

Tom Long

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RESEARCH INTERESTS

My research re-examines power dynamics in International Relations, especially through the study of asymmetrical relationships. My primary empirical focus has been on the international relations of the Americas, often with an historical focus. Currently, I am embarking on a multifaceted project on Latin America's interaction the institutions, norms, and practices of 'liberal international order,' especially in the late nineteenth century and the immediate post-WWII period. From September 2021-2025, I am PI on the AHRC Standard Grant (Early Career Route, c. £250,000), 'Latin America and the peripheral origins of nineteenth-century international order'.

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

- 2017-current** University of Warwick, Department of Politics and International Studies
- Reader, 2022-present
 - Associate Professor, 2019-2022
 - Assistant Professor, 2017-2019
- 2018** Pontificia Universidad Católica, Chile, Instituto de Ciencia Política
- Fulbright Visiting Professor, 2018
- 2016-2017** University of Reading, School of Politics & International Relations
- Lecturer in International Relations
- 2014- current** Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Mexico City,
- Visiting Research Professor, 2014-2015
 - Affiliated Professor, 2016-present
- 2009-2014** American University, School of International Service, Washington, D.C.
- Professorial Lecturer, 2013-2014

EDUCATION

American University, School of International Service

- *Ph.D., International Relations*. Distinction. 2013
- *M.A. in U.S. Foreign Policy*

University of Missouri, Columbia

- *Bachelor of Journalism*. Magna cum laude. 2005

MONOGRAPHS

A Small State's Guide to Influence in World Politics (Oxford University Press, 2022)

- Bridging the Gap series.

Latin America Confronts the United States: Asymmetry & Influence (Cambridge University Press, 2015)

- *A Foreign Affairs* "Best Book of 2016;" paperback, June 2017
- Reviews available at <https://tomlongphd.com/book-reviews>.

EDITED VOLUMES

North America 2.0: Forging a Continental Future (Woodrow Wilson Center, forthcoming, 2022)

- With Alan Bersin, editors. Policy edited volume, supported by the Wilson Center's Mexico and Canada Institutes, Harvard University's Belfer Center, and the Aspen Institute Mexico.

JOURNAL ARTICLES

“Compensatory Layering and the Birth of the Multipurpose Multilateral IGO in the Americas”

- *International Organization*. Forthcoming. With Carsten-Andreas Schulz.

“Política exterior colombiana y performatividad: ¿Un ‘buen miembro’ del Orden Internacional Liberal?”

- *Desafíos*. Special issue on Colombian foreign policy. With Mauricio Palma-Gutierrez.

“Republican Internationalism: The Nineteenth-century Roots of Latin American Contributions to International Order”

- *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Online Advance, July 2021. DOI:10.1080/09557571.2021.1944983. With Carsten-Andreas Schulz.

“Issue-Areas, Sovereignty Costs, and North Americans’ Attitudes Towards Regional Cooperation”

- *Global Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 2, No. 2, ksac011, pp. 1-12. With Malcolm Fairbrother and Clarisa Pérez-Armendáriz.

“Status at the Margins: Why Paraguay Recognizes Taiwan and Shuns China”

- *Foreign Policy Analysis*, Vol. 17, No. 1, oraa002, pp. 1-22. January 2021. With Francisco Urdínez.

“The Promise of Precommitment in Democracy and Human Rights: The Hopeful, Forgotten Failure of the Larreta Doctrine”

- *Perspectives on Politics*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 1088-1103. December 2020. With Max Paul Friedman.

“Domestic Contestation and Presidential Prerogative in Colombian Foreign Policy”

- *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 466-482, September 2020. With Sebastián Bitar and Gabriel Jiménez Peña.

“Historical Antecedents and Post-WWII Regionalism in the Americas,”

- *World Politics*, Vol. 72, No. 2, pp. 214-253, April 2020.

“Latin America and the Liberal International Order: An Agenda for Research”

- *International Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 6, pp. 1371–1390, November 2018.

“The U.S., Latin America, and Brazil: The Dynamics of Asymmetrical Regionalism”

- *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 113-129, January 2018.

“Small States, Great Power? Gaining Influence through Intrinsic, Derivative, and Collective Power”

- *International Studies Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 185-205, June 2017.

“It’s Not the Size, It’s the Relationship: From ‘Small States’ to Asymmetry”

- *International Politics*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 144-160, March 2017.

“Coloso fragmentado: la agenda “intermística” y la política exterior latinoamericana”

- *Foro Internacional*, 227, Vol. LVII-1, pp. 5-54, January/March 2017.

“The United States and Latin America: The Overstated Decline of a Superpower”

- *The Latin Americanist*, Vol. 60, No. 4, pp. 497-524, December 2016.

“Soft Balancing in the Americas: Latin American Opposition to U.S. Intervention, 1898-1936”

- *International Security*, Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 120-156, Summer 2015. With Max Paul Friedman.

“Putting the Canal on the Map: Panamanian Agenda-setting and the 1973 Security Council Meeting”

- *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 431-455. 2014.

ONGOING PROJECTS

“Latin America and the peripheral origins of nineteenth-century international order”

- AHRC funded project, starting September 2021, with Carsten-Andreas Schulz; four years, £249,996.

“Latin America and the making of the post-war world”

- Long-term project with multiple outputs. Archival work conducted in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and the US. Funding from British Academy, British Council, Truman Library Institute, Fulbright.

BOOK CHAPTERS

“Your Regionalism and Mine: The United States and South American Cooperation in the Global Pandemic”

- In Melisa Deciancio and Cíntia Quiliconi, eds., *Regional and International Cooperation in South America After COVID: Challenges and Opportunities Post-pandemic* (New York: Routledge, 2022). With Thaís Dória.

“The United States in Latin America: Lasting Asymmetries, Waning Influence”

- In Gian Luca Gardini, ed., *Extra-hemispheric Powers in Latin America* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021)

“Chile en la convergencia de las crisis”

- In Cristóbal Bywaters C., Daniela Sepúlveda Soto, Andrés Villar Gertner, eds., *Nuevas voces de política exterior: Chile y el mundo en la era post-consensual* (Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 2021)

“Central America”

- In Godfrey Baldacchino and Anders Wivel, eds., *Handbook on the Politics of Small States* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, April 2020).

“Latin American International Security”

- In Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, eds., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin America Politics* (Oxford University Press, October 2019). DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1735. With Sebastián Bitar.

“Trump and Latin America: Asymmetry and the Problem of Influence”

- In Robert Jervis, Francis Gavin, Joshua Rovner, and Diane Labrosse, eds., *Chaos in the Liberal Order: The Trump Presidency and International Politics in the 21st Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018). With Max Paul Friedman.

“Regional Public Goods: North America since NAFTA” In Louis W. Goodman and Antoni Esteveordal, eds., *Regional Public Goods, Global Governance and Sustainable Development: 21st Century Cooperation*, (Routledge, 2017). With Manuel Suarez-Mier.

ESSAYS & REPORTS

“From Trump to Biden in Latin America”

- *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 53, no. 2, pp. 121-126, 2021.

“There is no map: International Relations in the Americas”

- *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 548-555, June 2019. Review essay.

“La relación entre Estados Unidos y América Latina y el Caribe en la era Trump”

- *Revista Mexicana de Política Exterior*, No. 114, pp. 157-176, November 2018.

Echoes of 1992: Lessons from the NAFTA Negotiations

- Mexico Institute, **Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars**. December 2014.

“Cold War and Its Aftermath in the Americas: The Search for a Synthetic Understanding of U.S. Policy”

- *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 45, No. 3, pp. 261-273. Review essay, with Robert A. Pastor.

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

- **2021-2025:** PI, AHRC Standard Grant (Early Career), “Latin America and the peripheral origins of nineteenth-century international order”, four years, £249,996
- **2018:** Fulbright U.S. Scholar Award, Chile, Pontificia Universidad Católica (Santiago)
- **2017-2018:** British Council Researcher Links, “Colombian Foreign Policy in the Post-Conflict Era, £5,500, in cooperation with Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá
- **2017-2018:** Research 2020 Fellowship, Prosperity & Resilience, University of Reading, £2,500 (declined)
- **2016-2017:** Truman Library Institute, “Truman in Rio: How Brazil, Mexico, and the United States Shaped Regionalism in the Americas,” \$2,425
- **2016-2017:** British Academy/Leverhulme Small Research Grant, “Middle Power Regionalism in the Americas,” £8,700
- **2016- :** Chair and organizer, Robert A. Pastor North American Research Initiative
- **2016:** Visiting fellow, Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.
- **2015:** International Policy Summer Institute, Bridging the Gap; travel and participation
- **2012:** New Era Foreign Policy Workshop, Bridging the Gap; travel and participation
- **2012:** American University Doctoral Research Award, research in Brazil and Mexico, \$5,000
- **2012:** SIS Summer Supplemental Grant, for research in Mexico City, \$3,000
- **2011:** Tinker Foundation Dissertation Award, for research in Panama and Argentina, \$2,300
- **2011:** American University Doctoral Research Award, for research in Colombia, \$4,800
- **2008-2012:** Dean's Fellowship, American University

AWARDS AND HONORS

- **2021:** Warwick Student Union, Transforming Education Awards, “Excellence in Virtual Transition,” nominee
- **2019:** University of Warwick, “Research contribution,” university-wide short-list
- **2018:** University of Warwick, “Brilliant Newcomer,” nominee; “Student Experience,” commendation
- **2016:** “Best Books of 2016,” *Foreign Affairs*
- **2015:** ISA Diplomatic Studies Section Young Scholar Award
- **2012:** John D. Martz III Award for best paper by a graduate student, Mid-Atlantic Council on Latin American Studies, Washington, D.C.
- **2010:** William C. Olson Award for Outstanding Teaching by a Ph.D. Student

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- **Fellow** of the British Higher Education Academy, since 2017
- **PhD supervision:** One completion (2019); three current supervisees (2022)
- **2017-2020:** University of Warwick: Latin America: Democratization and Development, International Relations of Latin America (3rd year); Examining Rising Powers, Comparing Rising Powers (MA)
- **2016-2017:** University of Reading: Modern International Relations (co-convenor, instructor); Latin America: Democracy, Development, and Diplomacy (convenor, instructor); US Foreign and Defense Policy (co-convenor, instructor)
- **2015:** CIDE, “Introducción a las Relaciones Internacionales” [Intro IR, taught in Spanish]
- **2014:** School of International Service, American University (SIS): “U.S. Foreign Policy to Latin America,” (M.A.); “International Organizations and Global Governance,” “World Politics” (B.A.), and “Do Small States Matter?” (first-year seminar)
- **2013:** SIS: “History of Global Politics,” (M.A.); “Global Governance,” Online MA in IR
- **2011-2013:** SIS: Five sections of “Diplomacy and Dictators: U.S. Foreign Policy in an Uncertain World.” Traditional and “hybrid” courses with online and in-class components, (B.A.)

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

- **2018-** : Co-coordinator, Latin America at Warwick Network
- **2017-2021:** Degree coordinator, BA in History/Politics
 - Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick
- **2019-2020:** Degree coordinator, BA in Politics/Modern Languages, Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick
- **2017-2019:** Coordinator, Departmental seminar series
 - Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick
- **2016-2017:** Undergraduate programme director
 - School of Politics and International Relations, University of Reading
- **2011-2014:** Ph.D. student hiring coordinator
 - School of International Service Office of Pre-college Programs, American University
- **2011-2012:** Freshmen welcome week program planner and coordinator “Going Global: The World in Washington, D.C.” American University

REVIEWS

Of Jack Corbett, Xu Yi-chong, and Patrick Weller, *International Organizations and Small States: Participation, Legitimacy, and Vulnerability*, Bristol, UK: Bristol University Press, 2021.

- ***International Affairs*** (May 2022).

Of Amitav Acharya, Melisa Deciancio, Diana Tussie, eds., *Latin America and Global International Relations*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2021

- ***International Affairs*** (November 2021).

Of Arturo Santa-Cruz, *US hegemony and the Americas: power and economic statecraft in International Relations*, London: Routledge, 2020

- ***International Affairs*** (September 2020).

Of Maud Chirio, *Politics in Uniform: Military Officers and Dictatorship in Brazil, 1960–1980*, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018

- ***Bulletin of Latin American Research*** (July 2020)

Of Annette Idler, *Borderland Battles: Violence, Crime, and Governance at the Edges of Colombia's War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019

- ***International Affairs*** (April 2020)

Of Pablo Piccato, *A History of Infamy: Crime, Truth, and Justice in Mexico*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017

- ***International Affairs*** (November 2019)

Of Abbey Steele, *Democracy and Displacement in Colombia's Civil War*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018

- ***International Affairs*** (July 2019)

Of Lars Schoultz, *In Their Own Best Interest*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018

- In **H-Diplo Roundtable** (June 2019).

Of Tina Hilgers and Laura Macdonald, eds., *Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean*, Cambridge, 2017

- ***International Affairs*** (March 2019)

Of Andrew Selee, *Vanishing Frontiers*, New York: PublicAffairs, 2018

- ***International Affairs*** (January 2019)

Of Lars Schoultz, *In Their Own Best Interest*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018

- **H-Diplo Roundtable**, forthcoming, n.d.

Of Joseph S. Tulchin, *Latin America in International Politics*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2016

- ***Journal of Latin American Studies*** (May 2018)

Of Robert A. Karl, *Forgotten Peace: Reform, Violence, and the Making of Contemporary Colombia*, University of California Press, 2017.

- ***International Affairs*** (March 2018)

Of Juan Pablo Scarfi, *Hidden History of International Law in the Americas: Empire and Legal Networks*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017

- *International Affairs* (January 2018)
- Of Hal Brands, *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order*
- *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 132, no. 3, Summer 2017
- Of Robert A. Karl, “Reading the Cuban revolution from Bogotá, 1957–62,” *Cold War History* 16:4, (Fall 2016): 337-358.
- **H-Diplo** Article Review, no. 692, April 26, 2017
- Of Christopher Darnton, *Rivalry and Alliance Politics in Cold War Latin America*, Baltimore, JHU Press 2014
- *Foro Internacional*, no. 222, vol. LV-4, October-December 2015.

SELECTED TALKS AND CONFERENCES

- **2022:** “The Global South’s responses to the Ukraine crisis,” The Atlantic Council, Future Foreign Policy seminars, 25 May 2022.
- **2022:** “New Research to Bridge the Gap: *A Small State’s Guide to Influence in World Politics*,” New America, 4 May 2022.
- **2022:** Book talk, *A Small State’s Guide to Influence in World Politics*, Ashoka University, 6 April 2022.
- **2022:** “Academic freedom in Mexico,” Latin America Centre, Oxford, 21 January 2022.
- **2021:** “Covid-19, rising powers, and liberal international order,” Theodor-Heuss-Academy, Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom, Gummersbach, Germany, 16 October 2021.
- **2021:** “Latin America and the liberal international order,” University of Pennsylvania, Latin America and Latinx Studies Center, 9 February, 2021.
- **2021:** “Leadership and Legitimacy in Post-pandemic Latin America,” *Global Insights*, 28 January 2021
- **2020:** “Consecuencias de las elecciones para Estados Unidos,” Feria Internacional del Libro de Guadalajara, 2 December 2020.
- **2020:** “US Presidential Elections and Latin America: A Round Table,” Latin American Centre, main seminar, University of Oxford, 10 October 2020.
- **2020:** “¿Qué ves cuando ves a la región?” Universidad de Concepción y Universidad de Quilmes, 25 September, 2020.
- **2019:** “Economic Foundations of Hierarchy: ‘Hirschmanesque Effects’ in Latin America’s Relations with the United States,” Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford, 21 November, 2019.
- **2019:** Latin America and the Liberal World Order, 14-15 November 2019, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., (workshop framed around my 2018 article in *International Affairs*)
- **2019:** “Trump and Latin America: Asymmetry and the Problem of Influence,” 5 June 2019, Friedrich-Alexander Universität, Erlangen-Nürnberg
- **2019:** “Latin America and the liberal international order: historical trajectories and contemporary challenges, 2 April 2019, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts (invited)
- **2018:** Charla Magistral, “Continuidad y cambio en las relaciones diplomáticas América Latina – EE.UU.,” May 24, 2018, Pontificia Universidad Católica, Santiago, Chile
- **2018:** “Historical antecedents and post-WWII regionalism in the Americas,” Institute of the Americas, University College London, January 31, 2018
- **2017:** “Política exterior colombiana en el postconflicto,” Universidad de los Andes, May 3, 2017
- **2017:** “Después de la victoria compartida: Regionalismo en las Américas de la posguerra,” Universidad de los Andes, MPP Seminar Series, April 25, 2017
- **2017:** “After Shared Victory,” Seminario DEI, CIDE-Mexico, March 29, 2017 (invited)
- **2016:** “Brazil and the reconfiguration of the inter-American order, 1944-1948,” Latin American Centre, Oxford University, December 1, 2016
- **2016:** “The U.S., Latin America, and Brazil,” at Between Cooperation and Competition: Major Powers in Shared Neighbourhoods, at College of Europe, Bruges, September 22, 2016
- **2016:** *Latin America Confronts the United States*, book presentation, North American Studies Programme, St. Antony’s College, Oxford University, February 17, 2016
- **2015:** *Latin America Confronts the United States*, book launch, School of International Service, American University, November 4, 2015

- **2015:** The Future of North American Regionalism, Johns Hopkins-SAIS and St. Antony's College, Oxford University, September 11, 2015, Washington, D.C.
- **2015:** "El poder colectivo latinoamericano frente a los EEUU: Dos casos," *Las Américas después de la Cumbre de Panamá: proyecciones y perspectivas*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, May 18, 2015
- **2014:** "Between the U.S. and Cuba: Panama and the 2015 Summit of the Americas," December 2014, Centro de Investigaciones de Política Internacional, Higher Institute of International Relations Raúl Roa García, Universidad de la Habana, Cuba
- **2013:** "Convincing the Colossus: Case studies of Latin American influence on U.S. foreign policy," Junior Scholar Symposium, International Studies Association April 2013, San Francisco.

SELECTED GENERAL AUDIENCE PUBLICATIONS

- **2022:** "Latin America, Ukraine, and the Legacies of "Republican Internationalism," *Global Americans*, March 8, 2022. With Carsten-Andreas Schulz.
- **2021:** "Biden's North American Reset?" American University Latin America blog, January 21, 2020. With Eric Hershberg.
- **2021:** "Biden's Latin America policy will be constrained more by weak regional leadership than by Florida's electoral politics," in LSE Latin America and Caribbean Centre Blog, January 19, 2021.
- **2020:** Interview, "Bolsonaro deveria desenvolver uma política externa real," in *O Popular*, October 31, 2020.
- **2020:** "Taiwan's Last Stand in South America," *Americas Quarterly*, May 7, 2020. With Francisco Urdinez.
- **2020:** "Paraguay una vez más se cuestiona si Taiwán o China," *FLACSO Blog*, May 16, 2020. With Gustavo Rojas and Francisco Urdinez.
- **2019:** "Les Etats-Unis et les Amériques," *OREMA Hypotheses*, November 5, 2019. With Max Paul Friedman.
- **2019:** "Latin America: history of treaty used to impose sanctions on Venezuela shows it's a clumsy way to advance democracy," *The Conversation*, October 9, 2019. With Max Paul Friedman.
- **2019:** "Latin America Already Has a Model to Solve Venezuela," *Americas Quarterly*, October 3, 2019. With Max Paul Friedman.
- **2019:** "Democracia en peligro en América Latina: ¿reanimar la Doctrina Larreta?" *La Diaria* (Uruguay), September 29, 2019. With Max Paul Friedman.
- **2019:** "Domestic politics and U.S.-Colombian relations," AULA Blog, July 31, 2019. With Sebastián Bitar.
- **2019:** "Herança liberal pode ajudar América Latina a lidar com Maduro e Bolsonaro," *Folha de S.Paulo*, January 29, 2019
- **2019:** "Venezuela: how Latin American tolerance of illiberalism let a nation slide into crisis," *The Conversation*, January 25, 2019. Republished by Gazeta do Povo (Brazil), The New Statesman (UK), Stuff (New Zealand), Medium
- **2016:** "In Colombia it's peace that makes for odd bedfellows," *Latin America Goes Global*, September 14, 2016
- **2012-2016:** Occasional contributor, AULA Blog, Center for Latin American and Latino Studies
- **2015:** "Peace in Colombia? Lessons from the failed 1999-2002 talks," *Latin America Goes Global*, December 16, 2015
- **2015:** "Drugs, human rights, trade, and distrust: The evolution of U.S.-Mexican relations," *War on the Rocks*, November 10, 2015
- **2015:** "Why U.S. Leaders Don't Need to Fear Latin American 'Soft Balancers'" *The National Interest* (with Max Paul Friedman)
- **2015:** "U.S.-Cuba relations will pay dividends in W. Hemisphere," *Orlando Sentinel* (with Max Paul Friedman)
- **2015:** "Cuando EU escucha a América Latina," *El Universal* (Mexico)
- **2015:** "Estados Unidos y Venezuela: De la tragedia a la farsa," *El Universal* (Mexico)

MEDIA APPEARANCES

TV: BBC News, Sky News, Al Jazeera Inside Story, Al Jazeera English, Al Jazeera Arabic, Deutsche Welle English TV, TRT World, France 24, Bloomberg Turkey; Telemundo

Radio: BBC World Service, BBC 5 Live, BBC Radio Berkshire, BBC Radio Scotland, Radio France International, Antena Radio (Mex), ABC Radio (Mex)

Qtd. print/online: The Guardian, Reuters, Bloomberg News, CNBC News, Vice News, Press Association, CBS Bay Area, OUL (Brazil), Exame CEO (Brazil), Lidovky (Czech Republic), Asia Weekly

PROFESSIONAL

- Reviewer for: Oxford University Press; Routledge; Palgrave Macmillan; University of Notre Dame Press; Chatham House; World Politics, International Studies Quarterly; International Affairs; International Security; Security Studies; Perspectives on Politics; Review of International Political Economy; European Journal of International Relations; International Studies Review; Foreign Policy Analysis; Journal of Cold War Studies; Relaciones Internacionales; Latin American Research Review; International Relations; Journal of Latin American Studies; H-Diplo; Apuntes: Journal of the Brazilian ANPHLAC; Pensamiento Propio; Canadian Journal of Political Science; Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies; The Latin Americanist; European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies; Cambridge Review of International Affairs; Revista Brasileira de Política Internacional, Contexto Internacional; Relaciones Internacionales, Mid-Atlantic Review of Latin American Studies; Journal of Current Chinese Affairs; ANID-Chile
- Editorial committee: Estudios Internacionales (Chile); Latin American Policy (Mexico)
- Professional service: Prize Committee, ISA-Diplomatic Studies Section; Prize Committee, ISA-Historical International Relations Section
- Member: International Studies Association; Latin American Studies Association

LANGUAGES

- English (native language)
- Spanish (fluent in speaking, reading, and writing)
- Portuguese (intermediate conversation and writing, strong reading)