

WEBVTT

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<v SPEAKER_1>Hello again, and welcome to Global Exchange, part of the Canadian Global Affairs Institute's Podcast Network.

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<v SPEAKER_1>I'm your host Colin Robertson.

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<v SPEAKER_1>On this episode, recorded on August 22nd, we look at our changing geopolitical landscape and its implications for Canada and the fellow democracies with Jeremy Kinsman and John Negroponte.

00:00:26.420 --> 00:00:36.760

<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy Kinsman served as political director, as High Commissioner to the United Kingdom, and as our ambassador to Russia, the European Union, and Italy, amongst other assignments.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy continues to write on foreign affairs in Policy Magazine, and you can hear him on the Canadian International Council's Red Passport Podcast, together with our friends Louise Blais and Peter Donolo.

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<v SPEAKER_1>John Negroponte is Vice Chairman at McLarty Associates.

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<v SPEAKER_1>He served for more than five decades as a US diplomat, including assignments as Ambassador to Honduras, Mexico, the Philippines, the United Nations, and Iraq.

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<v SPEAKER_1>In Washington, he served in the National Security Council staff, first as Director for Vietnam in the Nixon administration, and as Deputy National Security Advisor under President Reagan.

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<v SPEAKER_1>He held cabinet rank under President George W.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Bush as the first Director of National Intelligence, before finishing his Foreign Service career as Deputy Secretary of State.

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<v SPEAKER_1>John joins us from Washington while Jeremy is in Victoria.

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<v SPEAKER_1>John and Jeremy, welcome back.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Hi, John.

00:01:37.000 --> 00:01:38.520

<v SPEAKER_2>Hi, Colin.

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<v SPEAKER_3>Thanks very much for this opportunity, Colin.

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<v SPEAKER_1>It's a pleasure to have you both again.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Listeners, as you know, we last spoke to Jeremy and John in February, the day Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky was in the Oval Office where he was berated by President Donald Trump and Vice President JD Vance.

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<v SPEAKER_1>At the time, the Economist Editor, Zanny Minton Beddowes wrote, Under Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Trump, Ukraine is being betrayed, Russia is being rehabilitated, and America can no longer be counted on to come to Europe's aid in wartime.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Arguably, Beddowes' evaluation would still apply.

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<v SPEAKER_1>In Anchorage last week, we saw American Marines roll out the red carpet for President Vladimir Putin with President Trump clapping Putin's arrival.

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<v SPEAKER_1>There was no deal and no media questions at the subsequent news conference, although Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Trump appeared to support Putin's position of a negotiated peace settlement rather than a ceasefire.

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<v SPEAKER_1>The drama then moved to Washington earlier this week, where President Zelensky, who this time came in a suit with a supporting entourage that included the leadership of the European

Union, NATO, Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Finland.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Discussions focused on land swaps, security guarantees, the return of captured Ukrainian children and a possible meeting involving Putin, Zelensky and perhaps Trump and perhaps even the European Union.

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<v SPEAKER_1>So let's get started.

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<v SPEAKER_1>And John, I want you to lead on this one.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Can the United States, Europe and Ukraine align on territorial integrity, security guarantees and membership in the European and NATO for Ukraine through, might be a ceasefire, might be a secession of hostilities or a formal agreement?

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<v SPEAKER_1>How do you see this playing out?

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<v SPEAKER_3>First of all, thanks for hosting us to this event, Colin.

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<v SPEAKER_3>It's a real pleasure to be with you again.

00:03:40.560 --> 00:03:50.060

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, you asked a huge question, and you sort of asked the whole ball of wax all in one sentence.

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<v SPEAKER_3>I don't know.

00:03:51.080 --> 00:04:05.500

<v SPEAKER_3>You're sort of asking if Humpty Dumpty can be put back together again because of the really almost calamitous meeting between President Trump and Zelensky back several months ago.

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<v SPEAKER_3>So now, can we recover from that?

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<v SPEAKER_3>I think Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_3>Trump has done a lot of damage to the prospects for Ukraine with the positions that he's adopted, first by negotiating on

Ukraine's behalf without really having their consent to do so.

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<v SPEAKER_3>But in his discussions with Putin, I think he's sort of have aggregated that privilege to himself.

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<v SPEAKER_3>Secondly, he's made it clear that he countenances the possibility of Ukraine making unwarranted concessions, and by that I mean conceding territorial concessions to Russia in exchange for peace.

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<v SPEAKER_3>And he has also ignored what the European position in support of Ukraine is.

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<v SPEAKER_3>So can we get that back together again?

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<v SPEAKER_3>I think it was a good step for Mr.

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<v SPEAKER_3>Trump to have met together with Zelensky the other day, and the other European leaders who joined him.

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<v SPEAKER_3>And we'll see if something can be put back together again, but I think it's going to be perhaps a fairly long and painstaking process.

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<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy, I like John's analogy to Humpty Dumpty and trying to put the pieces back together again.

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<v SPEAKER_1>With Trump as the architect, is this possible?

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<v SPEAKER_1>And if so, how do you see it coming together?

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<v SPEAKER_2>I don't see it coming together, Colin.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I think that I don't want to sound like a formalist traditional diplomat who believes in things like the Congress of Vienna is the only method to solve big problems.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But Trump is an agent of chaos, and he is entirely improvisational, entirely short-term.

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<v SPEAKER_2>His record on this topic, as well as on many others, has been just a wild ride from saying that it is absolutely essential for there to be a ceasefire as a precondition of negotiations, and then meeting, and if not, there are going to be serious consequences almost immediately for Russia.

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<v SPEAKER_2>He then meets Putin, and then having talked to Putin who says, no, that's a bad idea.

00:06:41.380 --> 00:06:46.160

<v SPEAKER_2>You and I can settle everything, and we'll let Zelensky know later what we've settled.

00:06:47.640 --> 00:06:50.480

<v SPEAKER_2>He completely veered away from it.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Not only do we have no idea what he's going to say or think next, his credibility generally is just declining.

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<v SPEAKER_2>On the issue of form, historically, and John knows better than me, having been involved in great American negotiations, because I didn't particularly of Vietnam leading to Paris.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But the endgame of obtaining settlement, of really existential issues, has to be prepared in a process that tests the issues, tests the resistance, that works its way up to a summit.

00:07:40.580 --> 00:07:44.240

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, you don't start with a declaratory summit.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And Trump is notoriously ignorant about the issues.

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<v SPEAKER_2>So is his appointed special envoy, Witkoff, has no knowledge of the history of this conflict, of the psychology of Russian psychology of Ukrainians.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And it's simply impossible to do it the way Trump seems to want to run the United States, which is entirely top-down.

00:08:12.860 --> 00:08:29.220

<v SPEAKER_2>So I fear the worst because the worst being simply that the war goes on and on, which means that Ukraine has to be reinforced, so it can inflict punishment on Russia for continuing the war.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Putin is convinced that the demographic advantage of Russia is going to carry them through.

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<v SPEAKER_2>There is some evidence they've gained about 1% of Ukrainian territory.

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<v SPEAKER_2>In fact, they've only gained 1% in the last three years.

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<v SPEAKER_2>But in recent months, they're pressing hard.

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's obvious Ukrainian people are absolutely sick and tired of the war, genuinely tired because they're getting bombed in Kharkiv and Kiev every night.

00:08:57.160 --> 00:08:59.940

<v SPEAKER_2>They're sleeping in the metro.

00:08:59.940 --> 00:09:05.940

<v SPEAKER_2>Everybody's tired and tired of the war, and that's part of Putin's war, is the psychological part.

00:09:06.920 --> 00:09:23.160

<v SPEAKER_2>But the point is that we have to reinforce Ukraine's ability to push back until they reach the point that most wars reach that both sides realize there's nothing further to be gained and they have to cut to the issues.

00:09:23.160 --> 00:09:25.700

<v SPEAKER_2>I don't think they'll be able to solve the issues.

00:09:25.700 --> 00:09:33.020

<v SPEAKER_2>They didn't discuss swaps in Washington because it was premature, nothing to discuss.

00:09:33.520 --> 00:09:50.020

<v SPEAKER_2>The only thing they discussed was the security mechanism in the event that there is a ceasefire, how to insulate Ukraine from a reprise of an assault by Putin, which is a standard MO.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And that's a tough thing to solve without the United States.

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<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, Trump vaguely concedes it will be a backstop, but no boots on the ground, of course.

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<v SPEAKER_2>He says maybe we'll extend air power.

00:10:05.620 --> 00:10:10.000

<v SPEAKER_2>But just imagine if the Russians did it, there was a ceasefire.

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<v SPEAKER_2>Russians in two months broke it, obviously on a pretext.

00:10:14.120 --> 00:10:24.900

<v SPEAKER_2>And then the European and Canadian troops, some of whom will be scattered in the front line, actually get into a shooting thing against the Russians.

00:10:24.900 --> 00:10:27.600

<v SPEAKER_2>Would the United States come into that?

00:10:27.600 --> 00:10:28.880

<v SPEAKER_2>The other nuclear power?

00:10:29.240 --> 00:10:32.400

<v SPEAKER_2>My every instinct tells me they probably wouldn't.

00:10:32.720 --> 00:10:41.520

<v SPEAKER_2>But NATO countries would be engaged in a fight, if not a semi-war, with Russia.

00:10:41.520 --> 00:10:43.480

<v SPEAKER_2>Isn't that what Article 5 is about?

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<v SPEAKER_2>It's not about this half-assed sort of imagined Article 5 type thing that Wittkopf was talking about.

00:10:50.880 --> 00:10:52.640

<v SPEAKER_2>That's the real Article 5.

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<v SPEAKER_2>And these are enormously complicated issues.

00:10:55.560 --> 00:11:14.780

<v SPEAKER_2>I only wish that somehow something could be done in

Washington to enable Trump to see the benefit of preparing a position in consultation with the Europeans who are critical, critically involved in this.

00:11:14.780 --> 00:11:24.560

<v SPEAKER_2>He treats them, you know, sitting in front of them, the resolute desk in the Oval Office, like a bunch of school children in front of their tutor.

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<v SPEAKER_2>You know, it was a horrifying sight for European citizens saying, what is going on here?

00:11:32.700 --> 00:11:39.320

<v SPEAKER_2>He's got to recognize that he is not king of the world and he can't pull this deal off by himself.

00:11:39.320 --> 00:11:42.420

<v SPEAKER_2>And if he tries, at least he has to know what he's doing.

00:11:42.420 --> 00:11:44.280

<v SPEAKER_2>So that's what I feel.

00:11:44.320 --> 00:11:47.860

<v SPEAKER_1>John, Jeremy makes the point about the process.

00:11:47.860 --> 00:12:05.080

<v SPEAKER_1>You know, you spent your career in the process, the American process developed after the Second World War, the National Security Council, Interagency Process, became much respected, if not always agreed with, by the rest of the world.

00:12:05.080 --> 00:12:05.520

<v SPEAKER_1>But Mr.

00:12:05.520 --> 00:12:11.460

<v SPEAKER_1>Trump seems to have taken a bowling ball, wrecking the process.

00:12:11.660 --> 00:12:13.900

<v SPEAKER_1>How does the process work anymore?

00:12:14.080 --> 00:12:24.740

<v SPEAKER_1>The State Department, the resignations and the reductions through Doge, and we were talking about soft power earlier before we began on things like the Voice of America.

00:12:24.740 --> 00:12:28.280

<v SPEAKER_1>What is the process in Washington today?

00:12:30.660 --> 00:12:32.920

<v SPEAKER_1>You came out of that process.

00:12:32.920 --> 00:12:38.380

<v SPEAKER_1>It worked well for the world as it was developed for 80 years.

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<v SPEAKER_1>But where is it today?

00:12:41.240 --> 00:12:43.340

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, great question.

00:12:43.340 --> 00:12:47.240

<v SPEAKER_3>I want to come back to another point later about what Jeremy had to say.

00:12:47.340 --> 00:12:57.920

<v SPEAKER_3>But to answer your question, look, the process emerged from World War II and Harry Truman's presidency.

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<v SPEAKER_3>The legislation that established the National Security Council, also established the CIA.

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<v SPEAKER_3>And we did have a process that developed over the years.

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<v SPEAKER_3>And it became a fairly smooth working operation where positions were coordinated between the departments.

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<v SPEAKER_3>We had the sort of famous triumvirate or quad of state, defence, CIA, a combination of agencies that then worked closely together and then before the Security Council brought options to the president for his consideration.

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<v SPEAKER_3>And by and large, the system worked.

00:13:42.840 --> 00:13:45.580

<v SPEAKER_3>It worked for all these years.

00:13:45.580 --> 00:13:57.400

<v SPEAKER_3>But the president has sort of just it's part of his leadership style to think that, you know, he can do it all himself and that he doesn't need the help of these institutions.

00:13:57.400 --> 00:14:05.720

<v SPEAKER_3>And then he's also developed a rather low opinion of the different agencies, especially the State Department.

00:14:05.720 --> 00:14:16.920

<v SPEAKER_3>And so the process is the process and the agencies involved are in the process of being kind of rendered ineffective.

00:14:16.920 --> 00:14:22.560

<v SPEAKER_3>Look what's happened to the State Department with a reduction in force and so forth.

00:14:22.560 --> 00:14:31.740

<v SPEAKER_3>So I don't know if the process can be rebuilt, but it's certainly not in effect and not working at the moment.

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<v SPEAKER_3>And that makes it very, very difficult to come up with coordinated interagency positions for the president to carry out and leaves a lot therefore, to his own spontaneity and I think this is one of the serious problems that we have in the current implementation of United States national security policy.

00:15:00.880 --> 00:15:22.160

<v SPEAKER_3>If I could say something about what Jeremy was talking about earlier, it seems to me, elementary diplomacy for us to have denied the legitimacy of what the Russians have done in Ukraine.

00:15:22.160 --> 00:15:26.340

<v SPEAKER_3>And I thought that up until the advent of Mr.

00:15:26.340 --> 00:15:31.180

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump's second administration, I think we've done a pretty good job of us.

00:15:31.180 --> 00:15:33.640

<v SPEAKER_3>By that, I mean the international community.

00:15:34.560 --> 00:15:46.760

<v SPEAKER_3>But I think that was upended first by that kind of disastrous initial meeting that he had at the beginning of his second term with President Zelensky.

00:15:46.760 --> 00:15:49.780

<v SPEAKER_3>And then the other day, the image of Mr.

00:15:49.780 --> 00:15:57.580

<v SPEAKER_3>Putin being granted the red carpet arrival ceremony that Mr.

00:15:57.580 --> 00:16:11.780

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump extended to him in Alaska, which, I mean, must have been a devastating image for people directly involved in this conflict on our side, if you will, to have observed.

00:16:11.780 --> 00:16:31.120

<v SPEAKER_3>And until we get back to the position that these acquisitions, acquisitions by the Russians or seizures are illegitimate, our negotiating position really lacks the right kind of a foundation.

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<v SPEAKER_3>So last comment on this score for my part is that what we need is, yes, a ceasefire, but what we really need to aim for is an armistice between Russia and Ukraine and the others involved that does not pretend to solve the political and territorial issues at stake, but recognizes that they exist.

00:16:59.820 --> 00:17:14.720

<v SPEAKER_3>And meanwhile, we have this armistice that permits the cessation of hostilities so that we can, in the relative tranquility of a ceasefire and an armistice, we can go ahead and work on these issues diplomatically.

00:17:16.180 --> 00:17:17.660

<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy, does that make sense to you?

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<v SPEAKER_1>Armistice is almost a Korean-type solution or what we've tried other places before you move to whatever final set of what you get?

00:17:24.240 --> 00:17:25.320

<v SPEAKER_2>Absolutely.

00:17:25.320 --> 00:17:26.260

<v SPEAKER_2>It's a great word.

00:17:26.260 --> 00:17:29.020

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think it captures what has to happen.

00:17:29.020 --> 00:17:30.500

<v SPEAKER_2>It's better than just truce.

00:17:31.280 --> 00:17:33.760

<v SPEAKER_2>It's more solid with substance.

00:17:33.760 --> 00:17:45.700

<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, the border issues with regard to the Donbas are very, very difficult for Zelensky.

00:17:46.660 --> 00:17:57.340

<v SPEAKER_2>Just imagine the map, those four provinces of the Donbas, starting with Luhansk and Donetsk at the top, and then Zaporizhzhia and Herson at the bottom.

00:17:57.340 --> 00:18:04.660

<v SPEAKER_2>They form a solid kind of mass that then joins Crimea.

00:18:04.660 --> 00:18:07.020

<v SPEAKER_2>And that's what Putin wants.

00:18:07.020 --> 00:18:16.660

<v SPEAKER_2>If he gets all of that, he can go back to the Russian people and say, I'm a glorious figure and you're glorified by this wonderful achievement.

00:18:16.660 --> 00:18:28.160

<v SPEAKER_2>If he doesn't get that, people are really gonna start, even in a police state, to ask why the hell we lost a million people, casualties and dead.

00:18:28.160 --> 00:18:31.040

<v SPEAKER_2>And so he's gonna keep driving for that.

00:18:31.040 --> 00:18:47.280

<v SPEAKER_2>And I agree with John that it's impossible for Zelensky to concede to Russia territory they haven't won by force of arms, by diplomacy.

00:18:47.280 --> 00:18:49.680

<v SPEAKER_2>He's not going to do it.

00:18:50.000 --> 00:18:55.960

<v SPEAKER_2>And in fact, he is forbidden by his Constitution to concede territory at all.

00:18:55.960 --> 00:19:00.440

<v SPEAKER_2>But it has to be done, as John says, and it will take a long time.

00:19:00.440 --> 00:19:09.360

<v SPEAKER_2>And therefore, they're gonna have to have an armistice along the demarcation lines that they're gonna have to choose.

00:19:09.360 --> 00:19:14.300

<v SPEAKER_2>And that choice, Russia is trying to influence very hard right now by moving forward.

00:19:14.620 --> 00:19:16.900

<v SPEAKER_2>But that is what's going to have to happen.

00:19:16.900 --> 00:19:50.300

<v SPEAKER_2>And yes, you know, it may be like North and South Korea or Cyprus, or another one I thought of the other day, which is that at the very end of the Second World War, just when America was, Stalin knew, was about to detonate the atomic bomb over Japan, Russia decided to opportunistically seize the Kiro Islands north of there, alongside up from Japan, and grabbed them.

00:19:50.300 --> 00:19:59.340

<v SPEAKER_2>And you know, in consequence, that Japan and the Soviet Union never did, therefore, sign an end to the Second World War.

00:19:59.480 --> 00:20:05.180

<v SPEAKER_2>They're still technically at war, because they were never able to solve that land dispute.

00:20:05.180 --> 00:20:06.620

<v SPEAKER_2>It's still up in the air.

00:20:06.620 --> 00:20:35.900

<v SPEAKER_2>All to say that it may be that this is going to be a frozen conflict for some time to come, and we're going to be at daggers drawn, as a bunch of, I'll say, free societies, you know, including Japan and Australia, viewing Russia exactly as John said, as a predatory, an adversary, for as long as Putin is there, and maybe even after, I don't know.

00:20:36.540 --> 00:20:42.160

<v SPEAKER_2>So people have to be level-headed and focus on what is obtainable.

00:20:42.160 --> 00:20:47.260

<v SPEAKER_2>And I really lament the lack of rigor.

00:20:49.200 --> 00:20:59.260

<v SPEAKER_2>In my view is worse than what John said about Trump's view of this as a self-appointed mediator.

00:20:59.260 --> 00:21:14.900

<v SPEAKER_2>It's not that he doesn't explicitly condemn Russia repeatedly for starting this aggressive war, this invasion which violates every ethic that came out, every norm that came out of the Second World War.

00:21:15.600 --> 00:21:19.120

<v SPEAKER_2>It's that he seems to be on Russia's side.

00:21:19.300 --> 00:21:26.880

<v SPEAKER_2>He doesn't even acknowledge the fundamental fact that it

was Russia that invaded Ukraine.

00:21:27.720 --> 00:21:42.400

<v SPEAKER_2>He keeps saying to Zelensky, I mean, he said the other day that the balls in Ukraine's court, he, Zelensky, could end this war almost immediately if he wanted to.

00:21:43.240 --> 00:21:45.640

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, sure, he could be giving up.

00:21:45.640 --> 00:21:55.220

<v SPEAKER_2>So and this guy, the president of the United States shouldn't call him this guy, is in charge of mediating a conflict.

00:21:55.220 --> 00:21:56.820

<v SPEAKER_2>It's just unthinkable.

00:21:56.820 --> 00:21:59.040

<v SPEAKER_2>And I'll say my last point.

00:21:59.040 --> 00:22:05.620

<v SPEAKER_2>We all, we have contacts in Europe, you know, and people talk to other people they know when they trust.

00:22:05.620 --> 00:22:10.000

<v SPEAKER_2>I can tell you that the Europeans, the lead Europeans are absolutely disgusted.

00:22:10.500 --> 00:22:19.520

<v SPEAKER_2>They're making a good face of being cooperative of the Trump, being deferential, very deferential.

00:22:19.520 --> 00:22:28.300

<v SPEAKER_2>But in their crew, it really hurts because they think this is an appallingly self-destructive show that's going on.

00:22:28.300 --> 00:22:39.920

<v SPEAKER_2>And they've got to find some remedy that may be a much more, what will I say, ostensibly forceful European participation in this process, which Putin does not want.

00:22:39.940 --> 00:22:46.880

<v SPEAKER_2>One of his goals, he wants to make Russia get great again, but his other big goal, he wants to split the West.

00:22:47.460 --> 00:22:53.480

<v SPEAKER_2>And sometimes I wonder if Trump isn't helping him do that.

00:22:53.480 --> 00:22:55.800

<v SPEAKER_2>So that's what I think.

00:22:55.800 --> 00:23:06.420

<v SPEAKER_1>John, I read in the most recent issue of Foreign Affairs, Adam Poulsen at the Peterson Institute, who I used to rely upon, what they turned up when I was at the embassy in Washington.

00:23:06.420 --> 00:23:09.240

<v SPEAKER_1>It's a new essay called The New Economic Geography.

00:23:09.240 --> 00:23:13.940

<v SPEAKER_1>And Jeremy talks about Russia as a predatory adversary.

00:23:13.940 --> 00:23:20.080

<v SPEAKER_1>But Poulsen is basically saying that the United States is becoming, I guess I'd put it as a predatory ally.

00:23:20.080 --> 00:23:31.900

<v SPEAKER_1>We're in a post-American economy, he argues, with the United States having moved from being the global insurer to an extractor of profit.

00:23:31.900 --> 00:23:38.320

<v SPEAKER_1>And this has real implications, obviously, for countries like Canada, Mexico, Japan, and South Korea, the big trading partners.

00:23:38.320 --> 00:23:40.260

<v SPEAKER_1>Does this sound right to you?

00:23:42.260 --> 00:23:43.500

<v SPEAKER_3>Yes, to a point.

00:23:43.500 --> 00:23:47.320

<v SPEAKER_3>I don't know how far it's going to go, but yes.

00:23:47.600 --> 00:24:02.220

<v SPEAKER_3>He wants to show, because he has this kind of the simplistic view of economic and political relationships, that there's something in it for us, in the relationship.

00:24:02.220 --> 00:24:12.100

<v SPEAKER_3>And if he can demonstrate that there's a concrete deliverable, he thinks that that makes the outcome of the negotiation more palatable.

00:24:12.100 --> 00:24:24.080

<v SPEAKER_3>So if he can say, well, I got X amount of access to critical minerals in Ukraine as a result of the negotiation, then that's a good thing.

00:24:24.080 --> 00:24:37.800

<v SPEAKER_3>Now, I don't fault a certain degree of, shall we say, economic and commercial consciousness as you negotiate these different kinds of agreements.

00:24:37.800 --> 00:24:43.680

<v SPEAKER_3>I mean, we have examples in history where that took place quite often.

00:24:43.680 --> 00:24:56.060

<v SPEAKER_3>I think some of the arrangements we negotiated after World War II, let's say with the British for landing rights in what had been prior bases of the United Kingdom and so forth.

00:24:56.060 --> 00:25:05.420

<v SPEAKER_3>But there's got to be limits and it can't be an utterly mercenary operation.

00:25:05.540 --> 00:25:14.320

<v SPEAKER_3>I think we risk seeing some of that in the, there is some of that in the Trump foreign policy, no doubt about it.

00:25:19.220 --> 00:25:22.580

<v SPEAKER_4>Hi, I'm Dave Perry, the President and CEO of The Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

00:25:22.580 --> 00:25:27.200

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00:25:27.200 --> 00:25:36.060

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00:25:42.960 --> 00:26:01.560

<v SPEAKER_1>He doesn't seem to get, I mean, you were there through that whole period where American generosity to the allies, but it was also self-interested generosity because having a strong alliance meant strong trading partners and strong allies.

00:26:01.560 --> 00:26:08.260

<v SPEAKER_1>If they were not as strong as you would have liked, they are now becoming stronger, but that whole thing seems to have been sort of washed away.

00:26:08.600 --> 00:26:32.300

<v SPEAKER_1>I'd read also a piece by Bob Zalek in The Wall Street Journal in which he talked about that philosophy which Poston also talks about, that sort of underlay American policy for the many years you were involved, which was the allies, there was a certain cost attached to it, but the benefits were much greater than the costs.

00:26:32.800 --> 00:26:51.280

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, it goes to the lesson, the lessons learned from the outcome of World War I, and what happened as a result of the punitive approach that the European nations basically took vis-a-vis Germany as a consequence.

00:26:51.280 --> 00:27:02.000

<v SPEAKER_3>And so, I mean, the Marshall Plan was an extraordinary initiative on our part, and I would think basically was not that self-interested.

00:27:02.280 --> 00:27:22.300

<v SPEAKER_3>It was intended as an effort to get Europe back on its economic feet so that we didn't have the disastrous kind of situation that developed after World War I, and I think it was by and large, especially vis-a-vis Japan and Germany, a considerable success.

00:27:22.300 --> 00:27:23.340

<v SPEAKER_3>Look at what Mr.

00:27:23.340 --> 00:27:24.220

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump has done.

00:27:24.220 --> 00:27:48.200

<v SPEAKER_3>In contrast, he's gone and weakened the Foreign Service as a whole, and he's abolished of all things our main instrument for granting and dispensing international economic assistance, which I think has been very foolhardy and will have considerable costs and implications.

00:27:49.720 --> 00:28:11.260

<v SPEAKER_1>The state instruments of soft power, whether we're talking about USAID or we're talking about Voice of America, and what the State Department did through cultural programs, all this seems to have been cast aside when, as you point out, I do think that the American soft power was commensurate with hard power.

00:28:11.260 --> 00:28:32.200

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, and the UN also, and the UN, you've got the specialized organizations, you've got UNHCR, UNICEF, all those instruments that we took a hand in helping create when the United Nations was created, that the United Nations system was created.

00:28:32.680 --> 00:28:34.440

<v SPEAKER_1>You were the architects, all right.

00:28:34.620 --> 00:28:38.480

<v SPEAKER_1>My question to you, John, then follow up, and I want Jeremy to come in on this.

00:28:38.480 --> 00:28:43.480

<v SPEAKER_1>Is that system irrevocably wrecked?

00:28:43.480 --> 00:28:53.320

<v SPEAKER_1>And the rules-based order that we've all worked under, is it recoverable if the elections go the other way?

00:28:53.320 --> 00:28:59.300

<v SPEAKER_1>Are we now dealing with an entirely different system that we're going to have to think through?

00:28:59.300 --> 00:29:00.800

<v SPEAKER_1>John?

00:29:00.800 --> 00:29:01.360

<v SPEAKER_3>Yeah.

00:29:01.360 --> 00:29:03.740

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, short answer, yes.

00:29:03.740 --> 00:29:05.700

<v SPEAKER_3>I think it's recoverable.

00:29:05.700 --> 00:29:12.980

<v SPEAKER_3>And it goes to the question I asked earlier of how much damage will, in fact, be done between now and when Mr.

00:29:12.980 --> 00:29:15.340

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump's term ends.

00:29:15.340 --> 00:29:32.980

<v SPEAKER_3>But I hope that there'll be enough muscle memory at the end of the process that the positive elements of it can be, and there were many, can be revived and reinvigorated.

00:29:32.980 --> 00:29:36.140

<v SPEAKER_3>So no, I wouldn't give up hope.

00:29:36.140 --> 00:29:40.120

<v SPEAKER_3>And I think the system we invented was pretty good.

00:29:40.120 --> 00:29:42.300

<v SPEAKER_3>I'm sure improvements can be made.

00:29:42.300 --> 00:29:45.660

<v SPEAKER_3>And when the time comes, well, we'll think of those improvements.

00:29:46.780 --> 00:29:50.000

<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy, you spent most of your career working on this as well.

00:29:50.000 --> 00:29:52.240

<v SPEAKER_1>Multilateralism was sort of core to what we did.

00:29:53.260 --> 00:30:01.060

<v SPEAKER_1>And working with the Americans, if they were the architects, we like to think we were the engineers sometimes, the helpful fixers working on the niches.

00:30:01.060 --> 00:30:02.100

<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, well, it's true.

00:30:02.100 --> 00:30:04.820

<v SPEAKER_2>It's part of our belief system, Colin.

00:30:04.820 --> 00:30:15.420

<v SPEAKER_2>You're the one who reminded me of foreign minister before he became Prime Minister, Louis Saint Laurent's 1948 speech in which he set down as the two anchors.

00:30:15.420 --> 00:30:16.500

<v SPEAKER_1>The Grey Lecture, yes.

00:30:17.300 --> 00:30:36.620

<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, the two anchors of Canadian foreign policy were to have a productive relationship with our great neighbour to the south and to exercise Canada's personality and hopes for the world through a humanistic foreign policy toward the world.

00:30:36.620 --> 00:30:55.540

<v SPEAKER_2>And that became the foundation of our commitment to multilateralism, in part because multilateralism and multilateral rules-based institutions and practices left us a little less alone with our US neighbour.

00:30:55.540 --> 00:30:57.820

<v SPEAKER_2>But anyway, that's beside the point.

00:30:58.680 --> 00:31:18.420

<v SPEAKER_2>I think the great mistake that Trump and the MAGA people around him are making about the world is that they don't realise that

the United States, they don't grasp, is anything near as powerful and as influential as it used to be.

00:31:18.420 --> 00:31:28.260

<v SPEAKER_2>In part because of the, the, what do I say, the globalised world that the United States helped to produce.

00:31:28.260 --> 00:31:34.660

<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, sure, people criticise it for this or for that, but it achieved enormous results.

00:31:34.660 --> 00:31:43.440

<v SPEAKER_2>And there are now countries, of course, China and India, I mean, who vie with the United States for influence in large parts of the world.

00:31:43.440 --> 00:31:53.540

<v SPEAKER_2>China has more countries, twice as many countries who have China as their first trade partner than does the United States.

00:31:53.880 --> 00:31:57.360

<v SPEAKER_2>And they're doing very, very well.

00:31:57.360 --> 00:32:20.640

<v SPEAKER_2>And so what the United States is doing in a sort of unilateral approach to global trade relations, you know, country by country, picking them off, bullying them into some sort of bilateral deal, which they feel that they have to accept, having already trashed the World Trade Organization.

00:32:20.640 --> 00:32:28.880

<v SPEAKER_2>You know, it only works to a point because at a given point, those countries say enough's enough and they're going to get together.

00:32:28.880 --> 00:32:58.580

<v SPEAKER_2>Ursula von der Leyen gave a very important speech in March, and she proposed that the countries, not necessarily politically like-minded, but the countries who are big traders and stakeholders in the world system and the global south, form together a sort of WTOB, perhaps with better rules, without the United States.

00:32:59.600 --> 00:33:11.700

<v SPEAKER_2>So, making it clear that free trade among a large number of countries is still possible and productive on a rules-based foundation.

00:33:11.700 --> 00:33:14.860

<v SPEAKER_2>I think that's the way it's going to go.

00:33:14.860 --> 00:33:20.040

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think the EU will be a strong part of that, as will other countries.

00:33:20.040 --> 00:33:21.840

<v SPEAKER_2>I cannot understand.

00:33:21.840 --> 00:33:24.100

<v SPEAKER_2>Zachariah said this the other day.

00:33:24.100 --> 00:33:28.440

<v SPEAKER_2>What in the world is motivating Trump to take on India?

00:33:28.980 --> 00:33:33.800

<v SPEAKER_2>In the way that he's doing slapping a 50% tariff on India?

00:33:33.800 --> 00:33:41.860

<v SPEAKER_2>When India is the kind of basic cushion that they ought to have as a friend vis-a-vis and expanding China.

00:33:41.860 --> 00:33:49.380

<v SPEAKER_2>I just don't understand this huge-alistic aggressiveness vis-a-vis all countries and allies.

00:33:49.580 --> 00:33:51.880

<v SPEAKER_2>It is a mental thing.

00:33:51.880 --> 00:33:57.120

<v SPEAKER_2>People, I don't want to talk about your country, John, but I lived there for 25 years.

00:33:57.620 --> 00:34:07.680

<v SPEAKER_2>I'm going to say when you're in the United States, which by the way, I see out this window, I see the Olympia range of the state of Washington, and it's pretty calm, I have to say.

00:34:07.680 --> 00:34:12.360

<v SPEAKER_2>But people in the United States, the country is so big and so powerful.

00:34:12.880 --> 00:34:23.780

<v SPEAKER_2>Its communications system and culture are so all absorbing, that it gives people the illusion that maybe they can do stuff like this to other countries in the world.

00:34:24.200 --> 00:34:31.320

<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, the United States is much less dependent on foreign trade than European countries or Canada.

00:34:31.780 --> 00:34:37.400

<v SPEAKER_2>So it's kind of an illusion, because they can't do it on and on.

00:34:37.400 --> 00:34:39.800

<v SPEAKER_2>The rest of the world is going to push back.

00:34:39.800 --> 00:34:45.440

<v SPEAKER_2>And I fear for the United States that it's going to begin to experience decline.

00:34:45.440 --> 00:34:50.540

<v SPEAKER_2>Because even in tech, other countries, China, are getting an edge.

00:34:51.400 --> 00:35:15.560

<v SPEAKER_2>China is, the United States is weaponizing its trade relationships, you know, with sanctions, secondary sanctions, all these sort of attacks on supply chains, using finance and information flows, and availability of tech to coerce countries into submissive positions in trade terms.

00:35:15.900 --> 00:35:31.560

<v SPEAKER_2>But they're going to run out of runway, because those countries are simply going to begin to connect with each other, and they do have potential partners who are, you know, very, very, what did I say, have high capacity now in those areas.

00:35:31.560 --> 00:35:37.320

<v SPEAKER_2>I think it's a losing proposition, and we will have lost, the world will have lost.

00:35:37.480 --> 00:35:48.840

<v SPEAKER_2>If it loses, if the United States goes totally inward, just think of Acheson's wonderful book, Present at the Creation, what the United States did to create this system.

00:35:48.840 --> 00:35:53.520

<v SPEAKER_2>Sure, it wasn't perfect, but we're not going to solve global problems without it.

00:35:53.520 --> 00:36:00.760

<v SPEAKER_2>Of course, the MAGA people underestimate global problems like, you know, climate change and everything else.

00:36:00.760 --> 00:36:02.800

<v SPEAKER_2>I think it's a sad, sad past.

00:36:02.800 --> 00:36:19.200

<v SPEAKER_2>And you asked the question, you know, in three years,

assuming Trump leaves, of course, and is replaced by somebody else by either party who is, more, will have a greater readiness to understand some of these realities.

00:36:19.200 --> 00:36:21.340

<v SPEAKER_2>How much of it is recapturable?

00:36:21.340 --> 00:36:22.580

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, I don't know.

00:36:22.580 --> 00:36:30.020

<v SPEAKER_2>It could be a great opportunity to rebuild it on reformed basis because it wasn't working for a lot of reasons.

00:36:30.320 --> 00:36:31.720

<v SPEAKER_2>And get a new start.

00:36:31.720 --> 00:36:40.520

<v SPEAKER_2>But I predict we're going to be heading into a couple of decades of chaos, you know, and it's a great pity.

00:36:40.640 --> 00:36:48.580

<v SPEAKER_2>And it exposes us, Canada, really, really vibrantly because we live where we live.

00:36:48.580 --> 00:36:55.600

<v SPEAKER_3>John, I think that may be going a bit far to say a couple of decades of chaos.

00:36:55.600 --> 00:36:58.120

<v SPEAKER_3>That could be, but it might not be.

00:36:58.120 --> 00:37:02.660

<v SPEAKER_3>I would say the next three and a half years are going to be difficult.

00:37:02.660 --> 00:37:04.480

<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, I'll go with that.

00:37:04.480 --> 00:37:06.120

<v SPEAKER_2>I'll go with that and sleep better, John.

00:37:06.120 --> 00:37:09.120

<v SPEAKER_1>So John, what do we do then?

00:37:09.400 --> 00:37:25.420

<v SPEAKER_1>The medium and small powers who gained immensely from that rules-based multilateral system, a system that both of you dedicated your professional lives to sustaining and maintaining and keeping going.

00:37:26.440 --> 00:37:31.780

<v SPEAKER_1>John, you said humpty-dumpty, hard to put back together again.

00:37:31.780 --> 00:37:48.560

<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy refers to Ursula von der Leyen's suggestion, well, maybe we set up alternate systems, but we tried that during Trump 1, the Germans and the French with their association or alliance for multilateralism, which we remembered, and my observation was it never went anywhere.

00:37:48.560 --> 00:37:51.400

<v SPEAKER_1>Because without the United States, it seemed pretty hard.

00:37:52.240 --> 00:37:55.380

<v SPEAKER_1>Maybe we do it now because we're so much more threatened.

00:37:55.380 --> 00:38:02.720

<v SPEAKER_1>But my question to you then is, what advice would you give to us in the short term?

00:38:02.720 --> 00:38:04.480

<v SPEAKER_1>How do we deal with this?

00:38:04.480 --> 00:38:10.220

<v SPEAKER_1>Is it coming with people like Zelensky to the Oval Office and trying to do stuff incrementally at the side?

00:38:10.220 --> 00:38:17.420

<v SPEAKER_1>Or do we really have to start thinking fundamentally about a different order and spheres of influence and concert of power?

00:38:17.420 --> 00:38:20.060

<v SPEAKER_1>That's what's going to be.

00:38:20.060 --> 00:38:27.200

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, these kind of mega trends don't happen overnight.

00:38:27.680 --> 00:38:44.780

<v SPEAKER_3>If you could say something about what recent events have done, I think one point I would put forward is that it's caused the Europeans to unite more vigorously in defense of what they see as their vital national interests.

00:38:44.780 --> 00:38:55.180

<v SPEAKER_3>I think nothing has gotten their attention in the sort of national security area as these recent developments regarding Ukraine.

00:38:55.180 --> 00:39:12.120

<v SPEAKER_3>And you see the resulting commitment to increasing their defense spending, you see Germany stepping forward to try and play a stronger leadership role, you see the meetings that you just referred to taking place in the Oval Office between the eight or nine.

00:39:12.120 --> 00:39:14.380

<v SPEAKER_3>I mean, that's a good image.

00:39:14.380 --> 00:39:24.880

<v SPEAKER_3>It takes a collective group of European and similarly minded countries to meet up with somebody like Mr.

00:39:24.880 --> 00:39:31.860

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump who leads a superpower to be able to get some kind of balance in these relationships.

00:39:31.860 --> 00:39:45.380

<v SPEAKER_3>So I think doing what the Europeans have just done and Trump listening to them at least, letting them into the Oval Office, what if he shut down and said, no, I don't want to talk to these people, then we'd even be in a bigger fix.

00:39:45.560 --> 00:39:56.620

<v SPEAKER_3>So I would encourage these continued efforts to forge some kind of collective diplomatic response to what we have done.

00:39:56.620 --> 00:40:02.840

<v SPEAKER_3>And hope that over time that might work.

00:40:02.840 --> 00:40:08.580

<v SPEAKER_3>And he might start listening more to these voices.

00:40:09.780 --> 00:40:10.940

<v SPEAKER_1>But in the longer-

00:40:11.000 --> 00:40:14.600

<v SPEAKER_2>I agree with that, Colin, I absolutely, John is right.

00:40:14.600 --> 00:40:25.360

<v SPEAKER_2>I'm not, he was a surprising thing last week when he came out of that meeting with Putin and he seemed to have inclined entirely to Putin's point of view.

00:40:25.360 --> 00:40:34.080

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, we don't need the Europeans, you know, despite the fact this is a war in European soil and very, very central in their preoccupations about the future.

00:40:34.720 --> 00:41:13.760

<v SPEAKER_2>The Europeans, for once, said basically politely and

through channels, Trump, we've got to talk to you and made the basic points about the centrality of Europe to the resolutions here, and particularly with regard to the security instruments that would have to be put in place were there ever to be a ceasefire, but also made a number of other points about Putin's motives as he tries to make Russia great again.

00:41:14.180 --> 00:41:30.920

<v SPEAKER_2>He is so obsessed with, going back to John's time, I know it from the Washington side and from the Moscow side, this kind of Russian infatuation with its privileged superpower relationship with the United States.

00:41:31.260 --> 00:41:45.140

<v SPEAKER_2>They lived off this and the Russian citizens, the Soviet citizens were so proud of their country, standing with the United States across the globe, but at least on these all important nuclear things.

00:41:45.140 --> 00:41:47.540

<v SPEAKER_2>Putin wants to get that back.

00:41:47.540 --> 00:41:49.400

<v SPEAKER_2>Putin's time has passed too.

00:41:50.120 --> 00:41:54.580

<v SPEAKER_2>Russia is not ever going to be as important as the Soviet Union was.

00:41:54.580 --> 00:41:59.140

<v SPEAKER_2>Europe, if it can get its act together and get unified, is going to be more important.

00:41:59.800 --> 00:42:05.960

<v SPEAKER_2>I think Canada's position here is positioning ourselves.

00:42:05.960 --> 00:42:14.480

<v SPEAKER_2>Of course, we're close to the United States, but we need that essential cushion that Carney defined.

00:42:14.480 --> 00:42:16.400

<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, it was an interesting thing to say.

00:42:16.400 --> 00:42:20.840

<v SPEAKER_2>I thought that we are the most, what is it?

00:42:20.840 --> 00:42:28.060

<v SPEAKER_2>He said, we're the most non-European of non-European countries.

00:42:28.640 --> 00:42:32.000

<v SPEAKER_2>I know what he meant, having lived in Europe for a long time.

00:42:32.160 --> 00:42:38.240

<v SPEAKER_2>It's about the European and Canadian social models and their synchronicity.

00:42:38.240 --> 00:42:40.740

<v SPEAKER_2>But I think those things can happen.

00:42:40.740 --> 00:42:48.380

<v SPEAKER_2>But Trump did listen, I think, to the Europeans that time, though I'm not sure he totally got it.

00:42:48.380 --> 00:43:01.460

<v SPEAKER_2>I mean, what they're also saying that he sometimes gets and then forgets is that it's up to the United States to exercise real pressure on Russia, which he refuses to do.

00:43:01.460 --> 00:43:04.960

<v SPEAKER_2>He says he's going to do it and then he always backs up.

00:43:04.960 --> 00:43:06.800

<v SPEAKER_2>So he only partly listens.

00:43:06.800 --> 00:43:12.260

<v SPEAKER_2>And I'll just make one more point and it's not my purview as a non-American.

00:43:12.260 --> 00:43:19.280

<v SPEAKER_2>But I did notice the CFCBS poll today showing Trump's approval rating is down to 38.

00:43:19.280 --> 00:43:28.620

<v SPEAKER_2>And that matches, I think it was Ipsos last week, which also came up with 38 and I think it was and a couple of other polls.

00:43:28.620 --> 00:43:34.540

<v SPEAKER_2>Of course, there are a lot of Republican polls that still have met 55 and so skews up the average.

00:43:35.160 --> 00:43:54.580

<v SPEAKER_2>But I think that he's going to objectively, since power is what he's after, realize that what he's doing in many, many things, particularly on the domestic side, is beginning to alienate and worry too many Americans.

00:43:54.580 --> 00:44:05.280

<v SPEAKER_2>And I would hope that maybe there's a chance that he can

adjust for something more along the lines of what we're discussing.

00:44:05.680 --> 00:44:06.680
<v SPEAKER_2>But time will tell.

00:44:06.680 --> 00:44:12.020
<v SPEAKER_2>But I agree, John, it's all going to play out in the next three and a half years, for sure.

00:44:12.080 --> 00:44:14.060
<v SPEAKER_1>John, last word to you.

00:44:14.060 --> 00:44:26.040
<v SPEAKER_1>Advice to Canada and the Allies over the next short time and longer term, things we should be thinking about for the longer term, but also what we should be doing today?

00:44:27.400 --> 00:44:30.540
<v SPEAKER_3>Well, hard to, okay.

00:44:30.740 --> 00:44:33.100
<v SPEAKER_3>You know, pre-advice is cheap, right?

00:44:33.100 --> 00:44:38.840
<v SPEAKER_3>But I would say for one thing, please be patient with us.

00:44:38.840 --> 00:44:40.600
<v SPEAKER_3>Don't give up on the United States.

00:44:40.760 --> 00:44:54.440
<v SPEAKER_3>I think, you know, you remember the famous adage of Winston Churchill, we sort of experiment with every possible alternative until we finally end up doing the right thing.

00:44:54.440 --> 00:45:00.260
<v SPEAKER_3>So maybe that can come true under these circumstances as well.

00:45:00.260 --> 00:45:03.840
<v SPEAKER_3>So I see no alternative but to keep trying.

00:45:03.840 --> 00:45:14.600
<v SPEAKER_3>I really, and again, I would counsel patience all around in terms of trying to work out these very difficult relationships.

00:45:14.600 --> 00:45:26.540
<v SPEAKER_3>And what is vital, I think, not only to the national security of Europe, which it obviously is, but also to the whole piece of the entire world.

00:45:26.540 --> 00:45:30.060
<v SPEAKER_3>So a lot is at stake here.

00:45:30.060 --> 00:45:41.760
<v SPEAKER_3>And it is a little discouraging sometimes to see the current US administration treating the subject, I would say, somewhat frivolously.

00:45:43.880 --> 00:45:47.480
<v SPEAKER_1>So we should take heart in the sort of fundamental American decency.

00:45:47.480 --> 00:45:52.660
<v SPEAKER_1>And as you put it, Churchill said, at the end of the day, they'll do the right thing.

00:45:53.760 --> 00:45:54.420
<v SPEAKER_3>I know.

00:45:54.420 --> 00:45:58.480
<v SPEAKER_3>It's maybe a pretty slim read, but it's all I can offer you at the moment.

00:45:58.480 --> 00:45:58.700
<v SPEAKER_1>No.

00:45:58.700 --> 00:46:01.500
<v SPEAKER_1>But what you're saying also is that there isn't a fundamental shift.

00:46:01.620 --> 00:46:07.040
<v SPEAKER_1>As some pundits are saying in America and how it looks at the world and how it is doing things.

00:46:07.040 --> 00:46:07.780
<v SPEAKER_3>Well, not deep down.

00:46:07.780 --> 00:46:12.220
<v SPEAKER_3>Look at the public opinion polls that Jeremy is citing.

00:46:12.220 --> 00:46:13.140
<v SPEAKER_3>I think no.

00:46:13.140 --> 00:46:18.600
<v SPEAKER_3>Americans, I think they still believe in our system and the one that we created and so forth.

00:46:18.600 --> 00:46:21.800
<v SPEAKER_3>And the other thing I'm sure Mr.

00:46:21.800 --> 00:46:28.880

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump is really paying attention to is, you know, there are a lot of Americans of European origin here, like most of them.

00:46:29.360 --> 00:46:41.960

<v SPEAKER_3>And I think after a while, it's going to settle in on people that he's seeking to do things that are harmful to people of our own kith and kind.

00:46:42.580 --> 00:46:44.440

<v SPEAKER_3>It's a problem.

00:46:44.440 --> 00:46:44.800

<v SPEAKER_1>All right.

00:46:44.800 --> 00:46:51.260

<v SPEAKER_1>Well, thank you for concluding on a more upbeat, if not optimistic note.

00:46:51.260 --> 00:46:53.500

<v SPEAKER_1>My final question, you can lead on this one, John.

00:46:53.500 --> 00:46:56.740

<v SPEAKER_1>What are you reading or streaming these days?

00:46:56.840 --> 00:46:57.760

<v SPEAKER_3>Oh, my goodness.

00:46:57.760 --> 00:47:00.500

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, I've been reading espionage stuff.

00:47:00.500 --> 00:47:24.880

<v SPEAKER_3>Frank Wisner, my colleague in the Foreign Service, he just passed away, but a book came out about his father, Frank Wisner Sr., who was one of the first to set up covert action in the intelligence community and was in the OSS during the war and then at the founding of the CIA.

00:47:25.640 --> 00:47:31.120

<v SPEAKER_3>It is an excellent biography, just out on him.

00:47:31.120 --> 00:47:34.040

<v SPEAKER_3>I think it's called The Determined Spy, something like that.

00:47:34.040 --> 00:47:36.620

<v SPEAKER_3>But it's a book about Frank Wisner Sr.

00:47:36.620 --> 00:47:36.960

<v SPEAKER_3>All right.

00:47:36.960 --> 00:47:38.820
<v SPEAKER_3>And it's gripping.

00:47:38.820 --> 00:47:44.220
<v SPEAKER_1>Frank Wisner Sr., Determined Spy, we need to talk to him, certainly.

00:47:44.220 --> 00:47:45.100
<v SPEAKER_1>Jeremy, what about you?

00:47:45.100 --> 00:47:46.680
<v SPEAKER_1>What are you reading or streaming these days?

00:47:46.680 --> 00:47:51.080
<v SPEAKER_2>I just read an extraordinary book that I was very lucky to find out about.

00:47:51.080 --> 00:47:58.240
<v SPEAKER_2>I think I read a review of it in the Guardian, and it's got a funny name, a Japanese name, Daikon, D-A-I-K-O-N.

00:48:00.220 --> 00:48:02.980
<v SPEAKER_2>And it is, it's a novel.

00:48:02.980 --> 00:48:22.700
<v SPEAKER_2>It's a highly researched piece of analysis of the very end of the Second World War, which the premise is, and I don't know, John, if this actually happened, I don't think it did, that the United States actually dropped three bombs, and one of them didn't go off.

00:48:23.000 --> 00:48:29.140
<v SPEAKER_2>The plane was shot down and it was embedded in mud, and the bomb did not explode.

00:48:29.140 --> 00:48:48.240
<v SPEAKER_2>And some Japanese, and this is 1945, scientists and people decided to reconstitute it, arm it, find, build, and equip a plane with long range, and use it to attack ultimately the United States.

00:48:48.240 --> 00:48:49.360
<v SPEAKER_2>And so it's a thriller.

00:48:50.820 --> 00:48:55.280
<v SPEAKER_2>We know it didn't happen, so there's no disclosure there.

00:48:55.280 --> 00:49:20.240
<v SPEAKER_2>But on the way, it's a wonderful account of that terrible month, the month of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and of Japan at that time,

written sympathetically by a Canadian, by the way, a guy called Samuel Hawley, who grew up in Korea, his parents were Canadian missionaries, and it's superbly researched.

00:49:20.240 --> 00:49:25.860

<v SPEAKER_2>You're going to have to read some sentences twice to figure out exactly how these damn bombs do work.

00:49:25.860 --> 00:49:34.520

<v SPEAKER_2>But it's fascinating, and it's a page turner, and it reshapes some of your thoughts.

00:49:35.020 --> 00:49:40.220

<v SPEAKER_2>Not as to, and he asked the question, the justification for using the bomb in 1945.

00:49:40.220 --> 00:49:41.000

<v SPEAKER_2>That's not the point.

00:49:43.180 --> 00:49:52.380

<v SPEAKER_2>But the psychology that was around the Japanese right-wing refusing to accept final defeat.

00:49:52.380 --> 00:49:54.700

<v SPEAKER_2>It's fascinating, so there you go.

00:49:54.700 --> 00:49:56.540

<v SPEAKER_1>All right, Samuel Hawley, Daikon.

00:49:56.540 --> 00:49:57.740

<v SPEAKER_1>Thank you, Jeremy.

00:49:57.740 --> 00:49:58.060

<v SPEAKER_2>Okay.

00:49:58.060 --> 00:49:59.820

<v SPEAKER_1>And thank you, John.

00:49:59.820 --> 00:50:02.680

<v SPEAKER_1>And thanks for listening to this episode of The Global Exchange.

00:50:02.680 --> 00:50:05.840

<v SPEAKER_1>We were joined today by Jeremy Kinsman and John Negroponte.

00:50:05.840 --> 00:50:09.280

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00:50:09.920 --> 00:50:13.820

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00:50:13.820 --> 00:50:18.600

<v SPEAKER_1>My thanks go out to our producer, Jordyn Carroll, and to Drew Phillips for providing our music.

00:50:18.600 --> 00:50:20.100

<v SPEAKER_1>I'm Colin Robertson.

00:50:20.100 --> 00:50:22.040

<v SPEAKER_1>Thanks for joining us today on The Global Exchange.