

Four Global Existential Menaces

Two World Dividing Enemies and Two World Unifying Enemies



Yang, Sung Chul

Former ROK Ambassador to the US and
Korea University's Distinguished Professor

SPEECH AT CKS UH

Aloha! Students, friends, ladies and gentlemen! I am greatly honored to speak to you today at the UH Manoa Campus. I was an East-West Center grantee from 1965-67.

This year Korea and the US have celebrated three landmark events in Washington, D.C., Inchon (Jemulpo) in Korea, and the UH Manoa Campus.

In 1882 the Kingdom of Korea signed the Treaty of Peace, Amity, Commerce, and Navigation with the US: It established formal diplomatic relations between Korea and the United States.

The first Korean emigration to Hawaii began in 1902 but stopped in 1905 due to the Korea-Japan Treaty. And Japan forcibly annexed Korea in 1910.

In 1972, the Republic of Korea helped to establish the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii Manoa Campus. My congratulations to the CKS for its 50th anniversary.

Today, the world is topsy-turvy amidst the worst crises for humanity since World War II. I have 3 goals for my speech.

First is to define and explain 2 world-unifying enemies. They are Global Warming and Covid-19 and its mutants, which I call the First Global Germ War of the 21st century.

The second is to define and explain 2 world-dividing enemies. They are the emerging Cold War-2 and the Weapons of Mass Destruction.

The third is the 5 litmus tests to distinguish working democracy from retrograde dictatorship.

The 1st is whether a political power-holder does or doesn't have a term limit.

The 2nd is the presence or absence of people's freedom.

The 3rd is whether a political power-holder enhances universal human rights or exploits people like a human machine.

The 4th is whether a power-holder promotes people's individual motivation or forces them into mass mobilization in economic and social arenas.

The 5th is whether a power-holder tolerates people's spontaneous bottom-up protests and demonstrations or only government-ordered and controlled top-down mass marches and parades.

I. World-Unifying Enemies

1. Global Warming

There are two world-unifying enemies: global warming/climate change (CC) and covid-19 virus and its variants. Global Warming is often used interchangeably with Climate Change. NASA defines global warming as the long-term heating of the earth, due to human activities, primarily fossil fuel burning. Climate change is a long-term alteration in the average weather patterns that define the earth's local, regional, and global climate.

Scientists warn that “a rise of 1.5 Celsius (C) in temperature would unleash extreme sea level rise and catastrophes, crippling droughts, monstrous storms, and unprecedented wide-ranging wildfires all over the world far worse than the people are already confronting.

Everyone must unify to fight against such disasters resulting from changes in our climate.

To address the global warming, the Biden Administration enacted the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) in October 2022 “to reduce emissions, tackle methane and other super pollutants, promote carbon dioxide removals, adapt to the most severe impacts of climate change, and end deforestation over the next decade.”

In cooperation with a G-7 Initiative, the United States will provide over \$11 billion in annual climate funding for the investment strategies of development finance institutions. A G-7 Initiative will also mobilize \$600 billion in loans and grants for sustainable quality infrastructure projects in developing and emerging economies through the Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment (PGII).

These US and G-7 initiatives are in response to China’s infrastructure investment through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The level of funding pledged by Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment is “a serious commitment to addressing the infrastructure needs of low-and middle-income countries, potentially on par to match that of Belt and Road Initiative.

2. Covid-19 and variants, “First Global Germ War of the 21st century

Another enemy of humanity is the covid-19 and its mutants. This pandemic is a new game changer in human lifestyle. It triggered the First Global Germ War of the 21st century against humanity worldwide. It radically transformed human lifestyle, though each country and region's responses and solutions vary.

For the following reasons, I call the present pandemic the “First Global Germ War.”

One, unlike other wars in human history, the virus attacks on humans are invisible. They are only detectable to medical or biological specialists through electronic microscopes. In WWI, WWII, and the Cold War of the last half a century, a state or group of states fought against another state or group of states.

Two, viruses are borderless. They have spread to five continents and the Arctic and Antarctica in a few months, unprecedented in the history of the pandemic.

Three, viruses are blind to time, space, temperature, skin color(race), gender, age, social and political status, ideology, religion, region, advanced or developing state, open or closed market system, and democracy or dictatorship.

Four, viruses unify the world because everyone must fight to overcome them. In this War the human enemy is the pandemic. In previous wars, people and states fought for different ideology, religion, race or ethnicity, political, economic and military motives, and national interests.

Five, the covid-19 and its mutants are unique in their scope, speed, and range of human infection. This pandemic began on December 31, 2019 in Wuhan, China and spread to 215 countries on all the continents within a few months. Its death and infection tolls are unprecedented. As of November 7, 2022, there were 630 million confirmed cases and 6.6 million deaths.

Finally, viruses became a game changer for the human lifestyle. Even before its outbreak, humans have been adjusting to the constantly unfolding 4th Industrial Revolution and 5th~6th Generation of Intercellular Wireless Connectivity Technology. The covid-19 and its mutants have accelerated the speed and scope of the transformation such as e-industrial production, e-business, e-commerce, e-finance, e-economy, e-education, e-sports, e-government, e-society, and e-politics.

The pandemic also brought a paradigm shift in American politics and the world. For instance, the U.S. Democratic National Convention, which has been held every 4 years since 1832 and the Republican National Convention since 1856, undertook "virtual" conventions in August 2020 for the first time through "zoom," "online," internet, and other social network services (SNS).

Controlling the pandemic may require changes in the existing political, economic, social, and military paradigms. The viruses have no borders or boundaries. Thus, we must change our thinking, living, and acting. Our conventional concept of human enemies no longer holds. Today our enemies are terrorists, lawless rascals, international law-breakers like Putin, and/or autocratic absolute dictators.

7.4 billion Euros (US\$ 8 billion) pledged for research in finding a vaccine for COVID-19 at a videoconference summit hosted by the European Union in May 2020 is an excellent start. U.S. President Joe Biden's pledge at the UN General Assembly "to create a new mechanism to finance "a Global Health Threat Council" deserves praise. This council will be "armed with the tools we need to monitor and identify emerging pandemics so that we can take immediate action" and "the United States has put more than 15 billion dollars toward global COVID-19 response."

My plea is for the people of the world is to unify their efforts in overcoming our enemies—COVID-19 and global warming and to remake the planet earth into a safe place for all organic beings and inorganic nature.

II. World-dividing Enemies

1. *Weapons of Mass Destruction: Doomsday Clock and Nuclear Threat*

There are two world-dividing enemies. They are the weapons of mass destruction and the emerging cold war-2.

The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists (BAS) in Washington, D.C., cited that the worsening nuclear threat, lack of climate action and the rise of "cyber-enabled disinformation campaigns" as the primary culprits for the Doomsday Clock moving its hand closest to midnight on January 20, 2022 since its creation in 1947.

When Putin invaded Ukraine, Doomsday Clock stayed at 100 seconds until midnight. It now indicates time in seconds rather than minutes for urgency. It moved from two minutes to midnight to 100 seconds to midnight. Its statement also identifies possible action steps to turn back the hands of the Clock. The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists urges the United States and Russian Federation to revive and revise New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (NSART).

The 2022 Yearbook of *Stockholm International Peace Research Institute* (SIPRI) reported that nine states—the US, the UK, France, Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and N. Korea—possessed approximately 12,705 nuclear weapons, of which 3,720 were deployed with operational forces.

Except for the US and Russia, the nuclear arsenals of other nuclear-armed states are considerably smaller. But all these states are either developing or deploying new weapon systems or have announced their intention to do so. China is in the middle of a significant modernization of its nuclear arsenal. It is developing a nuclear triad for the first time, made up of new land-and-sea-based missiles and nuclear-capable aircraft.

Meanwhile, N. Korea adhered to its self-declared moratorium on testing nuclear weapons and long-range ballistic missiles in 2019. But it broke its pledge. And Kim Jong-un regime has been launching missiles, including ICBM by endlessly violating and ignoring UN Security Council sanctions.

In response, at the 54th ROK-US Security Consultative Meeting (SCM) held in Pentagon on November 3, 2022, US Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin noted in US and ROK Joint Communique that "any nuclear attack against the United States or its Allies and Partners, the use of non-strategic nuclear weapons, is unacceptable and will result at the end of the Kim regime."

Can democratic power-holders and dictators together accept viruses, global warming, and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) as common enemies? Can the nuclear powers put away their WMD against their rival nations? Can the U.S. President and four other political power-holders of the UN Security Council Permanent member states utilize Global Warming and COVID-19 as two critical windows of opportunity for ratifying the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT)?

Are my appeals naïve and unrealistic? Or are the power-holders of the WMD inane? Can all the states in the world learn from military-absent Costa Rica and Iceland? Can China, Russia, Pakistan, and N. Korea put down their WMD along with the US, the UK, France, India, and Israel? The UN Security Council's permanent five (P5) are all nuclear powers.

Still, the US, the UK and France fundamentally differ from Putin's Russia and Xi Jinping's China insofar as protecting and expanding universal values are concerned. Russia, China, and N. Korea are still autocratic one-party totalitarian dictatorships.

The pandemic is a dire warning and a 'wake-up call to all humans and states, particularly those possessing WMD. The Doomsday Clock shows that 100 seconds remain before the tipping point.

The 21st-century humans are at the crossroads of multiple existential threats—Global warming, Global germ war, the Weapons of Mass Destruction, cyber and space warfare. Worst of all, Putin's invasion of Ukraine is fanning the emerging Sino-American Cold War-2.

2. Emerging Cold War-2: Universal Values against Revanchist Nationalism

Four global hazards are happening amid the 4th Industrial Revolution and the 5th~6th Intercellular Wireless Connectivity Technology. Despite the present and imminent danger, posed by climate change and the viruses, Putin invaded Ukraine, sparking the Cold War-2 in the West. Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Initiative, a China-centered stratagem of world dividers, is abetting the emerging Cold War-2.

The US-led new Indo-Pacific alliance, linked with NATO in Europe in response to Xi Jinping in the East and Putin in the West, is human-made. By contrast, borderless global warming and covid-19 and its variants are directly or indirectly human-caused. This invisible, blind, and unexpected pandemic is added here because it challenges humanity globally.

The WMD and the budding Cold War-2 competition and a potential conflict of the US-led new alliance against China and Russia are the world dividers because each country's vital national interest clashes with each other.

Ultimately, however, the goal of NATO, the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) among Australia, the UK and the US, a trilateral security pact of Australia, the UK, and the United States (AUKUS), and the US-led Indo-Pacific Economic Framework (IPEF) is to promote and protect universal values such as individual freedoms, human rights, the market economy, private enterprise and private property, and international or internal rules-based order.

By contrast, the ultimate aim of China-initiated Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa Summit (BRICS), is not to enhance or realize the universal values of humanity.

III. Five Litmus Tests for Democracy and Dictatorship

I want to raise a simple question. Does a state or a government exist for people or one person and his cronies in the name of people? To answer this question, I have devised 5 litmus tests to distinguish working democracy from retrograde dictatorship in a state's everyday politico-economic and socio-cultural arena. For the sake of time, let me illustrate one or two specific events or cases.

1. Term Limit

The first test is the term limit. The United States has the longest-running federal presidential democratic system in the world. Since it was launched in 1789, the U.S. has endured for 233 years. The working democracy in the U.S. today substantially differs from the autocratic dictatorship of China, Russia, or N. Korea.

The political power-holders of China, Russia, N. Korea, Saudi Arabia, or Jordan, for example, have no term limit. If a power-holder's term limit is on paper, and it is also in practice, a country is democratic. But if the power-holder's term is unlimited, unwritten, vague, or ignored, such a state is dictatorial.

In the U.S., Donald Trump, the 45th President, left office after serving his term, specified in the Constitution Amendment 22 in 1951. On the contrary, Xi Jinping in China removed the two-term limit, set by Deng Xiaoping in 1983. At the 20th National People's Congress (NPC) of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), 2,378 delegates unanimously passed all the Party bills and amendments, including Xi Jinping's third term extension in October 2022.

Xi Jinping has become a second Mao by removing the 5-year two term limit and calling him the "people's leader"(人民領袖), a title only Mao Zedong had held. Worse, there is no woman among 7 CCP Politburo members, and only 11 women became members of its 205 CCP Central Committee. Dictators and their cronies rule by constantly manipulating or manufacturing fear and hatred against certain people, classes, or "enemy" states.

Thomas Hobbes, a British political philosopher, wrote that man's thirst for power ceases only in death. If so, is there any remedy besides death? The answer is yes. The term limit should be in the constitution, and the political power-holder must comply with it without exception, excuse, or contrivance.

In a working democracy, the power-holder seldom violates the term limit. They serve the term unless impeached within the term or receive a vote of no confidence in the parliamentary system. But the dictator ignores or violates the term limit and oppresses people by naked force.

The political power-holders, especially in non-democratic societies, never abdicate voluntarily. Their powers end mostly in deathbed, imprisonment, exile, assassination or by other forced exit methods and mechanisms.

In the history of political power-holders, George Washington and Charles De Gaulle were rare exceptions. Interestingly, George Washington and De Gaulle were battle-tested military generals before they got into politics and became presidents.

George Washington, America's first president, set a precedent by serving two four-year terms, although the U.S. Constitution had no written term limit. In 1969, French President Charles De Gaulle resigned after governing for 10 years. He returned to his hometown Colombey where he died and was buried.

Where democracy is absent, defective, or immature, the political power-holder often prolongs his power by bending the rules, laws, and constitutions.

I have two critical questions:

One, what are the common factors of states that have encountered extralegal politico-military power seizure?

Two, when **coup d'état** and other extralegal acts occurred, did the United States and the former Soviet Union, the leading countries of the "free world camp" and the "socialist camp" during the Cold War era, have official strategic plans behind such occurrences?

The answer to the first question is that such events and incidents have occurred mainly in the developing states of Africa, the Middle East, Central and Latin America, Asia, and former Central and Eastern Europe.

To the second question above, my answer is half reliable. In Professor Niall Ferguson's biography of *Kissinger*, he wrote that the U.S. CIA organized the military coup that overthrew Jacobo Arbenz, the 25th President of Guatemala.

Arbenz lost power because he nationalized the United Fruit Company, an American business interest. He was ousted by "painstakingly fabricating and spreading the story that he was a Kremlin stooge." This operation was confirmed as legitimate by NSC-5412, approved by U.S. President Eisenhower's National Security Council in March 1954.

Ferguson also disclosed the British initiative of overthrowing Iran's Prime Minister Mohammed Mosaddegh, aided by the U.S. CIA. For, Mosaddegh nationalized a British-controlled Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Ferguson revealed further as follows:

"Even the best-informed outsider could have only an inkling of the Cold War's lies and mysteries. Only when Henry Kissinger entered the inner circle of government, he was privy to top-secret documents. He realized that his commentary on foreign policy in the 1950s had [been] in many ways naïve; he had significantly underestimated the guile of Eisenhower's administration."

Ferguson further stated that "...U.S. President Eisenhower grumbled that almost any of the new-born states of the world far rather embrace Communism or any form of dictatorship than acknowledge the political domination of another government. The 'new countries' reminded him [Eisenhower] of a row of dominoes waiting to topple after another."

Incidentally, the final judgment on Eisenhower's NSC-5412 should be reserved for posterity for four reasons.

One, we have learned the lessons from the U.S.-Soviet Cold War strategic rivalry. We have witnessed the collapse of the Soviet Union's autocratic one-party totalitarian dictatorship and its satellite states. And now we are confronting the fundamentally similar U.S.-China Cold war-2, along with Putin's revanchist military misadventures in the former Soviet Bloc such as Ukraine.

Two, Ferguson's revelations are only half of the Cold War's strategic picture in the "third world." I have no access to another half of the former Soviet Union's secret strategic plan for the same newborn states. Specifically, I have no access to Soviet and even Chinese secret documents equivalent to U.S NSC-5412.

Three, the revanchist military gambles of Putin and Xi Jinping are unfolding. Their retrograde attempts to regain or expand the lost sphere of strategic influence during the Cold War era are being nakedly exposed again to the world, be it Ukraine in the West or Taiwan in the East, including N. Korea's continuous bellicosity since the Korean War.

Four, this is the typical case of *성동격서*(聲東擊西, shengdongjixi)—“make a feint to the east but attack in the west.” The ultimate outcomes of the Cold War-2 are too early to predict. In the long run, however, liberal democracy must prevail over autocratic one-party totalitarian dictatorship.

While Putin was waging war in Ukraine, Germany began the International Expert Conference (IEC) on the Recovery, Reconstruction and Modernization of Ukraine in Berlin. The German Chancellor Olaf Scholz co-hosted the IEC and European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen as a part of its G7 presidency. Scholz remarked that Ukraine's reconstruction will be a "challenge for generations" that needs to begin now rebuilding the war-torn country.

Finally, the Cold War proved that if the states and their political power-holders tried to uphold the universal values of freedoms, civil rights, and the rights of private property and open market systems, they were on the right track to enhance the welfare of humanity.

On the contrary, Xi Jinping's "belt and road initiative" and Putin's revanchist military venture in Ukraine differ little from Mao's China or Stalin's Soviet Union during the Cold War.

The Cold War had proved that the majority of ordinary people—"the proletariat"—were destined to be on the road to serfdom because the autocrats ignored their term limit and suppressed and disallowed their people's freedoms, civil rights, private property and free enterprise.

The political power-holders who defend and expand freedom and civil rights are bound to prevail over the dictators who have controlled their people with fear, hate, surveillance, the gulag and merciless killing of innocent children and citizens. Will the unfolding Cold War-2 be different from the Cold War?

The five-year one-term presidency in the Republic of Korea, two consecutive four-year terms in the United States, and a two-five-year-term limit in France are the primary examples.

2. *Freedoms*

The perception of freedom by writers and scholars in the West is enlightening. In *Don Quixote*, Cervantes wrote freedom as follows:

“I am free and have no taste for subjection; I neither love nor hate any man....Liberty...is one of the most precious gifts that Heaven has bestowed on mankind; all the treasures the earth contains within its bosom or the ocean within its depth cannot be compared with it. For liberty, as well as honor, man ought to risk even his life, and he should reckon captivity the greatest evil life can bring.”

In *The Social Contract*, Jean Jacques Rousseau began, "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains," and John Stuart Mill in *On Liberty* declared, "Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."

In 1995 the Korean War Veterans Memorial was dedicated in Washington, D.C. Its inscription is a live reminder of the unaccountable value of freedom: "Freedom Is Not Free. Our nation honors her sons and daughters who answered the call to defend a country they never knew and people they never met."

In the real political, economic, and social arena, a country's democratic system is alive and maturing in the right direction if the freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, petition, privacy, private property, and free enterprise is promoted and protected.

The state is democratic if it progresses toward realizing such freedoms, which may not be perfect or satisfactory now. Contrarily, if such freedoms are formally declared or written in the constitution but remain in the closet or ignored and abused, dictatorship tends to expand unchecked.

China Freedom Test

The tragic death of freedom-fighter Liu Xiaobo (刘晓波), 2010 Nobel Peace Prize laureate, is a tragic example of China's freedom test. Liu Xiaobo, a Chinese human rights activist and one of the "four gentlemen of hunger strike manifesto" during the 1989 Tiananmen Square Protests, is a case in point. The 1989 Manifesto began with "We protest! We call upon people! We repent! We are not looking for death. We are searching for true life." The Manifesto advocated 5 fundamental concepts: Freedom, human rights, equality, republicanism, and democracy along with 19 Basic positions, such as the constitutional amendment to transitional justice.

The purpose of the hunger strike was "to appeal for liberty, democracy, and human rights." But Li Peng (1928-2019), the fourth Premier of the PRC, mobilized a military force of hundreds of thousands to suppress unarmed students and people from all walks of life. Liu Xiaobo was arrested and jailed. The two foreign doctors pronounced him fit to travel abroad to receive treatment for his illness, but it was denied, and he died of liver cancer on July 13, in Shenyang's First Hospital. So, his tragic and tumultuous pro-democracy activism in China ended after serving 8.5 of his 11 year jail sentence.

U.S. Freedom Test

Two cases of America's working democracy took place during the Trump administration in the U.S.

Case 1

Out of 46 presidents, Trump was the first person with no prior experience as an elected or appointed official in local, state, or federal governments. He was the first business-tycoon-turned President. Above all, he was the first President to openly check and respond to China and the incipient Cold War-2.

Also, his remarks led the newspapers such as *The Washington Post* to create "The Fact Checker's database." As of July 9, 2020, his false and misleading lies, exaggerations, etc. stood at 20,055 in 1,267 days in office. His two most repeated claims are:

- 1). 360 times he said “the U.S economy today is the best in history,” which was not true.
- 2). 261 times he said “his border wall is being built.” But Congress rejected the funding of concrete barrier and built smaller, older barriers with steel fencing.

Case2.

Mary Trump, a clinical psychologist and a niece of Trump, published a book about her uncle and the family. Nearly one million copies were sold on the first day of its publication. Virginia Heffernan commented that the book “isn’t a gossip fest. It isn’t rollicking. It’s a bleak story, and there is no redemption. The country, like Donald Trump’s creditors, will not recoup its losses.”

Finally, these two cases confirm that America's freedom of the press is alive. The US is an open market system. Money talks in America. So, selling books and making money by *The Washington Post* Fact Checker teams and Mary Trump's critical analysis of her uncle have one undeniable common motivation—the greenback.

I have 2 questions: Does China, Russia, or N. Korea have a newspaper like *The Washington Post*? Do these 3 countries have a writer like Trump’s niece or her publisher?

The answers to my questions are negative. In China, Russia, or N. Korea, people must follow an autocratic one-party dictatorship. But there was no “Trump’s America” during his presidency, as there is no Biden’s America now. American people elected them, and when their term ends, they become ordinary U.S. citizens.

3. *Democracy Matures*

A working democracy cannot be realized overnight. In this regard, Max Weber's penetrating foresight on political revolution is enlightening. Before he died in June 1920, he witnessed the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Czarist Russia. He also had an inkling of Hitler’s Nazism in his homeland under the Weimar Republic. He wrote:

“He who wants to establish absolute justice on earth by force requires a human machine. Under the conditions of the modern class struggle, the internal premiums consist of satisfying human machines by arousing hatred and craving revenge....The human machine’s external rewards are adventure, victory, booty, and spoils. The leader and his success are entirely dependent upon the functioning of his machine.

“The revolutionary fervor fades away very quickly. But realizing the politico-economic-social slogans such as freedom and equality require a long, slow, and often bloody process....”

In the U.S. a few landmark declarations, elections, and appointments reduce and remove the discrimination of race, sex, and age in the development of U.S. democracy.

The 2nd Paragraph of the U.S Declaration of Independence (DI) on 4 July 1776 stated, "...all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness...." It took 87 years after DI for the 16th President Abraham Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation in January 1863.

How about African-American elected officials in the U.S?

178 years after the First Republic of the USA was launched in 1789 (FR), Edward Brooke, the first African American, was elected to the Senate by popular vote and served two full terms from 1967 to 79. Shirley Chisholm was the first African-American woman was elected to the House of the Representatives from 1969 to 83. 201 years after FR, Lawrence Douglas Wilder became the first African American elected governor of Virginia in 1990. 220 years after FR, Barack H. Obama was elected as 44th President.

4. Private Individual Motivation versus Mass Mobilization

A state's economic system also differentiates working democracy from retrograde dictatorship.

Capitalism is defined by private property rights, capital accumulation and re-investment, free market, and competition. While the capitalist economy has undoubtedly helped propel innovation and prosperity in contemporary society, it can also create inequalities. And it can result in market failures or business cycles of boom or bust from time to time.

The present 38 OECD member states are considered both politically democratic and economically capitalistic. By contrast, socialist/communist economies produce goods based on usage values with typical collective or state ownership. Autocratic one-party communist/socialist economies supposedly redistribute wealth by narrowing the gap between the poor and the rich. But the facts and results of government-planned and guided economy since the 1917 Russian Bolshevik Revolution have amply proven that it was nothing but empty propaganda.

5. Bottom-up Protests versus Top-down March

The presence or absence of people's right to assemble and the mass media censorship distinguish working democracy from retrograde dictatorship. There are two kinds of assembly and protest: the bottom-up people's demonstration and the top-down military march or parade. Two categories of state also exist; government censors or allows mass media.

Case1. The bottom-up protest is initiated voluntarily or spontaneously by people in a democratic state. People protest against the political power-holder and his ruling elites' election rigging, political corruption, police brutality, racism, inequality, or policy failures. The bottom-up popular protest and uprising are often confused with lawless rioters or criminals who commit arson, assaults, vandalism, smash-and-grab raids on shops, plundering, and bloody physical fights among rival gangs.

In short, mob rule (ochlocracy) is no democracy. A recent incident may clarify what is or is not lawful demonstration and protest by law-abiding citizens in a working democracy.

The world witnessed the death of George Floyd in May 2020. It triggered the nationwide protests in the US and foreign cities. Floyd, a black person, died when a white police officer, Derek Chauvin, pressed his knee to Floyd's neck for 8 minutes 46 seconds. The three other police officers ignored Floyd's desperate cry: "I can't breathe," by watching Floyd on 25 May in Minneapolis, Minnesota. This incident became an instant worldwide news on SNS. It sparked a series of protests and demonstrations with the motto—"Black lives matter." In July 2022, Derek Chauvin received a 21-year sentence for violating civil rights.

Case 2. A violent insurrection erupted in Washington, D.C., on January 6, 2021. Pro-Trump rioters breached the security perimeter and penetrated U.S Capitol to disrupt the Electoral College vote count that would certify President-elect Joe Biden as the winner by Congress. TV news showed a Trump backer in jeans and a baseball cap propping a leg up on House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's desk. He left a threatening note on her desk while other mobs climbed onto risers set up for Biden's inauguration on January 20. It was the first time that mobs had taken over the Capitol since 1814 when the British troops burned it during the War of 1812.

In the Jan. 6 U.S. House select committee hearing, William Barr, the former Trump Attorney General, testified, "He's [Trump] become detached from reality if he really believes this stuff." Barr called the voter fraud claims "bulls...", "bogus," and "idiotic" and resigned in the aftermath. "I didn't want to be a part of it." Its unanimous subpoena requires that Trump produce the documents by November 4 and testify to the committee with an oath on or about November 14 to the committee in 2022. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi remarked: "No one is above the law...I don't think he's man enough to show up because he (would) had to testify under oath...We'll see."

IV. Final Remarks

Instead of summarizing my speech, let me briefly share with you the key points of 2022 U.S. National Security Strategy(NSS). It identifies that China is the only competitor with both the Intent to reshape the international order and, increasingly, the economic, diplomatic, military, and technological power to do it... "Beijing has ambitions to create an enhanced sphere of influence in the Indo-Pacific and to become the world's leading power....Beijing frequently uses its economic power to coerce countries. It benefits from the openness of the international economy while limiting access to its domestic market and seeks to make the world more dependent on China while reducing its dependence on the world....China is also investing in a military that is rapidly, increasingly capable in the Indo-Pacific, and growing in strength and reach globally, while seeking [to] erode U.S. alliances in the region and around the world."

NSS also reaffirmed the U.S. "iron-clad commitments to Indo-Pacific treaty allies—Australia, Japan, the Republic of Korea, the Philippines, and Thailand. And the U.S. will seek sustained diplomacy with North Korea to make tangible progress toward the complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula while strengthening extended deterrence in the face of North Korean weapons of mass destruction.

In short, China is categorized as a "strategic competitor," Russia as "an acute threat," and N. Korea with Iran and al Qaeda and the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant Islamic of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) as "other persistent threats."

I would like to end my remarks with a reminder. During the Cold War, Kim Il-sung invaded the Republic of Korea on June 25, 1950. Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong secretly backed Kim's invasion. Mao saved the collapse of the Kim Il-sung regime at its eleventh hour by sending "Chinese volunteers." It was the first "hot war" in the East during the Cold War as the forefront of the strategic struggle for democracy against Stalin's and Mao's totalitarian communist one-party dictatorship.

Some 72 years after the Korean War and 31 years after the demise of the Soviet Union and

its Bloc states, Putin's Russia invaded Ukraine on February 24, 2022. His invasion has become the first "hot war" of the emerging Cold War-2 in the West between the strategic competition of democracy and autocratic one-party dictatorship in the 21st century.

If the war had erupted between the free world and the Soviet camp during the Cold War in the latter half of the 20th century, Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) could have annihilated the world.

Unlike in the Cold War era, now the whole world can watch the war in Ukraine through social and mass media 24/7.

The UN General Assembly Resolution demanded in May 2022 that Putin immediately withdraw its forces from the soil of its sovereign neighbor. Only 5 states (Russia, Syria, N. Korea, Belarus, and Eritrea) voted against it. 35 states abstained, including China, India, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, and South Africa. The heads of the above 5 states have been ruling without term limits as de facto one-party autocrats.

In November 2022, 94 countries out of 193 member states of the UN General Assembly voted in favor of the resolution, 14 against, while 73 abstained.

While Putin's war in Ukraine continues, Russia, China, and the rest of the world must first tackle the Mutually Assured Economic Destruction (MAED).

The US, the EU, the member states of the OECD have implemented economic, financial, commercial, trade, and cyber sanctions against Russia. Putin triggered MAED first by invading Ukraine and using the energy as the instrument of his War. Thus, he cannot escape the ultimate responsibility for all the deaths, casualties, destructions in Ukraine. And he must pay for the disruption of economic, financial, and trade and ordinary lives of people around the world.

Finally, which camp will win this hybrid war? The enlightened humans amid the 5~6th generations of inter-cellular connectivity technology and the 4th Industrial Revolution in the free world know the answer. Ultimately, the countries of working democracy and their power-holders who pass the five litmus tests will and should be the winners.

The states of one-party dictatorships with autocratic leaders, stuck to bygone revanchist dreams are bound to fail. Or, they will be terminated by their people sooner or later in this digital age.

THE CENTER FOR KOREAN STUDIES
PRESENTS:

FOUR GLOBAL EXISTENTIAL MENACES

TWO WORLD-UNIFYING ENEMIES AND
TWO WORLD-DIVIDING ENEMIES

Dr. Yang speaks about four existential global challenges, namely, climate change, COVID-19, Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), and the emerging Cold War-2. He emphasizes that new enlightened political leadership, approaches and investments are required to eradicate the enemies.



Dr. Sung-Chul Yang is a former Republic of Korea Ambassador to the United States. He previously served as the Vice Chair of the Unification and Foreign Affairs Committee and the Chairman of the International Cooperation Committee. He was also a professor at the University of Kentucky, Indiana University, Kyunghee University, and Seoul National University.

November 17th, 2022 · 2:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m.
Center for Korean Studies Auditorium

Center for Korean Studies events are free and open to all. For further information, including information regarding disability access, telephone the Center for Korean Studies at 808-956-7041. Organized by the Center for Korean Studies and supported by the Asia Research Foundation and the Academy of Korean Studies Strategic Research Institute Program (AKS-2020-SRI-2200001). The University of Hawai'i is an equal opportunity/affirmative action institution.