



# THE NIXON SEMINAR

on Conservative Realism and National Security

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### Emerging Hot Spots Around the World

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#### **PARTICIPANTS**

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#### **Mary Kissel**

Hello, everyone and good evening. Welcome to our first in person Nixon Seminar on Conservative Realism and National Security hosted by the Nixon Foundation here at the beautiful presidential library in Yorba Linda, California. Thanks to everybody in the in person audience and to all of you who are listening in online. Thank you for sharing your time with us this evening. I'm Mary Kissel of Stephen Inc. I'm a member of the seminar and your host tonight. And we're very honored to have Secretary Pompeo and Ambassador O'Brien as our co chairs co chairing the discussion and we're thrilled to have back all of our seminar members, most of whom are here in person but we also have a few joining us online. So as you might be able to tell from the video clip that we just played tonight, we're going to talk about something positive amid all the chaos in the world. We're going to talk about the emerging opportunities that we have with our alliance partners around the world. And the core elements, shall we say, of a long term national strategy for our foreign policy for the new age that we find ourselves in. And so with that, I'm going to ask Secretary Pompeo to my right to kick it off. Sir if you want to make a few opening comments, but or maybe I can just feed you something. I mean, the Ukraine war. There's so many problems to talk about around the world. Let's start with the biggest one the war on the continent of Europe. Europe seems to have woken up. So does this give us a chance to do more with them? Over to you.

### **Secretary Mike Pompeo**

Mary, I think it does. I hope I agree that it seems that they have been awakened. It took this crisis to do that. I hope it's not temporary. I hope it's not jailhouse conversion. It ends it sentencing. Right where they when they feel like it's over. They go back and revert to their normative ways of the last decade where they just didn't do enough to protect and prevent and deter precisely what this is. The last thought I'd say about something I think has fundamentally changed is I think the economic connection between both all of Europe and all of the West is now very plain, not just the energy issue that I'm sure we'll spend time on, which is going to be a really very difficult problem over the next 20 to 90 days in Europe. They're paying multiples of what we're paying here in the United States for energy, but also the financial markets. You can see the interconnectedness as resources are moved away from China and moved to other markets. You can see the interconnectedness, whether that's in Frankfurt or London or New York. We can each see that and I think what you're beginning to see as if we set these rules right, that the connected nature of the security connections between our our two places will become more prominent and more secure, as well.

### **Mary Kissel**

So some good news, Ambassador O'Brien, Ukraine, Europe has finally woken up. I mean, it only took the prospect of freezing to death in the wintertime to do it.

### **Ambassador Robert C. O'Brien**

Well, I hope they don't freeze this winter. But look, I think one of the really exciting things that we have going on right now is in the Ukraine has been a clarifying moment for the people who love freedom and liberty and democracy around the world. And if you think back to the last time we had a bipolar world, we had the USSR on one side and the United States of America and our allies on the other side. But there was also this group of non aligned countries. They call it the NAM with a group of 72 countries for nine non aligned movement. And you had great countries that were democracies like India, Brazil, Indonesia, that decided they weren't going to side with one one group or the other, but they were going to try and make their own way or try and leverage each other great powers to benefit themselves. In this new era of authoritarianism, totalitarianism versus democracy and the rule of law. I don't think there's room to sit on the sidelines. And so, one of the exciting things I think we can look forward to Mary and Mike and the rest of seminar members is India, Brazil, Indonesia, these great democracies, India has over 1.4 billion people. It'll be the largest country in the world very soon it will surpass China. Prime Minister Modi has been very sympathetic to the United States. We had great relations with them. In the Trump administration, I visited India with President Trump. I know Mike visited India to see his counterpart. Brazil, President Bolsonaro is in a tough reelection effort right now. And we'll have to see what happens there in two weeks or three weeks. But Brazil has 227 million people and we visited Brazil. Great, great meetings there. We did not get to Indonesia, although I visited with President Joko Widodo, but we've got to

bring Brazil, India Indonesia, onto the side of the great democracies on the this side of the United States and Japan and Europe and Australia and New Zealand and integrated them in and I think that this Ukraine crisis, this invasion of Ukraine, as these countries have watched Moscow and Beijing and Tehran, just walk all over the sovereignty and independence of their neighbors. And the most striking case being what's going on in Ukraine. I think that's going to help bring these great democracies on the side of the folks that love freedom and, and liberty and and when that happens, it's going to give us a tremendous advantage. And just a quick shout out to my friend Dan Crenshaw I'm channeling tonight. I don't mean to take his trademark but he was like so good on TV with his patch. I thought I did the same thing that I had. So Dan, thank you.

### **Mary Kissel**

So now that we're not on Zoom, we can actually have a conversation with each other which is fantastic. So if you guys don't jump in, I'm gonna call on you. So nobody, nobody says anything. Bridge. I'm gonna go I'm gonna go straight to you just never, never shy never. Let's get specific about this. So okay, so it's a clarifying moment, like the Ambassador says, lots of opportunities to cooperate now with our European allies as the secretary says how, how give us some ideas.

### **Elbridge Colby**

Well, I think that's a big question. I'm just building on what what the Secretary and the ambassador were saying. I mean, I think it is a clarifying moment. So there's an encouraging the wake up call, not only in Europe, but that countries like Japan, like South Korea, like Australia, also see that very bad things can happen and you need to react accordingly. I mean, look at what's happening in Taiwan. I would say that the danger a bit is that there's a sense that the problem has been solved, you know, in the sense that like, well, maybe there's this Ukraine model and everything will be will be will be fixed. So I think it's more of an opportunity that we can build on but I don't think it's sort of like everything's hunky dory, if you will.

### **Mary Kissel**

Because without the US and the UK, there really wouldn't be enough weapons to arm the Ukrainians.

### **Secretary Mike Pompeo**

Yeah, I mean, without the US may, let's be clear that the bulk supplier of the high end systems that are delivering the good outcomes for the Ukrainians, were the tools that were built by American technology, American innovation, and being underwritten by American taxpayer today. That's that's clearly the case. And it's this is this is the point, a combination of of naivete and greed. Right, over two decades, allowed us to get to places that we should never allowed

ourselves to be. And we were the only ones who kept up a foot in the capacity to deliver precisely what it is the Ukrainians need Europe needs today.

### **Mary Kissel**

So all of this dialogue about Gosh, what will Europe maintain its spine over the winter. That's just a useless conversation to have. It doesn't really matter. It's still just us.

### **Secretary Mike Pompeo**

No, it matters an awful lot because they're gonna have some real decisions to make mostly economic decisions about how to behave. Some of this will be how they support refugees. I mean, there's there are lots of theaters in which this takes place but make no mistake about it. The Bulwark, the things that's holding this together remains sitting right here

### **Mary Kissel**

now some of our members you can jump in.

### **Monica Crowley**

I think the clarifying clarifying point is really critical here. And it's not just for the West leaders, or even leaders in Japan and so on to our allies in the Pacific Rim. But I also think it's really clarifying for the general public's across the west and across Asia. Because there are a couple of things here. I think a lot of the people are now awake, not woke but awake to the fact that energy security is in fact national security. I think a lot of people assume that but didn't quite understand the mechanics of it until this invasion occurred. I also think a lot of people assume that any kind of conflict in the 21st century would be digital if we'd be cyber. And so for Vladimir Putin to actually send tanks across the lands into Ukraine, in an old school land invasion was something none of us really considered to be likely even and yet he did it. So I think that have woken a lot of people to reality that ya know, old school ground invasion by America's enemies into allies across Western Europe could be possible as well. And I also think you know, we're sitting here in the Nixon library, Nixon opened the door to China in 1972. That was strictly a geopolitical calculation on the part of President Nixon. The relationship with China obviously has evolved and evolved over the years and it's completely different now. But Nixon's calculation at the time, was to use China as a counterweight against growing Soviet power. And the Soviets were expanding their nuclear arsenal at the time in the late 60s, early 70s, expanding their conventional capabilities as well as their geopolitical spheres of influence. So Nixon in a genius move open the door to China in order to leverage that relationship against the Russians. And I think when President Trump came in and Mr. Secretary correct me if I'm wrong, Robert, correct me if I'm wrong, but his original view was a reverse Nixon, which has tried to improve relations with Moscow to try to enlist the Russians, at least in some way, as a counterweight against growing Chinese power. And yet the President's enemies used that approach against Nixon, so they used it as a cudgel against him to try to stop him from doing it

and stopping him from doing a lot of different things. To Robert's point about the rise of this new authoritarianism around the world, I think a lot of people see that now both elected authoritarians and unelected authoritarians in the form of the globalists around the world World Economic Forum, World Health Organization, organization, these transnational organizations that are not elected that have such tremendous influence over the United States and our own policy makers. So I think all of this has really alerted people to the dangerous and I think you're you're seeing populations around the world now really attuned to what's going on. And a lot of them are hooked into the root cause of all of this, which is American weakness under this current administration.

**Mary Kissel**

Alex Wong is on the line and he wanted to jump in Alex.

Yeah, yeah, just jumping. I'm sorry.

**Mary Kissel**

We can hear you just fine. Alex, can you hear us?

**Alex Wong**

Okay. I can hear you. I just want to jump back to what Bridget said. He had, I think thoughtfully said we should just assume that there's a Ukraine model and settle back and not not not take the steps to bolster our presence and interest abroad. I think it's instructive to actually concentrate on what the Ukraine model is. This is not simply us, granting aid granting equipment in since February. This has been a almost decade long effort to train and equip the Ukrainian forces plan jointly planned with him for this type of defense. And that is really what has allowed this, this coalition or the Ukrainians, to be back at what would have been or what many expected to be a quick Russian victory. I think that lesson has to be taken by not just us, but by our partners and allies and look at other hotspots around the world where we can do a similar effort to train and equip and sow the seeds early that we can bear the fruit later on. But also make clear to any other would be invaders and adversaries abroad that this is what we're doing. So that acts as a deterrent.

**Mary Kissel**

Yeah, that issue of deterrence has come up so much in our seminars. Chris.

**Christopher Nixon Cox**

Sure. I just want to throw in a couple points because I think we haven't seen the endgame yet and Ukraine and we have to see how it plays out. And depending on how Vladimir Putin ends it, we may need the help of the Indians. We may need the help of the Chinese more than we

realize at this point. And for instance, if there's a threatened nuclear attack, we're going to need India and China to weigh in on that. So that could affect the post Ukraine war and what that model is on the flip side, if we have an easy victory over Vladimir Putin that ends relatively quickly, that may color how we think of a potential war, at least how the general public would think about that with China and how to prepare for that war. Will we be able to be willing to make the same expenditures that we need to on defense to support our militaries in a potential war against China? So I think we sort of have to see how the Ukraine war plays out. And then I think another point, in terms of our allies, our allies are changing in many ways. If we look at what's happening in Latin America, the elections in Latin America right now, are bringing some quite frankly terrifying results. I think that we see Latin America moving much more towards the left and away from our values in many ways. Maybe not on the authoritarianism, but on free markets and things like this. And do they move away from us? does that leave an opening for China? So I think as we see this, these puzzle pieces coming together. I think we're gonna have to think about what alliances we can make. Maybe there's some new opportunities, maybe it's within the app, maybe it's with other countries, but I think we have to consider that

### **Mary Kissel**

on India. Monica, I think you had raised this, that that's an opportunity for five and that this administration and future admins

India's a huge opportunity, and it's certainly part of the quad which, Robert, Mr. Secretary you were critical in, in establishing, but I think there's real there's real geopolitical leverage to be gained with India that I don't think modern administrations have really exploited enough. I think that there is a closer relationship to be had there with India. There's second most populous nation on the face of the earth, very high tech. There are growing relationships there that I think should be cultivated that haven't necessarily but they're really

### **Mary Kissel**

difficult aren't a mystery. I mean, you know, say that we want the relationship but it takes two to tango, right?

### **Secretary Mike Pompeo**

It does. It's it's complicated. Famous diplomatic term. Though. The reality is though our biggest aid here to your point about upside or opportunities, they can see shipping to and while they may have may be difficult, and they are a neighbor and they are incredibly interconnected economically, they know they know that the Chinese violated their border in the Himalayas and killed dozens of Indians. They know that this virus that impacted them so greatly came from that place that they are they're not naive to the rest of the Chinese Communist Party because

what they need is an America that's prepared to provide the the assistance for them not not financial assistance, but the moral persuasiveness and it says when it really gets bad when going to use an adult word. When it gets hard. That we will we won't walk away we won't say hey, good, good. Good for you Godspeed. Look, we also gave them a hard time on Russian weapons system was something that I know Robert and I talked a lot about. They are deeply connected their historic armor of choice are the Russians, that's their equipment. That's what they have trained to those standards. We have a set of rules that say if you buy Russian stuff, we have to impose penalties on you. Under CATSA, and so we need to be thoughtful about how we aid them in transitioning away from the Chinese model, which they can see as bad. They see what's happened in Sri Lanka. They see what's happening in the economic corridor of Pakistan. They get that they get the financial connectivity and the risks that imposes we have to be there and we have to be sufficiently forceful and patient and if we do those two things in overtime, their economy will be connected to ours in really, really important ways. And don't forget, there are hundreds of 1000s of Indians working here studying here learning here. And there are folks that are actually working towards an objective that is different than the Chinese students that are studying here. And I'll leave it at that for this moment.

### **Mary Kisse**

Wonderful. Well, just it speaks again, though, to ambassadors clarifying moment, which is that it's not just India that's woken up with the countries of Europe. Kim, you and I were having a discussion about the Pacific Islands earlier. I believe it was the Solomon Islands that rejected the US naval vessel port call. The Australians offered help for their election. They said no, no, thanks. We have some real problems there. I mean, is that also an opportunity because they I don't know if certain parts of Pacific islands have woken up but but not all of them?

### **Kimberly Reed**

Absolutely. And Ambassador, Robert O'Brien and I were able to travel all over the world and share a message that economic security is national security, and we need to be there right now. We need to be there. With our partners and allies. Mary, you said to keep this high level and fun tonight. So I was cleaning out my grandparents house and my grandfather Howard Logan, Marietta, Ohio left me some newspapers from 1968 in 1969. So the time is now socket I guess is that some good advice as we go into the G 20. It's going to happen in a couple of weeks in Indonesia. And President Biden's going to be there with partner now i countries but also with Russia and with China. A couple of weeks ago I joined Robert O'Brien here at the Nixon library for a big event celebrating Richard Henry Kissinger. And I privately asked Henry Kissinger, what advice would you give to Joe Biden as he's going into the cheap 20 and Dr. Kissinger said, we need to be giving some alternatives. And so I think the economic alternative is very important. Right now we just saw. I saw China Daily. Last week that China's ExIm I was the head of the Export Import Bank of the United States, but China's ExIm has increased loans, first eight months of 2022. They're reporting \$178 billion in loans that they're giving out

to all of these countries. And we need to be very mindful of that. And just like with the Solomon Islands, we need to be working with the quad. And we need it. We hope that the Biden administration will be continuing on the work but we need to hear it loud and clear. And I think the world needs to see it the time is now

**Mary Kissel**

Congressman Gallagher, you wanted to jump in?

**Congressman Mike Gallagher**

On the subject of economic competition with China I do think the two low hanging fruit staring us in the face right now. Our free trade agreement with Taiwan as well as a post Brexit gold standard trade agreement with the UK I remember both the former Prime Minister Boris Johnson and former President Trump talking about that at the time and I know the politics have changed on both sides of the Atlantic since then, but that's something we shouldn't lose sight of, or give up completely on the hard power side of the equation as we see all these opportunities, whether it's with our European allies, or with India, potentially to convince them to get rid of the Russian kit. It sort of all comes back to our ability to revitalize our defense munitions industrial base and there we've seen We've seen the Ukraine the war in Ukraine expose a lot of supply chain vulnerabilities and limits to our capacity for example, it's going to take almost two years to increase the supply of javelins from 2100 a year to 4000 a year. If you read this energetics report that we mandated in the Defense Authorization Act last year. Basically they reviewed the energetics are things that make weapons go propellants, explosive pyrotechnics every weapons system depends on an energetic it's very tied to conventional deterrence. Many of these are single sourced or foreign sourced to China. So part of this discussion as we seek to help our allies wake up invest in their own defense means we need to revitalize our own munitions industrial base because as Alex talked about the lessons of Ukraine or the Ukraine model, well, I think one of the biggest lessons is that you need to stockpile weapons and munitions before the fighting starts. Otherwise you risk running low or going empty completely in wartime and there we still have a lot of work left to do.

**Mary Kissel**

Yeah, but of course, the challenge is that you need strong economies and we're entering a time of great weakness after our fiscal on our monetary excess, but I promised that I would keep this positive. So let's, let's think a little bit about that. It's been mentioned by a couple of the seminar members that maybe we should be cultivating new allies that there are new opportunities, okay. India's they wouldn't call themselves an ally, but they're a friend ish. Who else is out there? I mean, should we be looking for instance to say Eastern Europe, which is so threatened by Russia and so, so much on our side? I mean, Robert, what do you say to that?

**Ambassador Robert C. O'Brien**



Well, one of the ways we can do that, Mary, that's a great question is through the US private sector. So when I went to the East Asia Summit, back in 2018, Kim was there Adam Bowler and others were there. There was a real sense among our Asian allies that maybe America was disengaged. And so I had our staff take a look at what's our overall investment in East Asia and the countries are covered in the summit. And the investment was over a trillion dollars. It was twice as much as Japan and China put together but it's private sector investment. It's not government invests in state owned enterprises. And so I think one of the great opportunities we have with all these countries, whether it be India or Poland and in the Baltics, and the Czech Republic, is getting our private sector more involved and and interacting around the world. It's so much lower profile than the Chinese Belt and Road domination approach. And it has national security implications. So when you think of Ukraine at the outset of that invasion, the Russians tried to take down the columns for Ukraine, they wanted to make sure that the brands couldn't communicate with their troops up at the front lines that people of Ukraine couldn't communicate with each other. And what happened? It wasn't a government it was Elon Musk, sent the Starlink system pointed to satellites that Ukraine, and then people said, well, you won't get the uplink boxes to him. And overnight within 24 hours, there were pictures on the internet of trucks going in with these these satellite uplinks for Starlink. You've got YouTube, which is an American company that the Russians can't take down. And so you've got Russians able to watch the Lynskey and, and others on YouTube and Russia. So we've got a tremendous advantage with the American private sector. One of the things that concerns me and this is you know, I don't like to be political on these issues, but it's a kind of a classic thing on the left. They're always attacking the US private sector. And at a time, when we're in a race for our wives against Beijing and Tehran and Moscow, and their tech companies. We're trying to hobble American tech companies and one of the things about American tech companies we don't like we don't like the deep platforming, we don't like some of the censorship, but it's those American tech companies that give us a huge advantage in our race against the authoritarian regime. So we got to support those companies. And then through that, through that private sector initiative, we're gonna bring, you know, countries like Poland, you know, Ukrainians, they want to drive over the border to Poland to buy Apple phones, they don't want to, you know, have some crummy, you know, Chinese model that the Russians are importing. We've got such an attraction with our great private sector and we can't leave we can't forget that. I'll finish with this one point. Mike and I tried to with with the President to ban Tiktok and WeChat. And some of these pernicious Chinese applications that are many, many fonts in America, the Chinese we used to spy on us to steal the data of our young people to spy on their dissidents. We tried to ban them and unfortunately, the new administration came in and overturn that ban. The courts weren't helpful to us, India after the invasion that Mike talked about on the border when when the Indian soldier was killed, mutilated, banned 400 Chinese apps from from India that presents a great opportunity for American companies to fill the void. But it also shows that the Indians is Mike suggested are starting to wake up to the threat. We need to do the same here and so my advice is be rather than having Congress sees a blunt

antitrust tool to attack American tech companies, you know, we ought to be you know, attacking the Chinese tech companies banning those companies and then working with a scalpel to try and fix what's happening in Silicon Valley that we don't like as conservatives.

### **Mary Kissel**

That's right. So anybody who has tick tock on their phone you should you should delete it. And you should. Absolutely.

### **Secretary Mike Pompeo**

I just on the on the on the point of friends and allies. By the way, thanks for highlighting our failure to get rid of tick tock. By the way, by the way, the first time I spoke about this, I was Secretary of State and I was on Fox News and it was a throwaway line at the very end it was the first time anybody's administration had said anything about tick tock that goes on Laura Ingram show, and I literally got phone calls by the hundreds over the next week for mothers across America saying please get rid of popular at home with mom, get the kids attention back. You know you were talking to Chris about South America and Africa. These are places we've frankly aren't going to need these are big economies Nigeria be the world's largest by population country, but for too terribly long, still a relatively small GDP per capita but important places. And frankly, we've let the Chinese just walk there and it's partly because we were afraid to use our true power. So I'll never forget we were in a meeting with an African leader and the President asked them asked African leader how much of your product you import here, from here and down down the table. Word comes back. Almost nothing. President said, Oh, how much do you buy from China? 1,000,000,005 Something like that. President how much economic aid you get from the United States and I'll never forget this. Nobody wants to answer but finance minister said \$800 million and then somebody from medicine table said it's actually 975 And you could watch this African presidents like like like I said the truth is right. We were providing them free money and the Chinese were interacting with them and trading with them and getting influenced that their people on the ground this this is this is not the finest of America. We our trade is our leader and we're happy to provide them financial assistance, USA ideas from State Department, all good stuff. But in the end, it was that commercial tool and we shouldn't be demanding in exchange for our goodwill. We should be manning access to their markets as well. We could absolutely do it and we would create enormous opportunity with African countries. And we shouldn't forget our neighbor to the south your point about countries going left. You don't have to you can throw a stone from El Paso and find a country that is moving in a direction that is deeply inconsistent with the enormous trade implications for the United States of America and they're talking about nationalization of important industries that this will wreak havoc on America's economy, but also reduce our security footprint in those places as well.

### **Mary Kissel**

Bridge who wants to jump in?

### **Elbridge Colby**

Yeah, well, I think Mary, you were talking about sort of opportunities with new allies and partners and there are those but I mean, obviously, you know, we've we've, we've got missions around the world with countries I think another way of looking at it is new sort of types of relationships with with allies and partners, I mean, formal treaty allies like NATO, but also partners like India, or Vietnam or other countries in South and Southeast Asia. I think this is particularly important. And I think if we took a page out of President Nixon's playbook, I mean, I think if I were to try to characterize President Nixon's approach, very analytical had a clear sense of what our goal goals were our strengths, a realistic assessment of our weaknesses, not you know, as he said, We don't want to be a weary Titan kind of tying ourselves down, you know, let's not self flagellate too much, but an understanding of you know, what, where we are strengths, weakness, opportunities, and etc, and threats. And so I think in that context, I mean, if you look at his administration with with Dr. Kissinger and others, I mean, they really tried to form new types of relationships with countries in Europe. I think we saw an example of that with a different kind of relationship with the Europeans with Israel with with Iran at the time and and in, in, in Asia as well. I think that's a that's a that's a sort of a lesson that we can take here. You know, if we look at a country like Japan, I mean, Mike was was very rightly pointing to the tremendous problems that we face in our defense industrial base. And I mean, it's frankly, it's as an American, it's pretty infuriating to me that we spend three and a half percent of our all of our income every year and we can't, we can't double Javelin production in less than two years. I mean, we can't produce more than a submarine and a half a year that's like a national emergency, especially given the military threat from China in particular, but other threats as well. But hey, maybe an opportunity here is well let's if we need to scale and we need an industrial capacity, you know, as a large shipbuilding industry as Japan and South Korea right now, there's problems with that from an industrial policy point of view that we should you know, I think it's fair for us and right for us to try to bring a lot of that industry home, but we got a problem in the near term. We don't have 20 years to fix this problem. And so, you know, measures like the office agreement are very promising, but we can't just wait until you know, we can produce Australian submarines if we're lucky. 15 years, right. But that model, especially on the technology side, on the production side, and munitions, side, I think that's where, you know, I think we can look and I think there is opportunity there. I mean, I think the government in Japan is changing the new government, South Korea is much more aligned with us. I think, you know, ironically, in some ways the new government the Philippines, which is very critical geography is more receptive than the Duterte government. Obviously, the government Australia, even though it's changed hands politically, is still pretty consistent, I think with where we need to go the government India, so I think there's a real opportunity, but we need to be prepared and I think the next administration did this. Look, we need to be prepared to reexamine some of our policies, even some of our you know, shibboleths of, oh, we don't do

that kind of thing. Or we don't, you know, that's not how we do things. Well, maybe you need to change the way you do things to achieve your goals. And I mean, I think the Ukraine example is, as Alex and Mike rightly put, and others have put it is a successful example where we adapt to the problem and is quite successful. What I meant is more that we just can't assume that that supplying somebody is going to be I don't think we can rely on the Chinese being as incompetent for I've been really shocked by how poorly the Russian military is performed. I do not think it's prudent to assume that the Chinese will be as incompetent as the Russians have been and that's not that I mean, the Ukrainians have been heroic and they deserve our support. I think the Europeans need to take a much larger role commensurate with their interests and our need to prioritize Asia, but I mean, we should absolutely support them. But I think that's sort of the caution I have. But I think if we can build a more equitable with us clearly in the lead as Secretary Pompeo, we have to be in the lead because of our scale and our vision, etc. But I think we also need to get countries to step up and I think if we give providing the tools and the opportunity and the structure in a plastic minded kind of way, I think we can we can we can do a lot.

### **Mary Kissel**

So what I'm hearing is we need to recapture that kind of strategic thinking in the creativity of the Nixon era in terms of looking to maybe solve intractable problems, Egypt, Israel, in the same way that the Trump administration did, and we don't necessarily have to do it through institutions. Like the UN that don't work, although to be fair, current administration just had some big victories that not just one but two UN agencies, where we saw pro free world people winning so that is good. So they're addressing established institutions, but there are also more flexible arrangements that we can have Monica.

### **Monica Crowley**

I just want to pick up on your word about vision, because I think that's something that's largely gotten lost in this age of immediate social media and dealing with things that are right in front of your face. I was so fortunate to work with President Nixon during the last years of his life. And it always struck me that Richard Nixon was one of the very few truly visionary presidents we've ever had. And when people ask me what I mean by visionary, I mean, a president who can actually see what the world is going to look like 20 3040 years down the road, and as President make policy to anticipate that world in order to not just preserve America's interests, but advanced them over time. Not too many people know that Richard Nixon was the first American President to order a top secret review of Islamic terror. And he ordered the intelligence agencies to produce this document for him. And he ordered them not just simply to focus on Palestinian terror, which was very hot at the time, obviously airline hijackings and things but he wanted the actual Quranic roots of Islamic terror. He wanted a full breakdown, and that document was actually declassified after 911. So you can go and take a look at it. But this is what I mean about having a truly visionary American president, which we certainly do

not have right now. I think in terms of your bigger question very about opportunities here. I think are we can all agree that our greatest external threat we have many of them, but it is the CCP and it's a long term threat as well as a medium range and an immediate threat and their expansion as drive into all areas of the world is worrisome. I think obviously the Trump administration was paying close attention to it, but few prior to the Trump administration, we're paying close attention to it. And I wonder if there's a real opportunity for a new president because can't rely on this one to do it. But to create a new Monroe Doctrine of sorts, particularly with regard to North America, Central America and South America, and I know we're dealing with disparate regimes with disparate ideologies. But if you had a truly visionary American president who was willing to put in the energy to craft a very deft diplomatic and aggressive, muscular diplomatic strategy to bring the countries of this hemisphere together, at least with a baseline agreement on confronting the CCP, you could actually have a united force, at least with regard to that particular threat. But again, it's not going to happen in the next two years. So we do have to elect a new president coming into office, but I think that that should be a top priority. With the kind of diplomatic energy that Secretary Pompeo and Ambassador O'Brien brought to their terms in office. But that kind of bringing together of like minded folks who are like minded regimes and governments that are focused on that particular enemy and waking them up to the nature of that enemy of what will happen if they don't unite with the United States to confront that enemy. I think that poses a real opportunity. If you have that kind of visionary leadership.

### **Mary Kissel**

This is great. We should we should be more positive more often. Christopher,

### **Christopher Nixon Cox**

I just wanted to pick up on something Monica said earlier, and as well, her point here, which is, I think, with the United States, one thing that we've done really well is after World War Two, we had the Marshall Plan, we rebuilt Japan, we rebuilt Europe, very successful. My grandfather, at the end of the Cold War made a very good point. He said that it isn't just enough to win the Cold War, we have to win the peace. So in terms of new allies, new friends, new relationships, there will be a piece that comes out of Ukraine. How are we going to deal with Russia? And how can we win the peace with Russia? And can we turn Russia, which we did lose after the Cold War? We didn't win the peace of the backwards as we've seen with Ukraine. And other issues. How can we correct that mistake and turn Russia at least into someone we can work with? Hopefully a friend, maybe an ally, is it possible? And how would we do it if it is?

### **Mary Kissel**

Well, let's hope we get there. Let's hope we're not entering a new nuclear age because tactical nuclear weapons being used on the battlefield. You know, all of the comments that you've made to just that to that it's sometimes hard for us to imagine a world that's different with a

different kind of configuration. And President Nixon could do that. But, you know, I'm thinking of the Iranian protests right now. I mean, Iran did have a revolution in the late 70s changed the face of Iran in the face of the Middle East. Should we be thinking about how to aid these people and change it back into a direction that would want a closer relationship with the West and our partners?

**Secretary Mike Pompeo**

Yeah, we often think about things that are impossible, right? We think Chairman Kim will never give up his nuclear weapons. The Ayatollah won't ever go away and she's seeing things there forever. In the same way that when I was a young soldier, we never imagined that the East German wall would come down, right. I literally left Germany as a young lieutenant actually as old Lieutenant this point. But nonetheless, a very junior officer, and within two weeks of my departure, the wall comes down. I certainly didn't know about it. Maybe the captains and colonels knew I didn't know I don't think anybody anticipated these days come these momentous events. Do come and who knows what's going on Iran today. My guest is the besieged gets it back under control. That's the safe bet.

**Mary Kissel**

But there will be a day when the secret police just

**Secretary Mike Pompeo**

the Iranian secret police or the IRGC, they'll use violence to regain and restore order. They'll come a day. Right and we ought to be thinking about what they that they look like, not just for ourselves, but for the Israelis for the Gulf Arab states. What will that look like? If there is a change in leadership in Iran? What would that look like? How are we to make sure that when America lands in its place, after such a change, that we're prepared for that as I was listening earlier, you think about things you would never predict. Vladimir Putin almost certainly took a \$20 billion pipeline and turns it into scrap metal. I think he believes that he is going to be on the outs for a long time he was flowing no energy through this there was still value there. You might ship energy, two years, five years, 10 years around, he said, Nope, not gonna do it. gonna close this thing down. I think there's real opportunity to communicate to the world that the realignment that he chose is something that somehow the Iranian people will make a realignment that they choose and we need to be prepared for what that looks like. And you know, there's teams I'm sure there's teams inside this White House, too. We had teams for what do you do you know, the day after, what do you do the year after? How do you provide support when these things do go your way? When the break comes when the moment happens? We ought to think about that. And we it should begin with thinking about what the economies look like how is it that we provide American economic power, our most important, most viable, most consistent tool you can see right look at the foreign exchange rates today. When chaos looms in the world. You should be long the dollar everything's fine and

everybody's buying dollars. We saw what happened, right a \$2 billion tax change in Britain they had to walk their way back from because the British insurance markets were in deep trouble of unwinding. That wouldn't happen. United States there's the depth to our currency, the strength of our treasury. Those things don't happen when when these breaks happen when these momentous occasions occur. We need to make sure that we've got leaders with a vision for how to make sure America fills that opportunity.

### **Mary Kissel**

So what are the other places then around the world where we have the potential for a momentous change? We've talked about Iran, we've talked about Ukraine. What about Venezuela and North Korea are some of these other problems?

### **Ambassador Robert C. O'Brien**

So I think they're number of places. One thing I'd like to bring up, it's the second anniversary of Abraham accords now. And when when Mike and I started working on these and I started working on what I was working for Mike as hostage envoy, and we were doing work in the Middle East and there was kind of this rumbling that there could be a rapprochement between Israel and and some of the Gulf Arab states and we kept working it and then when I changed positions, and no one thought that you'd actually bring peace to the Middle East in fact, that used to be a joke, we would say, well, that's harder than getting peace. The Mega getting that deal done is harder than getting peace in the Middle East. And yet we did it. And one of the things is goes to Chris's point about peace being valuable in and of itself. Sometimes we focus only on the geopolitical issues of the economic issues. But when you see bar mitzvahs and bat mitzvahs and and try to start the Yom Kippur War, and you see these celebrations taking place in Dubai, I mean, who would have thought you'd have young kids telling the parents I want to do my Bat Mitzvah or my Bar Mitzvah in Dubai? I mean, that's pretty amazing. When you go up now to the Dome of the Rock or the the Alaska, Aqsa Mosque, we see people pilgrims coming from the Gulf States to visit those places. So peace is important for that reason. But it's also important geopolitically and economically and one of the things that that Mike and I saw, as we were negotiating these Accords, we gotten very tough on China. Buying us tech companies here. And China was all over there. They're still buying farmland, extra missile silos, and they're barely putting police stations in New York, but the beyond that, they were buying our tech companies and we tightened up the Cepheus process and then there were a lot of folks who didn't want that they wanted the Chinese to flow in there were financiers who thought it was great for America to have China buy up our innovative companies. We started to shut them down. So where did the Chinese go? They started going to Israel, because Tel Aviv is the second Silicon Valley. And one of the benefits of the Abraham accords that people didn't focus on at the time. Mike and I talked about it, Jared talked about it. We briefed the President on it is we have these massive capital funds the sovereign wealth funds in in Abu Dhabi and Dubai and the other emirates and Bahrain. And those funds are now investing in the Israeli tech

sector, and they're displacing the Chinese. So the we got peace for peace sakes and it was the right thing to do. But we also have this tremendous benefit and going to Monica's point about the CCP being our greatest challenge of pushing China out of the second most important tech market in the world. And so, if we think creatively about some of these issues, it may not be the minute I thought about the Abraham accords being a play against the Chinese, but it is and in fact, even trying to get the weapon systems and the platforms that the way in is defend itself against Iran. That displaces Chinese and Russian weapons sales provides more jobs for American workers here and helps, as as Mike talked about, helps bolster our defense industrial base. So they're second if we're visionary, we think about things that people say can't be done. It was a Middle East kid peace can't be done until you solve the Palestinian problem. We weren't around the Palestinians because they were never going to solve the problem themselves. The you get the second order benefits and consequences. It can be great for the United States. And so, you know, I still think there's more room to run on the Abraham accords. I think Saudi could become a member. I think Qatar could become a member I think Oman, Kuwait. So I still think there's more runway. It may not happen under this administration. But if under a Pompeo administration, or a second Trump administration. From there,

### **Mary Kissel**

you raise another really provocative idea, which is one of the CCP is is failing. The property market is exploding. They have rural bank failures. You have protests all over the country. The COVID lockdowns are crushing their economy writ large, they're gonna grow not even as fast as the rest of I think East Asia for the first time in many, many years. So maybe we get a surprise there and we get a free China.

### **Kimberly Reed**

So Barry, I want to get back to Monica's point on lessons from President Nixon. So I don't know how many of you in the audience and the Nixon library is beautiful, and everyone must visit here because it's a great repository of history, but how many of you were at the inauguration in January 2019 69. All right, so the Evening Star I got a gentleman down here. I don't know if you remember the Evening Star newspaper that was the evening newspaper for those born after 1969. Information was hard to come by. So the Evening Star from that day, talked about Richard Nixon and I just want to share with you what a visionary he was. So it was an article in the paper called views on Asia put emphasis on regionalism. In this kind of fun, one of the most sought after documents in the foreign ministries in embassies of Asia is an article published in late 1967 by an out of office American politician, who recently had returned from a two month round the world tour. The article, innocently titled Asia after Vietnam, appeared in the American magazine Foreign Affairs which we have read as part of the seminar we read this article, it was scarcely noted except by a small audience of specialists directly interested in Asia problems. So here's where he's visionary. The article, notes and ambition shared by virtually all non communist Asian leaders. And this is quoting Richard Nixon back in 1967,



persuading China that it cannot satisfy its imperial ambitions and that its own national interests requires a turning away from foreign adventures in turning inward toward the solution of its own domestic problems. So maybe it's regionalism, that is the answer.

### **Mary Kissel**

Maybe it is thank you. That's a that's a fantastic quote. what a what a great catch. Kim. Wouldn't it be wonderful if some of these problems resolved and we didn't have to worry about the threat from the CCP or Iran? launching attacks on Israel? Our neighbors, thank you. It was wonderful. Congressman Gallagher, you wanted to jump in

### **Congressman Mike Gallagher**

or just want to quickly say how sad I have not to be there in person among President Nixon's many foreign policy accomplishments, Perhaps his greatest domestic achievement was attending the christening of Lambeau Field in 1957 as vice president so he holds a special place in the hearts and minds of the people of Northeast Wisconsin. Robert mentioned the remarkable achievement of Abraham accords and listed some countries that potentially could be added to that mix. One that's come up recently is Indonesia. Now we can argue about whether that's realistic, but the fact remains that I think there's a dearth of attention being paid to key countries in the Indo Pacific we tend to focus all of our attention on Japan, on China itself on existing allies, but where's the next generation of experts in the foreign policy community when it comes to these key countries like Indonesia, and the Philippines, I'm part of a generation of military officers who after the invasion of Iraq after 911 rushed out to learn Arabic and thought I was gonna be doing Middle East stuff my whole life. My sense is now that's happening with Mandarin but not enough when it comes to Indonesian, the Golic Hindus we need to do a better job of sort of convincing that next generation to cultivate the deep regional expertise that's going to be necessary to bring some of these these creative new partnerships to fruition. And then finally, I just want to put stomp something I heard bridge Colby say which is thinking about the creative use of existing alliances and partnerships, right. Just start with five eyes. Right. Are we confident that we've we've gotten everything possible? Out of the five eyes Alliance? Of course not. We're proud of it, but there's much more we can do. Bridge mentioned the office agreement, and quite rightly said that we can't just put all our hopes on the long term promise of the Ozzy's operating nuclear subs that won't be fielded until the mid 2030s. At the earliest. What are the short term opportunities aka springs now that we are no longer constrained by the INF treaty because the secretary Pompeo is brilliant work? What are we doing to field intermediate range inf non compliant missiles that we can put in places like Alaska or Australia's northern territories? Those are the creative uses of existing alliances that I think are really exciting and could unlock massive opportunities to bolster deterrence in the next few years.

### **Mary Kissel**

What about using our neighbors Canada and Mexico? What about them? Anybody want to jump in here?

### **Elbridge Colby**

No, I was in I was in Canada recently. I actually, I mean, Mike mentioned five eyes and if you look at you look at I mean, Australia is a tremendous, I would say in some sense in the lead among our allies, and of course, the United Kingdom as well. But you know, Canada, I mean, if you look back I always like to point out you know, there were five beaches a D Day and two of American two of them. British and one Canadian per country is 1/10 our size we love to beat their chests about you know, rightly so but I mean, these Canadians really punch above their weight. You know, I think if we're looking around the world at you know, a lot of our allies you know, I'm not sure how much we're gonna get out of the Belgians with all due respect to our to our friends in Belgium or the Portuguese or whatever. But there are a few countries that I think we can we can really hope to try to get more you know, contributions out of, obviously, Germany, Japan, I mean, you can see countries like Poland really stepping up the Scandinavian countries, but I think Canada is a country that has a real tradition of collect contributions to collective security. A very noble tradition, actually, I mean, you know, they were in both world wars for the whole the whole thing. So and, you know, they're really not where they work. I mean, they're, they're spending, I think about 1.3 1.4% of GDP on defense, it's really anemic. And again, if we're talking about the scale issues that Mike was rightly pointing to Canada is an obvious place where we can we can begin. So I think I think, you know, more attention to Canada actually, in this vein would be really productive. It's kind of flown under the radar, and a little friendly, friendly pressure from down south might might go a long way.

### **Mary Kissel**

But it's also striking to several of your points of just how much these smaller nations in strategic locations. We should be paying attention to, we haven't even touched on Central Asia, which is now becoming strategically geographically quite important, given that we're not in Afghanistan anymore. And they have some resources that we may need and you know, they're also sitting in between Russia and China and perhaps not happy about it.

### **Secretary Mike Pompeo**

Yeah, I think you travel with me at least once there maybe twice times. A couple times. We froze it was it it was, it was winter, poor planning, deep winter. These are important places. You You've often had huge Russian influence, huge Chinese influence. Now that is now singular, although there will still be an enormous tension between Russia and China in Central Asia. We can do a lot more. This really does start to get at the resource issues, right. The natural resources, you're not just energy but more broadly, resources and when you think about the alignment, right, Canada, Canada, huge potential resource provider, Mexico, huge outlet huge provider. These are places where you can see Ukraine as a micro example of this issue of

vision will require an understanding of how you're going to feed the world, the next billion people and we talked about it I'm a Kansas guy so I know farming farming is is an energy business. You put fertilizer in the ground, that's ammonia, nitrogen. These are all energies are all natural gas dependent things. The dream that we're going to do this that we're gonna have a safe and secure world and feed the next billion people on windmills in the sunshine is foolish and dangerous. It's it's just happy to make the transition. Give me 50 years we got a shot at getting there. If you all have a technology that can pull it off tomorrow, let me know. Well, I'll make a bunch of money clones but in the meantime, and the meantime is an awful long time. We need to make sure that we are the provider, the swing producer for this energy. We the Western world, those of us who believe in freedom, property rights contracts, you know, the simple things that we are the providers of these resources to our friends and allies when we do that when we're capable of doing that and we can do that from Oklahoma and Texas and Pennsylvania and all kinds of good places. I don't even maybe even maybe even outside of Lambeau Field Mike who knows. If we if we do that and do that, well we will give enormous assurance to our friends who are hedging their bets today because they don't believe they can count on the United States to help them turn the lights on for that next 100 million people in Nigeria or the next 20 million people in Malaysia or Indonesia. They are counting on us to be that producer and the conduit for the capital that will come and be required all across the world to actually deliver those products. They know that this this holy grail of climate change is real and important and a long ways off from reducing the carbon footprint when you have coal plant coal power plants being built in China at a rate that is unimaginable doing in Pennsylvania today.

### **Mary Kissel**

We're running short on time unfortunately we try to run on time. If you had to pick one country to focus our energy on to improve the relationship. Which country would it be? Bridge

### **Elbridge Colby**

to improve the relationship? I think I think the relationship that's going to be the biggest swing where there's the most probably plausible variation is India. In the sense that, you know, the Indians are as you were indicating, Mary, they're they're proud. They got their own way of doing things. They noticed, for instance, I understand that Minister Jonker was pointing out the 16 upgrade and the Pakistanis. They told their own line. And I think they're going to be critical. I mean, frankly, we have a deep shared interest in presenting China with a multi front problem in Asia. And we want India to be as strong as possible. I think we have to keep our eye on the prize. If I could just say briefly while we have the opportunity I had the great honor of working for a judge Lawrence Silberman, who just passed away. It's a wonderful, a truly a wonderful man, visionary, a courageous person and he served in the next administration. He was the Solicitor General of the Labor Department. And then he was deputy attorney general, I think acting Attorney General. And then under President Ford, he served in Yugoslavia. He certainly

would fit right in with his crowd as a sort of an apostle, if you will of conservative realism, so I just wanted to pay him homage he just passed away. Thank you

**Mary Kissel**

Monica, do you agree? With bridge India?

**Monica Crowley**

Yeah, I would just say to I agree with you totally on India's to heavyweight country. And as we think about now that Russia is out of the equation in terms of using the Russians as a counterbalance against growing Chinese power. I think India fits that bill very well. And it should be cultivated for many reasons. And I also think the nation right on our doorstep, Mexico, I think we need to really work harder to improve that relationship. I understand. We've got different regimes with different ideologies and governments come and go, but for a whole variety of reasons, the United States should have a much more constructive relationship with Mexicans than we do.

**Mary Kissel**

I don't mean to put people on the spot, but I'll put them on the spot. Alex Wong. How about you? Who would you?

**Alex Wong**

I think I would have definitely agree with Bridge on India, but I think I'll go maybe a little bit of a cop out here in a different direction. I think we should put energy into our large traditional allies into ensuring that their strategic turns in recent years sticks. So I'm speaking namely of Japan, Australia, of Germany, large capabilities large willingness, but their recent turns to be more forthright and their own defense spending in Germany in particular has been very recent. We have to make sure that as a long term trend, because we need them we need to work together to balance the CCP militarily, but then also work out economic arrangements that are perhaps with a smaller group of the free world that are mutually beneficial and defensive against the kind of economic offense that we see the CCP pursue.

**Mary Kissel**

Okay, we are running low on time, Chris. I really

I'm going to do a quick cop out because I'm going to agree with Mike Pompeo on this, which is that I think Nigeria is a country that we need to focus on populations growing as a vibrant potential demand democracy but growing democracy, and I think it's going to be a great economic opportunity. One in five Africans are Nigerian that's only going to grow so I think

Nigeria will be the linchpin for Africa and that's a growing demographic area so I think we need to focus Okay,

**Mary Kissel**

Congressman Gallagher, just just give us a name which country

**Congressman Mike Gallagher**

Without getting into the semantics of country, Taiwan

**Kimberly Reed**

This is like picking your favorite childhood Nice. gonna just add some food for thought.

**Mary Kissel**

10 seconds.

**Kimberly Reed**

A country you should build better relations with for economic reasons and national security reasons Azerbaijan, Iran

**Mary Kissel**

that Okay, now we're gonna go to the co chairs. That's very interesting.

**Secretary Mike Pompeo**

Turkey.

**Ambassador Robert C. O'Brien**

I feel like we're in the McLaughlin group. The answer is India. But I've decided myself but the three small tech companies we got to stay on top of tech, Israel, Finland, Taiwan, we've got to win the tech war. Those are three countries off the radar that will help us win the tech war.

**Mary Kissel**

Okay, well, ladies and gentlemen, that was your tour around the world. For our first in person Nixon seminar on conservative realism and national security and I just want to thank everybody in the audience, everyone online for listening. All of these guys and gals are on social media, TV radio podcast, please follow them there. Thank you. I'm Mary kissel. Please join us again for the next seminar.