

## Strategy For A World Of Unpredictability And Disorder



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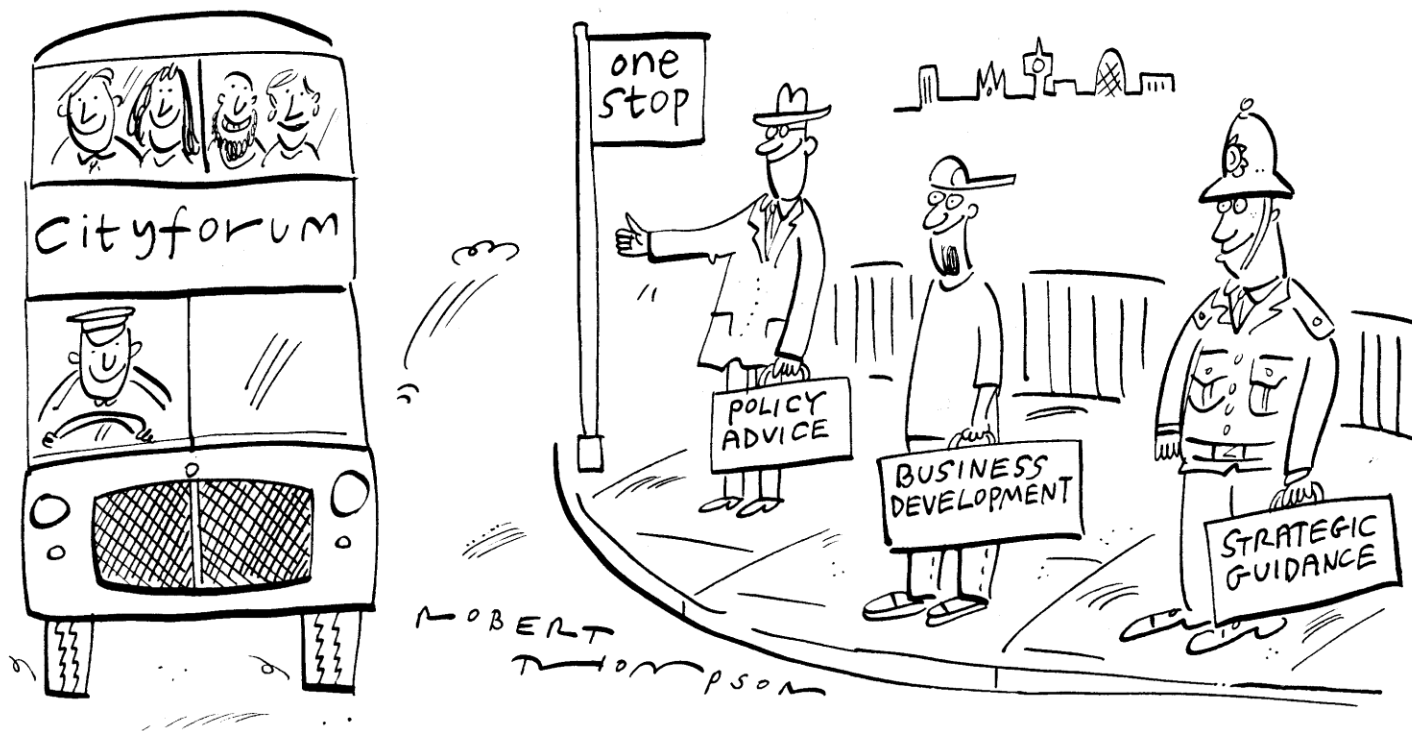
**Madeleine Moon**, Associate Cityforum, former Chair NATO Parliamentary Assembly

**Carl Miller**, Author of 'The Death of the Gods: The New Global Power Grab', DEMOS

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**Professor Michael Mainelli**, Executive Chairman, Z/Yen Group Limited, Alderman & Sheriff of the City of London 2019-2021

**13:00 Tuesday, 01 December 2020**



- 13:00 Introduction
- 13:03 Round robin:
- Dr Anthony H Cordesman - US values and policies under Biden
  - Madeleine Moon - Global Britain in a disordered world
  - Carl Miller – Information & trust
  - Dr Catarina P Thomson – What influences public opinion?
- 13:17 Theme 1 – “Splinterisation”
- 13:27 Theme 2 – “US – China – Europe: Sophistication or Naivety”
- 13:37 “Global Britain” - audience Q&A
- 13:52 Round robin summary
- 13:56 Close

# US values and policies under Biden

# The U.S. in Transition: 2021 to ?

1. New Biden team will try to live in the future, not the past
2. Republicans will probably control Senate. Real limits to Biden Administration, coupled to internal splits within both parties.
3. Face an unpredictable Covid-19 Budget crisis, recovery – potentially with major pressure on defense and foreign affairs spending.
4. Must act immediately to shape FY2022 national budget, reshape FY2021 request. May be forced into “strategic triage” in cutting back on U.S. military and civil efforts overseas or refocusing on key patterns.
5. Shift away from fights against extremists, but unclear what new focus will be.
6. Inherit major projects to define new U.S. strategy by each regional and specialized command, and military service, that *may* reshape U.S. strategy that affect all of America’s strategic partners – competing priorities in each case.
7. Debates over focus on China and Russia: Competition vs. confrontation, focus on higher levels of deterrence vs. global gray area and hybrid operations. Cost, time, and technology driven.
8. Fundamental shifts coming in force plans: multi-domain and hybrid warfare – movement away from major combat platforms to integrated, multi-service warfare affecting all services and types of combat. Gray operations involving civil, non-combat, and low intensity “competition.”
9. Grey, Hybrid, Multi-Domain operations will be as much political, economic, and technological as focused on deterrence and war fighting.

## Global Britain in a disordered world

# GLOBAL BRITAIN

Global Britain: delivering on our international ambition -  
GOV.UK ([www.gov.uk](http://www.gov.uk))

We need to use **government assets** more cohesively and efficiently to maintain our **global standing**. Global Britain is about **reinvesting in our relationships, championing the rules-based international order** and demonstrating that **the UK is open, outward-looking and confident** on the world stage.

# GOVERNMENT ASSETS

Boris Johnson 15/5/20

The UK possesses the **third biggest aid budget and diplomatic network in the world**: we owe it to our people to make best use of these assets, which scarcely any of our peers can match.



# CONFIDENT

## PLAYBOOK

- Cabinet Office Minister **Michael Gove**: [June 10, 2019](#) — “I’m a supporter of maintaining 0.7 percent of our economy being spent on international development” ... Health Secretary **Matt Hancock**: [June 5, 2019](#) — “I also support and will uphold the longstanding principle of spending 0.7 percent of GDP on international development” ... Business Secretary **Alok Sharma**: [October 21, 2019](#) — “As far as I’m concerned the 0.7 is a given” ... And **Boris Johnson**: [November 24, 2019](#), Conservative Party manifesto page 53 — “We will proudly maintain our commitment to spend 0.7 percent of GNI on development, and do more to help countries receiving aid become self sufficient.” : [September 2](#), Foreign Secretary **Dominic Raab** told colleagues in an all-staff meeting that 0.7 percent was “**written in law**,” that “the prime minister has been clear he wants aid to be at the beating heart of our foreign policy,” and that his “good pal” the chancellor would not be cutting it ... [July 9](#), FCDO Minister **James Cleverly** — “The government are completely committed to the 0.7 percent target ... That commitment is **embedded in law**, but we do not spend 0.7 percent because it is **embedded in law** — we spend 0.7 percent because it is the right thing to do” ... [June 30](#), FCDO Minister **James Duddridge** — “We are **bound by law** to spend 0.7 percent, so it is not a choice; **it is in the law**, and **we will obey the law**.”

# GLOBAL STANDING

- The Supreme Court decided it did not need to look at the motive for **prorogation**, but that what mattered was the effect of prorogation. It concluded that prorogation would be unlawful if it "has the effect, of **frustrating or preventing, without reasonable justification, the power of Parliament to carry out its constitutional functions as a legislature and as the body responsible for the supervision of the executive**". It found that proroguing for five weeks, rather than the normal four to five days, in the run-up to the major constitutional change on 31 October was **unlawful**.

# INTERNATIONAL AMBITION

Institute for Government

- The Internal Markets Bill ‘it breaks the law but only **in specific and limited ways**
- it will make it harder for the UK to **enforce international norms** on other countries. International law is the basis on which the UK has condemned **Russia’s** poisoning of Alexander Litvinenko and Sergei Skripal, **China’s** National Security Law in Hong Kong, nuclear programmes in **Iran and North Korea** and the use of chemical weapons in **Syria**.
- British diplomats should not be surprised if, next time they read the riot act to the representatives of another state about a breach of international law, they are told that it was only “**specific and limited**”.
- Second, it will be harder to do **deals** with partners, including the EU, if the UK has a reputation for **reneging on its promises**.

# THE UK IS OPEN

Putin's People Catherine Belton How the KGB took back Russia and then turned on the West  
Bill Browder Red Notice

- one former senior Russian banker tells Belton. “We believed in western values ... But it turned out everything depended on money, and all these values were pure hypocrisy.”
- London the Laundromat for the KGB, money pouring into western politics the rise of the Russian oligarchs in London business circles.
- ‘one of the UK’s most prestigious and expensive firms ---was suing me for libel in Britain's High Court

# REINVESTING IN OUR RELATIONSHIPS

- Peter Ricketts, a former British diplomat and crossbench life peer, said the special relationship would continue to be important on defense and security, but in other areas **Britain would be “less useful”** to the U.S. administration. “When Biden looks towards Europe, he will see **Paris and Berlin** more as the center of gravity of what’s really important for America in Europe,” he said

# RULES BASED INTERNATIONAL ORDER

Simon Nixon The Times 26/11/20

- *The* prime minister, has driven a series of reforms that have systematically undermined the independence of the judiciary, squeezed independent media and engaged in rampant cronyism that has seen his close associates accumulate vast fortunes,
- a wider battle for the soul of the West. Joe Biden, America's president-elect, has made it his mission to revive the western alliance and the **rules-based multilateral** order as a counterpoint to authoritarian regimes such as China and Russia

# DELIVERING

Charles Kupchan, a former President Barack Obama official and now Biden adviser

The bottom line is that Brexit is **an act of self-isolation**", "The United Kingdom alone does **not cut a large figure on the international landscape**, and as a consequence --- whether the issue is Ukraine, or India, or China or Russia, the U.K. is going to have to figure out how to make itself **relevant** at a time when it is **very inwardly focused**. So the relationship between the U.S. and the U.K. will be fine. **I'm just not sure it's going to matter that much.**"

O, wad some Power the  
giftie gie us. To see  
**oursels as others see us!**  
It wad frae monie a blunder  
free us, An' foolish notion.”.

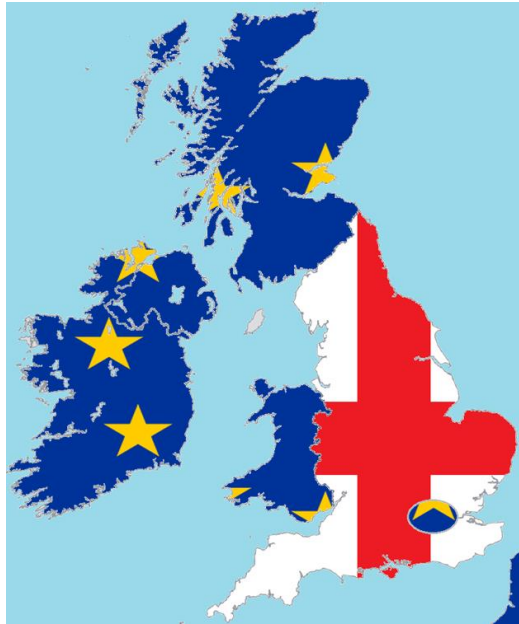


# Information & trust

What influences public opinion?

# Theme 1 – “Splinterisation”







**Cityforum thanks BAE Systems, Z/Yen, and  
panellists for their support**

**We shall return with more on Smart Power  
and Intelligent Defence for a volatile world  
in 2021**

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