

Sinews of Global Prosperity

March 2023

Introduction

In the aftermath of the Second World War, Sir Winston Churchill delivered his assessment of the rebalancing of power and advocated for robust international institutions to uphold the values the Allies had defended. It was in 1946 at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri that he delivered the ‘Sinews of Peace’ speech and the ‘special relationship’ was born.

Inspired by this seminal speech, we created the 1946 Forum. This cross-party caucus works to promote the transatlantic relationship to lead as a force for good in what Churchill termed an ‘un-united world’.

But what of its relevance today? Our nations remain long-standing friends and allies, united in our shared values of freedom, democracy and prosperity. We are both founding members of NATO, hold key positions of influence in international institutions and provide wide-ranging humanitarian support to countries in need.

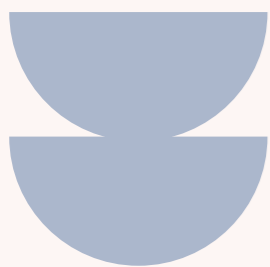
As threats to democracy increase and as Russia, China and some non-state actors become increasingly belligerent, bringing distinct challenges to national security and our way of life, the influence of malign actors has already begun to seep into global decision-making. Climate change, health and food insecurity are becoming more acute for developing countries in particular, and only with collaborative action from the whole world can we tackle these global challenges. Facing current geopolitical realities, it's time for the UK and US to step up to lead as a force for good.

This essay collection, the first publication of the 1946 Forum, argues that the transatlantic alliance should be at the forefront of tackling the development, diplomatic and defence challenges of the current age, and upholding the value of international institutions. It champions our nations' shared values of democracy and freedom to build security and prosperity around the world.

Together we can realise this vision of a strengthened transatlantic alliance with our geostrategic and shared values at its heart.

Ryan Henson

CEO of the Coalition for Global Prosperity



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Defending our values at home and abroad

The fundamental struggle of humanity is about the nature of governance.

When we look at the long arc of history, we can see that this fact is as true now as it has ever been, as we all learnt again on Thursday, 24 February 2022.

On both sides of the Atlantic, we are fortunate to live in societies in which the people get to choose how they are governed and who they are governed by. If you live in the UK or the US, we exist as citizens; that is to say, enfranchised actors, who get to have a say. We have many terms for this, including democracy, and far be it from any of us to claim that the process of our democracies is always perfect. And as citizens, we have to work for it, to perfect it and to be willing to work to improve it to create the type of society we all want to live in. As citizens, that is the role which we get to play.

The alternative to this, is one we see displayed in authoritarian regimes across the world. This model is one in which a small group of people hold power, and they exercise this power over, and often at the expense of, their populations. In these regimes, people do not get to be citizens, but are ruled over as subjects.

We see again and again, across history as well as today, that the desire for agency, to be citizens, is a universal ambition. Across the world, people want to exist with access to justice, free from violence and persecution, and with an ability to live a life which is not unfairly interfered with, in societies where they are allowed to prosper and provide for their families. We see the universality of these ambitions in the bravery of Iranian women taking off their headscarves, in the scale of the 2019 Hong Kong protests and, more than ever, we see this in herculean Ukrainian effort to defend their country from Russia's illegal invasion.

Kurt Volker

Former US Ambassador to NATO and former United States Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations



And what is just as true as the universality of these ambitions, is that we as nations are better off, more secure, and more prosperous, when people across the world are allowed to realize those ambitions, and when we defend against forces that seek to undermine the rights of free societies. And so today, when UK and US policymakers and citizens look to Ukraine, it is important to understand that the Ukrainians struggle is not merely about land, but about values – our values. If we do not defend our values where they are being challenged today, we will have to defend them closer to home, and at a much higher cost, in the future. That is why, as major democracies and key transatlantic allies, both the UK and the US have to be engaged, and we have to be willing to provide support and to push back on authoritarians who seek to expand their power and territory.

In his invasion of Ukraine, Vladimir Putin has articulated an ideology of fascism and empire. It is an ideology, in which he claims an intrinsic right to expand the harsh authoritarian state he has created at home, to impose this on another independent, sovereign country. Such ideologies pose a danger to all of us, as we have seen time and again, and as we last saw in Europe in the 1940s. And while we must remain mindful of the risk of escalation in Ukraine, we also do well to remember the lesson from the last major war in Europe, which is that getting our response to the conflict right, and getting it right early, is critically important if we want to avoid emboldening expansionist authoritarians across the world.

When we reflect on the year that has passed since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, I would argue that we can look back at a record of success. The US and the UK are two of the biggest bilateral donors of military, humanitarian and economic support for Ukraine. Both countries have been at the forefront of rallying allies in Europe and beyond, to support Ukrainians in what can

only be described as a heroic defense of their country. As the conflict drags on, we must not lose sight of what is at stake, which is not just the future of Ukraine, but the viability of all of the values we treasure at home; freedom, sovereignty, democracy and citizenship.

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Finally, the tools with which we engage cannot be one-dimensional. Military support and hard power will of course remain important, as we have seen recently with the provision of tanks by the US, the UK and Germany. But advocates who argue that only military support, or indeed only diplomatic interventions and soft power, is the right approach, misunderstand what is required. To support Ukraine, partners like the UK and the US will need to continue to take an integrated approach which utilizes all of the tools available to us. Only by pairing our military support for Ukraine with sustained diplomatic, economic, development and humanitarian support, can we give the brave Ukrainians fighting for the freedom of their country, the best possible chance of victory.



The future of conflict and cooperation

Hastings Ismay, Churchill's chief military assistant during WWII and the first Secretary General of NATO, once said of that organisation, "It must grow until the whole free world gets under one umbrella".

The world was a smaller place in the 1950s, and less interconnected. The challenges then were very different indeed. But the importance of NATO, and of pan-Atlantic partnerships more widely, has been restated for all to see following Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine.

These alliances are important because we are stronger together, acting with common voice and deed. It seems almost facile to write that sentence, especially as Finland and Sweden move towards becoming members of the Organisation due to Russia's aggression, but the seeds of doubt were being well sown by opinion formers about the efficacy and need for institutions like NATO in the late 90s and early 2000s. In crisis, NATO has once again found its role. Or, perhaps, in crisis, countries have recognised its importance.

Either way, this multilateral approach is one we should learn from and adapt. NATO's shield, preventing conflict through strength, is a model that can apply in so many other domains.

One of my proudest moments as an MP came in February as HMS ANSON left Barrow for the open sea for the first time. Speaking to the young submariners on the deck of ANSON before she left dock, I was left with no doubt of their resolve and purpose – defending the UK and its allies, and heading to sea for a career of service.

Barrow-in-Furness has produced every boat in the UK's submarine fleet, and continues to do so. After a shocking retrenchment in capability in the 90s that led to a critical loss of skills and deprivation in the town, there are now generations of work in the shipyard, delivering the hunter/killer boats, Dreadnought (Trident's successor), and SSNR – the next generation of subs.

Simon Fell

Conservative MP for Barrow-in-Furness and Chair of the All-Party Parliamentary Group on Cyber Security



Submarines are rivalled in engineering complexity by only one other thing: the international space station. But yet in sleepy old Barrow, situated on a peninsula in the middle of nowhere, the job of making them is being done many times over. These boats guarantee NATO members' security. And while their technology and command is the domain of the UK Government, they are delivered through close partnership with the US. This shared endeavour – this alliance – underpins a technical, strategic, and political alignment between the UK and US.

It is welcome, therefore, that this alliance is to expand. AUKUS (the partnership between Australia, the UK and the USA) will bring sub-sea capability to Australia, with a shared exchange of knowledge, skills and capacity for nuclear-powered vessels to secure Australia's interests and push back against aggression in the South China Sea.

There are precious few countries with the skill to manufacture boats like these, but they have never been more necessary to stand firm against aggressors who seek to exploit weaknesses and probe our defences.

As the world becomes more interconnected, and new technology renders old machinery less effective, it has become clear that we are in an arms race in two domains – technology and unseen spaces. At a time when a \$100 drone can surveil an army, or a £20,000 NLAW will render a multi-million dollar tank a flaming husk, it is in these areas that we must find common purpose with our allies.

These amazing vessels and their steadfast crews protect the undersea cables that connect the world, remain vigilant against our foes, push back aggression, surveil, and act as an ever-present warning that they are there, somewhere, silent and unseen. They are the very embodiment of a deterrent.

But it is not just in the silent domain of the sea that we must find common cause and build alliances – we must do so in the world of cyber too. It is in this space that we are all too exposed – states, the private sector and infrastructure connected, dependent on each other, and only as strong as their weakest link. The WannaCry and NotPetya attacks cost the global economy tens of billions, but yet we remain vulnerable to yet more of these exploits – relatively cheap to run, and destabilising to the extreme.

Hard power matters, as Ukraine demonstrates, but in cyber we are only as strong as our weakest link, and there are all too many weak links.

In my capacity as Chair of the All Party Group on Cyber Security, I have heard time and again of the risk to businesses and governments across the globe. An attack on a major cloud provider can affect us all, or spread from interconnected system to interconnected system. Speaking to Commonwealth leaders recently, I was struck by their repeated ask for a common shield. They looked with some envy at GCHQ and the National Cyber Security Centre, and to the NSA too.

I am glad that AUKUS includes ambitious provisions for 'joint capabilities and interoperability' in the cyber space between Australia, the UK and USA, but we must be more ambitious than that, and extend the umbrella that Ismay spoke of to like-minded partners across the globe. Hard power matters, as Ukraine demonstrates, but in cyber we are only as strong as our weakest link, and there are all too many weak links. As leaders in cyber security, the US and UK have a responsibility to strengthen those bonds. And we will benefit from doing so.

A steadfast transatlantic partnership is key to combating geopolitical aggression

The UK and US have no closer ally than one another. Nowhere has this been more clear than in our resolute response to Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine. The 'Special Relationship' has been vital in supporting Ukraine in its brave fight for freedom. The UK, for our personal part, has proven its continued international leadership role as the second largest contributor of military assistance to Ukraine and as one of the most influential members of NATO. It is a record we should be proud of.

Tom Hunt

Conservative MP for Ipswich



Our shared defence cooperation has been at the fore in the year since the invasion, but we should not forget that our shared foreign policy objectives and interests go far beyond that too. The primary victims of the invasion are the people of Ukraine, but the consequences of the war of aggression have been global. It has exposed the volatility of the global gas market and especially the reliance of many European countries on Russian gas, allowing Putin to weaponise energy. Through increased costs in key commodities like grain, fertiliser and fuel, Russia has also inflicted huge costs on many of the world's poorest countries where food accounts for nearly half of household budgets.

Putin fails to claim responsibility but it is his illegal war which has resulted in thousands of deaths in Ukraine, economic hardship far beyond it and, as the UN has estimated, tens of millions more people living in extreme poverty globally. If we let up in our efforts with our allies and partners to counteract these effects, the risk is that they will have a destabilising effect, triggering political crises and potentially waves of mass migration, akin to the one caused by the fall-out from the Arab Spring. The costs of dealing with that kind of crisis are far higher than the costs we are otherwise paying, via supporting our friends and allies and playing our part in securing as rapid a Ukrainian victory as possible.

The UK should remain at the front of the pack by leading by example and continuing to share its military hardware with our Ukrainian friends. This was very clearly what President Zelensky asked for when he came to give his historic address in Parliament and he was very grateful of that support so far. It is also vital that we continue our extensive diplomacy across NATO, working with like-minded countries to raise the collective level of ambition through initiatives like the UK Joint Expeditionary Force. Working in lock-step with the US will be crucial in all that we do.

No other two countries have shown the level of commitment or ability to act in the way that we have, and I'm proud that the Ukrainian people are encouraged by this, with the UK and US topping the list of countries they felt had most supported them.

The costs of dealing with that kind of crisis are far higher than the costs we are otherwise paying, via supporting our friends and allies and playing our part in securing as rapid a Ukrainian victory as possible.

While doing this, however, we must not neglect the global consequences of the war. This too, must be a close area of cooperation with the US and other allies if we are to ensure that Russia's broader efforts to undermine the West are as unsuccessful as his efforts to destroy a free and independent Ukraine.

Removing the last of the Iron Curtain

Churchill's famous 'Sinews of Peace' speech, given at Westminster College in Missouri in 1946, came against the backdrop of a changing global order. The World was recovering from the horrors of the Second World War, and had emerged into a fragile peace. Many lived in the naïve hope that major conflicts were now to be a thing of the past, and the advent of international institutions such as the United Nations, World Bank, and IMF would secure a new age of cooperation for prosperity. Early signs of the coming Cold War were however already beginning to emerge.

In 1944 – the Anglo-Austrian Economist Frederick von Hayek had published his seminal work, 'The Road to Serfdom', warning about the dangers of totalitarian collectivism. His book had been inspired by his observations of the direction of travel of the Soviet Union, and its clear imperialistic ambitions for the spread of communism. Hayek warned that international institutions would have to be protected from hostile infiltration, and that the liberal world order, by the virtue of its own liberal ideas, would be under threat from those who didn't seek to follow the rules.

A year later, the British author George Orwell published his novel 'Animal Farm', a character study of the expansionist nature of the leadership of the Soviet Union. Orwell expanded this thinking further in an essay in the same year where he popularised the phrase 'Cold War' in outlining the new ideological threat.

Robert Tyler

Senior Policy Director at Brussels-based think tank New Direction



A mere month before Churchill's speech, in February of 1946, George F Kennan – then serving as deputy head of mission in Moscow – wrote his infamous 'Long Telegram' in which he set out for American leadership the true nature of the Communist regime at the heart of the Soviet Union – and their ambitions to build a repressive sphere of influence.

All three men had been seen as outcasts – considered cranks who were trying to break the relationship with the Soviet Union. To many in the establishment, the USSR was a reliable ally that had helped defeat Nazism.

It would spur a change in Western thinking about the Soviet Union – and those states that live under it. Churchill's line about an 'Iron Curtain' descending across Europe perhaps had the most profound impact with it opening the imaginations of policy makers in the West. It was realised that so called 'Captive Nations' would need Western support going forwards.

In 1959 the 'National Captive Nations Committee' was established in the United States, with the aim of restoring the freedom and independence of nations under the yolk of Communist tyranny. President Eisenhower declared 'Captive Nations Week' – a week dedicated to the plight of Poland, Czechia, the Baltic States, and other nations under Communism.

Today we could yet still learn from this approach – many national groups remain trapped by both Russia and China, victims of ethnic cleansing, discrimination, and oppression. More than 3 million Uyghurs have been interned in camps in China, their native language banned, their faith forbidden, and their culture destroyed.

In Kalmykia, Chechnya, Dagestan, Circassia, Chuvashia, Bashkortostan, and other 'Republics' across the Russian Federation, indigenous people are being conscripted to fight Moscow's war in Ukraine. At home, those who protest are harassed by the FSB, whilst their languages are outlawed, and their places of worship demolished.

Those who try to leave their homes to find work in other parts of Russia are subjected to racial discrimination by Russian authorities.

There now exists a new opportunity for the United States and the United Kingdom to work together in supporting the rights of these groups of people – as they did during the Cold War. In Washington and London, cultural centres supported by the respective governments kept alive the languages, traditions, and identities of those who were repressed by the Soviet Union – the same could be done again today.

It would spur a change in Western thinking about the Soviet Union – and those states that live under it.

Equally, the Transatlantic community should take seriously the prospect of collapse in some of these regions in the aftermath of the Ukraine war. In the 1990's the West was caught off guard by the independence of many nations in Central Asia, and so they fell back into the orbit of Russia, and latterly China. The Transatlantic community must not make the same mistake twice, and support burgeoning nations in Central Asia in their desire to be free.

The West should set itself the aim of removing the last of the Iron Curtains – and speak up for those in Central Asia without a voice.

Competing with an increasingly assertive and authoritarian China

As we enter the middle of the third decade of the twenty first century, the parameters of the geopolitical reality for the rest of the century looks set – a competition between the world’s sole remaining superpower from the 1945 world order, the United States, and a seemingly ever ascendent and an increasingly assertive and authoritarian China.

Notwithstanding the war in Ukraine, the impact of this competition and what it means for the rest of the world is by far the most discussed aspect of foreign policy. Britain’s role, and how we maximise our role for good, is a dominant theme covering aspects of ‘traditional’ foreign policy, like diplomacy and our defence posture, but also investment decisions, business confidence and security decisions taken at home. In the Asia Pacific region, China’s rise to global prominence is ever present and Beijing has become an increasingly powerful player not just in the Pacific Ocean region, but across South Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In doing so, Beijing is clearly committed to courting allies and partnerships in previously west-leaning countries encouraging nations to comply with its worldview. This has had many effects, including, for example, isolating Taiwan in global fora and on the world stage. In doing so Beijing is furthering its reach in the United Nations General Assembly, building a bloc of support among nations which can be counted on to vote in line with China’s interest or to abstain on areas where previously smaller nations would have voted in line with UK or US interests.

This presents a unique challenge to the UK, and to our partners not only in the region but also closer to home. It was not so long ago that China threatened Lithuania for its recognition of Taiwan. Further Chinese hostility to European allies has been seen following the election of President-elect Pavel of the Czech Republic and his decision to engage with Taiwanese politicians.

Although we have left the EU, we are and will always remain European, and it is our duty to be aware of and stand up to China where other nations have decided to formalise their recognition of Taiwan and are being threatened and bullied as a result.

Sadly, the record of this government in response to this increasing reach and diplomatic engagement by China has been disappointing. Despite much talk of an Indo-Pacific tilt and the Government’s own Integrated Review of foreign policy document, the government have overseen a shrinking diplomatic footprint in the strategically vital Asia Pacific region, with the number of British-based staff posted to key countries in the region – including the Pacific Island states, India, Pakistan, and indeed China itself – falling by up to 50% since 2014. We cannot hope to match the Chinese engagement in the region and protect our own influence and position on the world stage while we have such a muddled and incoherent approach and with fewer staff to do the hard diplomatic legwork which is required to reassert a positive UK presence in the region.

Catherine West

Labour MP for Hornsey and Wood Green and Shadow Minister for Asia and the Pacific



Similarly on development spend, the UK Government’s decision to cut ODA spending at a time when many countries are crying out for support is a major misstep, giving further power and influence to China and allowing them to entice countries in to further economic partnerships with Beijing, knowing that the UK’s footprint in both aid and diplomacy is shrinking at the exact time it is most needed.

In a further worrying sign of the Government’s complacency and lack of coherent strategy on the region in countering Chinese influence, the Foreign Office admitted publicly it did not know which world leaders from the region attended the funeral of the late Queen Elizabeth II in London, despite much heralded and adept decision making by the Australians and New Zealanders in offering military flights to leaders in the region who wished to attend. This was a missed opportunity to demonstrate British engagement and commitment to the region at a time when the world’s focus was on London and with the backdrop of serious and sustained engagement by China in Commonwealth states like the Solomon Islands, Fiji, and Sri Lanka.

But it does not have to be this way. The potential for the UK to be a force for good is there, and should be relentlessly pursued by the Government to maintain our global influence, support our allies, and check the ever-growing bloc of support for Beijing in the UN and in other global institutions, which risks bending and shaping international law to further their vision of the world.

There are examples of a better approach, and indeed it is the example of the new Labor Government in Australia which could demonstrate a pathway for better engagement by Britain in the region, offering a playbook on how to engage with China on issues of common concern while supercharging engagement with regional partners and, with AUKUS, taking the worst-case scenario seriously by investing in a robust defence posture. Under the stewardship of Prime Minister Albanese and Foreign Minister Penny Wong, Australia has renewed its engagement in the

region while not shying away from calling out China’s behaviour and overreach. Given our long-standing historical relationship, the similarities between our systems of government, and our new and ground-breaking partnership on AUKUS Australia is a partner we should redouble our commitment to, and it was welcome to see both Foreign Minister Wong and Defence Minister Marles visit London last month to underwrite Canberra’s relationship with the UK.

Given the threat posed by China in the decades ahead, and its own policy of courting support and partnership, this has to be seen as a political imperative.

Taken with our relationship with New Zealand, Japan, and South Korea, this partnership and others like them could be the lynchpin of a renewed British engagement in the region with the UK cultivating our relationships more carefully. Given the threat posed by China in the decades ahead, and its own policy of courting support and partnership, this has to be seen as a political imperative. Anything else risks further undermining the UK’s global position and means the potential for the UK to be a force for good, a force for democracy and global liberty, for the rules based international order, would continue to be slowly eroded away.

Climate change multiplies threats to global security

Climate change is a ‘threat multiplier’, exacerbating risks to global prosperity and security. As the world warms, new geopolitical flashpoints are emerging while existing challenges such as poverty, conflict and migration are intensifying. How the world’s two largest emitters, China and the US, deal with climate change and its related impacts, and how quickly, will shape the international agenda in this decade and those to come.

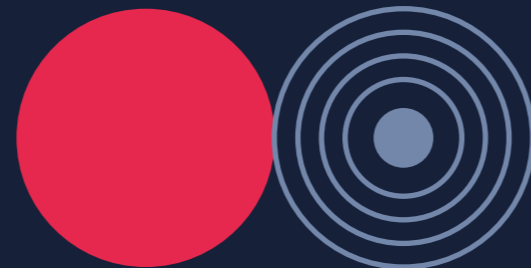
When I first coined this phrase with the US Generals and Admirals of the CNA Military Advisory Board in 2007, we lived in the midst of the War on Terror, with NATO troops deployed to Afghanistan, in a world pre- Paris Agreement and pre- the global financial crisis. Since then, climate change’s ability to exacerbate existing threats – driving social, economic and geopolitical instabilities – has become even more acute. Around the world nations have rallied to boost climate action, but there is much more to do, particularly in regard to its impact on developing countries.

For the most vulnerable nations, climate change is not a distant threat, it is a current enemy. Many countries on its frontline are often among the world’s poorest and least able to adapt, despite their carbon footprint being the smallest. Climate change could wipe out 15% of Africa’s GDP by 2030, resulting in an additional 100 million people in extreme poverty by the end of the decade, yet the continent only produces 2-3% of global emissions. Women also commonly face higher risks and greater burdens: the majority of the world’s poor are women and women dominate global food production, yet they own less than 10% of the land. The injustice is stark.

At COP27 significant progress was made to boost adaptation to scale up resilience for climate-vulnerable countries, with new pledges totaling more than

USD 230 billion. Incoming COP28 President Sultan al-Jaber is showing strong leadership in encouraging nations to ramp up investments ‘across every area of decarbonisation’, and the UK and US have an opportunity to leverage their climate leadership to promote more action on these commitments – particularly in mobilizing climate finance to improve resilience, striving to encourage allies to meet the \$100 billion a year commitment and to boost private finance.

Many climate-vulnerable countries often also face other challenges such as conflict, poor governance, state instability and resource insecurity, threats which are increasingly amplified by climate change.



Sherrri Goodman

Secretary General of the International Military Council on Climate & Security and Senior Fellow at the Environmental Change and Security Program and Polar Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center



Accelerated by both droughts and flooding, access to clean water and arable land can fuel local resource competition and spark conflict in areas already under stress in the developing world. Instability also causes volatility in the prices of fertilizer, raw materials and energy, triggering price spikes and potential disruption to supply chains, further increasing the cost of essential resources. Progress in global health is also under pressure as malnutrition increases and water- and vector-borne diseases are on the rise.

Millions of people risk being displaced by floods and droughts, such as in Bangladesh, a country that is itself hosting Rohingya refugees fleeing violence from neighboring Myanmar, where it is estimated that by 2050 one in every seven people are likely to be displaced by climate change.

Weak governance is also being tested by the influence of hostile actors. In Somalia, the ongoing conflict between government forces and Al Shabab militants increases the starvation threat as citizens have no access to aid.

A more stable climate will reduce the influence of hostile actors in these regions, reduce tensions, enhance development and lower migration. Boosting homegrown, resilient food, health and energy systems in developing countries would not only be a smart investment for the most vulnerable regions to enhance development and to boost their ability to grow and trade effectively, but good for our own security too. But this will not be successful if they are seen as a pawn in the geostrategic competition between China and the West.

While the US stood ‘at the pinnacle of world power’, when Churchill gave his seminal 1946 speech in Missouri, today it is adjusting to a world that is sharpening its focus towards the Indo-Pacific region while also restoring democracy and freedom in Europe where Putin has launched an unlawful war against sovereign Ukraine. Geopolitical competition over the energy transition between the world’s two largest emitters, China and the US, will shape the international

order and the impact of climate-related threats across the whole world, particularly the developing world. Europe is accelerating its own energy transition as it frees itself from Russian oil and gas. The US has made historic investments in clean energy and climate resilience through the Inflation Reduction Act and the Bipartisan Infrastructure Act.

Geostrategic competition is now shifting towards a new natural resource: critical minerals.

Geostrategic competition is now shifting towards a new natural resource: critical minerals. The International Energy Agency’s ‘Role of Critical Minerals’ report found that achieving net zero will require up to six times more critical minerals in 2040 than today for the rollout of green technologies like renewable energy and electric vehicles. Competition over resources such as lithium, cobalt, and rare earths is heating up, but the West is already playing catch up. China dominates the global supply chain for many of the world’s critical minerals, including mining, refining, separation, and processing, but there is an opportunity, if we move fast, for a UK-US partnership on critical minerals. We must diversify our supply chains to reduce China’s leverage over the global market and secure our own domestic industries and energy supply and to boost economic prosperity and reduce the threat to democracies around the world.

Climate change’s role as a threat multiplier is clearly demonstrated by today’s geopolitical realities. As it continues to amplify threats to state stability and food and energy security, and as it tests the resilience of climate-vulnerable countries, the need for global climate action with the US and UK leading from the front has never been greater.

US-UK Special Relationship is the anchor to protect global democracy

At the very close of his frontline political career, in 1955, Sir Winston Churchill had two final pieces of wisdom for his cabinet colleagues as he approached the end of a second term as Prime Minister. The first was psychological and ennobling: 'Man is Spirit'. And the second was practical: 'Never be separated from the Americans'.

Both were good advice, and the latter is especially so, as we consider the world of the twenty-first century: a world of constant competition, the threats of open wars of conquest by revisionist powers, and the increasingly fundamental challenge posed by authoritarian states to global democracy and the concept of an open society.

Britain and America demonstrate the greatest alliance in the history of the world: an alliance which has done more to preserve democracy than any other in history. In a new era of defiance of democracy, Britain's remaining close to the Americans has never seemed more vital.

In Churchill's speech in Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, he spoke of his 'full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times'.

Observers of the international scene making use of a similar privilege note the resonance. Just as Churchill's speech announced the Cold War and defined the Iron Curtain, we must concede that Russia's invasion of Ukraine has changed the world. Indeed, it has made the world more anxious and more baffling.

Dr Azeem Ibrahim OBE

Director at the Newlines Institute for Strategy and Policy in Washington DC, Research Professor at the Strategic Studies Institute US Army War College and a Columnist at Foreign Policy Magazine



This is a time of challenge. The Communist dictatorship in China is increasingly totalitarian. As is the regime of Vladimir Putin in Russia. The two are close allies: they coordinate, with a network of other authoritarian states, to take over or to derange global institutions like the United Nations, its Security Council, and the World Health Organisation.

Unless this trend is challenged, it risks undermining those international bodies which have stood for accountability and responsible global management, and the licensing in the confusion of aggression, chaos and war – and all their accompanying evils.

As Churchill said at Fulton of the United Nations, "We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action, and not merely a frothing of words". After years of drift, in the last year, this is something Britain and the United States have begun successfully to do.

Britain and America successfully warned an unwilling world of the reality of Russia's invasion of Ukraine: using the very international institutions which Russia had sought to pervert as pulpits to propagate the truth.

As Chinese diplomats attempt to undermine global financial institutions like the World Bank and IMF with its Belt and Road Initiative – in order to create a world of client and tribute-paying states – Britain and America are well-placed to prove that free economies create prosperity better than debt traps.

And as Russia's war throws away the lives of a whole Russian generation, British and American diplomatic efforts prove that the open release of intelligence can make public what tyrannies would rather conceal – be that evidence of massive corruption, or the aggressive wars tyrants launch without the consent of their people.

But more must be done. The democratic world at large has only lately woken up to the threats posed by networked authoritarians intent on geopolitical revisionism.

Only by cooperating can the democracies ensure that their voices are heard in international bodies and world bureaucracies. Only by using together the vast economic strength of the free nations can the threat of sanctions deter countries like China from following Russia's folly in launching an unprovoked war of aggression.

Our age is, as Churchill said of his own time, a moment of anxiety.

The Special Relationship must be at the heart of this new resurgence: an undying friendship united in common goals of political freedom and the rule of law – the linchpin of a wider Western Alliance.

It is a friendship forged by diplomacy, tested on the battlefield and the bitter seas of the cold Atlantic: a friendship of close security cooperation and integration.

Our age is, as Churchill said of his own time, a moment of anxiety. It is still uncertain whether international institutions will survive the authoritarian assault. If the norms of peace and diplomacy will hold.

Only if Britain and America are together and united can we confront the security challenges of this century. This era could, if the two countries are disunited, produce a 'quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure' – but together, another path is possible.

Only if the two stand together will there be, as Churchill said, "an overwhelming assurance of security" – a security a century in the making, still unfinished, but one undergirded by the shared sacrifice and affinity to two great English-speaking democracies as Britain and the United States. Let the two never be separated.

The race to net zero

It is all too easy to slip into a cycle of despair when considering the state of the global fight against climate change. Each new report seems to paint an ever bleaker picture of the impact of rising temperatures and the challenge that the world faces to cut emissions at the required pace. There is no doubt that we need to act faster.

But focusing only on the scale of the challenge before us belies the impressive progress that is happening. While global emissions have not yet peaked, the UK and the USA are amongst those nations leading the way to net zero, with the UK slashing emissions by nearly half since 1990 while the USA has seen steady cuts since 2007.

This has not happened by accident. Perhaps the greatest reason we have for optimism is the way that economic forces are rowing in behind climate action, with billions being invested in the clean industries and technologies of the future. In almost every sector, we already have the solutions we need - the challenge is to scale them and reduce their costs. With fossil fuel prices surging across the world, the green option is increasingly the economic option - a trend that is only set to continue.

John Flesher

International Programme Director at the Conservative Environment Network and a former policy adviser to Lord Zac Goldsmith



But this green revolution is imbalanced. While richer countries scramble to get ahead in the race to net zero, many others fear being left behind. Most nations in the Global South contribute a tiny fraction of the world's greenhouse gas emissions. Yet they are far more likely to suffer the effects of rising temperatures through natural disasters, food insecurity and rising sea levels. Exorbitant capital costs and a lack of proper grid infrastructure make the power systems of the future a pipe dream for much of the world.

This is not something that we can afford to ignore. Adaptation and mitigation of climate change are not a 'nice to have' - without them, rising temperatures will unwind decades of progress on hunger and poverty alleviation. When climate change causes crops to fail or makes land uninhabitable, this directly impacts the health and prosperity of millions of people.

The UK and the USA recognise our clear moral duty, with both nations pledging to double previous spending on international climate finance in the coming years. With a longstanding global commitment of \$100bn a year still not reached, let alone exceeded, both governments have a vital role to play in mobilising much more public and private investment in the green transition and adaptation in the Global South.

And this is not just a moral mission: it also has great bearing on the economic and foreign policy of the Transatlantic Alliance too. Our nations are at the forefront of global science and technology, trade, and finance - we have the key tools to export our own successes across the world, building more stable and prosperous trading and investment partners as we do so. There would be no better way for the USA to eschew the criticisms of the Inflation Reduction Act for being protectionist than for it to go hand in hand with significant investment in green capital overseas.

If we fail to act, others will not. For many years now, the West has had serious concerns about the malign influence of China and its Belt and Road Initiative,

which has poured billions into infrastructure in the world's poorest countries. The Build Back Better World initiative, launched at the G7 in 2021, was an encouraging start, with a model that would meet climate and development needs together. But at a time of serious economic challenges at home, the UK and USA have much work to do to realise these good intentions.

Both nations have played a vital role in the Just Energy Transition Partnerships agreed with South Africa, Indonesia and Vietnam, which will see billions of public and private investment in clean energy in some of the most coal-intensive economies on Earth. These deals represent a replicable model of strategic investment that, done right, supports the trifecta of building economic prosperity and geopolitical influence, as well as strengthening climate resilience. The Transatlantic Alliance should continue to secure many more such agreements with key countries.

And this is not just a moral mission: it also has great bearing on the economic and foreign policy of the Transatlantic Alliance too.

It has become a cliché to say that climate change is a global challenge requiring a global solution, but we simply will not stave off the worst effects of rising temperatures unless the whole world decarbonises fast enough. Despite the scale of the challenge, this is a huge opportunity too. For the sake of prosperity and the planet, the UK and USA should lead the way in taking it.

Why we need to be ‘Internationalists’?

Given all our deep-rooted domestic problems, it is understandable that people often feel that politicians should focus on domestic concerns rather than international issues. Historically, in most liberal democracies, internationalists of all parties have had to make the positive case for meaningful involvement in international issues. Sometimes it has been extremely difficult to do so.

Today, however, the task is easier and the case for internationalism is more self-evident. There is a realisation among most people in the West that many of the huge issues that we face domestically have international dimensions to them or are in fact international in character. We only have to think of the environmental challenges being caused by climate change and the movement of peoples, sometimes over vast distances, to recognise that in our modern world, the domestic is also the international.

But the war in Ukraine, caused by Russia’s invasion, has brought home the reality that crises in one part of the world can have global implications. There can be little doubt that Putin’s calculation was that the West would acquiesce, or at least not respond effectively to his aggression in Ukraine. He had reason for thinking this – the West had withdrawn from Afghanistan in disarray; the West had done nothing over Russia’s illegal annexation of Crimea; and President Trump had even questioned the continuation of NATO.

The war in Ukraine is the result of Russia’s blatant aggression. There can be no question that it is right to stand firmly with President Zelensky. This is the right thing to do, but it is also worth remembering that the consequences if we fail to show continuing solidarity are huge for all of us who are committed to the international rule of law and the very idea of liberal democracy.

Wayne David

Labour MP for Caerphilly and a member of the Executive Committee of the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union



If Russia were to be successful in Ukraine, there can be no doubt that Putin’s aggression would manifest itself in Transnistria and Moldova; in the Western Balkans, where destabilisation is already occurring; and along the Russia border stretching from Poland up to Finland.

Recently, I visited the Finnish Parliament and spoke with fellow parliamentarians. They were pleased to hear that there was genuine and deep cross-party support for Ukraine in Britain and that British politicians were fully behind Sweden and Finland’s application to join NATO.

They explained to me that Finland, since the end of the Second World War, had maintained a position of neutrality. This had now come to an abrupt end because of Russia’s aggression. The application to join NATO has wide political support, but also, it was explained to me, public opinion had shifted dramatically. Historically, most people in Finland have been reluctant to allow their country to be aligned too closely with the West. This has now changed, with the vast majority of Finnish people being concerned about Putin’s aggression and now seeing NATO as an alliance that could protect their country.

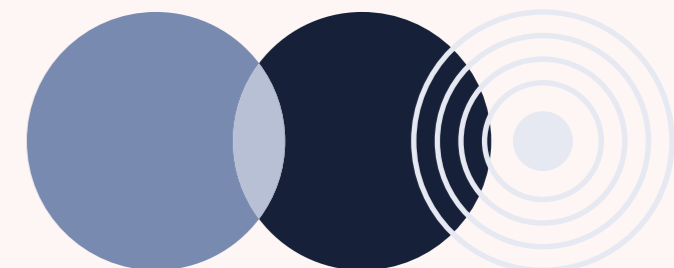
The West needs to be clear in its resolve to uphold the independence of Taiwan, remembering that it is an exemplary democratic state.

The case of Finland well illustrates that international events can quickly have a direct impact on domestic views. As one Finnish MP said to me, “If we are to preserve our country and all that we hold dear, then we have to work with those abroad who share our values”. That comment by a Finnish parliamentarian brought home to me that ‘internationalism’ is vital if we are to uphold freedom and democracy.

But it is not only in Europe that the lessons of internationalism need to be learnt. Throughout the world China is flexing its muscles in a whole host of different ways. From Africa to the Pacific, from Europe to South America, China is making use of its enormous financial resources to extend its influence. The Chinese Communist Party clearly has a long-term perspective and hopes that its encroachment across the globe will eventually lead to the achievement of a near hegemonic position. We need to be aware of this.

But in the short term, China’s aim is to end Taiwan’s independence, if necessary by military force. China probably considered the possibility of an invasion soon after Russia invaded Ukraine, but were dissuaded by the resolute response of the West. However, military analysts in Washington believe that the People’s Republic of China will have developed the military capability for a swift invasion within the next few years. The West needs to be clear in its resolve to uphold the independence of Taiwan, remembering that it is an exemplary democratic state.

History has many lessons to teach us. One of the most important is that if ‘might’ is allowed to triumph over ‘right’, then ultimately we will all pay the price.



Prevention is better than cure

War in Ukraine. The threat of climate change and a depleted environment. The movement of people around the globe in search of safety and a better life. And the rise of politicians and movements that seek to undermine the international rules-based system put in place after the horror of the Second World War. Alongside economic crises and the lingering effects of Covid, there are the multiple challenges we face as a world.

Russia's invasion of Ukraine was unprovoked aggression. President Putin does not regard Ukraine as a real country. He thinks it's part of Russia and that it is his destiny to claim it back. And he is prepared to pay a huge cost – lives lost in Ukraine and amongst his own forces – in pursuit of his war.

But he hugely underestimated both the determination of Ukraine to resist and the reaction of Europe and of the United States. He mistakenly thought that the West would be weak and divided. Instead, it has imposed far tougher sanctions than he could ever have imagined. Many countries, including the EU, are supplying Ukraine with weapons, Germany has announced an increase in defence expenditure, and Putin has managed to turn round public opinion in Finland and Sweden which now supports NATO membership.

Rt Hon Hilary Benn

Labour MP for Leeds Central
and former UK Secretary of State
for International Development



The real lesson is that when we say 'never again', we think that our words will be enough. What we have learned from the last year is that there will always be people who are prepared to use force to try and get what they want, and that is why strong defence and unity are the best protection we have.

As if this wasn't difficult enough, human-made climate change is upon us and will wreak huge damage if we do not speed up our efforts to reach a zero carbon future. We know what needs to be done, but there is, as yet, insufficient urgency in our efforts internationally. And we have to find a way of enabling everyone to make the changes that are required or else political forces who oppose taking action will get stronger.

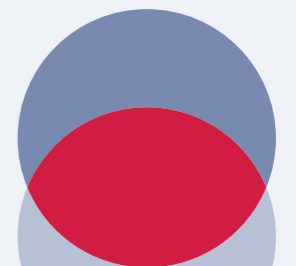
We will need all the technology we can get to do so, despite some arguing – wrongly – that relying on it is a diversion from the task in hand. The development of technology shows that net zero change is possible, and through the US Inflation Reduction Act, President Biden will be investing huge sums of money in a low carbon future. The EU is now wrestling with how it is going to match this. Getting this right, however, is a huge economic opportunity which will help build prosperity.

If we wish to protect and advance
the interests of our citizens in
this century, then we will best
do so by pooling our sovereignty
with others.

The first two challenges – conflict and climate change – are the principal reason why we need to act collectively because failing to do so will result in a third challenge – much larger movements of people around the globe which no walls or fences will stop. When conflict breaks out, or it stops raining or it rains too much, human beings will do what they have always done – namely

move in search of a better life. We will need international agreement to deal with this, and prevention is much better than cure.

Underlying all of this is the search for safety, sovereignty and control in a fast-changing world that occupies so much of modern political debate. I have witnessed much change for the better in my lifetime, and it has mainly come through people working together – within nations and beyond. That is why a 'Sovereignty First' policy – elevating an absolute principle above all else – will not help and is ultimately doomed to fail. If we wish to protect and advance the interests of our citizens in this century, then we will best do so by pooling our sovereignty with others. That is how you get progress in fighting climate change, agreeing international trade rules, standing up to threats to peace and security and ending conflicts. And that is why strengthening our international institutions and the rules-based system, rather than destroying them, is essential to building a better world for all.



A revived partnership with Middle East

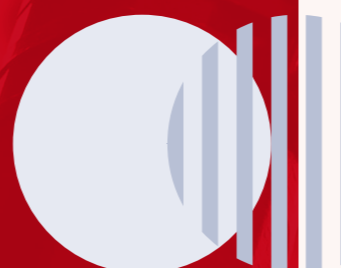
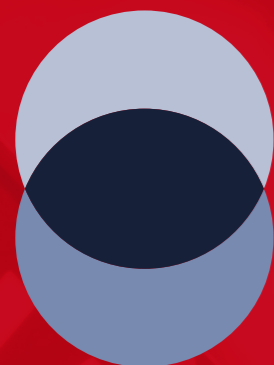


The world moves quickly these days. Trends that in history may have taken centuries might now be accomplished in lifetimes.

Western expansion and influence, which occupied generations, has been combated by a resurgent East within easy memory. It has become axiomatic to refer to India, China, Indonesia, Malaysia and others as 'powerhouses' of one sort or another, and for the world to look increasingly in that direction for challenge, or perhaps confrontation.

But the shrewd analyst of global anatomy should not lightly fly over the sinews which constitute the Middle East and North Africa Region (MENA). It may no longer be the centre of global political attention as in recent years, and it may not be at the back door of the US as it sets its sights elsewhere. But it is very much at Europe's edge, a Europe in which the United Kingdom is still an integral element, and it will pay the UK and the US to work together in a revived relationship with old and loyal friends.

We have a long history in the region. It has not all been good, but we have learned lessons from that, and despite it we still have friends who value us- important in a competitive world in which there are no vacuums. If the UK and the US are less evident, then Russia, China, Iran and others, will simply be more so, which may not be comfortable in economic, security or governance terms.



Rt Hon Alistair Burt

Member of the CGP Board and a distinguished fellow at RUSI. He is a former Minister of State for the Middle East and at the Department for International Development



In four key areas we might build this relationship.

Conflict reconciliation and recovery is desperately needed. The interventions of yesterday may be over, but the West's security building of today and tomorrow, stationing both key and tripwire forces in various locations, should contribute to mutual assurance of preventing and avoiding the wars which have devastated the region in recent times. There is an urgent need to close the Syrian, Yemen and Libyan conflicts, and begin the economic reconstruction which is needed for long term recovery and stability. The West's investment will be crucial, though there can be no shirking the difficulty of avoiding rewarding the perpetrators of war through normalisation.

There are strategic attempts to design a new Middle East, which we should encourage, though on terms. The Abraham Accords foresees a MENA where Israel plays a full part, with its technology and economy plugged into those of others. But these aims cannot fully be delivered, nor the Accords expanded, without a fair and just resolution of the Israeli/Palestinian crisis for so long at the heart of the region, and which has not gone away. Indeed, a new urgency is upon us now after a bad 2022 of increased violence, and flashpoints in 2023 emerging. Just imagine a MENA with this settled – the UK and US should be doing all it can now to avoid a new conflagration, and help realise a better vision.

Secondly, such a new vision would help fulfil the **economic growth** which will be vital for an expanding population. UN figures suggest that by 2050 half of the countries in MENA are expected to experience population increases of at least 50% from their 2015 levels. The UK and US engagement with improving education and economic infrastructure will pay dividends all round, with the English language such a key resource handed to us as a gift.

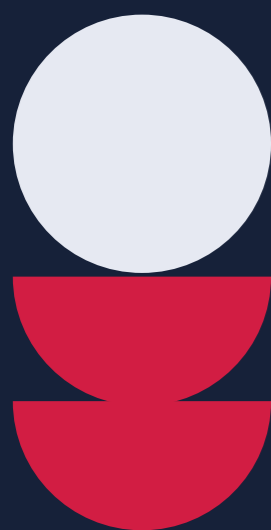
Thirdly, new economies will not be built by simply expanding the workforces in existing industries. The **technological power** of the UK and US is now being augmented by an increasingly assertive region, particularly the Gulf. The diversification from fossil fuels, which will be showcased at COP 28 in the Emirates later this year, is driving other high-tech, innovative investment from Riyadh to Doha. These states look to the UK and the US still as close partners, in science and higher education – and their progress has been phenomenal. The UAE went from its creation as a desert kingdom in 1971 to a space mission to Mars, in just 50 years.

The Middle East and North Africa is where the civilisations which built our modern world are still evident and remembered.

And fourthly, as mentioned above, in an increasingly **competitive political world**, where states from Tunisia to Iraq are engaged in the throes of democracy building, and the challenges associated with them, and where a spectrum of consent in Government, if not western democracy, is evident, the UK and US must have a role to play to prevent siren voices of authoritarianism suggesting they are the future. The calls simply for greater personal freedom in Iran, and the reaction to them, will not have been missed anywhere. If it is to be seen that oppression has no future, then those who would advocate it need challenge from those whose voices and actions are loud.

The Middle East and North Africa is where the civilisations which built our modern world are still evident and remembered. They are not just history, for renewed recognition by the UK and US of the opportunities of the region, is a springboard to the future.

Why the West cannot afford to fall behind in Africa



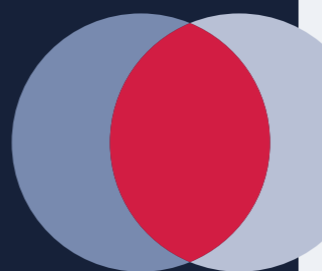
The West's relationship with Africa matters. The world's oldest continent, today Africa is also its youngest, with 60% of its population under the age of 25. Its huge potential for growth is underscored by the fact that Africa is home to a staggering 8 of the 15 fastest growing economies in the world. With its population set to double by 2050, investing in the economic power of this young population will be absolutely key to the success of the future. I'm pleased to see Governments, including the UK, begin to lean into our partnerships with Africa but is it enough and is it too late?

In recent years the bandwidth of major western countries has understandably been stretched. In a time of increased uncertainty, strategic competition, and the return of war in Europe, it is of course entirely right that the attention of major democracies is directed at these significant geopolitical challenges. However, I want to put forward an argument that these challenges must not mean that we fall behind with the African continent.

Lest we forget that as our own economies have battled with the challenges of Covid-19, Russia's illegal invasion of Ukraine and soaring energy prices, the effects of these have often been felt hardest by African nations. Following the pandemic, the number of people living in poverty in Africa is

estimated to be at least 485 million, which is over 40% of the continent's total population. Moreover, millions of people in the Horn of Africa are currently facing or at risk of starvation, as a prolonged drought and rising grain prices has led to a major humanitarian catastrophe in the region.

But the argument for a renewed focus on engagement with African nations goes far beyond a moral argument – though investing in development and responding to humanitarian crises is indeed the right thing to do.



Libby Smith

Director of Advocacy at CGP and an Executive Member of the Labour Campaign for International Development



As a trading nation, our success depends on global markets. A strong African economy and healthy workforce is good news for British people as well as Africans. As the US-Africa Leaders Summit and the UK-Africa Investment Summit have demonstrated, there are significant opportunities that exist for co-created economic partnerships, which promise mutual economic benefit. Africa's GDP is set to reach \$3.2 trillion in the next five years with exciting opportunities existing in key industries of the future, including tech.

Working in the private sector, I've seen the hugely integral role investing in international development and emerging economies plays in successful business. Gone are the days when international development was regarded as a charitable wing that sat firmly in the Corporate Social Responsibility Team. From H&M and Deloitte to HSBC and IKEA, successful global businesses know that as a trading nation our destiny is intertwined with that of our international partners. And among our international partners, I firmly believe that Africa is key.

To harness these opportunities, and to ensure we support African populations currently facing severe crises, what is required is a long-term and strategic approach to engagement. Major western countries should both think critically about how to ensure that development support is best harnessed to respond to current crises but also work to build long-term economic partnerships for the future. Both the UK and the US have already made some progress on this via innovative frameworks such as the Just Energy Transition (JET) Partnership to decarbonise South Africa's economy, or bilateral initiatives like the UK-Kenya Strategic Partnership. However, in the coming years more should be done to ensure that Africa remains a priority for continued investment to ensure that African economies are able to recover, grow and prosper.

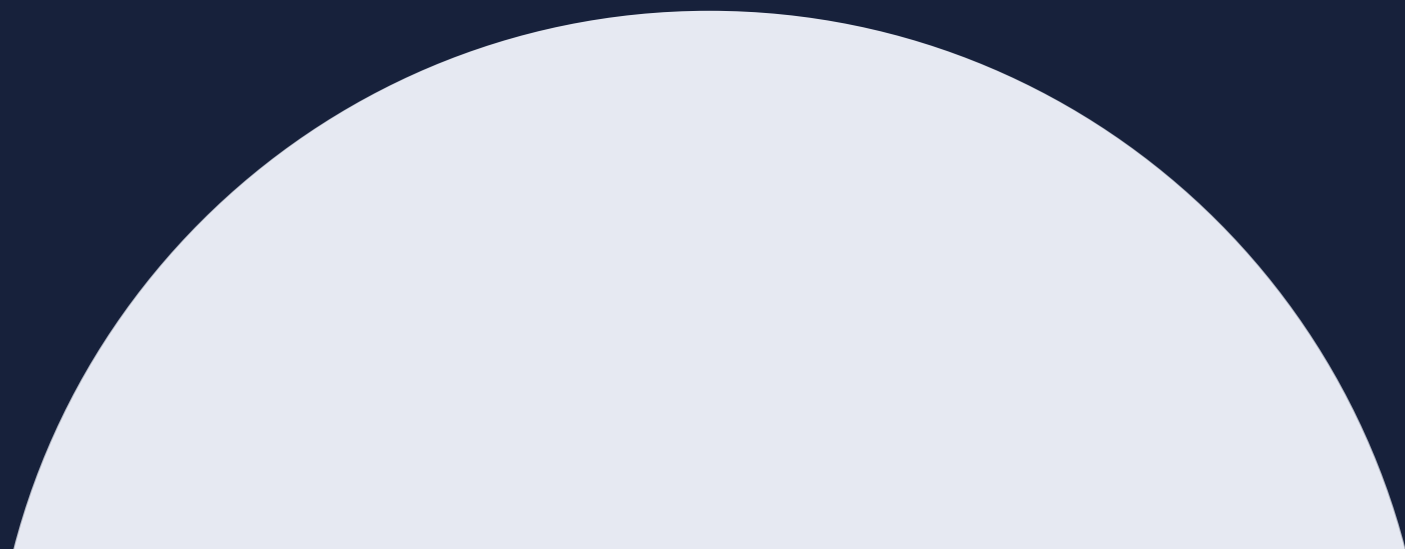
We should also not forget that when we fail to engage, it creates a space for others to fill. This could not be

more clear than in Africa, where China has increasingly become the lender and development partner of first resort. China has been investing huge sums into Africa since 1977. They saw the huge potential in the continent and have gone at it with a vengeance, gaining a foothold in the region (and building up significant debt) over the past four decades.

The West cannot afford to fall behind as other countries, including hostile states, will be only too keen to step up and fill our void.

This has not only had a detrimental impact on democratic governance in some African countries, but also made it harder to generate support for global priorities, as we saw when nearly half of all African nations at the UN chose to abstain on the motion to condemn Russia's invasion of Ukraine. And while we should always stress African agency in determining their own global roles, we would undoubtedly do well to make common cause with African nations who want an alternative to Chinese investment and who want partnerships that prioritise both economic development and strong democratic governance.

As we redefine our international role, there is a golden opportunity for Britain to lead on effecting change which will benefit generations to come, and Africa will be central to this. Both Britain and the US are true development superpowers when we use the brilliant tools at our disposal – of trade, aid and diplomacy – to champion our values at home and abroad. We urgently need to reset our relationship with Africa. The private sector stood up long ago and realised the importance of the continent to global affairs and trade. The West cannot afford to fall behind as other countries, including hostile states, will be only too keen to step up and fill our void.





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