# Transcript

00:00:00 Speaker 2

Welcome to Global Minnesota podcasts. Connecting and forming and engaging Minnesotans with the world and exploring important international issues. For a complete list of programs and to join us, visit global minnesota.org.

00:00:14 Speaker 1

Well, good evening everyone is so great to have you all here I'm gonna.

00:00:18 Speaker 1

Say like good evening everyone.

00:00:21 Speaker 1

And that great.

00:00:22 Speaker 1

I mean, I, I want to capture some of that energy.

00:00:24 Speaker 1

I felt out in the hall.

00:00:25 Speaker 1

Everybody's like thank God we're back together again and we're in the same space and we can talk to each other.

00:00:30 Speaker 1

It's just so nice to have everybody back here again. Well, good evening. My name is Phil Hansen. I'm the President of global Minnesota. Thank you all for coming tonight to our 2023 US foreign policy.

00:00:41 Speaker 1

That's it with Tom Hansen.

00:00:43 Speaker 1

It's a good night for hansons.

00:00:45 Speaker 1

It's such a pleasure to be here in person with all of you, and I'd like to extend a warm welcome to those that are joining us virtually as well.

00:00:53 Speaker 1

We're so glad that you could be here in one way or another.

00:00:56 Speaker 1

And again, as I said, it sure feels great to be back here.

00:00:59 Speaker 1

And for the first time in person really.

00:01:01 Speaker 1

And and I think three years for those that are veterans here, would know that for sure.

00:01:04 Speaker 1

So welcome back.

00:01:05 Speaker 1

Everybody, we're over 300 strong in the program tonight, so thank.

00:01:09 Speaker 1

You for being with us.

00:01:10 Speaker 1

As you might have noticed, I'm a little newer face to global Minnesota.

00:01:15 Speaker 1

I started as President in November of last year and I've spent prior to that several decades in nonprofit leadership, humanitarian service, and community engagement.

00:01:25 Speaker 1

Most of that time with the American Red Cross, it's been a whirlwind couple of months.

00:01:30 Speaker 1

I've learned so much from our team and from from members like you and everybody's been trying so hard to get me up to speed and I've really, really appreciated that I want to thank you all for reading so welcoming to me to this global Minnesota community.

00:01:43 Speaker 1

If I haven't had a chance to meet you yet, I'd sure like to do that.

00:01:46 Speaker 1

They're going to have a little reception afterwards, and we'll talk about that a.

00:01:49 Speaker 1

Bit more later but please come up shake a hand.

00:01:51 Speaker 1

Let me know who you are.

00:01:53 Speaker 1

It's great to make those connections.

00:01:55 Speaker 1

This is one of the most popular events, year after year and it's easy to see why as we brace ourselves for another fast moving.

00:02:02 Speaker 1

Year of Global news.

00:02:04 Speaker 1

It's good to have take a time, step back and take stock.

00:02:07 Speaker 1

Rest assured tonight you will walk out of this room with a clearer picture of where the world stands and where it's heading thanks to our speaker, former diplomat, and a renowned explainer of all things global that would be Tom Hanson.

00:02:22 Speaker 1

Tom will cover the latest foreign policy developments, trends and challenges facing the US, including a look at.

00:02:28 Speaker 1

Impacts of Russia's war in Ukraine, increasing tensions between the US and China and movements to promote peace and human rights from Ethiopia to Iran.

00:02:37 Speaker 1

Tom always makes astute global predictions and after tonight you too will be in the know and able to make astute predictions as.

00:02:44 Speaker 1

Well, this will be great.

00:02:46 Speaker 1

This event also marks the beginning of a new year for great decisions.

00:02:50 Speaker 1

The foreign policy associations, grassroots global affairs discussion program that Global Minnesota coordinates here in Minnesota.

00:02:59 Speaker 1

As most of you knew, know the 8 great discussions topics inspire global conversation.

00:03:04 Speaker 1

Global conversation.

00:03:05 Speaker 1

Theories and they're a terrific framework for understanding the years complex global developments. You can purchase the 2023 great Decisions briefing book from our staff.

00:03:15 Speaker 1

After Tom's presentation online or via the website and don't hesitate to ask how you can get involved in any discussion group.

00:03:23 Speaker 1

For those of you who are new to global Minnesota, I want to say.

00:03:26 Speaker 1

Welcome to you.

00:03:27 Speaker 1

We are a nonprofit, nonpartisan organization that advances international understanding and engagement in Minnesota communities, classrooms and companies.

00:03:37 Speaker 1

We are committed to continuing our important and meaningful work for generations to come.

00:03:41 Speaker 1

And are proud to contribute to raising the global mindset for thousands of Minnesotans.

00:03:46 Speaker 1

Now I want to get a show of hands in the room here.

00:03:49 Speaker 1

How many people in this room are currently global Minnesota members in the audience tonight?

00:03:54 Speaker 1

Raise your hand, all right.

00:03:55 Speaker 1

So look around at those that don't have their hands up.

00:03:57 Speaker 1

Those are the people you're.

00:03:57 Speaker 1

Going to be working on, you're going to be working on these folks later.

00:04:00 Speaker 1

Thank you everybody.

00:04:01 Speaker 1

Give yourselves a round of applause and members.

00:04:03 Speaker 1

Thank you for it.

00:04:05 Speaker 1

Thank you for your membership in Global Minnesota.

00:04:10 Speaker 1

Wow, so we're thrilled to welcome so many members here tonight.

00:04:13 Speaker 1

Our community of Members is truly inspiring because you make our work really possible from helping our K through 12 students to become more globally aware to providing international visitors a warm welcome.

00:04:24 Speaker 1

You are global Minnesota and we do appreciate your support.

00:04:28 Speaker 1

And we appreciate you introducing new people to global Minnesota.

00:04:31 Speaker 1

It's one of the best ways that you can continue to support the work.

00:04:34 Speaker 1

We do, and we also extend a friendly hello and welcome to our guests who are in the audience here tonight as well, but do for you Members again.

00:04:42 Speaker 1

The biggest thing we can get help from you on really going forward is trying to get new folks to come and join and be a part of Global Minnesota.

00:04:49 Speaker 1

The programming is stunning and I'm so excited to be able to share it with our communities and to share it with all of.

00:04:55 Speaker 1

You, if you're not a.

00:04:56 Speaker 1

Member but would like to join us.

00:04:58 Speaker 1

We have a great new member special.

00:04:59 Speaker 1

Tonight that sounds like the new member special tonight.

00:05:04 Speaker 1

Become a member tonight before you leave and you will receive the 2023 great discussions briefing book for free. This book contains in-depth articles on the most pressing foreign policy.

00:05:15 Speaker 1

Issues of 2023. Much of what Tom's going to be covering tonight and what global Minnesota will cover in its programming in the coming year.

00:05:22 Speaker 1

The books are available for purchase for $28.00, but you get yours free tonight if you join us as a new member. And of course, this is what the the book looks like this year.

00:05:34 Speaker 1

That's what a good salesman does.

00:05:35 Speaker 1

He does show the book so.

00:05:38 Speaker 1

In addition to get you excited about our upcoming gala on May 6th, we and please put that down as a save the date our gala is coming up on May 6th this year.

00:05:49 Speaker 1

We are currently hosting a mini auction for a week long stay in Cabo San Lucas, Mexico. Online bidding is open now until January 29th, which I believe is this Sunday.

00:06:00 Speaker 1

So get those bids in please by the end of the weekend if you'd like more information on how to bid, please see Alex at the new member table at the end of our program.

00:06:08 Speaker 1

And now for a few logistical items about tonight's event to help the conversation flow more smoothly, we will collect question cards at the end of Tom's presentation.

00:06:19 Speaker 1

Molly Hayes Berry, another esteemed great decision speaker, a former policy fellow at the Humphrey School for Public Affairs and a former U.S. Department of State foreign policy adviser on the Middle East and East Africa, is going to moderate tonight's Q&A. If you're joining virtually, please feel free to submit your questions using the Q&A.

00:06:40 Speaker 1

Button at the bottom of your webinar.

00:06:42 Speaker 1

Finally, I'd like to extend my gratitude to our longtime partner and Co.

00:06:46 Speaker 1

Sponsor of tonight's event, the Humphrey School for Public Affairs, the Humphrey School of Public Affairs.

00:06:52 Speaker 1

I would like to welcome to the stage Doctor Mary Curtin diplomat in residence at the Humphrey School and good friend of Global Minnesota to speak more about our partnership and introduce tonight's.

00:07:02 Speaker 1

Speaker please join me in welcoming Mary Curtin.

00:07:18 Speaker 3

Thanks Phil for that introduction.

00:07:20 Speaker 3

It is so great to be back here in person after three years.

00:07:24 Speaker 3

I think it was three years ago on a very cold January night that we were all here in person for this event.

00:07:32 Speaker 3

I would like to send the greetings of our.

00:07:35 Speaker 3

Also relatively new Dean Nisha Botchwey who was not able to be here this evening but asked me to convey her regards to global Minnesota members and attendees because of the partnership that fell Phil.

00:07:51 Speaker 3

Referred to and the way in which we can bring the academic community and the broader public together to discuss and explore critical issues facing our world in events big and small throughout the year and in particular partnership that we have.

00:08:10 Speaker 3

In hosting and providing events for our Humphrey International Fellows, some of who are here this evening, I will not spend too much time introducing Tom.

00:08:22 Speaker 3

And moderator Molly because Phil already did a great job of that.

00:08:26 Speaker 3

And because many of you already know Tom and Molly.

00:08:31 Speaker 3

But I think that we are really lucky to have Mike's counterpart, diplomat and residents at the University of Minnesota Duluth.

00:08:39 Speaker 3

Here with us every year and throughout the year to help us think about the critical issues facing the United States in foreign.

00:08:48 Speaker 3

Policy and I'd also really like to recognize Tom's incredible contribution to the various organizations, including the Committee for Foreign Relations that provide different venues and different speak events throughout the year that help Minnesotans of different walks of life come together to talk about critical.

00:09:08 Speaker 3

Global issue.

00:09:08 Speaker 3

Issues and similarly.

00:09:11 Speaker 3

My former State Department colleague Molly Hayes Berry and former Humphrey School student has has been really active in taking her experience out into the community as a great decision.

00:09:24 Speaker 3

Speaker engaging with Humphrey students.

00:09:28 Speaker 3

Really being part of the community of this kind of discussion.

00:09:32 Speaker 3

So without further ado, I'd like to welcome Tom up to the stage and really look forward to his always very thoughtful reflections on the challenges facing us, especially given.

00:09:47 Speaker 3

Even the incredible events of the last year, thanks.

00:10:02

Hi thank you.

00:10:06 Speaker 4

It's great to see you all again.

00:10:08 Speaker 4

After these very difficult few years we've been through.

00:10:13 Speaker 4

And I want to thank Mary Curtin and Phil Hansen.

00:10:19 Speaker 4

The Humphrey School and Global Minnesota for organizing this event again, there's a lot to talk about tonight.

00:10:27 Speaker 4

A lot has kind of piled up, and as Phil said, I think quite rightly given all that's happening, this really is a time to in a sense, step back and take stock.

00:10:39 Speaker 4

And I plan to do a little bit of that tonight talking about the the pressing issues that the world is facing that we're facing as a country.

00:10:48 Speaker 4

But also trying to maybe give a little perspective to what's going on.

00:10:55 Speaker 4

We've just come out of COVID. Hopefully we're coming out of COVID February 24th. This past year. The Russians.

00:11:03 Speaker 4

Barbaric invasion of Ukraine.

00:11:07 Speaker 4

The event of the past year, really that has touched us all, moved us all.

00:11:11 Speaker 4

Was this barbaric invasion?

00:11:14 Speaker 4

Of Ukraine and we we stand in support of the Ukrainian people in their valiant struggle for independence and for their territorial integrity.

00:11:25 Speaker 4

And I think that the the US administration has done an excellent job of.

00:11:31 Speaker 4

Shall we say alliance management?

00:11:33 Speaker 4

Yes, so so Ukraine is has been the really the formative event of the past of the past few years or months.

00:11:42 Speaker 4

Rather, and as you can see from this photo, this is a.

00:11:48 Speaker 4

A terrible land war flat terrain.

00:11:52 Speaker 4

It's a little bit like World War One with trench warfare Ukrainians trying to assault this Russian bastion that's been set up in eastern Ukraine, taking heavy losses.

00:12:04 Speaker 4

There are drones involved, which is beyond what you had in in the trench warfare of World War One.

00:12:09 Speaker 4

This is a country that needs.

00:12:13 Speaker 4

It needs tanks, it needs tanks and more and as you all I'm sure you all saw just today. It's been announced that that the United States will provide 31 Abrams tanks. Very very advanced technology and the the Germans 14 Leopard 2.

00:12:32 Speaker 4

Clicks, which will open the door to other NATO countries to provide NATO, NATO tanks, leopard tanks to Ukraine.

00:12:39 Speaker 4

So the situation in this terrain should get better with time, but for now it's a real struggle and Ukraine is suffering greatly and and needs our support.

00:12:52 Speaker 4

As much as ever so.

00:12:56 Speaker 4

You know with COVID with what's happening in Ukraine last week.

00:13:01 Speaker 4

As every year the.

00:13:04 Speaker 4

Global elite

00:13:08 Speaker 4

Came together in Davos, Switzerland, to look at the world to talk about what, what the trends are to hobnob with each other.

00:13:18 Speaker 4

Strike deals.

00:13:19 Speaker 4

It's an annual event I point out in this photo here.

00:13:23 Speaker 4

If you look up the.

00:13:24 Speaker 4

Tree lined Hill to the left mountainside.

00:13:28 Speaker 4

There's a building there.

00:13:28 Speaker 4

A long building.

00:13:30 Speaker 4

That's a very interesting historical edifice.

00:13:34 Speaker 4

It's something that is used as the main meeting place for for Davos.

00:13:39 Speaker 4

It's called the Berghof Schatz help.

00:13:44 Speaker 4

It's been there since about 1900 or earlier. The delegates take this vermicular lighted funicular up in the evening.

00:13:53 Speaker 4

Now this building has historical significance, which a number of commentators this year.

00:13:59 Speaker 4

For some reason, for the first time singled out in the reports of Davos.

00:14:05 Speaker 4

This was the setting for Thomas Mann's novel The Magic Mountain.

00:14:11 Speaker 4

That zauberberg

00:14:12 Speaker 4

That very building.

00:14:15 Speaker 4

He won the Nobel Prize in 1929. For this and other works, this book is about the European elite of that time before World War One. Coming together in a upscale sanatorium.

00:14:30 Speaker 4

Man describes the European Society and below in the world below the gathering clouds of World War One.

00:14:39 Speaker 4

And the novel ends with the outbreak of World War One.

00:14:44 Speaker 4

You know, there's no direct parallel here, but in number for the first time in all the years of Davos, for the first time, this was really commented upon in the international coverage of Davos.

00:14:57 Speaker 4

So looking out from the veranda of the shots help.

00:15:02 Speaker 4

What did Davos man see this year?

00:15:06 Speaker 4

Well, there were glimmers of hope.

00:15:10 Speaker 4

People commented that with China opening up now, there's likely to be what they call revenge spending by Chinese who have really piled up money during the very severe lockdown in China that this would give some impetus to the global economy.

00:15:27 Speaker 4

Another glimmer of hope, energy prices, especially for liquefied natural gas, are coming down.

00:15:32 Speaker 4

It's been a warm winter in Europe.

00:15:35 Speaker 4

And that's a positive thing.

00:15:37 Speaker 4

And then finally the US subsidies.

00:15:41 Speaker 4

For green technology in the in the building back better legislation.

00:15:49 Speaker 4

May have a positive effect.

00:15:52 Speaker 4

So these were all to the good. Now they pointed out in the reports coming out of Davos that there's a downside. China's opening might actually increase inflation.

00:16:04 Speaker 4

You know the restructuring of supply chains that's underway globally right now is inflationary as well.

00:16:09 Speaker 4

So there are some structural issues with inflation and the US subsidies are being seen by much of the world as protectionism.

00:16:19 Speaker 4

As a first step in a kind of beggar thy neighbor policy, I'll be talking more about that later. But in the report coming out of a divorce, their their their annual risk report where they asked the 1200 delegates. What are the top risks going two years out? What are the top risks going 10 years out?

00:16:39 Speaker 4

And they.

00:16:40 Speaker 4

They came up with a dichotomy that I think is important, which is why I'm mentioning it, because it's the same dichotomy that we find right now in US foreign policy.

00:16:49 Speaker 4

In trying to address the issues facing us.

00:16:54 Speaker 4

The basic situation is this polled about the threats going two years out.

00:17:00 Speaker 4

The focus was exclusively on the geopolitical risks Ukraine, China, cost of living crisis.

00:17:07 Speaker 4

Nothing about sustainability or climate in the short term risks, but the 10 year risks were all about climate and sustainability, and this is the disconnect.

00:17:20 Speaker 4

As the report said, the global, the short term risks are crowding out concerns about long term pressures on the planet and on adapting to climate change.

00:17:31 Speaker 4

Geopolitical rivalries, heightened economic constraints and further exacerbate both the shorter and the longer term risks that we face.

00:17:42 Speaker 4

So I'll be talking more about this disconnect as I get into more details of some of these issues, but.

00:17:51 Speaker 4

I think that the you know, Davos is much criticized, and rightly so.

00:17:55 Speaker 4

The World Bank pointed out.

00:17:57 Speaker 4

As the elites convened that last year, saw the greatest increase in global inequality since World War Two.

00:18:08 Speaker 4

Coming out off of a year in which global inequality is increasing quite fast.

00:18:14 Speaker 4

So in the sense of taking a step back.

00:18:17 Speaker 4

You know, I.

00:18:20 Speaker 4

I'm fascinated with the trajectory of US foreign policy right now.

00:18:24 Speaker 4

Because there's a, there's an historical momentum.

00:18:28 Speaker 4

To the way Washington sees the world.

00:18:30 Speaker 4

And so I'm going to.

00:18:32 Speaker 4

As Phil said, you know, taking a step back, I'm going to do that right now.

00:18:37 Speaker 4

Take a step actually way back way back.

00:18:44 Speaker 4

There's a kind of a symmetry to what I'll be describing here.

00:18:48 Speaker 4

1789

00:18:51 Speaker 4

When we really became a country, a Continental Congress, we had our first election for President.

00:18:57 Speaker 4

And our 1st century got underway 1789.

00:19:02 Speaker 4

We talked about this before, but our early presidents were very much focused on developing our own continent.

00:19:09 Speaker 4

We have blessed geography protected by two oceans.

00:19:14 Speaker 4

No real threats near to us, and so we were able to do this and.

00:19:20 Speaker 4

Probably our major foreign policy, plank was the Monroe Doctrine.

00:19:25 Speaker 4

Basically, stay away from not just our periphery but from our region.

00:19:30 Speaker 4

This was enforced by the British Navy we couldn't have.

00:19:32 Speaker 4

Done it ourselves.

00:19:34 Speaker 4

But I can tell you that in conversations with Chinese diplomats especially, they always raise this, why?

00:19:42 Speaker 4

Why do you pretend to this kind of influence in your periphery and we?

00:19:48 Speaker 4

And we can't.

00:19:49 Speaker 4

And of course the the answer we give is, but it's different.

00:19:54 Speaker 4

So I'll elaborate on that if you're interested anyway.

00:19:59 Speaker 4

By the end of this 1st century exactly 1889.

00:20:03 Speaker 4

78 that's the year we we became. The number one economy in the world.

00:20:08 Speaker 4

And suddenly this development.

00:20:10 Speaker 4

Of course we had a war with Mexico along the way, but.

00:20:15 Speaker 4

In 19 oh in 1893 we basically celebrated this at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. It was kind of the America's coming out party.

00:20:24 Speaker 4

And already just a few years later, here's the one of the campaign posters for McKinley and his vice presidential candidate, Teddy Roosevelt.

00:20:35 Speaker 4

A whole new tenor and whole new approach and I love the we're not planning our flag to acquire more territory, but for.

00:20:44 Speaker 4

Humanity's sake.

00:20:46 Speaker 4

And I think that that has been very much our ethos, that that we are a country with a democratic.

00:20:53 Speaker 4

Calling and a role to play in the world in promoting democracy and human rights.

00:21:00 Speaker 4

And by mid century the famous article by Henry Henry Luce in Life magazine, The American Century.

00:21:08 Speaker 4

This is an iconic article is what led to the idea of an American Century.

00:21:14 Speaker 4

Our 2nd century and of course that came to be with the two world wars that 30 years war of our.

00:21:22 Speaker 4

Era from World War One.

00:21:24 Speaker 4

Ending World War Two led to our emergence, obviously.

00:21:30 Speaker 4

Yalta and the formation of the Western Alliance.

00:21:34 Speaker 4

But as importantly, the meeting between FDR and in South the head of Saudi Arabia, where we struck the bargain on oil.

00:21:44 Speaker 4

We would protect Saudi Arabia for access to their oil.

00:21:47 Speaker 4

This was the beginning of the Petro dollar.

00:21:50 Speaker 4

Which really was a major fundament of the dollars role in the world, especially when in 1971 the Saudis continued to accept dollars even though we had detached the dollar from gold. I mentioned this because there's a lot of talk now, a lot of Petro yuan.

00:22:08 Speaker 4

A Chinese Saudi currency and I will talk more about that later as well. These are adumbrations along the way of things that are very current today, so this 2nd century ended 1789.

00:22:24 Speaker 4

18891989.

00:22:28 Speaker 4

With the fall of the Berlin Wall and with the eventual collapse of the Warsaw Pact and then of the Soviet Union itself.

00:22:40 Speaker 4

And so we entered into our 3rd century.

00:22:43 Speaker 4

And we're about 1/3 of the way in right now.

00:22:46 Speaker 4

If you think about it.

00:22:48 Speaker 4

And what what is this new century been like?

00:22:52 Speaker 4

Well, I think one of the major accomplishments has been the.

00:22:55 Speaker 4

Expansion of Western alliances and economics.

00:23:00 Speaker 4

Western values that has taken place with the expansion of NATO.

00:23:04 Speaker 4

And also with the expansion of the European Union.

00:23:08 Speaker 4

This is this.

00:23:09 Speaker 4

Development is a major part of this new century, and as Joe Biden has said, in many speeches.

00:23:18 Speaker 4

The 21st century is the American Century.

00:23:26 Speaker 4

If you look at the other developments in this 1/3 of the way of.

00:23:32 Speaker 4

This century.

00:23:33 Speaker 4

Obviously, the rise of China from Tiananmen in exactly 1989 that same year.

00:23:40 Speaker 4

From Tiananmen on this tremendous rise of China, the climate crisis has become more apparent.

00:23:49 Speaker 4

Obviously, with each passing year, this is a a new data point.

00:23:55 Speaker 4

The United States has managed in this 1/3 of our century to run up a $31 trillion debt.

00:24:03 Speaker 4

Based on.

00:24:05 Speaker 4

Expensive wars of choice, tax cuts and spending for our population after 2008 and after COVID right? So there's but the result has been this.

00:24:18 Speaker 4

This debt that we're dealing with today in terms of our Congress.

00:24:24 Speaker 4

And you add to that the war in Europe.

00:24:28 Speaker 4

So there are so many new data points for this American Century Third American Century and I want to discuss them.

00:24:39 Speaker 4

In some order now, first of all, obviously the the rise of China, the sort of the reemergence of Russia is leading to a new.

00:24:51 Speaker 4

Geopolitical confrontation for us, Ukraine and Taiwan fit into this.

00:24:55 Speaker 4

Both China and Russia see those two conflicts as proxy wars being used by the US to contain them.

00:25:02 Speaker 4

That's that's their solid view of what's going on.

00:25:05 Speaker 4

Of course, we see it as we are trying to help these two countries to maintain their independence.

00:25:11 Speaker 4

And in the case of Ukraine to fend off an invasion.

00:25:15 Speaker 4

There are basically 4 situations right now that are of greatest concern, China's rise. What Russia is doing now. Iran obviously you know the the talks have broken down pretty much on a new revived nuclear deal.

00:25:33 Speaker 4

The new government is in Israel is very focused on the Iranian threat and there are possibilities that the Iran situation could become a little more tense going forward.

00:25:45 Speaker 4

And, of course, Kim Jong Un and North Korea are are in OverDrive, and there's more and more indication that these.

00:25:53 Speaker 4

For our cooperating.

00:25:55 Speaker 4

So both North Korea and Iran are sending armaments.

00:25:58 Speaker 4

I mean low level armaments to Russia and China has given de facto backing.

00:26:05 Speaker 4

They're trying to straddle the fence, but basically accepting what Russia has done.

00:26:13 Speaker 4

A number of studies have come out in the last couple of months, which I think are useful in sort of putting together the data points for what we're facing now in this new century.

00:26:23 Speaker 4

I think one of the most important was the UN population report that came out at the end.

00:26:30 Speaker 4

Of 2022, and this is where we're heading. There's some very interesting aspects to this number one. The overall population is a little the projection to 20.

00:26:43 Speaker 4

100 is a bit lower than it was even a year or two ago people were talking between 11 and 12 and now it is.

00:26:50 Speaker 4

A little over 10 because the population is going down in much of the world.

00:26:53 Speaker 4

India is about to surpass China as the most populous country we all read last week. That China for the first time has begun to decline in population and look at this chart. It starts to 2050.

00:27:08 Speaker 4

The decline is to about 1.3. It's a gradual decline, but then look at the next 50 years.

00:27:14 Speaker 4

770,000 in other words, the Chinese population is reduced by half.

00:27:22 Speaker 4

According to the UN.

00:27:24 Speaker 4

Now, this is obviously a major decline.

00:27:29 Speaker 4

But it's not the only by far not the only country facing that kind of decline.

00:27:35 Speaker 4

Here's sort of the list of of other countries. South Korea has the weakest demographics in the world. Right now they set a record last year for the lowest birth rate ever recorded in a modern economy 0.84.

00:27:52 Speaker 4

Now obviously COVID comes in a little bit on this.

00:27:56 Speaker 4

But these UN statistics were well formed of before COVID this is the this is the whole decade and and and looking forward Thailand.

00:28:06 Speaker 4

Most European countries also are have declining populations.

00:28:12 Speaker 4

And here you can see within this decline there's one region that is actually growing, and that's Africa.

00:28:19 Speaker 4

Which means that the relative weight of Africa in the human family will grow significantly. So this next chart, I think is very significant for looking at the situation here. Here's how it looks going out to 2100.

00:28:35 Speaker 4

What is the West?

00:28:37 Speaker 4

Will be down to under 10%.

00:28:41 Speaker 4

Of the human population, if you take the G7 with Japan, it's maybe at about 10%.

00:28:48 Speaker 4

I can tell you that this.

00:28:52 Speaker 4

Data point is something that the Chinese and the Russians are using exhaustively as they reach out to the global S which they now call the global majority, and they're in the summit that they had the Chinese and the Russians in February on February 4th.

00:29:11 Speaker 4

This past year, before the Russian invasion in their communique they said.

00:29:17 Speaker 4

There's a global minority that is trying to dictate its views and its values to the global majority. And by the way, this global minority is made-up of all the old colonial powers from Japan to Italy to France to the UK to the US. This is the narrative that they're using toward the global South.

00:29:38 Speaker 4

Why would you want to follow?

00:29:42 Speaker 4

Their course.

00:29:44 Speaker 4

So I don't think that I'm not sure how persuasive this narrative is.

00:29:49 Speaker 4

We'll get into that a little later, but it's certainly the focus of China, and Russia is shifting very much toward the global South in the current circumstance now, and the other data point of great significance.

00:30:01 Speaker 4

And this has to do with the global S is climate because it's the global South.

00:30:05 Speaker 4

That will be most impacted by the.

00:30:10 Speaker 4

Failing to meet these 10 year threats that we talked about earlier coming out of Davos COP, 27 was a not a great success, shall we say.

00:30:22 Speaker 4

And this map shows just how it is that the global S will be most impacted by our failure to act.

00:30:31 Speaker 4

You know, right now there's a terrible drought.

00:30:34 Speaker 4

Going on in in the Horn of Africa, our neighbours Somali and Ethiopian have family back in those countries who are really struggling now with with violence but also the water situation.

00:30:49 Speaker 4

This is from the Eurasia Group that just reported I, I wonder.

00:30:54 Speaker 4

This is kind of stark statistic, but it maybe you can see from this the the number of the present of the global population facing water. Water stress is up to close to 60%.

00:31:09 Speaker 4

So once again, the global S is.

00:31:13 Speaker 4

Is on the line for all of this, and.

00:31:17 Speaker 4

We are going back to coal.

00:31:18 Speaker 4

I mean with the energy crisis coming out of Ukraine, most countries now are going back to coal that this is a scene from Germany week or so ago.

00:31:27 Speaker 4

One of their coal installations is expanding to the point of of taking over a village.

00:31:32 Speaker 4

The villages are being moved and removed and Greta Tunberg was there.

00:31:37 Speaker 4

Was detained in the protest for this and President Biden is basically saying to our fossil fuel industry that it's your patriotic duty right now.

00:31:48 Speaker 4

To increase production longer term, we're for green energy, but for the time being, once again it's the short term long term dichotomy we talked about before.

00:31:59 Speaker 4

And here we are.

00:32:00 Speaker 4

So the US Census, you know, finished up and more and more kind of charts and data points are coming out about our situation.

00:32:10 Speaker 4

And there it is. You can see in the dark blue these are regions that have increased by 2% or more, not over the 10 year period but by but annually.

00:32:20 Speaker 4

And you can see that a lot of them are in in Florida.

00:32:23 Speaker 4

In fact, the by far the fastest growing metro area in the United States is a place called the villages.

00:32:34 Speaker 4

In Florida, which is a pretty much a large retirement community.

00:32:41 Speaker 4

This is our.

00:32:42 Speaker 4

Demographic future you can see this is from the last census adults.

00:32:47 Speaker 4

18 and over you can see the composition, ethnic and then children under 18 and as you can see the country is changing.

00:32:57 Speaker 4

There are more multiracial couples and and families.

00:33:03 Speaker 4

Hispanic population is growing.

00:33:07 Speaker 4

But this is within an overall demographic situation that's not as bad as a lot of the countries we looked at earlier, but we're not for immigration.

00:33:17 Speaker 4

Our demographics would not look so great either.

00:33:22 Speaker 4

The US population grew at its lowest rate since 1930. In these last polls, US lifespan has begun to fall. We all know the reasons whether it's the opioid crisis or or other other aspects.

00:33:37 Speaker 4

One very striking looking at the 18 and under the number of under eighteens.

00:33:42 Speaker 4

Dropped during the last census for the first time ever, it dropped by 1.5%.

00:33:49 Speaker 4

In 1960, the underage population of the US was 36%.

00:33:55 Speaker 4

Of our population today it's 22%.

00:33:58 Speaker 4

So these are demographic, as I say, not as stark.

00:34:03 Speaker 4

You know the the Census Bureau titled its main report about the census.

00:34:09 Speaker 4

50 states of grey, not 50 Shades of grey.

00:34:14 Speaker 4

50 states are great and here we are year by year.

00:34:19 Speaker 4

So you can see that the greatest generation is kind of hanging in there.

00:34:23 Speaker 4

Joe Biden's team. The silent generation is there, you know, still and then, but what's an anomaly? Is that the the youngest generation should be much higher than that.

00:34:33 Speaker 4

Ordinarily, right so.

00:34:37 Speaker 4

So this is as I say, these demographic trends affect us as well.

00:34:47 Speaker 4

And then the final thing I want to mention is.

00:34:53 Speaker 4

Is our national security strategy another data point came out in October and here we see the dichotomy that I mentioned before the strategy.

00:35:03 Speaker 4

Is based on the premise that we are at an inflection point.

00:35:07 Speaker 4

Historically, that the next 10 years will be decisive.

00:35:12 Speaker 4

And the paradigm, and we've all heard this before, is one of autocracy versus democracy globally.

00:35:21 Speaker 4

But Biden convened a summit for democracy.

00:35:23 Speaker 4

Of course, early in his administration.

00:35:29 Speaker 4

One threat that is.

00:35:32 Speaker 4

Voiced in this is is the inequality in the US that this document defines US inequality as one of the greatest national security threats to the United States.

00:35:45 Speaker 4

I mean, as you can see, the bottom 50% of us do not even register.

00:35:51 Speaker 4

On this graph.

00:35:54 Speaker 4

And of course, the top 10% are at about 70.

00:35:59 Speaker 4

Over 75% of the wealth, so I mean, there's always been inequality.

00:36:05 Speaker 4

But both in the US and globally.

00:36:08 Speaker 4

It is increasing.

00:36:09 Speaker 4

This is the situation room in the National Security Council.

00:36:14 Speaker 4

And the basic.

00:36:18 Speaker 4

Threat analysis in this document is that the number one threat facing the US is China.

00:36:24 Speaker 4

2nd secondly Russia.

00:36:27 Speaker 4

The most consequential geopolitical challenge as it seeks to reshape the international order to our detriment, but there's a second.

00:36:37 Speaker 4

Great challenge, and that's climate change, which is called an existential threat.

00:36:43 Speaker 4

And here we must cooperate with other countries.

00:36:46 Speaker 4

Now, how do you square that circle?

00:36:50 Speaker 4

In the document it says quote no country should withhold progress on existential transnational issues like climate change, just because of bilateral differences.

00:37:07 Speaker 4

Well, the Chinese for one are not buying it.

00:37:12 Speaker 4

And so we've seen because of Taiwan and other issues, I'll describe the Chinese have stepped back from cooperating on climate.

00:37:21 Speaker 4

This has been a major issue.

00:37:23 Speaker 4

They have stopped.

00:37:25 Speaker 4

Trying to rein in Kim Jong Un and that's one reason why he is.

00:37:30 Speaker 4

I think now in OverDrive developing missiles and and weapons.

00:37:35 Speaker 4

This is a great concern in Washington.

00:37:36 Speaker 4

We're trying to get the Chinese to become more cooperative, but the basic idea from China is you have a good relationship where?

00:37:42 Speaker 4

You don't.

00:37:44 Speaker 4

And everything else falls from.

00:37:45 Speaker 4

They tend to see this.

00:37:47 Speaker 4

You either have good quanshi.

00:37:48 Speaker 4

You either have a good rapport with somebody or you don't.

00:37:51 Speaker 4

They have a the idea of breaking it down the way we do in our document is foreign to them and maybe the most important issue that has fallen apart now with China is fentanyl.

00:38:05 Speaker 4

You know the amount of fentanyl coming in right now to the US is setting records the DEA seized.

00:38:12 Speaker 4

And this is from the report end of last year.

00:38:14 Speaker 4

They seized enough fentanyl to kill every American.

00:38:17 Speaker 4

That's what they seized.

00:38:20 Speaker 4

50 million fentanyl laced pills and these pills will they look like Oxycontin.

00:38:25 Speaker 4

They look like these are duplicates.

00:38:28 Speaker 4

Kids are taking these thinking.

00:38:30 Speaker 4

It's something else.

00:38:32 Speaker 4

And they're dying. 379 million deadly doses were also picked up.

00:38:41 Speaker 4

And so for a while, China was actually cooperating.

00:38:44 Speaker 4

There were a number of high profile arrests in China of groups.

00:38:48 Speaker 4

These are criminal groups that have been providing the components of fentanyl to the Mexican drug Lords.

00:38:59 Speaker 4

Almost all of the components do come from China.

00:39:04 Speaker 4

You know we're seeing this up in Duluth Thief River Falls.

00:39:07 Speaker 4

Some of the northern Minnesota cities are having huge problems right now because the stuff is coming in that way.

00:39:15 Speaker 4

And I know Duluth is really sounding the alarm about opioid fentanyl overdoses.

00:39:24 Speaker 4

We have to hope that the cooperation with China will get back back online again on these key issues, but for.

00:39:30 Speaker 4

The moment.

00:39:31 Speaker 4

As I say, they are not accepting this dichotomy.

00:39:34 Speaker 4

Between being the number one challenge.

00:39:38 Speaker 4

To us, and being somebody that needs to cooperate with us so.

00:39:43 Speaker 4

What policies are we adopting now in this situation?

00:39:48 Speaker 4

Well, there's a term in Washington I think.

00:39:50 Speaker 4

Originally came out of military, but it's used very widely now.

00:39:54 Speaker 4

Dime and these are the instruments of national power.

00:39:58 Speaker 4

The tools of national power.

00:39:59 Speaker 4

So you've got the diplomatic informational military.

00:40:04 Speaker 4

And then economic.

00:40:06 Speaker 4

And arguably in this new 3rd century we have been prioritizing military.

00:40:13 Speaker 4

In our involvements in the Middle East.

00:40:16 Speaker 4

And economic in the form of sanctions.

00:40:20 Speaker 4

In many ways, sanctions have taken the place of diplomacy.

00:40:23 Speaker 4

We're very good at Alliance management right now.

00:40:26 Speaker 4

Very good at that, but the diplomacy I think is taking second place to sanctions.

00:40:32 Speaker 4

This goes way back actually in US foreign policy, Woodrow Wilson was a huge convert to the idea of sanctions.

00:40:41 Speaker 4

In fact, he he got the League of Nations to make it a major instrument.

00:40:46 Speaker 4

You know, let's let's not fight with troops, let's use.

00:40:50 Speaker 4

Let's use sanctions.

00:40:51 Speaker 4

In fact a quote.

00:40:53 Speaker 4

From Versailles, when he was there, he said sanctions are a tool that brings a nation to its senses.

00:41:00 Speaker 4

Just as suffocation removes from the individual all inclination to fight.

00:41:06 Speaker 4

It's something more tremendous than war.

00:41:10 Speaker 4

Now, sanctions were used ineffectively by the League of Nations.

00:41:14 Speaker 4

They were used maybe most.

00:41:17 Speaker 4

Spectacularly by the US against Japan, we basically in the late 1930s because of Manchuria, strangled Japan from its natural resources.

00:41:28 Speaker 4

If you ever see the movie Tora, Tora, Tora about it, it it.

00:41:32 Speaker 4

It fleshes out this diplomatic situation that led up to the attack, and there's a number of recent books that have come out.

00:41:38 Speaker 4

Because the Japanese reacted, overreacted suicidally if you will.

00:41:44 Speaker 4

To being cut off that way.

00:41:47 Speaker 4

And in fact, it's a it's a kind of a precept of sanctions that that you have to have a diplomatic dialogue going at the same time, because nations are at their most dangerous when they perceive a a threat like this.

00:41:58 Speaker 4

A strangulation like this when there's no potential relief through diplomatic dialogue.

00:42:04 Speaker 4

And of course, the world's most sanctioned countries right now are by far Russia, and this is as of.

00:42:10 Speaker 4

March and there been a number of new sanctions levied on the Russians, and rightly so.

00:42:19 Speaker 4

So Ukraine.

00:42:21 Speaker 4

Speaking of sanctions.

00:42:25 Speaker 4

How far Will Putin go?

00:42:27 Speaker 4

You know his motivation in this?

00:42:29 Speaker 4

It's a mixture of almost mystical Russian nationalism.

00:42:33 Speaker 4

He wrote a long article the summer before the invasion about Russia and the role of Kiev in the formation of the Russian.

00:42:43 Speaker 4

State and a Russian Orthodox Church.

00:42:47 Speaker 4

And how this was integral to to Russia and had always been part of Russia.

00:42:52 Speaker 4

He basically denied that a Ukrainian nation existed.

00:42:58 Speaker 4

And so we have the tragic result, you know, Bill Burns our head of the CIA has pointed out, and he dealt with this as Ambassador to Russia.

00:43:07 Speaker 4

And he's one who said that this has been a red line.

00:43:10 Speaker 4

Ukraine for Russia for a long time, for decades, actually.

00:43:15 Speaker 4

And as he said that you know what, finally got Putin to move was not the idea of Ukraine and NATO.

00:43:25 Speaker 4

But rather NATO in Ukraine.

00:43:28 Speaker 4

Because since 2014, and this is ironic because the Trump administration had a very active, even while Trump had his bromance with Putin, we were arming the Ukrainians and training the Ukrainians on the ground. That's one reason they've been able to perform so well in this situation.

00:43:47 Speaker 4

And so this is the basic.

00:43:49 Speaker 4

Very basic situation as Russia tries to hold this eastern swath, which they've now declared officially part of Russia.

00:44:01 Speaker 4

You know their Parliament and next these areas, and so they're saying that any agreement.

00:44:06 Speaker 4

That is reached.

00:44:08 Speaker 4

We'll have to accept that.

00:44:11 Speaker 4

That will be the basis, and of course that's a non starter for the West.

00:44:15 Speaker 4

The main fighting right now this is just as of yesterday is happening up around bahmut.

00:44:23 Speaker 4

Where the Russians are making advances.

00:44:25 Speaker 4

This is where the where the where the the Ukrainians really do need more firepower and armor and they're taking.

00:44:34 Speaker 4

I hate to say this, but they're taking very very heavy losses up there.

00:44:40 Speaker 4

And you know Putin's dream. He's always talked about what he calls New Russia. That part of.

00:44:48 Speaker 4

Ukraine, which used to be primarily Russian speaking.

00:44:50 Speaker 4

I think a lot of even the Russian speakers now have more of a sense of Ukrainian nationalism than they had.

00:44:57 Speaker 4

Whether he would want to go that far in all the way to to harkov, it's hard to say, but this is basic idea in his.

00:45:04 Speaker 4

Head yeah, there are very strong reactions as as Russia now is pounding Ukraine trying to hit the infrastructure and make the people suffer.

00:45:13 Speaker 4

I mean, it's it's.

00:45:14 Speaker 4

It's tragic what's barbaric.

00:45:16 Speaker 4

What's going on?

00:45:18 Speaker 4

And and Ukraine as I say, needs our support.

00:45:21 Speaker 4

There's a new theme in Washington and beyond right now.

00:45:26 Speaker 4

And that is.

00:45:28 Speaker 4

The decolonization of Russia.

00:45:31 Speaker 4

The idea that we need on the basis of this to push further and basically push to have Russia fall apart.

00:45:38 Speaker 4

There are many other captive groups.

00:45:40 Speaker 4

This idea goes the Tartars, the English, the Chechens, all kinds of groups within Russia, basically.

00:45:50 Speaker 4

Take Russia out of the central narrative.

00:45:52 Speaker 4

And that's happening.

00:45:53 Speaker 4

I got, I got the invitation materials for this conference coming up.

00:45:57 Speaker 4

The Association for Slavic, E, European, and Eurasian Studies, which is the biggest Slavic studies organization in the US and and even globally, has made decolonization.

00:46:07 Speaker 4

Its theme for the upcoming.

00:46:10 Speaker 4

And the idea is that.

00:46:12 Speaker 4

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has led to calls for a reassessment and transformation of Russell centric.

00:46:20 Speaker 4

Relationships of power and hierarchy both in the region and in how we study it.

00:46:26 Speaker 4

In other words, get Russia out of the narrative.

00:46:29 Speaker 4

Going all the way back 400 years, reassess everything.

00:46:35 Speaker 4

This will be an interesting conference because there will be Russian historians, but Putin is using this.

00:46:41 Speaker 4

Putin now is telling the Russian people, oh, you see now the West wants to do us in.

00:46:45 Speaker 4

This is not about Ukraine.

00:46:47 Speaker 4

They want to destroy Russia and here are examples they they're using this decolonization theme in the propaganda back in Moscow.

00:46:57 Speaker 4

Now voices on Ukraine.

00:47:00 Speaker 4

You probably have all heard of the highly highly criticized John Mearsheimer University of Chicago and old style cynical realist.

00:47:10 Speaker 4

For whom Ukraine is a classic example of a great power not allowing encroachment on its periphery, he'll say it's as old as history.

00:47:19 Speaker 4

What did you expect?

00:47:21 Speaker 4

Well, that's old.

00:47:23 Speaker 4

Think as far as Washington is concerned actually.

00:47:28 Speaker 4

So mayor time goes as far as to blame NATO for the crisis, which is where he loses a lot of his listeners.

00:47:35 Speaker 4

But I see he's he's influential on the web.

00:47:38 Speaker 4

His underlying motive for all this, though, is that.

00:47:41 Speaker 4

He is somebody who believes that as a great power.

00:47:44 Speaker 4

Political scientist China is the issue for the future and therefore we should not be pushing China and Russia together.

00:47:53 Speaker 4

This is very much against our interests and therefore we have to find an accommodation with Russia somehow because China is the threat.

00:48:02 Speaker 4

So he has an ulterior motive in his argument.

00:48:06 Speaker 4

Now, as interesting as my general Mark Miley, who in November speaking to the Economic Club in New York.

00:48:16 Speaker 4

Gave a speech in which he said he's the chairman of our Joint Chiefs of staff.

00:48:23 Speaker 4

He said, and this was as of November, he said 100,000 Russian troops are dead or wounded.

00:48:30 Speaker 4

Terrible numbers.

00:48:32 Speaker 4

But he said it's the same number for Ukraine.

00:48:36 Speaker 4

100,000 Ukrainians as well and about 40,000 Ukrainians civilians killed.

00:48:44 Speaker 4

15 to 30 million Ukrainians displaced and as he said in this speech, that's a lot of suffering.

00:48:54 Speaker 4

And then he said.

00:48:56 Speaker 4

We have to look back to World War One.

00:49:00 Speaker 4

And we have to avoid the mistakes that were made before World War One when European leaders refused to negotiate.

00:49:09 Speaker 4

In time leading to the death and suffering of 1,000,000 more unnecessarily.

00:49:15 Speaker 4

Now, this speech was really criticized.

00:49:19 Speaker 4

By the administration by the Ukrainians by and he stepped it back.

00:49:25 Speaker 4

For using this 1914 analogy in his speech.

00:49:31 Speaker 4

The the thought paradigm that's dominant in Washington.

00:49:35 Speaker 4

If there's kind of a central.

00:49:38 Speaker 4

Vortex for this, I think it's the it's the thought of Robert Kagan and people like him who are staunch believers and a strong role for America and a belief that this is if it's if this is like anything today, it's like the 1930s.

00:49:57 Speaker 4

He he wrote a book, or sorry, wrote an article in 2019 with.

00:50:03 Speaker 4

Anthony blinken

00:50:04 Speaker 4

They're very good friends, basically saying we face an increasingly dangerous world that looks like the 1930s.

00:50:12 Speaker 4

We learned that the world does not govern itself.

00:50:17 Speaker 4

If the United States abdicated its leading.

00:50:19 Speaker 4

Role the world.

00:50:21 Speaker 4

Would descend into chaos and conflict and the jungle.

00:50:27 Speaker 4

Would overtake us as it did in the 1930s and one of his most famous books is called the Jungle Grows Back.

00:50:34 Speaker 4

I have a number of contacts in other from other countries who don't like being referred to as the jungle.

00:50:39 Speaker 4

But anyway, but this is the.

00:50:42 Speaker 4

This is the view in Washington very much, and it's something that would have us.

00:50:48 Speaker 4

Stand up to what Russia is doing.

00:50:52 Speaker 4

Thinking of the 1930s.

00:50:55 Speaker 4

That general Valery Illusionary is the chief of forces of all.

00:51:01 Speaker 4

Armed forces of Ukraine.

00:51:03 Speaker 4

He gave an interview in December.

00:51:07 Speaker 4

And he admitted a few things just like Mark Miley.

00:51:12 Speaker 4

He said the Russians are wearing down the Ukrainian forces.

00:51:17 Speaker 4

Especially at places like Bahmut, he felt that the Russians are building up now to to a major.

00:51:27 Speaker 4

Initiative he believes it's going to come already in February.

00:51:32 Speaker 4

When the ground is frozen, we're hearing on CNN that it's going to be April may he's afraid the Russians will move in February.

00:51:40 Speaker 4

And he says they could aim for Kiev.

00:51:44 Speaker 4

They could attack in the South.

00:51:48 Speaker 4

And he's worried.

00:51:51 Speaker 4

He and he said he he Ukraine needs armor and he called for 300 tanks.

00:51:57 Speaker 4

As soon as possible in this in this regard.

00:52:01 Speaker 4

What's changed in the discussion is the awareness of Ukrainian losses. There's been a lot about Russian losses, but in fact all along the Ukrainians are taking terrible losses here, with a smaller population the the the army that started the war for Ukraine on February 24th doesn't exist anymore.

00:52:23 Speaker 4

There's a new recruits being called up.

00:52:26 Speaker 4

And so the danger is.

00:52:30 Speaker 4

That if it becomes apparent that it's not just a matter of artillery but of manpower.

00:52:37 Speaker 4

Pressure will grow for NATO to send in troops.

00:52:40 Speaker 4

Already there are columnists in the Guardian newspaper and elsewhere calling for this even now.

00:52:48 Speaker 4

And of course, this would be an escalation.

00:52:49 Speaker 4

The problem is that both sides right now are dug in as I describe what Putin wants to hold on to.

00:52:55 Speaker 4

It's part of Russia, he says, and on the US side, in addition to the 1930s paradigm and the values at stake.

00:53:04 Speaker 4

The idea of giving Russia any kind of a victory or positive outcome.

00:53:10 Speaker 4

Would be like the old domino theory.

00:53:13 Speaker 4

It would embolden China.

00:53:15 Speaker 4

And so Washington is seeing the conflict in terms of China very much now as well and not just Ukraine.

00:53:23 Speaker 4

So you know, we'll see where this goes, how?

00:53:27 Speaker 4

How quickly this can be can be scaled down.

00:53:31 Speaker 4

I'm going to go into OverDrive here a little bit.

00:53:38 Speaker 4

The sanctions have been working well.

00:53:41 Speaker 4

Janet Yellen.

00:53:42 Speaker 4

Very nice person is kind of in charge of these very tough sanctions.

00:53:46 Speaker 4

She's let it be known that we're prepared to do this to any country.

00:53:51 Speaker 4

If it moves aggressively, we're warning China that we can have the same kind of sanctions against them that we have against Ukraine.

00:54:01 Speaker 4

You know our we're doing good job at Alliance management.

00:54:03 Speaker 4

Our allies are supporting us most of all, the Brits, the British, the British have been very, very supportive in spite of the problems they're having post Brexit.

00:54:16 Speaker 4

You know the the the nation watched with bated breath literally.

00:54:21 Speaker 4

Recently, when a head of lettuce prevailed in a contest with Prime Minister Liz Truss to see who would last longest.

00:54:36 Speaker 4

As I say, the Brits are having quite a quite a bit of a problem, and in addition.

00:54:39 Speaker 4

To, as we all know.

00:54:42 Speaker 4

The Royal family is in a relatively hairy situation.

00:54:52 Speaker 4

Of Epstein proportions and so.

00:54:56 Speaker 4

But nonetheless they are.

00:54:57 Speaker 4

They are.

00:54:57 Speaker 4

They are really.

00:54:58 Speaker 4

They have our back and you know the the Brit.

00:55:00 Speaker 4

The Brits have really been.

00:55:02 Speaker 4

Stepping up.

00:55:04 Speaker 4

Now, the sanctions cutting off Russian oil and gas have led to huge price increases across Europe.

00:55:12 Speaker 4

At one point the the French began to protest.

00:55:16 Speaker 4

During the mayor said quote the Ukraine crisis could lead to American economic domination as the US benefits.

00:55:23 Speaker 4

From the Ukraine crisis to the detriment of us of European interests.

00:55:29 Speaker 4

Of course we are selling a lot of LNG.

00:55:31 Speaker 4

Ted Cruz is very happy right now and the Texas LNG industry is extremely happy with what's.

00:55:36 Speaker 4

Going on this has all calmed down because the prices, as I said earlier, have come to weigh down, so it's less of a less of an issue.

00:55:44 Speaker 4

But as I mentioned, the the global S has not been supporting as much and you know one reason.

00:55:51 Speaker 4

As you can see here, the countries that have agreed to sanction Russia, it's pretty much.

00:55:58 Speaker 4

Data in the G7. Other countries have demurred, and of course China. India are buying a lot of oil and and gas from Russia at low prices. The global S has its own problems with. With inflation. As you can see, it's been skyrocketing.

00:56:16 Speaker 4

It's a combination of energy of.

00:56:22 Speaker 4

Food prices increasing and then high interest rates in the West to make it hard to refinance their debt.

00:56:28 Speaker 4

You know the typical family in the developing world spends 20% of their income on food in Africa, it's 40%.

00:56:36 Speaker 4

So we're seeing forms of unrest in the developing world during this past year.

00:56:41 Speaker 4

Of course, in Brazil the Bolsonaro forces taking a page from Trump the Trump playbook occupying parliament.

00:56:50 Speaker 4

Peru has had serious.

00:56:54 Speaker 4

Serious revolt I have friends who were trapped in Machu Picchu.

00:57:00 Speaker 4

Much of Beach was closed and the tourists there are unable to get out for.

00:57:03 Speaker 4

Now and we're seeing it South of the border.

00:57:07 Speaker 4

Here are people crossing the Rio Grande at El Paso. The numbers are way up also in Europe we had 2.2 million arrests along the border in the year to September. That's a record.

00:57:21 Speaker 4

We're working with Mexico to have them take about 30,000 Cubans. Haitian Nicaraguans and Venezuelans back.

00:57:29 Speaker 4

But and let's say Europe has also got very high, so this is all part of the dislocation going on in the developing world.

00:57:36 Speaker 4

They have other issues.

00:57:38 Speaker 4

Frankly they say Europe.

00:57:39 Speaker 4

They see Europe as kind of off in its own set of problems, which aren't necessarily theirs, and some of some of the leaders are actually.

00:57:49 Speaker 4

Rather outspoken about this, so for example.

00:57:54 Speaker 4

President Ramaphosa still Ramaphosa of of South Africa, is blaming NATO for the Ukraine crisis, and he's accusing the West of racism.

00:58:03 Speaker 4

Saying hey Ukrainians are white.

00:58:05 Speaker 4

And so your news outlets are 24/7 about the day-to-day problems of the Ukrainians. What about Yemen? What about Somalia? What about all these other issues in the world that you neglect because you're racist?

00:58:19 Speaker 4

That's his basic argument.

00:58:21 Speaker 4

And by the way, South Africa next week will join Russia and China in military exercises.

00:58:29 Speaker 4

Similarly, Mackey cell who is the head of the African Union President of Senegal, has said that the the problems energy problems that the developing world face are because of sanctions, not because of the Russian invasion.

00:58:45 Speaker 4

Now we are recognizing that we're losing the global S here.

00:58:49 Speaker 4

So our diplomats are very active right now in Africa, trying to correct the narrative.

00:58:56 Speaker 4

And there was an Africa summit just a month or so ago in Washington.

00:59:00 Speaker 4

We're going to put a higher priority on Africa now in this situation.

00:59:06 Speaker 4

OK, very quickly the sanctions have been most striking in the fact that we seized $325 billion of Russian assets parked in the West. There are many people who want to use this money to rebuild Ukraine.

00:59:22 Speaker 4

Now this is.

00:59:24 Speaker 4

This is being seen as a as a.

00:59:27 Speaker 4

As a.

00:59:28 Speaker 4

A precursor for other countries, and so the IMF is saying this risks fracturing the global financial system.

00:59:35 Speaker 4

It risks provoking a move away from the dollar because it's the dollar that allows the sanctions.

00:59:40 Speaker 4

And so lo and.

00:59:41 Speaker 4

Behold, in the.

00:59:44 Speaker 4

In the BRICS, grouping.

00:59:46 Speaker 4

They had a recent meeting in which they are now working toward a.

00:59:52 Speaker 4

An alternative currency and the Chinese have said that they want to develop this as fast as possible.

00:59:57 Speaker 4

The idea China is working on a digital currency.

01:00:00 Speaker 4

They're buying up gold like there's no tomorrow.

01:00:03 Speaker 4

The gold markets are being roiled by Chinese purchases.

01:00:07 Speaker 4

The idea is a digital currency linked to commodities just the way the dollar used to be.

01:00:12 Speaker 4

And that would be used within certain spheres.

01:00:15 Speaker 4

The China Act, so it wouldn't be that taking over the financial infrastructure, but fragmentation of.

01:00:24 Speaker 4

The financial infrastructure.

01:00:26 Speaker 4

Now we in Washington believe that there's no chance this could ever happen because of Tina.

01:00:35 Speaker 4

Margaret Thatcher coined this.

01:00:37 Speaker 4

There's no alternative and.

01:00:41 Speaker 4

Because if you on right now is only two 2% of global financial purchases, the dollar and the euro dominate, but but there are signs that this could possibly move forward. You know Joe Biden had a went to Canossa and fist bumped Mohammed bin. Salman asked the Saudis.

01:01:01 Speaker 4

To increase oil production they didn't.

01:01:03 Speaker 4

They did the opposite, which was bad for Biden before his reelection.

01:01:08 Speaker 4

And Xi Jinping was just there talking about a.

01:01:14 Speaker 4

Petro yuan

01:01:16 Speaker 4

That China will now trade with the GCC, the Gulf Cooperation Council, and Saudi Arabia uniquely in yuan.

01:01:25 Speaker 4

But it'll be a strong digital yuan and they will offer.

01:01:31 Speaker 4

Aid for downstream development of oil and gas.

01:01:35 Speaker 4

They're offering the same thing to the to the to Iran.

01:01:38 Speaker 4

Whether this goes anywhere, nobody knows, but Brazil and.

01:01:44 Speaker 4

And Argentina, Luis Lula da Silva and Alberto Fernandez just announced this week a dual currency between their two countries to avoid the dollar.

01:01:56 Speaker 4

This was the way they phrased it.

01:01:57 Speaker 4

This is very unlikely to happen.

01:02:00 Speaker 4

That this would be a real stretch.

01:02:02 Speaker 4

Anyway, now very quickly I'm going over, but started a little bit late.

01:02:07 Speaker 4

I'm going just a few more minutes if you'll bear with me.

01:02:11 Speaker 4

Because on China.

01:02:16 Speaker 4

So you know we have moved away from they used to call strategic ambiguity on China, part of the One China policy was that.

01:02:27 Speaker 4

We would support Taiwan, but we left it open.

01:02:30 Speaker 4

How far we'd go in supporting them.

01:02:32 Speaker 4

It's been part of the balance.

01:02:33 Speaker 4

Well, Joe Biden has said four times.

01:02:35 Speaker 4

We will support.

01:02:39 Speaker 4

Taiwan, militarily

01:02:41 Speaker 4

It's been walked back every time, but I think the Chinese are beginning to realize that there's a policy shift because Taiwan is at a crucial point in what's called the first island chain.

01:02:52 Speaker 4

And for our position in.

01:02:54 Speaker 4

Asia and promoting our values in Asia as we would say, it's essential so we have A and we've declared we have a a a vital U.S.

01:03:03 Speaker 4

National interest in Taiwan now.

01:03:05 Speaker 4

It's the first time we've ever said that.

01:03:08 Speaker 4

Not one China but Taiwan and we have got the Japanese now to say the same thing.

01:03:13 Speaker 4

Japan has declared Taiwan a vital Japanese national interest.

01:03:19 Speaker 4

And finally, Japan is taking steps just like Germany, to have a stronger military.

01:03:25 Speaker 4

They're going to buy Tomahawk missiles.

01:03:27 Speaker 4

From us now.

01:03:29 Speaker 4

Which are offensive can strike China as Prime Minister.

01:03:33 Speaker 4

Kishida has said Japan will go from having a shield.

01:03:37 Speaker 4

To having a spear.

01:03:40 Speaker 4

So all these are important developments there, and as Putin and she's in pain tighten their relationship.

01:03:48 Speaker 4

This is a virtual summit.

01:03:49 Speaker 4

They had end of last year.

01:03:52 Speaker 4

Their cooperation is growing.

01:03:56 Speaker 4

Very briefly, she Jinping emerged stronger from the party Congress that was held.

01:04:05 Speaker 4

Here you can see the Eurasia Group's estimation of his strength in the Politburo on the Standing Committee compared to to his first two elections.

01:04:16 Speaker 4

But China has a lot of problems.

01:04:17 Speaker 4

Obviously a lot of problems.

01:04:20 Speaker 4

The handling of COVID.

01:04:23 Speaker 4

It was a real whiplash if you will.

01:04:26 Speaker 4

For people, it's unclear how that's going to work.

01:04:29 Speaker 4

The housing crisis is still there.

01:04:32 Speaker 4

And so there are people in Washington now influential people like Hal Brands who's kind of a rising star at Johns Hopkins sites who are now.

01:04:41 Speaker 4

He's always said China is a threat and he's always said there's going to be a war with China.

01:04:44 Speaker 4

He's it's like a broken record.

01:04:46 Speaker 4

He's like Gordon Chang.

01:04:47 Speaker 4

That way his latest book is called Danger Zone.

01:04:49 Speaker 4

The coming conflict with China and the premise is.

01:04:52 Speaker 4

It's a weak China.

01:04:54 Speaker 4

That's dangerous.

01:04:55 Speaker 4

Not a strong China.

01:04:56 Speaker 4

It's a weak China that could cause them to do something like on Taiwan for example.

01:05:03 Speaker 4

But Washington, for its part, is still seeing.

01:05:09 Speaker 4

China, in terms of its strength and that strength, very much involves.

01:05:17 Speaker 4

Tech and the most advanced tech, all of which has military implications and so crisis is developing over semiconductors.

01:05:27 Speaker 4

This is sort of a.

01:05:28 Speaker 4

Look across American centuries here from the 2nd to the 3rd.

01:05:33 Speaker 4

Quantum computing is a big part of this.

01:05:37 Speaker 4

Some of the best minds in the world are in China.

01:05:40 Speaker 4

On this Jin Wei Pan and his young assistant.

01:05:44 Speaker 4

Now, who probably is as smart as he is our leading figures in the world, you can't undo that.

01:05:48 Speaker 4

You can't sanction that necessarily.

01:05:50 Speaker 4

This is.

01:05:50 Speaker 4

Just brain power.

01:05:52 Speaker 4

So you know the whole semiconductor industry has gravitated to Asia. As you can see here, between 1990 and 2020.

01:05:59 Speaker 4

It's mostly in Asia now. One corporation in Taiwan. TSMC produced about 95% of the highest, most refined semiconductor chips.

01:06:11 Speaker 4

Makes Taiwan even more important, so the architect of our counter offensive against this now is Jake Sullivan, who says we want to maintain the strongest lead as possible over China in this area.

01:06:24 Speaker 4

So Jake from Southwest High School is.

01:06:29 Speaker 4

Well, he's he's on one of the so they talk about in the administration on China there are cooperationist who believe there could be a win win.

01:06:36 Speaker 4

Centrists, who for a careful approach and then restrict restrictionists hardliners and that I'm afraid Jake is among the latter.

01:06:44 Speaker 4

So the chips and Science Act will give a lot of subsidies for high tech.

01:06:52 Speaker 4

Including for chip makers to build manufacturing plants here we want to lure a lot of South Korean, Japanese and European chip making to our shores so that supply chains are are right here.

01:07:04 Speaker 4

In addition, the Inflation Reduction Act also has all kinds of subsidies for tech and also in the green area.

01:07:11 Speaker 4

And the build back better bill incentives for electric cars if you build them here, you'll get all kinds of tax breaks and subsidies.

01:07:19 Speaker 4

China or rather Canada and Mexico are included under that umbrella, but the European Union isn't.

01:07:25 Speaker 4

And so the European Union is protesting and is accusing us of protectionism and is vowing to retaliate.

01:07:35 Speaker 4

The Economist is not amused by what's happening that this is the most recent issue.

01:07:41 Speaker 4

They're very critical of the US policy.

01:07:43 Speaker 4

They say it is.

01:07:45 Speaker 4

It is like the 1930s. They say yes, OK. If you want to have a 1930s paradigm, it's like the protectionism that got going during the 1930s. The tip for tat.

01:07:55 Speaker 4

Tariffs and things that really brought down the global economy and led to the instabilities that led to World War Two.

01:08:01 Speaker 4

So the Economist is saying that the US policy here of rather than competing with China.

01:08:05 Speaker 4

Trying to trying to hobble them because you know, we.

01:08:10 Speaker 4

Sorry, we've declared we want to slow China's high performance computing. We want to freeze in place the semiconductor industry. We want to blacklist Chinese companies, not just Huawei, but all companies.

01:08:23 Speaker 4

And so a number.

01:08:24 Speaker 4

We're also going to try to restrict out outflowing an investment to China in high tech.

01:08:29 Speaker 4

Limits on how U.S.

01:08:30 Speaker 4

citizens and residents can interact with Chinese corporations.

01:08:34 Speaker 4

It's a very comprehensive set of countermeasures because we are worried about the Chinese advances in in high tech.

01:08:43 Speaker 4

So, so I'm going to end on a more positive note because you know there was a glimmer of hope again at the Bali meeting at the G20, Biden and she agreed to.

01:08:56 Speaker 4

Restart low level working.

01:08:58 Speaker 4

Level meetings Blinken will go to.

01:09:01 Speaker 4

China in.

01:09:04 Speaker 4

In next year in February in February, rather.

01:09:08 Speaker 4

The Chinese are saying, yes, we'll talk, but unless there's concrete action on things like Taiwan

01:09:14 Speaker 4

Don't expect major cooperation, and of course we're still gearing up in the Congress for more steps on Taiwan, so we'll see what happens here.

01:09:22 Speaker 4

Lisa's in diplomacy, going on with Russia, there's none. This is Basil house, the ambassador's residence in Moscow. It's stood vacant since February. Pretty much our.

01:09:35 Speaker 4

Embassy staff has gone from about 1500 to about, I think about.

01:09:40 Speaker 4

300 or something like that? It's it's. I mean, when I was at the embassy in in Moscow there was 17 political officers.

01:09:47 Speaker 4

I think in the 90s there were like in the 40s there's one right now.

01:09:51 Speaker 4

Most of the remaining staff is there for security issues and so sponsor house is molding and inside is so much.

01:10:02 Speaker 4

So the world for the moment is breaking down into blocks.

01:10:07 Speaker 4

We have to hope that this doesn't happen.

01:10:09 Speaker 4

This is the dichotomy.

01:10:11 Speaker 4

That's been through all this throughout this speech, starting in the heights of Davos.

01:10:17 Speaker 4

Is it geopolitics?

01:10:20 Speaker 4

Or is it this Lonely Planet that?

01:10:23 Speaker 4

It's out there trying to survive it this this.

01:10:25 Speaker 4

This is the dichotomy we're going to think through as a nation in our foreign policy.

01:10:30 Speaker 4

So stop there.

01:10:30 Speaker 4

I went over and I look forward to your questions.

01:10:47 Speaker 5

Is this working OK?

01:10:49 Speaker 5

Thank you.

01:10:49 Speaker 5

Sorry it's a new mic.

01:10:51 Speaker 5

Thank you so much, Tom.

01:10:54 Speaker 5

If you folks have any other questions as we're going along, please pass them to the end of your rose.

01:10:59 Speaker 5

The global Minnesota staff can collect them and then bring them up to me.

01:11:03 Speaker 5

That would be great.

01:11:06 Speaker 5

So, Tom, you've talked a lot about the intersection of foreign policy and domestic policy with the Chips Act and build back.

01:11:14 Speaker 5

Better and Jake Sullivan has said on numerous occasions over the past couple of years that and this is also included in the national security strategy that was released in October.

01:11:27 Speaker 5

That domestic policy should serve as the North Star for foreign policy of the Biden administration.

01:11:34 Speaker 5

And so curious about how that is playing out in addition to.

01:11:40 Speaker 5

Some of the tangible initiatives that you've already mentioned, and as a corollary to that, what risks do you see coming from internal threats to US?

01:11:53 Speaker 5

Democracy in terms of the United States international presence?

01:12:00 Speaker 4

Good good questions.

01:12:01 Speaker 4

So yeah.

01:12:02 Speaker 4

Jake Sullivan has always said that the most important thing in our foreign policy.

01:12:08 Speaker 4

Is to have a foreign policy for the middle class.

01:12:12 Speaker 4

And that's I think I, I think that's one reason the US inequality was put in the national security strategy as a major threat.

01:12:19 Speaker 4

It's the same kind of outlook that our our domestic strength is key, so I think that a lot of the programs that have been.

01:12:29 Speaker 4

Adopted under the Biden administration.

01:12:33 Speaker 4

Build back better Inflation Reduction act, the Chips Act and now the the the strategies against the the Chinese tech industry.

01:12:43 Speaker 4

Are intended to create jobs in the US. I mean, Biden has said that 40,000 or more new jobs will result from these policies. Now. The Boston Consulting Group issued a report.

01:12:58 Speaker 4

Month or two ago saying that actually no 40,000 jobs will be lost.

01:13:03 Speaker 4

Because so many US corporations are really intertwined with China and will have a hard time extricating themselves in a in a smooth way.

01:13:14 Speaker 4

In addition, you know a lot of our allies are balking at this.

01:13:19 Speaker 4

You know, we're we're insisting that they go along.

01:13:21 Speaker 4

It's interesting that we consulted with all of our allies before on announcing these latest policies against Chinese semiconductors.

01:13:30 Speaker 4

But then we went on and announced it on our own because we didn't get the buy in.

01:13:35 Speaker 4

From the Asians or from the Europeans on this.

01:13:37 Speaker 4

So this this trade issue what we see as a foreign policy for the middle class and creating jobs is seen by other countries to some extent as protectionist and as potentially starting a new trade war.

01:13:53 Speaker 4

So to this degree, our domestic politics are having a heavy influence and maybe they should because you know, we we let the semiconductor industry go supply chains.

01:14:03 Speaker 4

I mean now the talk is not.

01:14:07 Speaker 4

Just in time supply chains, but just in case, supply chains, everyone's trying to bring their supply chains home and have a better, you know, a better hold and handle on them.

01:14:20 Speaker 4

Yeah, I mean this I.

01:14:21 Speaker 4

I think that this is important for Jake Sullivan and for the administration.

01:14:25 Speaker 4

And I think that they.

01:14:27 Speaker 4

That the the big issue will be the Europeans are insisting that they get the same treatment as the Mexicans and the Canadians in these and those that they be given the subsidies and not be on the outside.

01:14:40 Speaker 4

And the administration has not.

01:14:43 Speaker 4

Agreed to that yet, and there's still negotiations going on, so this might get might get diffused.

01:14:51 Speaker 4

So yeah, and then the internal threats, because they're linked, you know a a lot of unemployment, social dislocation, economic dislocation.

01:15:02 Speaker 4

In the US.

01:15:02 Speaker 4

I mean obviously can have political ramifications.

01:15:06 Speaker 4

So I think that's also in the mind of the administration.

01:15:12 Speaker 4

You know we had a speaker in another organization recently.

01:15:16 Speaker 4

Sheila Berman from Barnard College, who's a big expert on?

01:15:20 Speaker 4

On democracy and she said I I found rather shockingly.

01:15:24 Speaker 4

That the greatest threat in the West right now to democracy is in the.

01:15:30 Speaker 4

That the US is the outlier.

01:15:32 Speaker 4

And I thought, well, not all these populist movements that are gaining strength in Europe.

01:15:37 Speaker 4

You've got Maloney and Italy and.

01:15:40 Speaker 4

And her point was a proportional electoral system of multiple parties can much more easily manage and integrate.

01:15:50 Speaker 4

This kind of anti democratic movement than a two party system because if if that if a movement like that takes possession of one of the two parties.

01:16:00 Speaker 4

It's an immediate threat to to the system.

01:16:04 Speaker 4

With the bully pulpit.

01:16:05 Speaker 4

So she was.

01:16:06 Speaker 4

She was saying that that actually the US political structure opens up a vulnerability.

01:16:13 Speaker 4

This was her analysis, I'm not sure I agree because I mean in Israel.

01:16:18 Speaker 4

For example, you've got a right wing coalition, right?

01:16:20 Speaker 4

This is a number of parties that came together.

01:16:23 Speaker 4

For a right wing government that is threatening the judiciary just like in Poland or Hungary so and and I'm sure you've seen that you know, for our FBI, the number one number one terrorist threat is is is internal, it's domestic.

01:16:39 Speaker 5

Thank you as you can imagine there are a number of questions related to US engagement on Russia's war in Ukraine and.

01:16:48 Speaker 5

As usual, there's so.

01:16:49 Speaker 5

Many fantastic questions, and they're also beautifully worded.

01:16:52 Speaker 5

So thank you for that, so I'm just going to read out a couple of these here.

01:16:56 Speaker 5

Kind of around a similar theme.

01:16:59 Speaker 5

So should Russia consider NATO expansion as an existential threat?

01:17:05 Speaker 5

Actually, we'll let's start with that one and then then I have some other broader ones on Russia. And could you talk about Putin's perspective on that?

01:17:14 Speaker 5

Could you also talk about how things are going for the Russian people and how they're regarding the war in Ukraine?

01:17:20 Speaker 4

Yeah, that's the last was a tough one to get at so you know I don't know the there's so much been written about the 1990s.

01:17:31 Speaker 4

And what was or was not promised to the Russians?

01:17:36 Speaker 4

And it is true that with each new wave of NATO expansion starting with the Visegrad countries and going to the Baltic States, the Russians have stomached it.

01:17:46 Speaker 4

I mean, even Putin was in had been in for four years when the Baltic States came into NATO.

01:17:52 Speaker 4

And at every juncture the Russian mess and and Bill burns.

01:17:56 Speaker 4

Talks about this a lot.

01:17:58 Speaker 4

Is OK, all right but not Ukraine and not Georgia.

01:18:05 Speaker 4

It's been a constant so I think in in some ways the Russians are almost.

01:18:10 Speaker 4

It's like they feel disrespected.

01:18:13 Speaker 4

And it's like, OK, that's it, you know, that's the last straw kind of a kind of a thing. Nothing justifies what they've done and you know there are ways that if Russia had evolved in a more democratic direction, there wouldn't be these problems. They'd be much more integrated into Europe as as they tried to become in the 1990s.

01:18:33 Speaker 4

Unsuccessfully, there was.

01:18:35 Speaker 4

There was one point I.

01:18:36 Speaker 4

I have a hard time knowing how this factors in I I don't know.

01:18:41 Speaker 4

The by administration is much more organized than its predecessor.

01:18:45 Speaker 4

The team is.

01:18:47 Speaker 4

It's the same team that was under Obama that would have been under Hillary.

01:18:50 Speaker 4

I mean this group, Victoria Nuland, Curt Campbell, Jake, you know that this is a tight group and very competent.

01:19:00 Speaker 4

So in a very organized way, they set out in Biden's first year to.

01:19:06 Speaker 4

Clarify the US position to go away from strategic ambiguity so they they announced that Ukraine was a vital U.S.

01:19:12 Speaker 4

National interest and Taiwan, a vital U.S.

01:19:15 Speaker 4

National interest which had not happened before.

01:19:18 Speaker 4

Now this just it's just wording but.

01:19:22 Speaker 4

You know it it it indicates something.

01:19:23 Speaker 4

And so when the US signed a.

01:19:26 Speaker 4

Strategic charter with Ukraine in early September, not NATO.

01:19:32 Speaker 4

It was bilateral and with the prompt once again vital U.S.

01:19:35 Speaker 4

National interest and integrate Ukraine fully into all transatlantic institutions, including NATO.

01:19:41 Speaker 4

Russia mobilized 5 days later.

01:19:44 Speaker 4

And I think that the Chinese are are taking umbrage at at the shifts.

01:19:49 Speaker 4

Even the verbal shifts on Taiwan.

01:19:54 Speaker 4

Are they really threatened? I mean, we say you know, NATO's, a defensive organization.

01:19:59 Speaker 4

And we don't threaten you, and probably one of the real threats to Russia would be at least to Putin, a thriving democracy in Ukraine next door as a.

01:20:09 Speaker 4

As a model.

01:20:11 Speaker 4

So all these factors are in play, but I think a big part of it is putins.

01:20:17 Speaker 4

And maybe this is more widely spread in Russia, but I'm not sure.

01:20:20 Speaker 4

It is among the older Russians.

01:20:21 Speaker 4

Yes, because a lot of the Russian, the young Russians have left.

01:20:25 Speaker 4

I've met them all over the world, you know, and in in online, in places and.

01:20:32 Speaker 4

You know the the the the word was that we were seven hundred. 300,000 had left young techie Russians. It's now 7 to 800,000 have left.

01:20:41 Speaker 4

They're in the Maldives. They're in Armenia. They're in there, they're everywhere working. You know, for Russian companies online because Putin's been very careful not to disturb the intelligentsia.

01:20:54 Speaker 4

You know he's recruiting out of the prisons.

01:20:56 Speaker 4

He's recruiting out of the far reaches of the Russian Expanse, so I think a lot of young Russians.

01:21:03 Speaker 4

Don't buy this outlook.

01:21:06 Speaker 4

Older Russians maybe so and the church.

01:21:09 Speaker 4

Is very supportive of Putin.

01:21:11 Speaker 4

Whether these the latest sort of sort of indications in the West that we would go further to try to break up Russia somehow, whether that's effectively making Russians more nationalistic, I don't know.

01:21:25 Speaker 4

I'll say that the opinion polls done by.

01:21:28 Speaker 4

By Pew with the Levada Institute in in Russia indicate that the Russians now do vast majority do not consider themselves European.

01:21:40 Speaker 4

That's the and and they're seeing themselves as a Eurasian power.

01:21:44 Speaker 5

Thank you so many many more questions around the threat posed by.

01:21:54 Speaker 5

Russia, in terms of a nuclear conflict, and I think these are all really beautifully worded.

01:21:59 Speaker 5

I'm just going to.

01:21:59 Speaker 5

I'm just going.

01:22:00 Speaker 5

To say them all in quick succession here, if we push for deconstruction of Russia will they resort to nuclear reactions?

01:22:09 Speaker 5

Are we sleepwalking toward a wider European war?

01:22:12 Speaker 5

What is an exit strategy for this?

01:22:14 Speaker 5

If it is true.

01:22:16 Speaker 5

How would you assess the nuclear threat coming from Russia and how this might affect US support for Ukraine?

01:22:22 Speaker 5

And what is the major risk of escalation in Ukraine?

01:22:27 Speaker 4

Right yes well.

01:22:27 Speaker 5

Yeah yeah, you've already touched yes.

01:22:30 Speaker 4

Yeah, so I mean Putin has.

01:22:32 Speaker 4

I mean he he's been Saber rattling in words saying you know the nuclear threat is not a bluff.

01:22:40 Speaker 4

You know, under certain circumstances we'll use weapons, and one of those circumstances is a risk to the Russian state.

01:22:47 Speaker 4

To disintegration of the Russian state, he's also making a big deal about their more advanced weapons.

01:22:53 Speaker 4

The Russians are ahead of us in hypersonic weaponry and they have something called the zircon missile.

01:22:59 Speaker 4

Which is it can be launched from some from stealth submarines.

01:23:02 Speaker 4

It's a hypersonic 9 times the speed of sound.

01:23:06 Speaker 4

They've deployed them in.

01:23:07 Speaker 4

Connect this.

01:23:10 Speaker 4

Exercise of China, Russia and South Africa will have a zircon.

01:23:15 Speaker 4

Missile submarine, as part of it.

01:23:18 Speaker 4

So the Russians are kind of saying, you know this.

01:23:22 Speaker 4

We will escalate if necessary.

01:23:24 Speaker 4

Now in Washington, nobody believes that.

01:23:28 Speaker 4

So for instance, at Davos, Boris Johnson spoke and his whole speech was about how the Russians will never will, never escalate.

01:23:38 Speaker 4

So don't worry about that, they will not go into a clear.

01:23:41 Speaker 4

You know the the concern is what like Japan. As I pointed out in the early 1940s, it was a suicidal act. I mean, the Japanese military knew.

01:23:53 Speaker 4

That they, in fact, that there's a quote from one of their commanders that they were awakening a sleeping monster.

01:23:58 Speaker 4

By attacking Pearl Harbor that that this would galvanise America, and you know, and so but if if countries are cornered that way, do they stay rational.

01:24:09 Speaker 4

I mean, we we raised, we rattled the nuclear Saber.

01:24:13 Speaker 4

If if that's a mixed metaphor.

01:24:16 Speaker 4

Or for Cuba?

01:24:19 Speaker 4

I mean a number of our, you know, number our generals were urging the use of nuclear weapons.

01:24:25 Speaker 4

Over Cuba.

01:24:27 Speaker 4

So I don't know.

01:24:28 Speaker 4

I mean, I, I I, I think that the Russians are.

01:24:35 Speaker 4

I think they're taking this methodically step by step.

01:24:38 Speaker 4

I think they still think there's a chance they can prevail with conventional weapons.

01:24:43 Speaker 4

Would they negotiate?

01:24:46 Speaker 4

You know, if the loss if it becomes clear that it's a, it's a stalemate.

01:24:49 Speaker 4

That's not going to go anywhere.

01:24:50 Speaker 4

You know when the war started?

01:24:53 Speaker 4

Solinski proposed neutrality for Ukraine.

01:24:57 Speaker 4

And the Russians were talking about that there.

01:24:59 Speaker 4

There was nothing about seizing the whole eastern part of Ukraine that came later.

01:25:04 Speaker 4

So would it be possible for all sides to go back to those positions from from February 24th?

01:25:11 Speaker 4

Having already staked them out.

01:25:13 Speaker 4

And just say, OK, we'll go back to our original position, but.

01:25:17 Speaker 4

For both sides, as I mentioned for us, China is looming there.

01:25:20 Speaker 4

We don't want to set any precedents that the Chinese may misinterpret, and the Russians and also a lot of blood has been lost now, and so that also makes it hard.

01:25:30 Speaker 4

I personally don't think it'll go nuclear.

01:25:32 Speaker 4

If I had to bet, but.

01:25:36 Speaker 4

It's an emotional, very emotional war so.

01:25:40 Speaker 5

I could leave a time check to help one more.

01:25:43 Speaker 5

OK, well, all right.

01:25:44 Speaker 5

In that case I will try to we'll try to end on a positive note.

01:25:49 Speaker 5

Can you share any examples of.

01:25:51 Speaker 5

Good governance in the world.

01:25:55 Speaker 4

Yes, yes yes I can.

01:25:59 Speaker 4

There's an example of very good governance, but she just stepped down at the age of 42.

01:26:06 Speaker 4

I I think it Jacinda Ardern did it very good job in New Zealand.

01:26:08 Speaker 4

There are a number of female leaders right now.

01:26:11 Speaker 4

Young female leaders in the West in the Scandinavian countries I mean.

01:26:18 Speaker 4

OK, Liz Truss was beaten out by a cabbage but still she you know and.

01:26:23 Speaker 4

So yes, and I think the Scandinavian countries continue to keep a balance even as they become more diverse.

01:26:30 Speaker 4

They still, although Sweden has shifted a bit.

01:26:32 Speaker 4

Now the Swedish Democrats are.

01:26:35 Speaker 4

Are coming up.

01:26:37 Speaker 4

Chile was always seen as a very good example of good governance and some of the crises hitting the developing world now have have touched on them.

01:26:45 Speaker 4

Ethiopia was doing great.

01:26:47 Speaker 4

They had the highest growth rate in the world before the outbreak of conflict, so.

01:26:53 Speaker 4

You know there are a lot of good examples and you know the 1990s. It appeared that there was a a tsunami of democracies not just in Eastern Europe.

01:27:04 Speaker 4

People talk about the Democratic recession now and the the challenge seems to be in functioning democracies with with real.

01:27:13 Speaker 4

Democratic elections candidates get elected who then seek to undermine.

01:27:19 Speaker 4

From within using that position.

01:27:22 Speaker 4

We saw some of that here.

01:27:23 Speaker 4

Of course Israel.

01:27:27 Speaker 4

I don't know how far Netanyahu will go here with some of his plans.

01:27:32 Speaker 4

You know Orban is democratically elected, so in some ways the the threat even within well functioning democracies can come that way.

01:27:40 Speaker 4

And So what you really need is an educated populace.

01:27:42 Speaker 4

That's something I worry about here.

01:27:45 Speaker 4

Just, you know, students are really not being.

01:27:48 Speaker 4

Inculcated with the basic information you need to to be a democratic citizen.

01:27:54 Speaker 4

Hopefully some of that will change.

01:27:58 Speaker 4

But no, it's the democracy is hanging in there and.

01:28:03 Speaker 4

Like I say, I I I was very sad to see Jacinda Ardern step down and she was being very democratic in doing it.

01:28:09 Speaker 4

I mean just stepping back from office so.

01:28:13 Speaker 5

All right with that, let's give Tom Brown a reply.

01:28:30 Speaker 4

Get out of your.

01:28:31 Speaker 4

Way here that's great.

01:28:35 Speaker 1

Well, let's give one more big.

01:28:36 Speaker 1

Round of applause to Tom.

01:28:37 Speaker 1

That was amazing.

01:28:45 Speaker 1

You have another thorough.

01:28:46 Speaker 1

And insightful policy foreign policy update.

01:28:49 Speaker 1

I think we're all going to leave here tonight feeling a bit more confident and a bit more informed about US foreign policy.

01:28:56 Speaker 1

We we talked about some tough topics.

01:28:58 Speaker 1

I appreciated that occasionally you you let us off with a little humor that was so that was helpful.

01:29:03 Speaker 1

But there are a lot of tough subjects up there that we had to talk about tonight, and it's great to get the opportunity to learn about it.

01:29:10 Speaker 1

I was super impressed with all of your questions.

01:29:12 Speaker 1

Well, thank you for taking the time to make thoughtful questions and make this.

01:29:15 Speaker 1

A discussion between all of us.

01:29:17 Speaker 1

About these important issues, I want to take a minute to say thank you as well to the global Minnesota staff and team members at help to put tonight together.

01:29:26

Thank you.

01:29:29 Speaker 1

I particularly want to thank Katie Kelly, who's only been on staff with us for three weeks and had major responsibility in putting tonight's event together, so congratulations.

01:29:37 Speaker 1

Katie for that work.

01:29:41 Speaker 1

Huge round of applause for Nick for providing the interpretation tonight.

01:29:47 Speaker 1

It's been said that I speak a little fast at times, so I was impressed.

01:29:51 Speaker 1

You kept up with me, thank.

01:29:52 Speaker 1

You nick for that?

01:29:55 Speaker 1

In a moment I'd like to invite you all outside the hall for a small reception, but first I want to let you know about an upcoming event.

01:30:03 Speaker 1

That our programming team is working now to finalize at the end of February we'll be hosting a Somali policy update to facilitate a better understanding of the humanitarian and political crisis unfolding in the East African country.

01:30:18 Speaker 1

So please keep an eye out on your inboxes for a special invite to that program in the coming weeks.

01:30:24 Speaker 1

And if you're curious about that or other events or programming that we have, you can certainly ask the staff for a flyer out in the entrance area out here as we leave tonight, or certainly check out our website, or even better, become a member and we will keep you up to date on what's going on at global Minnesota.

01:30:42 Speaker 1

Thank you all again.

01:30:43 Speaker 1

So much for being here this evening.

01:30:45 Speaker 1

For those that were here in person tonight again, you certainly can join us out in the gallery space for cake and coffee reception.

01:30:52 Speaker 1

For those that are participating virtually this marks the official end of our program. I can't say again enough coming on board as your new global Minnesota President. How thankful I am for everyone's's hand that's been extended to me.

01:31:06 Speaker 1

For the, for the information you've provided me, the support you provided me, and most importantly, the enthusiasm you provided me for this important thing that we're all doing together here, which is elevating the understanding of people across.

01:31:19 Speaker 1

Our state about the important global issues of our day.

01:31:22 Speaker 1

Thank you for taking time to be a part of this great activity and movement that we're doing here together and I want to thank you all and again.

01:31:28 Speaker 1

Wish you a great and lovely evening.

01:31:30 Speaker 1

Thanks everyone.