

WEBVTT

00:00:03.520 --> 00:00:09.560

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

00:00:09.920 --> 00:00:11.420

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

00:00:11.920 --> 00:00:24.800

<v SPEAKER_1>On this episode that we are recording on May the 19th, we talk with Gordon Holden, Howard Balloch, and Stewart Beck about the recent Xi Jinping, Donald Trump summit in Beijing and its implications for Canada.

00:00:25.860 --> 00:00:37.020

<v SPEAKER_1>A career Foreign Service Officer, Gordon Holden is Director Emeritus of the China Institute, Professor of Political Science and Adjunct Professor at the Alberta School of Business at the University of Alberta.

00:00:37.800 --> 00:00:45.380

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard Balloch, also a career Foreign Service Officer, served as our Ambassador to China and then in the private sector in Beijing and Hong Kong.

00:00:46.360 --> 00:00:58.140

<v SPEAKER_1>Stewart Beck is also a career Foreign Service Officer, and he served as our Consul General in Shanghai and San Francisco, and his High Commissioner to India before heading the Asia-Pacific Foundation.

00:00:58.860 --> 00:01:01.680

<v SPEAKER_1>Welcome back Gordon, Howard, and Stewart.

00:01:01.680 --> 00:01:02.860

<v SPEAKER_2>Pleasure to be here.

00:01:02.860 --> 00:01:03.340

<v SPEAKER_3>Thank you.

00:01:03.340 --> 00:01:04.040

<v SPEAKER_4>Absolutely.

00:01:04.660 --> 00:01:14.040

<v SPEAKER_1>For listeners, meeting in China for the first time since 2017, Donald Trump and Xi Jinping committed to rebuilding relations.

00:01:14.400 --> 00:01:25.480

<v SPEAKER_1>Both leaders declared the visit a success, each

projecting an image of mutual respect, although respect of official reporting on their discussions was quite different.

00:01:26.480 --> 00:01:30.460

<v SPEAKER_1>Xi put the focus on Taiwan as an integral part of China.

00:01:31.060 --> 00:01:32.360

<v SPEAKER_1>Xi also linked Mr.

00:01:32.360 --> 00:01:41.220

<v SPEAKER_1>Trump's Make America Great Again movement to his signature political goal of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation.

00:01:41.720 --> 00:01:55.960

<v SPEAKER_1>Xi also said the two leaders had reached a quote important consensus on maintaining stable economic and trade relations, expanding pragmatic cooperation in various fields, and properly addressing each other's concerns.

00:01:56.320 --> 00:02:03.540

<v SPEAKER_1>For his part, Trump described Xi as a friend, and said the two sides agreed on freedom of navigation in the Straits of Hormuz.

00:02:03.860 --> 00:02:11.400

<v SPEAKER_1>He also said they had quote, hatched fantastic trade deals, the details of which are still to be revealed.

00:02:12.180 --> 00:02:21.340

<v SPEAKER_1>Xi made pointed remarks reflecting the orientation of China in his, as a rising power destined to challenge American dominance and global affairs.

00:02:21.660 --> 00:02:33.320

<v SPEAKER_1>To quote Xi, the world is undergoing a transformation not seen in a century, an idea and language that he's often invoked to describe the disintegration of the American-led global order.

00:02:33.820 --> 00:02:42.180

<v SPEAKER_1>Xi also referred to the Thucydides trap, a theory that conflict is inevitable with a rising power encounters and establish one.

00:02:42.180 --> 00:02:44.460

<v SPEAKER_1>I shouldn't say inevitable, but often the case.

00:02:45.120 --> 00:02:56.280

<v SPEAKER_1>In response, Trump, using his social media account, said that Xi had, quote, very elegantly referred to the United States as

perhaps being a declining power, unquote.

00:02:56.480 --> 00:03:01.820

<v SPEAKER_1>But that said, this had everything to do with what America was like under President Joe Biden.

00:03:02.400 --> 00:03:15.900

<v SPEAKER_1>The net result of the summit, beyond extending the current trade truce, apparently little progress and much differences revealed on Taiwan, Iran, and not a lot of progress in artificial intelligence.

00:03:16.160 --> 00:03:20.840

<v SPEAKER_1>The two leaders are scheduled to meet again in America, on or around September the 24th.

00:03:21.080 --> 00:03:22.100

<v SPEAKER_1>So let's get started.

00:03:22.100 --> 00:03:23.740

<v SPEAKER_1>And Howard, I'll let you lead on this one.

00:03:24.460 --> 00:03:29.840

<v SPEAKER_1>What stood out for you, the body language, the spectacle, the substance of the meeting?

00:03:32.500 --> 00:03:33.780

<v SPEAKER_2>Thanks very much, Colin.

00:03:34.400 --> 00:03:39.840

<v SPEAKER_2>What stood out for me was that this was really a transformative meeting.

00:03:39.840 --> 00:03:48.620

<v SPEAKER_2>It wasn't a sense the meeting in which Xi Jinping took the mantle of global leadership from Donald Trump.

00:03:49.000 --> 00:03:57.480

<v SPEAKER_2>When he gave his speech at the beginning and talked about the transformation to which you refer, he said, and this transformation is accelerating.

00:03:58.680 --> 00:04:07.760

<v SPEAKER_2>I saw in today's South China Morning Post the headlines of how China is becoming the gravitational hub of global diplomacy.

00:04:08.480 --> 00:04:21.340

<v SPEAKER_2>Indeed, with Putin arriving in Beijing today, just four days after Trump left, it's all planned by China.

00:04:22.880 --> 00:04:28.520

<v SPEAKER_2>I think Trump played very much into Xi Jinping's hands.

00:04:29.560 --> 00:04:32.900

<v SPEAKER_2>He claims they've got this great friendship.

00:04:33.520 --> 00:04:48.120

<v SPEAKER_2>In fact, the trade deals were minimal, if anything, and indeed, the city, if you will, not that it's going to lead to conflict, but it's a rising power and a declining power.

00:04:48.900 --> 00:04:59.640

<v SPEAKER_2>When I look at polls that have been recently done in China, that's the perception of the average Chinese as well, that their leader is rising and America is in decline.

00:05:00.580 --> 00:05:04.720

<v SPEAKER_2>Without going into too much detail, the change is accelerating.

00:05:04.720 --> 00:05:11.560

<v SPEAKER_2>Trump has accelerated it, and it is a China that's triumphing over America.

00:05:12.160 --> 00:05:14.640

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard, you used to say all roads led to Washington.

00:05:14.780 --> 00:05:19.580

<v SPEAKER_1>I find it interesting that Trump going to Beijing, and then of course, Putin going to Beijing.

00:05:19.580 --> 00:05:22.440

<v SPEAKER_1>Do you think that Trump knew that Putin was to follow him?

00:05:23.540 --> 00:05:25.540

<v SPEAKER_2>I don't know that in advance.

00:05:25.540 --> 00:05:32.460

<v SPEAKER_2>I certainly know that he must have known it by the end because the word was out by the last day of his visit.

00:05:33.400 --> 00:05:38.560

<v SPEAKER_2>It wasn't announced by the day in advance, and of course, Trump and Putin have been meeting a lot.

00:05:39.180 --> 00:05:50.800

<v SPEAKER_2>Also, made public this week was the fact that China has been training some of Russia's special forces for fighting in Ukraine.

00:05:51.500 --> 00:06:03.840

<v SPEAKER_2>We know that China was leaning towards Iran and the Iran-America conflict, and yet none of that was a big focus for Donald Trump.

00:06:05.380 --> 00:06:06.440

<v SPEAKER_1>Very interesting.

00:06:06.560 --> 00:06:07.840

<v SPEAKER_1>Gordon, what's it out for you?

00:06:07.840 --> 00:06:12.440

<v SPEAKER_1>Again, the spectacle, the language, the body language, and the substantive side of it.

00:06:13.420 --> 00:06:19.660

<v SPEAKER_3>This is on the spectacle side, and I think quite frankly, this is perhaps the most important for Trump.

00:06:19.980 --> 00:06:37.360

<v SPEAKER_3>He even well in advance, a few months in advance, had told Xi Jinping that he hoped that it would be a show like no other, and the Chinese could do that in terms of the detail, the clearing of Tiananmen, the number of troops, the number of school children.

00:06:38.720 --> 00:06:43.500

<v SPEAKER_3>The setting is something that clearly Trump puts great stock by.

00:06:43.500 --> 00:06:47.400

<v SPEAKER_3>In his own mind, I'm sure, this was a tremendous success.

00:06:48.140 --> 00:06:56.320

<v SPEAKER_3>Even though I think that Howard is right, we've seen that shift in relative standing between the two.

00:06:56.640 --> 00:06:58.880

<v SPEAKER_3>I don't think Trump picks up on that very much.

00:06:59.280 --> 00:07:03.480

<v SPEAKER_3>But in terms of substance, very little.

00:07:04.220 --> 00:07:09.120

<v SPEAKER_3>It is true that the news has now been filtering out almost \$20 billion of agricultural products.

00:07:09.280 --> 00:07:17.140

<v SPEAKER_3>If you count in the \$10 billion of soybean from last October's agreement, you're looking at maybe \$30 billion worth of agricultural commodities.

00:07:17.140 --> 00:07:27.400

<v SPEAKER_3>But that brings things basically back to about where the agricultural trade between China and the United States was in 2024, before the terror of wars.

00:07:27.600 --> 00:07:30.460

<v SPEAKER_3>So it's really not an extraordinary advancement.

00:07:30.760 --> 00:07:33.840

<v SPEAKER_3>We didn't see any substantive on AI that I'm aware of.

00:07:34.240 --> 00:07:38.780

<v SPEAKER_3>We didn't see any, yes, they agreed that the Straits of Hormuz should be open.

00:07:39.220 --> 00:07:40.620

<v SPEAKER_3>That's really a no-brainer.

00:07:40.920 --> 00:07:50.560

<v SPEAKER_3>But I didn't see, we didn't see any sort of plan, no commitment from Xi to be of real assistance to Trump, quite frankly.

00:07:51.480 --> 00:08:03.880

<v SPEAKER_3>In the strategic sense, the fact that the United States is yet again dragged into a long conflict, was certain to be a long conflict in the Middle East is to China's advantage.

00:08:04.280 --> 00:08:22.000

<v SPEAKER_3>The military capacity of US forces in the Western Pacific has been significantly degraded, both by the departure of ships and weapons systems, but also by, more importantly perhaps, by the drawing down of ammunition stocks of shells and missiles.

00:08:22.000 --> 00:08:26.160

<v SPEAKER_3>So yes, there's been some complication for China, in terms of its investment.

00:08:26.520 --> 00:08:33.900

<v SPEAKER_3>They may be missing some key components, not as much energy as other things, helium, fertilizers, etc.

00:08:33.900 --> 00:08:36.260

<v SPEAKER_3>They'll be coming through some natural gas.

00:08:36.760 --> 00:08:40.020

<v SPEAKER_3>But there is, in the strategic sense, a big advantage to China.

00:08:40.180 --> 00:08:41.440

<v SPEAKER_3>I think Xi knows that.

00:08:41.940 --> 00:08:45.000

<v SPEAKER_3>I'm not sure that Trump is aware of it.

00:08:45.280 --> 00:08:46.700

<v SPEAKER_3>His staff certainly are.

00:08:46.840 --> 00:08:58.780

<v SPEAKER_3>On the Taiwan issue, it would appear that there has been some shifting, inadvertently, I think, perhaps by Trump, by simply talking about Taiwan as a bargaining chip.

00:08:59.300 --> 00:09:01.920

<v SPEAKER_3>Some of that's been cleaned up by Marco Rubio.

00:09:02.620 --> 00:09:10.800

<v SPEAKER_3>But the Chinese must, in net, be happy with the outcome or the non-outcome in terms of concessions.

00:09:13.300 --> 00:09:14.080

<v SPEAKER_1>Interesting.

00:09:14.180 --> 00:09:16.020

<v SPEAKER_1>On Taiwan, well, we'll come back to that.

00:09:16.340 --> 00:09:23.680

<v SPEAKER_1>I'll move to you, Stuart, quickly, because I want to get your reaction of, again, the body language, spectacle, substance, but also, calling on your Trade Commissioner experience.

00:09:24.260 --> 00:09:28.060

<v SPEAKER_1>Trump took with him a delegation of what it does in the business, when including Elon Musk.

00:09:28.060 --> 00:09:31.060

<v SPEAKER_1>But we didn't seem to see a lot of big deals coming out of that.

00:09:32.180 --> 00:09:32.780

<v SPEAKER_4>I agree.

00:09:32.960 --> 00:09:34.820

<v SPEAKER_4>Thanks, Colin, for having me on.

00:09:35.820 --> 00:09:44.500

<v SPEAKER_4>I'm in the company of two great political, when you talk about the Foreign Service, there are two great political officers in their understanding of China.

00:09:44.880 --> 00:09:57.220

<v SPEAKER_4>So my approach is, again, as you would say, would mean more from a trade perspective, and again, for me, the expectations are low coming out of the summit, and the fact that he had a business delegation, which is not unusual.

00:09:57.460 --> 00:10:03.260

<v SPEAKER_4>Most leaders would travel with a business delegation to a place like China, but he has some pretty important people.

00:10:03.260 --> 00:10:04.340

<v SPEAKER_1>He had some heavy hitters.

00:10:04.520 --> 00:10:10.760

<v SPEAKER_4>They're real heavy hitters, and certainly, I think he kind of forgot about Jensen Wong at NVIDIA.

00:10:10.760 --> 00:10:23.640

<v SPEAKER_4>Probably, that's the most important company in the context of the relationship between the United States, Taiwan and China right now, just because of the importance of TSMC in producing the chips that NVIDIA designed.

00:10:23.700 --> 00:10:37.320

<v SPEAKER_4>So again, there's really nothing that came out of the reporting that would suggest that Elon Musk is going to be moving forward with Tesla's in China and what's going to happen there.

00:10:37.320 --> 00:10:49.660

<v SPEAKER_4>There's nothing really on the whole NVIDIA thing other than they will still be able to, I think, coming out of the reading, they'll be able to export prior generation of chips to China.

00:10:49.720 --> 00:11:04.860

<v SPEAKER_4>So again, just the whole thing, well, with all due respect, I thought was a bit of a nothing burger in the context of really the, it could have been quite revolutionally in many ways.

00:11:04.860 --> 00:11:10.200

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, I think Howard's point about it positions China differently in the context of the United States.

00:11:10.200 --> 00:11:16.060

<v SPEAKER_4>But listen, both countries have their problems right now, and certainly we all know what United States is facing in the Middle East.

00:11:16.160 --> 00:11:23.780

<v SPEAKER_4>China got all sorts of economic problems that, again, this type of meeting has the way it's being reported.

00:11:23.780 --> 00:11:34.760

<v SPEAKER_4>But fundamentally, I think what was probably the most important thing for Trump was that, now he asked the question, have you shown this stung down high to any other leader?

00:11:34.760 --> 00:11:36.120

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, for him, it's all performative.

00:11:37.820 --> 00:11:39.420

<v SPEAKER_4>It's what's the vision of this thing.

00:11:40.040 --> 00:11:41.740

<v SPEAKER_4>How am I relative to everybody else?

00:11:41.740 --> 00:11:42.780

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, has Putin been here?

00:11:43.220 --> 00:11:46.740

<v SPEAKER_4>Am I the only person who's had this special treatment?

00:11:47.320 --> 00:11:53.940

<v SPEAKER_4>So, you know, it's the whole thing, it's, you know, there are some certain things that would have been important.

00:11:53.940 --> 00:11:56.080

<v SPEAKER_4>I think we would have liked to hear more about Taiwan.

00:11:56.660 --> 00:12:03.880

<v SPEAKER_4>You know, I think what Trump has said is, you know, basically not saying anything is something on Taiwan.

00:12:03.880 --> 00:12:09.220

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, you know, Gordon Howard and I have seen huge military sales to Taiwan over the years.

00:12:09.220 --> 00:12:14.540

<v SPEAKER_4>So is it going to be that much different to have a \$12 billion military package going to Taiwan?

00:12:14.660 --> 00:12:19.300

<v SPEAKER_4>Again, there's just so many things that weren't answered coming out of the meeting.

00:12:19.300 --> 00:12:21.620

<v SPEAKER_4>So that would be my take on it.

00:12:22.400 --> 00:12:25.340

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard, if you're sitting there jumping in, Colin, please go ahead.

00:12:25.440 --> 00:12:26.400

<v SPEAKER_2>Can I just jump in?

00:12:26.400 --> 00:12:31.840

<v SPEAKER_2>Because on one little tiny thing that Stuart said, the Jong-Nan High special treatment.

00:12:33.700 --> 00:12:37.940

<v SPEAKER_2>Xi Jinping's answer was, yes, but it's very rare.

00:12:38.840 --> 00:12:39.840

<v SPEAKER_2>It's not rare.

00:12:41.180 --> 00:12:42.360

<v SPEAKER_2>Putin goes there.

00:12:42.720 --> 00:12:50.120

<v SPEAKER_2>I was there twice with Canadian Prime Minister's actual sitting or prior.

00:12:51.260 --> 00:12:53.380

<v SPEAKER_2>But Trump has to believe that he's special.

00:12:55.220 --> 00:12:56.860

<v SPEAKER_5>If I could just add to it.

00:12:56.920 --> 00:12:59.020

<v SPEAKER_4>I was there with the Governor General.

00:12:59.020 --> 00:12:59.740

<v SPEAKER_4>So, you know.

00:13:01.900 --> 00:13:12.680

<v SPEAKER_3>What would have really annoyed Trump is if she had told him that President Obama had spent four hours on the small island in Zhongnanhai discussing US.

00:13:13.500 --> 00:13:14.400

<v SPEAKER_3>Four hours.

00:13:15.880 --> 00:13:17.540

<v SPEAKER_1>And how long did Kissinger spend there?

00:13:17.540 --> 00:13:18.000

<v SPEAKER_1>Did he?

00:13:18.480 --> 00:13:20.980

<v SPEAKER_2>I think he probably spent a combined week or two.

00:13:21.000 --> 00:13:21.500

<v SPEAKER_1>Right.

00:13:24.140 --> 00:13:30.400

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard, and I'll let both of you, both Gordon and Stewart to come in on this as well.

00:13:30.540 --> 00:13:37.240

<v SPEAKER_1>If you're sitting in Seoul or Tokyo or Taipei or Canberra, how do you feel?

00:13:38.280 --> 00:13:39.600

<v SPEAKER_2>I think you feel nervous.

00:13:39.880 --> 00:13:44.780

<v SPEAKER_2>You feel nervous because Trump made it clear that anything is a bargaining chip.

00:13:45.440 --> 00:13:48.720

<v SPEAKER_2>Not said during the trip, but said in the airplane on the way home.

00:13:49.120 --> 00:13:51.780

<v SPEAKER_2>He said, now I have a real bargaining chip.

00:13:51.860 --> 00:14:02.840

<v SPEAKER_2>Having had the Taiwan issue put front and center by Xi Jinping to him, he now thinks he can bargain and nobody knows what that really means.

00:14:02.840 --> 00:14:08.920

<v SPEAKER_2>Does it mean he's going to delay the second big order for arms?

00:14:09.020 --> 00:14:18.940

<v SPEAKER_2>Does it mean that he is going to actually start to allow a little space in the American position of support for Taiwan over the years?

00:14:19.780 --> 00:14:25.020

<v SPEAKER_2>Nobody knows, but we know he now treats it as something that he can trade away.

00:14:28.500 --> 00:14:30.120

<v SPEAKER_2>I would start with that comment.

00:14:30.360 --> 00:14:44.980

<v SPEAKER_2>If you are Seoul or Tokyo, you really wonder how much you can rely on the United States if you end up with some kind of conflict with China.

00:14:47.440 --> 00:14:49.340

<v SPEAKER_3>If I could just add to that, please.

00:14:49.340 --> 00:14:50.140

<v SPEAKER_1>Go ahead, Gordon.

00:14:51.300 --> 00:15:09.260

<v SPEAKER_3>In terms of the Western Pacific Allies, the United States, the democracies, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Australia, as you noted, which are the heavy hitters of that Western alliance, two problems.

00:15:09.260 --> 00:15:15.920

<v SPEAKER_3>Number one, Trump shows little regard for allies, except on a very short-term transactional basis.

00:15:15.960 --> 00:15:17.400

<v SPEAKER_3>What have you done for me lately?

00:15:17.880 --> 00:15:21.340

<v SPEAKER_3>Secondly, I don't see that he pays much attention to democracy.

00:15:21.880 --> 00:15:30.640

<v SPEAKER_3>He had very warm exchanges with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, one of the least democratic creatures on the surface of the earth.

00:15:31.140 --> 00:15:57.280

<v SPEAKER_3>Already, I think, before this visit, those capitals had good reason to be nervous and have good reason to be nervous, because Trump fundamentally doesn't value them in the way that traditional, since 1945 at least, that America has realized that the strength in the Western Pacific largely or partially relies upon allies.

00:15:57.280 --> 00:15:59.700

<v SPEAKER_3>They don't have a territory there other than Guam.

00:16:00.260 --> 00:16:07.080

<v SPEAKER_3>They don't have bases other than on territories of their allies, and they're going to have to fight a war conceivably.

00:16:07.160 --> 00:16:09.320

<v SPEAKER_3>They have to plan for the Western Pacific.

00:16:09.320 --> 00:16:13.040

<v SPEAKER_3>It's 10 days sailing from the West Coast of the United States.

00:16:13.420 --> 00:16:16.520

<v SPEAKER_3>They need their allies if they're going to confront China at any point.

00:16:17.020 --> 00:16:20.020

<v SPEAKER_3>They are letting that capital dissipate.

00:16:21.200 --> 00:16:21.880

<v SPEAKER_4>And if I could just add...

00:16:21.880 --> 00:16:26.280

<v SPEAKER_1>Stewart, what about, I was going to ask, please come in, but I also want you to talk about what they're saying in Delhi.

00:16:27.420 --> 00:16:28.620

<v SPEAKER_4>Yeah, that's a good question.

00:16:31.040 --> 00:16:34.140

<v SPEAKER_4>But I just wanted to add a couple of things.

00:16:34.420 --> 00:16:44.720

<v SPEAKER_4>I think people, since Trump has come in in 2024, I mean, all those countries that you described, Colin, including ourselves, we're all very nervous.

00:16:44.720 --> 00:16:47.060

<v SPEAKER_4>And it's only because of the unpredictability.

00:16:47.060 --> 00:16:53.220

<v SPEAKER_4>And everybody knows, I think, you're going to be hung out to dry based on the whims and fancies of what's going on right now, unfortunately.

00:16:53.220 --> 00:16:57.060

<v SPEAKER_4>And that, I think, forces your change in how you approach things.

00:16:57.580 --> 00:17:00.300

<v SPEAKER_4>In terms of Delhi, I mean, they'll watch something like that very closely.

00:17:00.300 --> 00:17:09.040

<v SPEAKER_4>But I'd say, from my perspective, looking at the relationship between China and India, now it's changed dramatically from what it was two or three or four years ago.

00:17:09.460 --> 00:17:12.900

<v SPEAKER_4>And I would say that the relationship is much better between the two.

00:17:12.900 --> 00:17:15.600

<v SPEAKER_4>And for that reason, you know, they have their concerns.

00:17:15.600 --> 00:17:19.760

<v SPEAKER_4>But, you know, when it comes to China, I mean, India, it's somewhat similar to Pakistan.

00:17:19.760 --> 00:17:20.960

<v SPEAKER_4>This is their relationships.

00:17:20.960 --> 00:17:26.940

<v SPEAKER_4>They worked those relationships out themselves, and they have modus operandi in terms of dealing with that.

00:17:27.100 --> 00:17:31.960

<v SPEAKER_4>So, yes, they'll watch it, and they'll be, and they'll be, they'll want to see what, you know, the United States will do.

00:17:31.960 --> 00:17:37.600

<v SPEAKER_4>Because again, one of the problems that India has right now is dealing with the United States and how the United States will deal with them.

00:17:37.600 --> 00:17:43.920

<v SPEAKER_4>And, you know, whether it's terrorists or, you know, military sales is a whole bunch of different factors in that equation.

00:17:43.920 --> 00:17:54.640

<v SPEAKER_4>But fundamentally, you know, when India thinks about China and thinks about the United States, they think about their own bilateral relationships and not necessarily what the consequences will be in the larger Indo-Pacific framework.

00:17:54.980 --> 00:18:00.260

<v SPEAKER_4>But there's one thing I would like to ask, well, you know, my former colleagues.

00:18:01.820 --> 00:18:05.220

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, Gordon, I'll ask you first and maybe Howard, you'll have your view on this.

00:18:05.360 --> 00:18:18.780

<v SPEAKER_4>In the context of military sales and using that as leverage, you know, no one ever talks about what Trump did when he first came in and taking a phone call from the president of Taiwan.

00:18:19.020 --> 00:18:22.480

<v SPEAKER_4>In the context of the relationship, is that completely forgotten now, do you think?

00:18:23.420 --> 00:18:27.600

<v SPEAKER_4>Because that was very symbolic and very important at that time, if you remember.

00:18:28.840 --> 00:18:29.780

<v SPEAKER_3>I do recall.

00:18:29.860 --> 00:18:35.000

<v SPEAKER_3>I think it is largely past, but it is, in my view, somewhat typical of Trump.

00:18:35.300 --> 00:18:37.420

<v SPEAKER_3>Everything is a personal relationship.

00:18:37.860 --> 00:18:40.320

<v SPEAKER_3>Everything is transactional.

00:18:40.700 --> 00:18:55.540

<v SPEAKER_3>But he is now, I think, mesmerized by Xi Jinping in a way that Taiwan cannot offer the same grandeur and can't offer a state with which he can view as a peer.

00:18:56.320 --> 00:18:58.580

<v SPEAKER_3>I think that is Taiwan's problem.

00:18:58.580 --> 00:19:01.840

<v SPEAKER_3>It's the same problem that Ukraine has as well vis-a-vis Putin.

00:19:02.080 --> 00:19:04.720

<v SPEAKER_3>If you have a lesser scale, it's a problem for us as well.

00:19:04.900 --> 00:19:09.100

<v SPEAKER_3>If you're a smaller state, you're not going to get the level of respect.

00:19:09.240 --> 00:19:10.040

<v SPEAKER_3>That is true.

00:19:10.040 --> 00:19:11.480

<v SPEAKER_3>That was that event.

00:19:11.480 --> 00:19:23.120

<v SPEAKER_3>But I think in 2026, clearly, Trump looks to Beijing in a way that he won't grant the same level of respect to any Taiwan leader.

00:19:23.900 --> 00:19:39.840

<v SPEAKER_2>And in fact, he said publicly in one of his sort of semi-

soto voces comments, well, maybe I'll have to talk to the guy who's running Taiwan and tell him that talking about independence isn't helpful or something.

00:19:40.140 --> 00:19:44.380

<v SPEAKER_2>Kind of weird comment in the airplane.

00:19:45.760 --> 00:19:56.160

<v SPEAKER_2>Clearly, he doesn't live by any of the boundaries that have been applied to past American presidents or to good diplomacy, you could argue.

00:19:56.900 --> 00:20:00.660

<v SPEAKER_2>The Chinese don't want him talking to the president of Taiwan.

00:20:02.140 --> 00:20:09.080

<v SPEAKER_2>The last thing they want is any contact between senior levels of the Taiwan government and Washington.

00:20:11.780 --> 00:20:18.960

<v SPEAKER_2>So if he thinks it is in America's interest, he will push Taiwan in the direction he desires.

00:20:20.240 --> 00:20:28.120

<v SPEAKER_1>So if you're in Taipei and you've got these potential, you actually put real money out for arms, which you're not so sure you're going to get anymore.

00:20:28.340 --> 00:20:29.060

<v SPEAKER_1>What do you do?

00:20:29.940 --> 00:20:30.740

<v SPEAKER_1>Who wants to take that?

00:20:30.740 --> 00:20:31.780

<v SPEAKER_1>Why don't you start, Gordon?

00:20:32.740 --> 00:20:33.080

<v SPEAKER_1>Sure.

00:20:33.080 --> 00:20:35.240

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, you're nervous.

00:20:35.260 --> 00:20:42.800

<v SPEAKER_3>You tend to downplay as they're doing the significance of the negative comments or unhelpful comments coming out of Trump.

00:20:42.940 --> 00:20:47.300

<v SPEAKER_3>You're doubling your efforts in Washington, but I think

the purchase there is limited.

00:20:47.560 --> 00:20:50.060

<v SPEAKER_3>You try and engage with the Japanese.

00:20:50.720 --> 00:21:00.080

<v SPEAKER_3>If you are the current government in Taiwan, you perhaps have to see to your own defense on a degree that was not the case before.

00:21:00.440 --> 00:21:08.580

<v SPEAKER_3>As we see in Ukraine, there are some technological advances that can be deployed that can level the playing field somewhat.

00:21:08.900 --> 00:21:12.300

<v SPEAKER_3>But as Trump would say, China has most of the cards.

00:21:12.420 --> 00:21:14.440

<v SPEAKER_3>They've got all sorts of range of responses.

00:21:14.440 --> 00:21:23.420

<v SPEAKER_3>They can begin to pressure Taiwan and economically, partial embargoes, complete embargoes, stopping well short and amphibious assault.

00:21:23.500 --> 00:21:27.940

<v SPEAKER_3>But I will add one comment I think from, and this is my speculation only.

00:21:28.860 --> 00:21:42.740

<v SPEAKER_3>There was, as you know, at the time of the Vietnam War, the theory of Nixon's or people around Nixon, that the madman theory that the North Koreans, the North Vietnamese rather be afraid of Nixon because he is capable of doing almost anything.

00:21:43.100 --> 00:21:52.460

<v SPEAKER_3>There may be a little hint of that in the case of China, which may perhaps not wish to push it hard on some things like Taiwan, as he might otherwise.

00:21:52.860 --> 00:21:55.680

<v SPEAKER_3>America still has the premier military force.

00:21:55.680 --> 00:21:58.060

<v SPEAKER_3>We've seen its limitations in Iran.

00:21:58.180 --> 00:22:00.420

<v SPEAKER_3>We've seen what it could do in Venezuela.

00:22:00.760 --> 00:22:06.580

<v SPEAKER_3>It has a massive budget, dwarfs China's own budget, and it's about to get a 50% increase.

00:22:07.740 --> 00:22:15.620

<v SPEAKER_3>Trump has shown his willingness in this second term to employ that force in ways that are dizzying.

00:22:15.620 --> 00:22:17.500

<v SPEAKER_3>I mean, he's talking about the US.

00:22:17.500 --> 00:22:21.340

<v SPEAKER_3>Navy taking Cuba on the way back from Iran.

00:22:21.500 --> 00:22:38.140

<v SPEAKER_3>I'm not suggesting he's going to do all those, but if I was sitting in Jungnanhai, I would be cautious a bit about the risk that, through miscalculation or hubris, that Trump may just bite off way more than he can chew, and you don't want to precipitate that.

00:22:38.140 --> 00:22:43.900

<v SPEAKER_3>You might want to get into the calmer waters of the next administration before doing anything provocative.

00:22:43.980 --> 00:22:44.460

<v SPEAKER_2>Over.

00:22:45.040 --> 00:23:06.180

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard, if you're in Taipei, do you take some sort of comfort that the Americans have not been able to, they may be the mightiest military power, as we would all agree, but they've not been able to affect what they want in the Straits of Hormuz, and of course, four years in, four years plus into Ukraine, the Russians don't seem to be making much progress anymore.

00:23:07.500 --> 00:23:17.900

<v SPEAKER_1>Given the challenges that would meet the Chinese if they went into Taipei, if they went in militarily anyways, that's got to be acted.

00:23:17.900 --> 00:23:27.960

<v SPEAKER_1>Given what's going on, or what we don't know what's going on with the Chinese military leadership these days, is, as Gordon says, they wait a little bit before they decide what they're going to do?

00:23:28.880 --> 00:23:35.860

<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, but I don't think many people really anticipate that China is going to launch an attack on Taiwan in the near future.

00:23:36.900 --> 00:23:46.240

<v SPEAKER_2>I think that the Taiwanese aren't, and they are prepared in case, as prepared as they can get, for a military action.

00:23:46.480 --> 00:24:28.140

<v SPEAKER_2>But I think the common scenario of concern is having Taiwan squeezed through a quarantine, a blockade, a customs encirclement where ships have to pass through a Chinese armada and pay a toll and get approved to do shipments to Taiwan, an economic squeeze, which the Chinese military have now pretty well demonstrated by a number of actions, of exercises, that they can position their ships anywhere along and around the coast of Taiwan.

00:24:29.440 --> 00:24:36.640

<v SPEAKER_2>So I think they are more worried transactionally about the military sales and so on.

00:24:36.720 --> 00:24:50.440

<v SPEAKER_2>I do agree with Gordon that what they will be doing in time right now is galvanizing their support in the American Congress, which has over time been very supportive on both sides of the aisle of Taiwan.

00:24:50.640 --> 00:25:04.800

<v SPEAKER_2>Without, you know, occasionally they've gone overboard with Nancy Pelosi, which wasn't helpful, but generally they have been quietly helpful for Taiwan in a bipartisan way.

00:25:04.800 --> 00:25:08.860

<v SPEAKER_2>And they'll be trying to reconfirm that support, I think.

00:25:10.540 --> 00:25:27.880

<v SPEAKER_1>Stewart, I read both the FT and the Economist that this is yet a further example of decoupling between the United States and China and the kind of another blow against the globalization that we've all benefited from for the past, arguably, 30, 40 years.

00:25:28.160 --> 00:25:29.100

<v SPEAKER_1>Do you see that?

00:25:29.640 --> 00:25:36.600

<v SPEAKER_4>Oh, yeah, I just think that's the globalization, as we have known it, Colin, is, I think, basically gone by the boards.

00:25:36.600 --> 00:25:47.780

<v SPEAKER_4>And so it's, you know, if we can maintain sort of a middle power, you know, trade liberalization approach to doing business, I think that would be in our best interest.

00:25:47.780 --> 00:25:58.380

<v SPEAKER_4>But globalization in the context of the WTO and having the types of institutions that we had in the past, I think, is realistically is not going to be there, at least certainly not in the short term.

00:25:58.380 --> 00:25:59.800

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, short term could be 10 years.

00:25:59.800 --> 00:26:00.680

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, who knows?

00:26:01.060 --> 00:26:02.620

<v SPEAKER_4>But yeah, I think that's gone.

00:26:03.160 --> 00:26:17.080

<v SPEAKER_4>And so I think the whole issue around decoupling, I'm not sure you can decouple in the sense that everybody goes into their own part of their house and just do business amongst themselves.

00:26:17.080 --> 00:26:26.700

<v SPEAKER_4>And I think realistically speaking, there will always be a heavy reliance on China and Chinese exports, both to the United States and to Europe and to ourselves.

00:26:27.520 --> 00:26:39.420

<v SPEAKER_4>And so we have, I think, taken a strategically smart approach to, let's reinvigorate the relationship, let's re-engage, let's do it on our terms and have our guardrails in place.

00:26:39.420 --> 00:26:41.600

<v SPEAKER_4>And I think that's what we have to do.

00:26:41.600 --> 00:26:48.480

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, again, if we don't, we're certainly going to miss out on a lot of the things that are happening in China that will be to our benefit.

00:26:48.480 --> 00:26:54.360

<v SPEAKER_4>And we just have to be able to understand what's going on, whether or not we can engage in a lot of the areas around AI.

00:26:54.560 --> 00:26:58.280

<v SPEAKER_4>That's something that's, from a security perspective, we will have to consider.

00:26:58.280 --> 00:27:04.480

<v SPEAKER_4>But there's lots of areas that we can engage, whether it's around climate change, whether it's around health care.

00:27:04.480 --> 00:27:07.120

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, there's certain things that are kind of important.

00:27:07.120 --> 00:27:19.040

<v SPEAKER_4>So that that form of decoupling is, it shouldn't be for us, we should not have taken sort of a five-year hiatus that we are maybe more, because things have changed so much in China.

00:27:19.240 --> 00:27:20.960

<v SPEAKER_4>And I have been there for a while.

00:27:21.380 --> 00:27:24.760

<v SPEAKER_4>But people who I've talked to that have been to China say that it's completely different.

00:27:24.760 --> 00:27:34.440

<v SPEAKER_4>It changes so quickly and so rapidly that in some way, you have to keep an eye on what's going on just for our own long-term benefit.

00:27:35.200 --> 00:27:38.300

<v SPEAKER_5>Hi, I'm Dave Perry, the President and CEO of The Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

00:27:38.600 --> 00:27:42.840

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00:27:52.160 --> 00:27:56.920

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00:27:57.760 --> 00:28:02.800

<v SPEAKER_1>Stewart, thank you, because you anticipated my next question, which was, what does it mean for Canada?

00:28:02.800 --> 00:28:09.960

<v SPEAKER_1>You've addressed most of the three big topics I wanted, which was Canada, China, Canada, US, and to a degree, Canada, Indo-Pacific.

00:28:09.960 --> 00:28:21.020

<v SPEAKER_1>If you want to add a bit about Canada and Indo-Pacific, because you talk about the five-year hiatus from China, we did seem to

take a bit of a break from Asia for a while as well, with Indo-Pacific.

00:28:22.380 --> 00:28:25.480

<v SPEAKER_1>My guess is we probably have to revise our Indo-Pacific strategy.

00:28:26.500 --> 00:28:33.760

<v SPEAKER_4>Well, I mean, I think it needs to, I felt that way for a long time and certainly it didn't help what we went through with India.

00:28:34.560 --> 00:28:40.140

<v SPEAKER_4>But I think we built better linkages into the Southeast Asia, and I think that's important.

00:28:40.140 --> 00:28:46.140

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, you can't be either in China or either India or either Southeast Asia, you have to be able to approach all.

00:28:46.640 --> 00:28:52.160

<v SPEAKER_4>And I think understanding where we go with China now, and we're doing it in a systematic way.

00:28:52.160 --> 00:28:55.000

<v SPEAKER_4>It's not like we're bending over backwards.

00:28:55.000 --> 00:29:04.560

<v SPEAKER_4>I think we're being quite systematic in terms of how we're approaching the opportunities and the challenges that we quite frankly have with China.

00:29:05.100 --> 00:29:11.200

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, at the time, we were at the foundation when we were sort of in the midst of the problems of the two Michaels and Madame Meng-Yong Zhou.

00:29:11.680 --> 00:29:15.280

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, it was seriously a difficult time for us, and understandably, it was a difficult time.

00:29:15.280 --> 00:29:21.880

<v SPEAKER_4>But we did some papers which didn't get released at the time because of the sensitivity of what was going on.

00:29:21.880 --> 00:29:28.540

<v SPEAKER_4>But one of the things that was really important in the context of those papers was technology and security.

00:29:28.780 --> 00:29:34.420

<v SPEAKER_4>And Gordon, in fact, was very helpful and had led a group that had a conversation about security.

00:29:34.420 --> 00:29:40.440

<v SPEAKER_4>But this whole technology issue, the frameworks that we developed at that point, I think are still applicable today.

00:29:40.440 --> 00:29:49.180

<v SPEAKER_4>But a lot of the technology stuff that we talked about then has changed dramatically, certainly around AI because five years ago, it wasn't where it is today.

00:29:49.820 --> 00:29:52.440

<v SPEAKER_4>And so that's my point about how quickly things change.

00:29:52.440 --> 00:30:08.940

<v SPEAKER_4>And if we don't have a finger on it or an eye on what's going on, it's not in our interest, quite frankly, as a country because we do have capabilities and we have to be able to understand how those capabilities can be visualized in the context of relationships, not just with China, but the rest of the Indo-Pacific.

00:30:08.980 --> 00:30:20.420

<v SPEAKER_4>Certainly India is a place that we need to really understand how that technology and the technologies that they have and we have and how we can collaborate and work together at a time when that's so important.

00:30:21.020 --> 00:30:21.920

<v SPEAKER_1>I think that makes sense.

00:30:22.200 --> 00:30:28.840

<v SPEAKER_1>I put these frames, this question in the sense of our relationships with other countries like China, the US and the Indo-Pacific.

00:30:28.840 --> 00:30:31.940

<v SPEAKER_1>But the thematic side of it, I think makes sense, technology.

00:30:32.200 --> 00:30:35.760

<v SPEAKER_1>Gordon, where do you come down on this and what does this mean for us?

00:30:35.760 --> 00:30:40.800

<v SPEAKER_1>We have, the Prime Minister says, the strategic partnership with China gives the Americans some angst.

00:30:40.800 --> 00:30:48.420

<v SPEAKER_1>But it seems to me what Trump did with Xi was even more

than of a strategic partnership than what we have.

00:30:50.620 --> 00:31:03.520

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, there's always going to be a significance of that G2, if we wish, of that Beijing-Lapington axis, whether it's warm or fuzzy or hostile, that dwarfs any other bilateral relationship on Earth.

00:31:03.520 --> 00:31:09.200

<v SPEAKER_3>So, talking about Canada, the auto on Beijing is not going to be in the same order of magnitude.

00:31:09.200 --> 00:31:16.000

<v SPEAKER_3>However, when I look at the, I was looking again today at the outcomes from Prime Minister Carney's visit.

00:31:16.860 --> 00:31:23.180

<v SPEAKER_3>There's been a few things filter out of the Steve Trump Summit after the fact.

00:31:23.420 --> 00:31:35.940

<v SPEAKER_3>But we had a long list, carefully prepared, much of it now in motion, of exchanges, arrangements, sectors of focus, economic goals, economic accomplishments.

00:31:36.120 --> 00:31:38.440

<v SPEAKER_3>It was a busy piece of work.

00:31:39.400 --> 00:31:42.860

<v SPEAKER_3>And of course, these things always have elements that will succeed and some that won't.

00:31:43.160 --> 00:31:47.420

<v SPEAKER_3>But I think that we had a more successful summit in many ways.

00:31:48.260 --> 00:31:52.900

<v SPEAKER_3>Clearly, the Asia, the Indo-Pacific strategy needs revision.

00:31:52.940 --> 00:31:58.860

<v SPEAKER_3>For one thing, it largely spoke of China as a problem, almost entirely as China is a problem, not as an opportunity.

00:31:59.120 --> 00:32:01.560

<v SPEAKER_3>And clearly, China is a mix of both.

00:32:01.960 --> 00:32:13.680

<v SPEAKER_3>But that document is very dated and needs, quite frankly, to start again from a blank sheet and build upon the concrete things

we were able to do.

00:32:14.060 --> 00:32:28.280

<v SPEAKER_3>For Canada, I had a very good, preliminary discussion with Howard Balloch yesterday on this and in terms of the problems that might or may not come with the United States.

00:32:28.280 --> 00:32:41.600

<v SPEAKER_3>And I tend to exaggerate, I think, a bit the problems it's going to create, because I look at the relationships in terms of the public statements of the United States.

00:32:42.000 --> 00:32:46.820

<v SPEAKER_3>I think that I may be exaggerating the problems it creates for us.

00:32:46.840 --> 00:32:55.940

<v SPEAKER_3>There's lots of the plethora of issues between Canada and Washington now, and I suspect that China is not in the primary category.

00:32:55.940 --> 00:33:02.980

<v SPEAKER_3>However, they do watch what we do with China with an unblinking eye, even if they themselves are doing the same things.

00:33:03.020 --> 00:33:10.780

<v SPEAKER_3>That's true of Congress, it's true of the State Department, it's true of the White House.

00:33:11.220 --> 00:33:24.180

<v SPEAKER_3>So, yes, it was seen, they commented negatively upon it, and some of the things I think that will create some issues will be the import of EVs.

00:33:25.600 --> 00:33:30.300

<v SPEAKER_3>I was in an EV plant just a month ago, very impressed by what the Chinese are doing.

00:33:31.340 --> 00:33:37.320

<v SPEAKER_3>There's a lot of similarity between those plants, and they're producing very similar products, but they're formidable.

00:33:37.700 --> 00:33:43.860

<v SPEAKER_3>And we can benefit from perhaps a couple of Chinese EV plants in this country.

00:33:43.860 --> 00:33:47.720

<v SPEAKER_3>That was sort of hinted at in the documents of Prime Minister's visit.

00:33:47.960 --> 00:33:57.100

<v SPEAKER_3>That will also create angst in the White House, even though they are busy destroying the viability of North American automobile manufacturing.

00:33:57.100 --> 00:33:58.220

<v SPEAKER_3>Perhaps I'll stop there.

00:33:59.000 --> 00:33:59.520

<v SPEAKER_1>Thanks.

00:33:59.580 --> 00:34:00.480

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard, will you come in on this?

00:34:00.480 --> 00:34:03.480

<v SPEAKER_1>Because I wonder what you think about what it all means for Canada.

00:34:03.480 --> 00:34:08.640

<v SPEAKER_1>And as we said, are we in a kind of G2 world now, can we therefore take whatever is leftover?

00:34:09.280 --> 00:34:11.760

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, I think we are a little bit in a G2 world.

00:34:12.100 --> 00:34:15.400

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think the two members of the G2 see it as a G2 world.

00:34:15.820 --> 00:34:17.140

<v SPEAKER_2>But I think what Mr.

00:34:17.140 --> 00:34:20.920

<v SPEAKER_2>Carney, Prime Minister Carney has done is recognize that in advance.

00:34:21.800 --> 00:34:39.280

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think his concept of variable geometry, if you will, and his approach to very serious engagement bilaterally with major other powers and regions, including China, including India, is very intelligent.

00:34:39.280 --> 00:34:43.060

<v SPEAKER_2>And there are a few things there.

00:34:43.060 --> 00:34:56.920

<v SPEAKER_2>One is picking up on Stewart, with whom I agree completely in terms of de-globalization and where we end up, is a recognition that we have to replace the global rules that we're losing with bilateral understandings.

00:34:58.120 --> 00:34:59.000
<v SPEAKER_1>Or plurilateral?

00:34:59.000 --> 00:35:00.040
<v SPEAKER_1>Can we do regional?

00:35:00.840 --> 00:35:06.280
<v SPEAKER_2>In some cases, with Southeast Asia, for example, but with China, it has to be bilateral.

00:35:06.640 --> 00:35:10.740
<v SPEAKER_2>And just like with the United States, it's going to have to be bilateral.

00:35:11.320 --> 00:35:22.620
<v SPEAKER_2>But it means getting beyond the rhetoric, recognizing what China can bring to us and does bring to us, both on the negative and positive ways.

00:35:23.080 --> 00:35:37.320
<v SPEAKER_2>Recognizing that China is going to be a major source of technology, whether it's EV technology or other technologies, recognize that China is going to be a major exporter of capital, and recognizing that we can have leverage in the relationship as well.

00:35:37.820 --> 00:35:46.880
<v SPEAKER_2>That we can welcome China to join us in achieving our national goals in areas of interest to China.

00:35:47.060 --> 00:35:51.620
<v SPEAKER_2>It is in their interest to help finance LNG plants in Canada.

00:35:51.680 --> 00:36:02.240
<v SPEAKER_2>It is in their interest to probably play a minority role, nonetheless an investment role, in the building of pipelines to the West Coast, assuming Mr.

00:36:02.240 --> 00:36:05.800
<v SPEAKER_2>Carney and Premier Smith can get us there.

00:36:09.320 --> 00:36:15.000
<v SPEAKER_2>Quite strategic when you look at the way Carney went, and then Champagne goes.

00:36:15.120 --> 00:36:28.740
<v SPEAKER_2>Champagne brings not only the banks, but he brings the pension funds and the Canadian financial partners who can invite, and did invite, and do invite, Chinese participation in Canadian national

projects.

00:36:29.560 --> 00:36:42.360

<v SPEAKER_2>Now, I think on the on the rule side, what we have learned is that we need, as we, Carney talks about the relationship with China proceeding with guardrails.

00:36:43.180 --> 00:36:51.680

<v SPEAKER_2>I think we need those guardrails to be to be clarified at a granular level in the way that they never have been clarified before.

00:36:52.600 --> 00:37:05.460

<v SPEAKER_2>I know that Chinese state-owned enterprises, state companies don't know what our approach is to whether we're welcoming investment or not, and what that means.

00:37:06.000 --> 00:37:12.220

<v SPEAKER_2>We have an Investment Canada Act, which gives the government lots of flexibility.

00:37:12.380 --> 00:37:27.120

<v SPEAKER_2>I think we need to move beyond flexibility to clarity, to say, here are the rules, and what that actually means for you to come into Canada, to operate in Canada, with Canada, serving your interests, but also serving our interests.

00:37:28.020 --> 00:37:39.220

<v SPEAKER_2>I anticipate we're going to see a lot more interchange with our industry department, with Madame Jolie, with Champagne, and of course, at the high level.

00:37:39.220 --> 00:37:50.040

<v SPEAKER_2>We'll see, I hope, those bilateral undertakings come forward in a clear way, because I think where China is today is they don't want to...

00:37:51.000 --> 00:37:56.720

<v SPEAKER_2>I think they regret that whole Michael Michael Meng period.

00:37:57.380 --> 00:37:59.280

<v SPEAKER_2>It didn't serve their long-term interest.

00:37:59.280 --> 00:38:02.880

<v SPEAKER_2>It demonstrated a certain degree of power and a certain degree of leverage.

00:38:03.420 --> 00:38:08.740

<v SPEAKER_2>But they would like to get back to a relationship with

Canada that serves their interest.

00:38:09.600 --> 00:38:14.800

<v SPEAKER_2>And just like we want to get to a relationship with China that serves our interest.

00:38:15.820 --> 00:38:20.360

<v SPEAKER_1>Howard, I take your point on spelling out in a granular fashion, what are the rules?

00:38:20.360 --> 00:38:27.100

<v SPEAKER_1>Because that's always been the complaint, certainly when I've talked to people at the Chinese embassy, that our rules change and they're vague.

00:38:27.460 --> 00:38:33.520

<v SPEAKER_1>And that strikes me as a problem within the bureaucracy that we come up with these like the Indo-Pacific strategy.

00:38:33.520 --> 00:38:34.820

<v SPEAKER_1>It may not suit the time.

00:38:35.180 --> 00:38:37.980

<v SPEAKER_1>But why can't we do that?

00:38:39.520 --> 00:38:40.680

<v SPEAKER_1>Is it that complicated?

00:38:40.680 --> 00:38:43.580

<v SPEAKER_1>All four of us have served in government.

00:38:44.820 --> 00:38:55.820

<v SPEAKER_1>When we do trade deals, we get down to it, especially with the Americans, we get down to a degree of granularity around rules of origin, that are very specific because the auto companies have to have that.

00:38:55.820 --> 00:39:02.860

<v SPEAKER_1>And we were able to do that and it seems to work and then provides, we hope, stability for business to make the investment.

00:39:03.440 --> 00:39:06.900

<v SPEAKER_1>Because in that sense, we're usually the ones that are seeking investment.

00:39:07.020 --> 00:39:15.100

<v SPEAKER_1>And it would seem to me, from what you've spelled out, Howard, that that's in our interest to be able to spell that because the Chinese know what the clear rules are, then we're more likely to see investment.

00:39:15.600 --> 00:39:17.520

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think we, but I think we're signaling that.

00:39:17.520 --> 00:39:26.920

<v SPEAKER_2>On the EV deal, we're saying 49,000 beginning, maybe going to 70,000 without many more rules for the import over time.

00:39:27.100 --> 00:39:50.320

<v SPEAKER_2>But what we're trying to negotiate more seriously, I believe, is the implantation of Chinese EV production in Canada, respecting Canadian labor rules, meeting targets for Canadian content on supply chains and Canadian parts manufacturers.

00:39:50.520 --> 00:39:52.480

<v SPEAKER_2>Those are going to be the kind of conditions.

00:39:52.480 --> 00:40:00.640

<v SPEAKER_2>And by the way, I am totally convinced that in 10 years, there will be Chinese EV manufacturing in the United States.

00:40:01.540 --> 00:40:14.920

<v SPEAKER_2>Again, working under rules that the United States, perhaps in a future administration makes clear, so that it also benefits the American parts manufacturers and American labor.

00:40:16.280 --> 00:40:19.340

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think it is in our interest to get there ahead of time.

00:40:19.640 --> 00:40:38.340

<v SPEAKER_2>On the investment side, general investment like natural resources, we have in the Investment Canada Act that they, that when you take over a Canadian company in the oil and gas business, that you must then behave like a, behave as if you were a Canadian company.

00:40:38.840 --> 00:40:41.540

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, that has to be great, clarified in a greater way.

00:40:41.540 --> 00:40:42.480

<v SPEAKER_2>What does that mean?

00:40:42.740 --> 00:40:45.440

<v SPEAKER_2>How boards operate, the degree of transparency.

00:40:45.680 --> 00:40:55.560

<v SPEAKER_2>Should we be insisting that companies eventually move towards the same kind of public transparency that is required of listed Canadian companies?

00:40:55.560 --> 00:40:59.740

<v SPEAKER_2>And maybe that they eventually list on the Toronto Stock Exchange.

00:40:59.900 --> 00:41:05.960

<v SPEAKER_2>I don't know where the limits might be, but I think it is in our absolute interest to clarify that.

00:41:05.960 --> 00:41:08.860

<v SPEAKER_2>And I think the Chinese would welcome it and then live by it.

00:41:09.760 --> 00:41:13.100

<v SPEAKER_1>Stewart, what Howard points out is doable, but is it workable?

00:41:13.740 --> 00:41:27.040

<v SPEAKER_4>Well, I mean, I think it's evolved exactly the way it should be, but the reality is it removes some of the political way that people operate.

00:41:27.040 --> 00:41:41.180

<v SPEAKER_4>So there is a degree of ambiguity because the political class in the country have to react to how the average citizen would feel about something like an investment in the automotive sector.

00:41:41.440 --> 00:41:48.140

<v SPEAKER_4>I would imagine that there are concerns in Ontario if we were to talk about Chinese investment.

00:41:48.180 --> 00:41:49.860

<v SPEAKER_4>Again, they shouldn't be, quite frankly.

00:41:49.860 --> 00:42:01.640

<v SPEAKER_4>But again, from my own experience, and I'm sure my former colleagues have had the same experiences that a couple of articles on the Global Mail can change political policy.

00:42:01.640 --> 00:42:03.740

<v SPEAKER_4>It's just a reality.

00:42:03.740 --> 00:42:10.080

<v SPEAKER_4>So I think that's part of the problems that you had with the Invest in Canada Act.

00:42:10.340 --> 00:42:22.360

<v SPEAKER_4>I think if you lay down strict rules like they should be, it just takes away some of that flexibility, as we talked about earlier, that our political class has when it comes to making decisions like this.

00:42:22.360 --> 00:42:25.260

<v SPEAKER_4>So my hope is that we do have that.

00:42:25.260 --> 00:42:31.440

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, we've been calling for it for years, but it just seems to be a difficult thing to put into practice.

00:42:31.500 --> 00:42:54.860

<v SPEAKER_4>So, I mean, there's one of the things, I did a piece a few six months ago, maybe seven months ago, can't remember, but we should be taking a look at the EV sector for Canada and China the way the same way that the Chinese looked at the automotive sector back in the early, late 90s, early 2000s with how GM in particular invested in Shanghai.

00:42:55.220 --> 00:42:57.580

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, there were very strict guidelines.

00:42:59.000 --> 00:43:06.800

<v SPEAKER_4>I had a conversation with the senior leadership in Shanghai, and they were saying, we just took a page from your playbook when it comes to offsets.

00:43:06.900 --> 00:43:10.380

<v SPEAKER_4>That's how they built that program.

00:43:11.220 --> 00:43:25.220

<v SPEAKER_4>The first three years, 40 percent of the car had to be, no, within the first three years, 100 percent of the car could be imported into Shanghai, and it was the Buick Regal that came from Oshawa.

00:43:26.120 --> 00:43:29.040

<v SPEAKER_4>After three years, 40 percent of the car had to be manufactured in China.

00:43:29.040 --> 00:43:30.800

<v SPEAKER_4>After seven years, 100 percent of the car.

00:43:31.000 --> 00:43:32.460

<v SPEAKER_4>We should be doing the same sort of thing.

00:43:32.460 --> 00:43:48.680

<v SPEAKER_4>I mean, that's there, they understand that playbook, and I think it would be very reasonable from that perspective because it gives Ontario or wherever it may be, the same sort of opportunities that Howard was saying about the labor aspects of it, the parts manufacturers aspect.

00:43:48.680 --> 00:43:52.160

<v SPEAKER_4>There's a whole bunch of different things that will be very positive for the Canadian economy.

00:43:52.160 --> 00:43:59.220

<v SPEAKER_4>But again, it's really thinking about this strategically, and putting in place the guard reels that Howard was talking about.

00:43:59.520 --> 00:44:03.160

<v SPEAKER_3>Colin, can I just jump in for a couple of quick points?

00:44:03.360 --> 00:44:06.980

<v SPEAKER_3>I agree with Howard that what is much needed is clarity.

00:44:07.460 --> 00:44:15.980

<v SPEAKER_3>I agree with Stewart that the political leadership and the bureaucracy doesn't want clarity because it gives them a lot of ways to have cover.

00:44:16.260 --> 00:44:28.380

<v SPEAKER_3>Talking to Chinese large firms have pointed out to me that when they come over and go through the motions of a major investment in Canada, that is the expense of millions of dollars.

00:44:28.380 --> 00:44:29.240

<v SPEAKER_3>It's not cheap.

00:44:29.440 --> 00:44:39.140

<v SPEAKER_3>If you look at I'm talking here about multi-billion dollar investments or billion dollar investments, there's a steep cost for that and they also have other places that they can put their investments.

00:44:39.520 --> 00:44:50.580

<v SPEAKER_3>Briefly back on EVs, there is this illusion that, in my opinion, and I hear that from the labor leaders in Ontario who are concerned about job losses for good reasons.

00:44:50.580 --> 00:44:58.740

<v SPEAKER_3>I would feel the same way if my job had been at risk, but that EV manufacturing is not a labor intensive thing.

00:44:59.360 --> 00:45:04.080

<v SPEAKER_3>There's almost, looking at Chinese automobile manufacture, there are very few workers.

00:45:04.080 --> 00:45:08.180

<v SPEAKER_3>It's robotized to a far greater degree than is the case of Canada.

00:45:09.000 --> 00:45:15.920

<v SPEAKER_3>I have a colleague who visited a different plant than I visited in Guangdong, and they had 1,200 workers.

00:45:16.340 --> 00:45:20.900

<v SPEAKER_3>But the manager, Soto Voce, said, actually, I could run it with 200.

00:45:21.080 --> 00:45:23.240

<v SPEAKER_3>The government says I have to have another 1,000.

00:45:24.340 --> 00:45:29.400

<v SPEAKER_3>Don't expect if we do get a Chinese EV plant, that's going to be a huge source of employment.

00:45:29.400 --> 00:45:32.580

<v SPEAKER_3>There's a lot of auxiliary things, batteries and other things.

00:45:32.800 --> 00:45:40.700

<v SPEAKER_3>It's still a net very good thing, but it's not a panacea for employment.

00:45:42.540 --> 00:45:45.180

<v SPEAKER_4>It does help with our climate change obligations, right?

00:45:45.720 --> 00:45:46.900

<v SPEAKER_4>It does help with-

00:45:47.200 --> 00:45:47.840

<v SPEAKER_3>Yes.

00:45:48.520 --> 00:45:49.180

<v SPEAKER_3>Good point.

00:45:49.860 --> 00:46:00.100

<v SPEAKER_2>I'm going to pick up on a point that Stewart made about the political, and you've all made, about the political desire for flexibility and why you should have rules.

00:46:00.840 --> 00:46:05.740

<v SPEAKER_2>I go back to a time long, long ago that both Gordon and I were involved in.

00:46:06.320 --> 00:46:13.600

<v SPEAKER_2>At the time of Tiananmen, we were intensifying our relationship with China.

00:46:13.600 --> 00:46:25.520

<v SPEAKER_2>Of course, what the Chinese did in Tiananmen made that

intensification very unpalatable for the Canadian populace.

00:46:26.880 --> 00:46:37.140

<v SPEAKER_2>We and other countries moved quickly to temper our enthusiasm for greater relationships with China.

00:46:37.460 --> 00:46:45.260

<v SPEAKER_2>But we were careful and we looked at things like export credit and development assistance were then involved.

00:46:45.400 --> 00:46:58.880

<v SPEAKER_2>We canceled a few things that were easy to cancel, but we said right at the beginning and we persuaded our foreign minister, Joe Clark, and our prime minister that we couldn't afford to cut off things that really mattered.

00:46:58.880 --> 00:47:18.460

<v SPEAKER_2>We said on export credits, very importantly, that we would not provide export credits for anything that could be used by the propaganda or security apparatus of China, but that we would continue to do so when of interest to ourselves and of interest to the Chinese people.

00:47:19.120 --> 00:47:20.980

<v SPEAKER_2>Nobody noticed for a couple of months.

00:47:22.820 --> 00:47:24.720

<v SPEAKER_2>But we put it out.

00:47:24.720 --> 00:47:25.940

<v SPEAKER_2>Clark announced it.

00:47:26.540 --> 00:47:34.780

<v SPEAKER_2>Moroni took it to the G7 summit and the G7 summit largely had a similar comment drawn on the Canadian framework.

00:47:35.540 --> 00:47:48.580

<v SPEAKER_2>Few months go by and in September of 89, late in September, we announced that we had just put or approved a bunch of export credits, I think it was for telecommunications equipment.

00:47:49.060 --> 00:47:53.500

<v SPEAKER_2>The first reaction of the Prime Minister's office was, what the hell are you doing?

00:47:54.000 --> 00:47:57.300

<v SPEAKER_2>And I got a call, they were angry.

00:47:57.340 --> 00:48:03.120

<v SPEAKER_2>And we said, look, that's what we said, that's what the

Prime Minister said, that's what we all said.

00:48:03.120 --> 00:48:07.220

<v SPEAKER_2>And the next day, but everyone was upset for a moment.

00:48:07.400 --> 00:48:20.600

<v SPEAKER_2>The next day, the Globe and Mail ran an editorial and said, the government told us in late June, that this is what they were going to do, and they now have done it.

00:48:21.480 --> 00:48:24.560

<v SPEAKER_2>And the last words were, this is good policy.

00:48:25.400 --> 00:48:40.540

<v SPEAKER_2>And Prime Minister Moroni and the political class relaxed, because we were being recognized as a government, that we were doing what we said we were doing, and we were pursuing policies in the interest of the country.

00:48:40.980 --> 00:48:52.040

<v SPEAKER_2>And so I think, and I see in Carney, a willingness to say what needs to be said and do what needs to be done, and explain it to the Canadian people.

00:48:52.540 --> 00:48:59.100

<v SPEAKER_2>So I would encourage our politicians to have that same determination today.

00:48:59.720 --> 00:49:00.920

<v SPEAKER_1>Good policy advice, Howard.

00:49:00.920 --> 00:49:04.140

<v SPEAKER_1>That's what we are supposed to provide.

00:49:04.320 --> 00:49:10.060

<v SPEAKER_1>My last question for all of you is, in a sentence or two, what advice would you give, Mr.

00:49:10.060 --> 00:49:21.520

<v SPEAKER_1>Carney, if he says to you, all right, we're looking at the China policy again, in lieu of what we're just seeing take place at the summit between Xi and Trump, but also following up from my own visit, what advice would you give him?

00:49:21.520 --> 00:49:24.040

<v SPEAKER_1>And I'll start with you, I'll go backwards this time.

00:49:24.300 --> 00:49:25.480

<v SPEAKER_1>Why don't you start, Stewart?

00:49:26.320 --> 00:49:28.080
<v SPEAKER_4>I'd say, stay the course.

00:49:28.600 --> 00:49:29.020
<v SPEAKER_4>I'd say-

00:49:29.020 --> 00:49:31.180
<v SPEAKER_1>The course being engagement.

00:49:31.480 --> 00:49:32.740
<v SPEAKER_4>Engagement, absolutely.

00:49:32.740 --> 00:49:42.140
<v SPEAKER_4>And I'd say, the recent summit between Xi and Trump has allowed you to do, I think, more things, quite frankly.

00:49:42.140 --> 00:49:48.380
<v SPEAKER_4>And I think that will, if you're in the context of the engagement, you could maybe expand the envelope.

00:49:48.760 --> 00:49:51.060
<v SPEAKER_4>Again, understanding the guardrails that need to be in place.

00:49:51.060 --> 00:49:52.100
<v SPEAKER_4>So stay the course.

00:49:52.320 --> 00:49:54.200
<v SPEAKER_4>Expand where you can possibly expand.

00:49:54.320 --> 00:49:55.420
<v SPEAKER_4>Play to our strengths.

00:49:55.420 --> 00:49:57.800
<v SPEAKER_4>And our strengths, obviously, are in the natural resource sector.

00:49:58.220 --> 00:49:58.680
<v SPEAKER_4>Keep-

00:49:58.820 --> 00:50:00.380
<v SPEAKER_4>need things need to be done.

00:50:00.560 --> 00:50:09.140
<v SPEAKER_4>You know, there's a short-term and long-term plan when it comes to oil and gas, but certainly we should try and do as much as we can to capitalize on the moment as it is right now.

00:50:09.740 --> 00:50:13.280
<v SPEAKER_1>And when the Americans complain, point out what they've

just done with China themselves.

00:50:13.520 --> 00:50:14.140

<v SPEAKER_4>That's right.

00:50:15.240 --> 00:50:17.060

<v SPEAKER_1>Gordon, what would you tell the Prime Minister?

00:50:17.160 --> 00:50:18.540

<v SPEAKER_1>You've just come back from China.

00:50:18.660 --> 00:50:19.840

<v SPEAKER_1>It doesn't have to be trade related.

00:50:19.840 --> 00:50:23.560

<v SPEAKER_1>It could be broad, people to people, or it could be the strategic political advice.

00:50:23.620 --> 00:50:34.040

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, I'd remind him that China is somewhat unique for a large country, power-centered, not just in Beijing and not just in the party, but in the hands of Xi Jinping.

00:50:34.140 --> 00:50:37.000

<v SPEAKER_3>And they can move very quickly, very quickly indeed.

00:50:37.000 --> 00:50:46.780

<v SPEAKER_3>And we, with a federalized system, diffused power provinces and complex constitution and laws, we tend to move rather slowly.

00:50:46.900 --> 00:51:01.580

<v SPEAKER_3>So my advice, I guess, to the Prime Minister would be, I think he's doing this now, but move everything, do everything possible to move at speed and in order to keep Chinese attention and move things along.

00:51:01.760 --> 00:51:15.800

<v SPEAKER_3>Tiny point of detail, in mid-September of this year, there's going to be an investment summit in Ottawa, where major sources of finance will be invited, sovereign wealth funds, etc., etc.

00:51:16.100 --> 00:51:23.440

<v SPEAKER_3>I'm hoping that there would be a significant Chinese delegation attending that meeting.

00:51:23.680 --> 00:51:24.140

<v SPEAKER_3>Over.

00:51:24.680 --> 00:51:30.300

<v SPEAKER_1>So that's one of the things that our ambassadors should be working on right now is ensuring we get that kind of delegation, correct?

00:51:30.680 --> 00:51:31.260
<v SPEAKER_2>Correct.

00:51:31.680 --> 00:51:34.060
<v SPEAKER_1>All right, Howard, what would you give Mr.

00:51:34.060 --> 00:51:35.380
<v SPEAKER_1>Carney in terms of advice?

00:51:35.620 --> 00:51:43.200
<v SPEAKER_2>Well, I'd say first thing he should do is hire Stewart and Gordon to give him advice and listen to their advice because it's all very good.

00:51:44.260 --> 00:51:45.700
<v SPEAKER_2>I have very little to add.

00:51:45.740 --> 00:51:46.660
<v SPEAKER_2>Stay the course.

00:51:46.960 --> 00:51:47.980
<v SPEAKER_2>You're doing great.

00:51:48.920 --> 00:51:50.800
<v SPEAKER_2>And you can't stop.

00:51:51.900 --> 00:51:53.460
<v SPEAKER_2>This is not flavor of the month.

00:51:53.460 --> 00:51:56.980
<v SPEAKER_2>That's one of the other big problems we've had in the past, flavor of the month.

00:51:57.280 --> 00:52:00.360
<v SPEAKER_1>And when you talk, don't stop, we're talking just not at the federal level.

00:52:00.360 --> 00:52:01.360
<v SPEAKER_1>We're talking about premieres.

00:52:01.360 --> 00:52:02.880
<v SPEAKER_1>We're talking about business, correct?

00:52:03.340 --> 00:52:06.600
<v SPEAKER_2>Not the pursuit of Canadian interests.

00:52:07.100 --> 00:52:14.980

<v SPEAKER_2>While there's an unstopped efforts, just continuous, continuous, continuous efforts.

00:52:16.340 --> 00:52:19.220

<v SPEAKER_2>So advice that I agree completely with Stewart and Gordon.

00:52:19.540 --> 00:52:20.160

<v SPEAKER_1>All right.

00:52:20.260 --> 00:52:21.160

<v SPEAKER_1>Last question.

00:52:21.300 --> 00:52:23.000

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

00:52:23.500 --> 00:52:24.180

<v SPEAKER_1>Go ahead, Stewart.

00:52:24.780 --> 00:52:27.240

<v SPEAKER_4>A good podcast, Acquired, okay?

00:52:27.300 --> 00:52:28.260

<v SPEAKER_1>Acquired, okay.

00:52:28.640 --> 00:52:29.120

<v SPEAKER_4>Yeah.

00:52:30.500 --> 00:52:34.440

<v SPEAKER_4>They're a long podcast, so you have to dedicate two, three hours, but they're very, very good.

00:52:34.440 --> 00:52:37.540

<v SPEAKER_4>It's in its own business, so if you're interested in different things on-

00:52:37.540 --> 00:52:37.940

<v SPEAKER_1>All right.

00:52:37.940 --> 00:52:38.260

<v SPEAKER_1>Thank you.

00:52:38.260 --> 00:52:38.720

<v SPEAKER_1>Acquired.

00:52:38.720 --> 00:52:39.700

<v SPEAKER_1>Good, good suggestion.

00:52:39.700 --> 00:52:40.780

<v SPEAKER_1>I haven't heard of that one.

00:52:40.980 --> 00:52:41.300

<v SPEAKER_1>Gordon?

00:52:41.300 --> 00:52:42.040

<v SPEAKER_1>And second-

00:52:42.200 --> 00:52:42.360

<v SPEAKER_2>Sorry.

00:52:42.720 --> 00:52:43.640

<v SPEAKER_1>Please, Ganoa.

00:52:43.640 --> 00:52:44.700

<v SPEAKER_1>I was happy to have a second one.

00:52:44.700 --> 00:52:45.020

<v SPEAKER_1>Absolutely.

00:52:45.020 --> 00:52:45.580

<v SPEAKER_1>Go ahead, Stewart.

00:52:45.580 --> 00:52:46.080

<v SPEAKER_4>Ganoa.

00:52:46.160 --> 00:52:47.620

<v SPEAKER_4>And the book is Apple in China.

00:52:47.620 --> 00:52:48.680

<v SPEAKER_4>I think anybody who was interested in-

00:52:49.140 --> 00:52:50.660

<v SPEAKER_4>Yeah, that's absolutely very good.

00:52:50.660 --> 00:52:52.160

<v SPEAKER_1>By a Canadian author too.

00:52:53.360 --> 00:52:53.980

<v SPEAKER_4>Very good.

00:52:54.240 --> 00:52:54.740

<v SPEAKER_1>Yes.

00:52:56.540 --> 00:52:57.500

<v SPEAKER_1>Go ahead, Gordon.

00:52:58.200 --> 00:52:58.580

<v SPEAKER_3>Okay.

00:52:58.580 --> 00:53:02.680

<v SPEAKER_3>Well, I must confess, I need a break from the things Chinese at times.

00:53:02.680 --> 00:53:05.800

<v SPEAKER_3>And I do like the two telegraph series, one on Ukraine.

00:53:05.800 --> 00:53:07.520

<v SPEAKER_3>I've been listening to that for five years.

00:53:07.520 --> 00:53:09.340

<v SPEAKER_3>That motivated me to go to Ukraine.

00:53:10.180 --> 00:53:12.820

<v SPEAKER_3>And also the new telegraph series on Iran.

00:53:13.680 --> 00:53:16.420

<v SPEAKER_3>Regions that I know something about, but not nearly enough.

00:53:16.740 --> 00:53:21.660

<v SPEAKER_3>And it takes me away from all things Chinese.

00:53:21.740 --> 00:53:30.740

<v SPEAKER_3>When I go back to the thing where I spent most of my life, I dig into Chinese history, and particularly fascinated by the Han Dynasty.

00:53:30.740 --> 00:53:32.740

<v SPEAKER_3>But I don't have a particular book.

00:53:32.740 --> 00:53:38.800

<v SPEAKER_3>I have too many on that particular subject, but you can do nothing wrong by digging into China's long history.

00:53:38.800 --> 00:53:42.920

<v SPEAKER_3>And every single situation can be found there.

00:53:42.920 --> 00:53:55.860

<v SPEAKER_3>Big state, small state, a bunch of states, rising power, falling power, everything that the Greek wrote can be found in Chinese history, if you dig around and take your time.

00:53:56.240 --> 00:53:56.740

<v SPEAKER_1>All right.

00:53:56.740 --> 00:53:57.160

<v SPEAKER_1>Good advice.

00:53:57.160 --> 00:53:59.000

<v SPEAKER_1>I don't know, have we still got Howard or?

00:53:59.220 --> 00:54:00.160

<v SPEAKER_2>Yeah, I'm back.

00:54:00.160 --> 00:54:02.040

<v SPEAKER_2>I went out and I've come back.

00:54:02.160 --> 00:54:02.920

<v SPEAKER_1>Perfect.

00:54:03.140 --> 00:54:06.080

<v SPEAKER_1>The question was, what are you reading or streaming?

00:54:06.780 --> 00:54:13.500

<v SPEAKER_2>Well, I'm reading two books, Party of One by Wong Chun Han, the Singaporean about the rise of Xi Jinping.

00:54:13.520 --> 00:54:19.240

<v SPEAKER_2>It's a great reminder of everything that's happened and goes into detail that I didn't all know.

00:54:19.440 --> 00:54:28.080

<v SPEAKER_2>The other one is about America, which is a really entertaining book by Robert Reich called Coming Up Short, My Memoir of My America.

00:54:28.780 --> 00:54:29.280

<v SPEAKER_1>Okay.

00:54:29.280 --> 00:54:30.740

<v SPEAKER_1>Coming Up Short, Robert Reich.

00:54:31.300 --> 00:54:33.140

<v SPEAKER_2>As you know, he's 4'11.

00:54:33.200 --> 00:54:33.700

<v SPEAKER_1>Yes.

00:54:36.780 --> 00:54:38.220

<v SPEAKER_3>It's a great book.

00:54:38.600 --> 00:54:39.280

<v SPEAKER_1>Excellent.

00:54:39.480 --> 00:54:40.560

<v SPEAKER_1>Gentlemen, thank you.

00:54:40.660 --> 00:54:42.940

<v SPEAKER_1>Thanks for listening to this episode of The Global

Exchange.

00:54:42.940 --> 00:54:46.120

<v SPEAKER_1>We were joined today by Gordon Holden, Howard Balloch, and Stewart Beck.

00:54:46.440 --> 00:54:55.240

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00:54:55.680 --> 00:55:03.320

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00:55:03.440 --> 00:55:04.580

<v SPEAKER_1>I'm Colin Robertson.

00:55:04.780 --> 00:55:06.840

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