftermath of terrorism at

Continued on Page 23

"All the News
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New England Edition

Today, mostly cloudy; spots seeing showers, mild, high 42. Tonight, clouds, low 33. Tomorrow, overcast; rain becoming steady, mild, high 54. Weather icon. Page 42

VOL. CLXV... No. 57,079

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SUNDAY, DECEMBER 13, 2015

\$6.00

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Negotiators of a climate pact achieved what had been unreachable for two decades: agreement from rich and poor countries alike.

In France, Consensus on a Need to Lower Carbon Emissions

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The deal, which was met with an eruption of cheers and reactions from thousands of delegates gathered from around the world, represents a historic breakthrough on an issue that has stalled decades of international efforts to address climate change.

Traditionally, such pacts have required developed economies like the United States to take action to lower greenhouse gas emissions, but they have exempted developing countries like China and India from such obligations.

The accord, which United Nations diplomats have been working toward for nine years, changes that dynamic by requiring action in some form from every country, rich or poor.

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The Limits of the Paris COP21 “Deal” and the Future of Climate Science

20 December 2015

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COP 21: UN climate change conference | Paris

James Hansen, father of climate change awareness, calls Paris talks 'a fraud'

The former NASA scientist criticises the talks, intended to reach a new global deal on cutting carbon emissions beyond 2020, as 'no action, just promises'

Oliver Milman

@olivermilman

Sunday, 10 December 2015 07:00 GMT



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Many of the conservatives from climate change denialists, James Hansen says. Photograph: Hugo Ballester for the Guardian

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Despite diplomatic enthusiasm senior climate scientists point to failure of the Paris agreement to halt carbon emissions.

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COP 21: UN climate change conference in Paris

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Many of the conservatives from climate change in a row talk, James Hansen says. Photograph: Murray Close/Guardian for the Guardian

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The limits of the Paris achievement...

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Nations can reach a “deal”.....

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SO, where does that leave ***climate science***
after the historic Paris COP21 “deal?”



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2015/12/14/climate-scientist-james-hansen-warns-world-is-on-wrong-track-to-prevent-runaway-global-warming/>

AND...

Dr. James Hansen is not
alone...

Human communities and nation-states can come to whatever agreements they wish to negotiate about governance, BUT *Nature does not negotiate....*

Climate Change Conference – Laws of Nature and Human Governance

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Esquire



When the End of Human Civilization Is Your Day Job

Among many climate scientists, gloom has set in. Things are worse than we think, but they can't really talk about it.



**Jason Box,
Glaciologist**



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<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2016/05/02/top-climate-expert-crisis-is-worse-than-we-think-scientists-are-self-censoring-to-downplay-risk-2/>



KEVIN ANDERSON
Tyndall Center for Climate Change Research

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The New York Times

Vol. CLXV, No. 57,079 | Sunday, December 13, 2015 | \$6.00

NATIONS APPROVE LANDMARK CLIMATE DEAL

In France, Consensus on a Need to Lower Carbon Emissions

By CORAL DAVENPORT



LE BOURGUET, France — It took the nations being it a great Saturday night, representatives of 195 nations reached a landmark accord that will, for the first time, commit nearly every country to lowering planet-warming greenhouse gas emissions to help avert the most drastic effects of climate change.

The deal, which was met with an eruption of cheers and waves from thousands of delegates gathered from around the world, represents a historic breakthrough in an issue that has taken decades of international efforts to address climate change.

Traditionally, such pacts have required developed economies like the United States to take action to lower greenhouse gas emissions, but they have exempted developing countries like China and India from such obligations.

The accord, which United Nations diplomats have been working toward for nine years, outlines a path to reducing global emissions and limiting global warming to below 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels. It also sets a goal of achieving net-zero emissions by 2050.

President Obama, who regards tackling climate change as a central element of his legacy, spoke of the deal in a televised address from the White House. "This agreement needs a powerful message that the world is fully committed to a low-carbon future," he said. "We're showing that the world has taken the first step toward solving the climate challenge."

Prime Minister David Cameron of the United Kingdom said the deal was "a historic moment" and that the world had "taken a giant leap forward in the fight against climate change."

U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry said the deal was "a landmark moment in the history of international relations" and that it showed "the world's leadership is taking action to address the greatest challenge of our time."

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By JUSTIN GALLER

LE BOURGUET, France — After the triumph and the long and hard work, and the hugs and tears and smiles, a question hung in the air as the climate conference came to a close: What does the new deal really mean for the future of the Earth?

Scientists who drafted the deal here said it was not the agreement that humanity fully needed. For one, it will not save the planet.

The great ice sheets remain, for now, but the oceans are still rising, forests and reefs are still dying, people are dying by tens of thousands from heat waves and drought, and the agriculture systems that feed us are still being threatened by drought and flooding.

But the deal is a step in the right direction. It shows that the world is finally taking action to address the greatest challenge of our time.

Continued on Page 15

Visa Screening Missed an Attacker's Zealotry on Social Media

By MATT APPEZZO, MICHAEL S. SCHINDL and JULIA PERLES

WASHINGTON — Thirteen-year-old Malia, who with her husband carried out the massacre in San Bernardino, Calif., passed three background checks by American immigration officials as she moved to the United States from Pakistan. Some reviewers, when Mr. Malik had made little effort to hide — that she talked rarely on social media about her views on violence jihad.

She said she wanted to be a part of it.

American law enforcement officials said they recently discovered those aid — and previously unreported — postings as they pieced together the lives of Ms. Malik and her husband, Syed Rizwan Farook, trying to understand how they pulled off the deadliest terrorist attack in American history.

The discovery of the old social media posts has created a nightmare — and garbage legislation — shortcoming in how foreigners are screened when they enter the United States, particularly as people increasingly discuss their views about themselves online. Tens of millions of people are cleared each year to come to this country to work, visit or live. It is impossible to conduct an exhaustive investigation and scour the social media accounts of each of them, law enforcement officials say.

In the aftermath of terrorist attacks, Congress has passed laws to improve screening of foreigners.

Continued on Page 29

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The deal, which was met with an eruption of cheers and applause from thousands of delegates gathered from around the world, represents a historic breakthrough in an issue that has taken decades of international efforts to address climate change.

Traditionally, such pacts have required developed economies like the United States to take action to lower greenhouse gas emissions, but they have exempted developing countries like China and India from such obligations.

The accord, which United Nations diplomats have been working toward for more years, changes that dynamic by requiring action in some form from every country, rich or poor.

"This is truly a historic moment," the United Nations secretary general, Ban Ki-moon, said in an interview. "For the first time, we have a truly universal agreement on climate change, one of the most crucial problems on earth."

President Obama, who regards tackling climate change as a central element of his legacy, spoke of the deal in a televised address from the White House. "This agreement needs a powerful message that the world is fully committed to a low-carbon future," he said. "We're showing that the world has taken the first step toward solving the greatest challenge of our generation."

In the aftermath of terrorist attacks Sept. 11, 2001, that the authorities found the ports years ago, they might have kept her out of the country. But she said she wanted to be a part of it.

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Continued on Page 10

James Hansen, father of climate change awareness, calls Paris talks 'a fraud'

The former NASA scientist criticizes the talks, intended to reach a new global deal on cutting carbon emissions beyond 2020, as "no action, just posturing"



Many of the provisions under climate change is not a real, serious action, says, Photograph: Justin Gallier for the Guardian

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© Getty of the presswire. Under climate change is not a threat for the Guardian



Jason Box



KEVIN ANDERSON
Tyndall Center for Climate Change Research

What Comes After Paris COP21...?

Agricultural Stress → Food Insecurity and → the Demand for *“Climate Justice”*

The Food Gap

The Impacts
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“Loopholes” in the Paris “deal”...
The loopholes create a structure of global
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“Loopholes” in the Paris “deal”...

What kind of world can we predictably expect to live in from this “deal”?



“Loopholes” in the Paris “deal”...

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Jean Ziegler – UN rapporteur talks about the global food crisis – 28 Apr 08

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Justice
NOW**

**SYSTEM CHANGE
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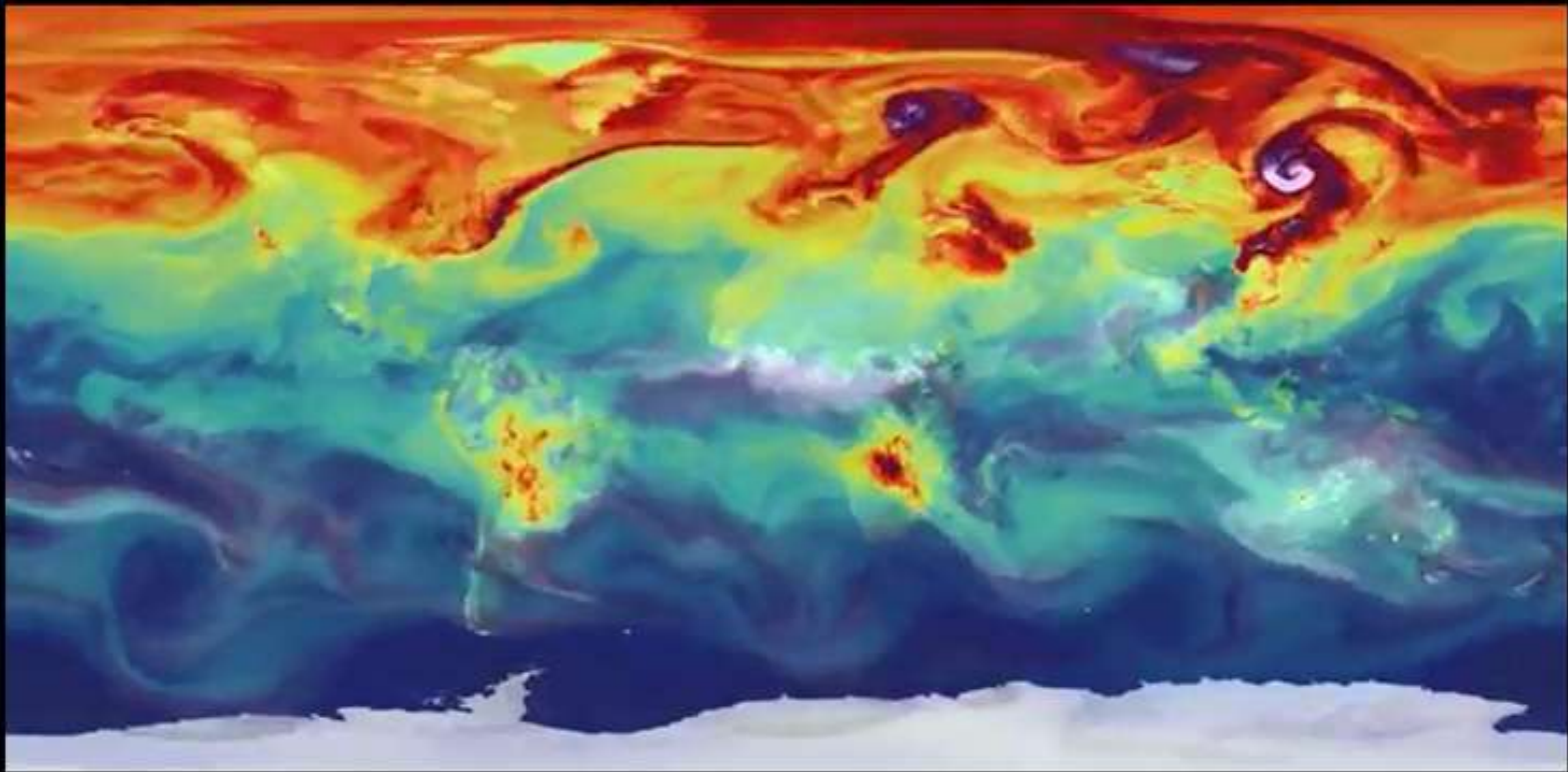
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Paris COP21 and after...
Was this a Global Agreement?
How Will China Act? What Will India Do?



Key COP meetings have been:

Those held in:

Bali, Indonesia (COP 13) - 2007

Copenhagen, Denmark (COP 15) - 2009

Durban, South Africa (COP 17) – 2011

Paris, France (COP 21) – 2015

and

Marrakech, Morocco (COP 22) - 2016



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Marrakech Climate Summit 2016

As U.S. Elects Global Warming Denier, Thousands March in Marrakech Calling for Climate Justice

Posted on [November 14, 2016](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2016/11/14/as-u-s-elects-global-warming-denier-thousands-march-in-marrakech-calling-for-climate-justice/>

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from:

Bali COP 13 (2007) – first COP in the “Third World” raised concerns for Third World development and “developed world” assistance. U.S. opposes Third World position, is booed in plenary session and reverses its “official stance.” Then retracts its commitment under President George W. Bush. U.S. insists on no targets or timetables for carbon emissions. **Paupau New Guinea** tell U.S. “either ‘lead’ or get out of the way.”

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from:

Copenhagen COP 15 (2009) – first COP for President Obama. Great expectations that he would reverse President Bush's hostile policies, but great disappointment when he offered nothing and meetings collapsed without accord. U.S. "blamed" China for 'lack of transparency.' **China defends policy integrity of the Kyoto principle of "Common but differentiated responsibilities."**

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from:

Durban COP17 (2011) – first COP on African continent. Disputes continue between “global North” and “global South.” **India emerges as strong defender of “equity” to affirm the “common but differentiated” responsibilities – emphasizing the historical role of U.S. and Europe in creating emissions problem. The concept of “Climate Justice” emerges as a major demand of the NGO community – outside the talks. This becomes the theme of the global South.**

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from:

Paris COP 21 (2015) – 190 + nations agree to “voluntary limits” to be set by each country for themselves. No fixed timetable and no firm targets. Each country agrees to publish its own achievements and monitor its own progress on reducing GHGs. **Scientists say the “agreement between nations” is a “fraud” because it cannot possibly achieve the reductions needed for the survival of civilization.**

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from:

Marrakech COP22 (2016) – first COP intended to discuss how to “implement” historic “Paris Accord of 2015.” Whole conference thrown into fear and disarray as delegates learn of the election of President Donald Trump in U.S. elections. Trump campaigned on theme of scrapping the Paris Accord altogether, and does this officially in June 2017.

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from **Bali** to **Marrakech** and up to today over the last 11 years.

To learn about the evolution of these climate COP meetings in depth, you can begin by consulting the unparalleled, on-the-spot reporting of Democracy Now!

[Copenhagen Climate Summit 2009](#)

[Cancún Climate Summit 2010](#)

[Durban Climate Summit 2011](#)

[Doha Climate Summit 2012](#)

[Warsaw Climate Summit 2013](#)

[Lima Climate Summit 2014](#)

[Paris Climate Summit 2015](#)

[Marrakech Climate Summit 2016](#)

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to think about what comes next:

Post-Paris Climate Negotiations

Uncertain what will happen “next.” President Trump withdrew from Paris Accord in June 2017. U.S. was further alienated from G20 on climate issue. In effect, the G20 has become a G19 + 1 (the U.S.).

China is beginning to reach out to the G19 to work on climate now that U.S. is isolated, and Trump administration is striving to pursue extraction and maximum carbon-driven growth strategy.

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years.....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from (COP history) to:

Post-Paris Climate Negotiations

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years.....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from (COP history) to:

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What will China do next?

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years.....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from (COP history) to:

Post-Paris Climate Negotiations

What will China do next?

Will it become an effective world leader on global climate issues?

Summary: **We need to learn what has happened over the last 11 years....**

In terms of the evolution of climate diplomacy, we need to keep in mind the progression from (COP history) to:

Post-Paris Climate Negotiations

What will China do next?

Will it become an effective world leader on global climate issues?

We do not know...?

Trump presidency may spell disaster for climate | China Dialogue

Posted on [December 13, 2016](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



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特朗普

乔伊迪普·格普塔

Read in English



评论

09.11.2016

对气候变化不以为然的特朗普当选美国总统，这会令美国站在全球气候行动和绿色经济转型的对立面吗？



当选总统唐纳德·特朗普曾表示气候变化这个概念是中国制造出来的“骗局”。

图片来源: Gage Skidmore

China has a long history of economic strength and is continuing a growth strategy.



But what will this mean for the “carbon footprint” of China’s *contemporary economy?*

China’s National People’s Congress opens annual session

Posted on [March 9, 2016](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



CCTV America

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2016/03/09/chinas-national-peoples-congress-opens-annual-session/>

What will the family policy change mean for the global climate?

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Will the end of China's one-child rule help the economy?

0:00 / 2:42



AP/WIDE WORLD/GETTY IMAGES
A mother carries her son on a street in Shanghai.

<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2015/10/31/will-the-end-of-chinas-one-child-rule-help-the-economy/>

Important questions for world survival, especially since the U.S. direction has been totally reversed by President Trump in June-July 2017

Fact Check: President Trump's remarks on leaving the Paris climate accord

Posted on July 8, 2017 | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/08/207-fact-check-president-trumps-remarks-on-leaving-the-paris-climate-accord/>

Important questions for world survival, especially since the U.S. direction has been totally reversed by President Trump in June-July 2017

World leaders condemn US withdrawal from Paris climate deal

Posted on [June 3, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/10/world-leaders-condemn-us-withdrawal-from-paris-climate-deal-2/>

Important questions for world survival, especially since the U.S. direction has been totally reversed by President Trump in June-July 2017

World leaders condemn US withdrawal from Paris climate deal

Posted on [June 3, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/10/world-leaders-condemn-us-withdrawal-from-paris-climate-deal-2/>

Important questions for world survival, especially since the U.S. direction has been totally reversed by President Trump in June-July 2017

John Kerry calls Trump's decision "self-destructive step" that puts U.S. last

Posted on [June 3, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/06/03/john-kerry-calls-trumps-decision-self-destructive-step-that-puts-u-s-last/>

It grew worse for the U.S. and the world at the G20 in Hamburg, July 2017

VIEW

It's US & UK vs Germany & China at G20 summit

The two-day summit in Hamburg, which kicks off today, could be the G20's tensest meeting ever





G20 Leaders Agree... Or Do They?

It's day two of the G20 summit in the German city of Hamburg and leaders have devised a final communique acknowledging their differences on climate change.

28 days left to listen

🕒 50 minutes

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G20 talks fail to bridge climate chasm


A statement at the G20 summit says the Paris accord is "irreversible" but the US forces compromise.

 27 minutes ago | [Europe](#)

 [Body language analysed](#)

 [Anti-G20 riot in Hamburg](#)

 [In pictures: Violence at G20 protests](#)

 [How much do world leaders earn?](#)



There were warnings of the consequences well before Trump's decision...

Panel on EU Chief: China Ready To Fill U.S. "LEADERSHIP VACUUM"

Posted on July 8, 2017 | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2017/07/08/panel-on-eu-chief-china-ready-to-u-s-leadership-vacuum-climateaccord/>

**If China is going to lead, where
are we headed on climate as
a global community?**

**If China is going to lead, where
are we headed on climate as
a global community?**

**What was China's role in the
collapsed talks
in **Copenhagen** *and* since 2009?**

If China is going to lead, where are we headed on climate as a global community?

What was China's role in the collapsed talks in **Copenhagen and since 2009?**

How does it view its role today, 9 years later?

What Do We *Really* Know About China and Climate?

What Do We *Really* Know About China and Climate?

(...not much, really.)

There are some important academic programs...

Harvard-China Project




What Do We *Really* Know About China and Climate?

(...not much, really.)

There are some important government policy programs...

W | Wilson Center

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China Environment Forum Events

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Jul. 12, 2017 2:00pm - 4:00pm
The Uncertain Transition Away From Coal—Stories from China and the United States

What Do We Know About China and Climate?

But what does *the public* hear about?
What do they understand?

We hear occasional reports.... about **China's leadership in climate-related areas.**

Report finds China surpasses US in renewable energy consumption

Posted on [July 20, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



What Do We Know About China and Climate?

But what does *the public* hear about?
What do they understand?

...but then we see other stories on China and global pollution.



What Do We Know About China and Climate?

But what does *the public* hear about?
What do they understand?

...but then we see other stories on China and global pollution.



China's Other Big Export: Pollution – The New York Times

What Do We Know About China and Climate?

*From Copenhagen (2009) to Hamburg (2017)
(...not very much, yet.)*



Report finds China surpasses US in renewable energy consumption

Posted on [July 20, 2017](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



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What Do We Know About China and Climate?

From Copenhagen (2009) to Hamburg (2017)
(...not very much, yet.)

Will China's patterns of future growth undercut its potential role as a "climate leader"?



China's biggest car show opens as economy slows

21 April 2015 Last updated at 05:24 BST

Demand for oil to rise 4.8% | chinadaily.com.cn

Posted on January 31, 2013 | 2 Comments | Edit

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2013-01/31/content_16189328.htm

Updated: 2013-01-31 03:02 ByDUJUAN (ChinaDaily)



What Do We Know About China and Climate?

From Copenhagen (2009) to Hamburg (2017)

(...not very much, yet.)



China Carbon Forum | 中国碳论坛

An independent platform to foster trust and cooperation among China's stakeholders for climate action

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What do we know about China's future "carbon footprint?"

What Do We Know About China and Climate?

From Copenhagen (2009) to Hamburg (2017)
(...not very much, yet.)



What do we know about China's
future "carbon footprint?"

How can we find out?

What Do We Know About China and Climate?

From Copenhagen (2009) to Hamburg (2017)

(...not very much, yet.)

China Is a Climate Leader but Still Isn't Doing Enough on Emissions, Report Says – The New York Times

Posted on [July 19, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)

China Is a Climate Leader but Still Isn't Doing Enough on Emissions, Report Says



A layer of smog in January over Taiyuan, the provincial capital of Shanxi, China's biggest coal-producing region. Gilles Sabrid for The New York Times

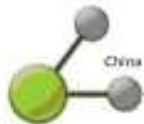


Embassy
of the Federal Republic of Germany
Beijing

Mapping China's Climate Policies

June 2017 Edition

Craig Hart
Zhu Jiyun
Ying Jiahui
Development Technologies International



China Carbon Forum
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An independent platform to foster trust and cooperation
among China's stakeholders for climate action

**German scholars
have made a start,
and perhaps this is
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initiative.**



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**German scholars
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China-Germany
climate leadership
initiative.**

What is China's "bold vision?"

What specific policies will be used to implement this "bold vision?"

China's bold vision for global energy security | Asia Times

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The screenshot shows the top portion of a web article. At the top left is the Asia Times logo with a blue globe icon. To its right is the page title "RENEWABLE ENERGY | China's bold vision for global energy se...". Below the logo are social media icons for Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, and others. The main title of the article is "China's bold vision for global energy security" in a large, italicized serif font. Below the title is a small profile picture of Jeffrey D. Sachs, followed by the byline "By JEFFREY D. SACHS | APRIL 8, 2018 4:32 AM (UTC+8)". To the right of the byline are more social media icons. The main text begins with a large drop cap "T" and discusses the Paris climate agreement. On the right side, there is a section titled "More from this author" with two article teasers: "Energy for the common good" and "Europe must resist Trump's".

ASIA TIMES RENEWABLE ENERGY | China's bold vision for global energy se...

China's bold vision for global energy security

By  **JEFFREY D. SACHS** | APRIL 8, 2018 4:32 AM (UTC+8)

The boldest plan to achieve the targets set by the 2015 Paris climate agreement comes from China. The Paris accord commits the world's governments to keep global warming to well below 2 degrees Celsius relative to the pre-industrial level. This can be accomplished mainly by shifting the world's primary energy sources from carbon-based fossil fuels (coal, oil, and natural gas) to zero-carbon, renewable (wind, solar, hydro, geothermal, ocean, biomass), and nuclear energy by the year 2050.

More from this author

Energy for the common good
14-05-2018 10:43

Europe must resist Trump's

How can we learn more about China's climate policies?

Columbia | SIPA Center on Global Energy Policy | Guide to Chinese Climate Policy

Posted on [July 19, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)



The screenshot shows the website header for the Columbia SIPA Center on Global Energy Policy. The logo features a crown icon followed by the text 'COLUMBIA | SIPA' and 'Center on Global Energy Policy'. A search bar is located in the top right corner. The navigation menu includes links for 'About', 'Our Work', 'Our Team', 'News & Events', 'Initiatives', 'Podcast', and 'Get Involved'. Below the navigation, a blue banner displays the breadcrumb 'Home > Our Work > Resource Library > Reports' and the main title 'Guide to Chinese Climate Policy'. To the right of the banner is a graphic of the Chinese flag overlaid on a map of China.

How can we learn more about China's climate policies?

Columbia | SIPA Center on G Guide to Chinese Climate Po

Posted on [July 19, 2018](#) | [Leave a comment](#) | [Edit](#)

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Center on Global Energy Policy

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Guide to Chinese Climate Pol

 COLUMBIA | SIPA
Center on Global Energy Policy

GUIDE TO CHINESE CLIMATE POLICY 2018

BY DAVID SANDALOW



How can we learn more about China's climate policies?

Columbia | SIPA Center on Global Guide to Chinese Climate Policy

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[Home](#) > [Our Work](#) > [Resource Library](#) > [Reports](#)

Guide to Chinese Climate Policy

China's Policies and Actions for
Addressing Climate Change
(2017)

National Development and Reform Commission

P.R. China

October 2017

What is: “The Global Energy Interconnection Development and Cooperation Organization (GEIDCO)”



The Global Energy Interconnection Development and Cooperation Organization (GEIDCO), with its permanent office domiciled in Beijing, China, is a international organization among willing firms, associations, institutions and individuals who are dedicated to promoting the sustainable development of energy worldwide.

What is the GEIDCO “Story Contest”



The image shows a screenshot of the GEIDCO website. At the top left is the GEIDCO logo, a globe with blue and white stripes, followed by the text "Global Energy Interconnection Development and Cooperation Organization" and "全球能源互联网发展合作组织". To the right of the logo is a navigation menu with links for "Home", "About us", "Media Center", "Strategic Planning", "Technologies", "Economic & Policy", and "E-mail Login". In the top right corner, there are language options "English | 中文". The main banner features a blue background with a globe and network lines. The text "My Global Energy Interconnection Story Contest" is prominently displayed in white. In the bottom right corner of the banner, there are two small white boxes with the numbers "1" and "2" inside.

How might you contribute to this? What can we all learn from this?

Above all the world needs more Chinese
and American scholars

(like Lucia Green-Weiskel and like yourselves.....)

...who speak Chinese and English and can interpret
our experiences and aspirations to each other
across cultural boundaries



And there is a need for
global transition studies...



<https://environmentaljusticetv.wordpress.com/2018/05/27/the-un-the-una-and-climate-looking-ahead-to-paris-cop-21-in-december-2015-ev-n-176-cctv/>

In fact, we urgently need a new kind of citizen-science alliance around the world to work together to devise a transition to a sustainable future.

In fact, we urgently need a new kind of citizen-science alliance around the world to work together to devise a transition to a sustainable future.

It's not complicated, really...

It's not complicated, really...

We are now a fossil-fuel driven civilization.

It's not complicated, really...

We are now a fossil-fuel driven civilization.

We need to become solar-sustainable.

It's not complicated, really...

We are now a fossil-fuel driven civilization.

We need to become solar-sustainable.

This will require a major transition.

It's not complicated, really...

We are now a fossil-fuel driven civilization.

We need to become solar-sustainable.

This will require a major **transition**.

People everywhere now understand that...

It's not complicated, really...

We are now a fossil-fuel driven civilization.

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This will require a major **transition**.

People everywhere now understand that...

Transition Studies are crucial for
human survival.

It's not complicated, really...

We are now a fossil-fuel driven civilization.

We need to become solar-sustainable.

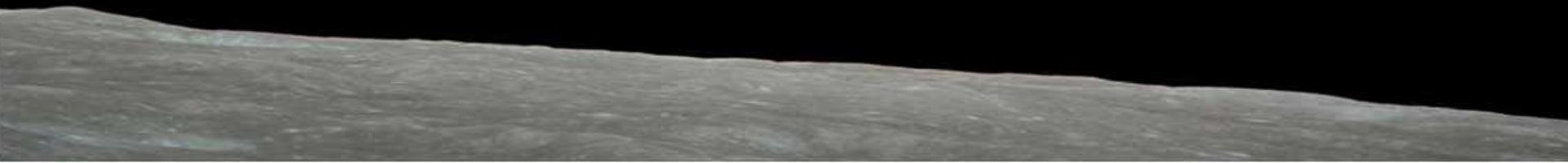
This will require a major **transition**.

People everywhere now understand that...

Transition Studies are crucial for
human survival.

This is because...

There is no “Planet B.”



This is because...

There is no “Planet B.”

We only have one Earth.



This is because...

There is no “Planet B.”

We only have one Earth.

We only get one chance.



This is because...

There is no “Planet B.”

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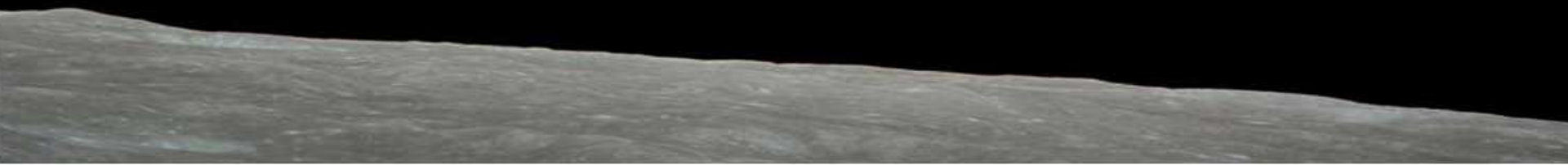


This is because...

There is no “Planet B.”

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Climate Change and Transition Studies

An Interactive Online Learning Initiative

Designed for IvyMind Consulting, LLC
as a project of the

Young Scholars' Online Learning Initiative

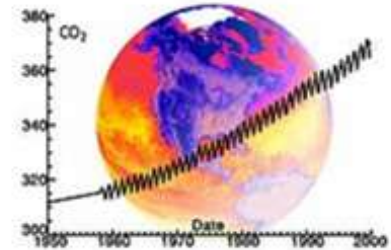
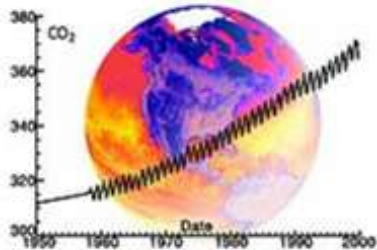
created by

Timothy C. Weiskel

Research Director, *Cambridge Climate Research Associates*

Climate Science for Human Survival

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Session 5

International Negotiations on a Global
Problem: Progress and the Major Remaining
Challenges for Global Leadership

9 August 2018
