

China's role in COVID-19

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA REPORTS AND CHINA'S OFFICIAL RESPONSES

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COVER PHOTO: REPUBLIC OF KOREA

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DIPLOMATICA | EDITOR'S NOTE



COVID-19 still dominates

OVID-19 continues to consume us and affect all aspects of our lives — from our home life to our economic well-being. As such, the virus is also dominant in our July issue. We start our coverage with a story on China. Accusations have been hurled at the country where COVID-19 first surfaced. Defence expert Joe Varner takes journalistic accounts of five different acccusations and presents them, along with the official word from Chinese authorities.

Iran was a hotspot for COVID-19 in the early days, but we take a look at the country's seeming new approach to dealing with its enemies. As Varner writes, Iran's regime has moved from a soft- to a hardwar stance and made the U.S. its enemy No. 1. Varner also examines the military capacities of Iran versus the U.S.

Also in our Dispatches section, Laura Neilson Bonikowsky brings us an interesting story on seed storage. This was a story she proposed before COVID-19 struck, but it seems ever more relatable now that the world is in what often seems like an apocalyptic reality. There are seed vaults all over the world and Neilson Bonikowsky offers a look some of them, perhaps none more interesting than the Svalbard Global Seed Vault, which is built into a mountain, an archipelago between mainland Norway and the North Pole.

Moving over to Africa, columnist Robert I. Rotberg writes about how Africa has largely evaded COVID-19 — or is at least doing much better than its other continental counterparts. Rotberg notes that strong lockdown measures probably curbed the spread and hopes that Africa has finally drawn the lucky straw.

David Kilgour, who was on the

Canadian team that successfully garnered a UN Security Council seat in 1999, says losing the seat in 2020 may actually work out for Canada.

Finally, my story on e-government in Estonia also touches on COVID-19. When the virus struck, tiny Estonia was fine because most of its government services save marrying, divorcing and selling real estate — have been done online for years. School curriculums are online, its healthcare documents are online as is each resident's digital identity. Indeed, Estonia was the first country in the world that held digital elections - back in 2007. It's something presumptive American Democratic nominee Joe Biden might want to look into before November. Poland actually put off an election because of COVID, something Estonians wouldn't have to do.

Up front, columnist Fen Hampson examines the effect the virus will have on the global economy. He writes that there's no question China's leadership failed in getting information to the rest of the world, thereby finding itself at the root of a global pandemic. And he admits some investors are moving on, but he still thinks China will remain a global trade and investment hub simply because of its size and continuing economic heft.

Up front, we also have my interview with Mona Nemer, Canada's chief science adviser and the woman Prime Minister Justin Trudeau goes to first when he needs advice on matters of science. She explains that Canada is doing its part to wrestle the virus.

In Delights, columnist Christina Spencer writes about books on life in Putin's Russia and one of the latest on Donald Trump. Food columnist Margaret Dickenson offers four fun summer recipes, including one for tempura-battered mushrooms stuffed with escargots. Wine columnist Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock weighs in on wines that are sustainably packaged, while Patrick Langston offers up some fun COVID-friendly travel options for summer jaunts near Ottawa.

A note about format: This issue is online only as most offices remain closed.

Jennifer Campbell is editor of *Diplomat*.

UP FRONT

In our cover story on the role China played in the spread of COVID-19, defence consultant Joe Varner took five subject areas and researched the international media's coverage of them, as well as the Chinese government's official statements. Varner's coverage begins on page 31.



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Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



Laura Neilson Bonikowsky currently writes and gardens in Alberta. She earned her master's in English at the University of Alberta, then took her passion for writing and learning to *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, where she ultimately became the associate editor. After 12 years with that publication, she took the leap into freelance work, writing for diverse audiences and valiantly pursuing perfect syntax. She has been a proud contributor to *Diplomat* since 2005.

Joe Varner



Joe Varner is a consultant on defence, diplomacy, strategic intelligence, military operations and is author of Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma. He served as director of policy to Peter MacKay from 2008 to 2014, when he was minister of national defence, minister of justice and attorney general. Varner also served as a faculty member with the American Military University from 2001 to 2009 and again from 2015 to 2019, specializing in teaching homeland security and intelligence studies. He is a research fellow of the Conference of Defence Associations Institute and Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society.

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Political commentary from around the world



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Outbreak Management Team, by Arend van Dam, PoliticalCartoons.com



Masks: a miracle cure, by Dave Whamond, Canada, PoliticalCartoons.com

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Demonizing China, by Luojie, China Daily, China



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China on U.K. and Hong Kong, by Paresh Nath, UAE



Chinese bull riding, by Bart van Leeuwen, PoliticalCartoons.com



Deflecting responsibility, by Luojie, China Daily, China

DIPLOMATICA | CARTOONS



U.S. troops to leave Germany, by Patrick Chappatte, NZZ am Sonntag, Switzerland



Office of the Near Future? by Jeff Koterba, *Omaha World Herald*, U.S.



EU imposed travel ban on U.S., by Dave Whamond, Canada, *PoliticalCartoons.com*



As of July, Germany chairs the EU, by Jos Collignon, De Volkskrant, The Netherlands



Unhappy hour pandemic drink specials, by John Cole, *The Scranton Times-Tribune*, Pennsylvania, U.S.



Opening up, by Dave Whamond, Canada, PoliticalCartoons.com

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Too Much Covid Testing, by Rick McKee, CagleCartoons.com



Mask mandate, by Bruce Plante, Tulsa World, U.S.



EU Corona fund not for free, by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands



Vaccine hopes, by Steve Sack, The Minneapolis Star-Tribune, U.S.



European Central Bank and German Court, by Tom Janssen, The Netherlands

DIPLOMATICA | THE GLOBAL ECONOMY

COVID will dampen our economic future



s the coronavirus took its toxic flight around the globe and the health crisis in many countries developed and developing alike deepened, many pundits forecast that globalization was finally lurching to an ignominious end. "Davos Man will need rebranding," one commentator cheekily observed in Forbes business magazine, arguing that the crisis was forcing many companies to reshore their overseas manufacturing operations. "New data shows U.S. companies are definitely leaving China," blared another headline, underscoring mounting investor concerns about sourcing supply chains in China, where the pandemic originated.

"The coronavirus crisis has highlighted the downsides of extensive international integration while fanning fears of foreigners and providing legitimacy for national restrictions on global trade and flows of people," observed Philippe Legrain in *Foreign Policy* magazine. "All sorts of businesses have suddenly realized the risks of relying on complex global supply chains that are specific not just to China — but to particular places such as Wuhan, the epicentre of the pandemic," and "Chinese people — and now Italians, Iranians, Koreans, and others — have become widely seen as vectors of disease."

Henry Farrell and Abraham Newman offered an equally Stygian prognosis in Foreign Affairs: "As critical supply chains break down, and nations hoard medical supplies and rush to limit travel, the crisis is forcing a major re-evaluation of the interconnected global economy," they write. Furthermore, "[n]ot only has globalization allowed for the rapid spread of contagious disease, but it has fostered deep interdependence between firms and nations that makes them more vulnerable to unexpected shocks. Now, firms and nations alike are discovering just how vulnerable they are. But the lesson of the new coronavirus is not that globalization failed.



COVID-19 caused airlines to grind service to a halt. Its effects on the global economy will be vast.

The lesson is that globalization is fragile, despite or even because of its benefits."

There is, of course, a grain of truth to these predictions. Some investors, who championed the virtues — and reaped the spoils — of doing business in China, are pulling up their grubstakes and catching the last flight home, while others are shifting their operations to other low-wage Asia-Pacific economies such as Vietnam, the Philippines or Mexico.

There can be no doubt that China's leadership has not acquitted itself well during this crisis. Whether the fault ultimately lies with Beijing or senior officials in Hubei province or the former mayor of Wuhan (or all three), their concealment of the truth meant that precious time to alert the rest of the world and take proactive, preventive measures to nip the pandemic in the bud, was lost. However, Western leaders themselves also share the blame for dithering or downplaying the gravity of the situation and not restricting travel (especially to and from China). Though none was as reckless as Sweden, normally a paragon of prudence and good sense, whose leaders stumbled badly when they refused to adopt quarantine measures like

their Scandinavian neighbours. Sweden's chief epidemiologist, Anders Tegnell, the chief architect of the country's response, smugly asserted that Sweden's sophisticated and socially complaisant population would voluntarily adopt social distancing policies. When Sweden's COVID death rates soared in early June, reaching one of the highest levels in the world on a per capita basis, even he was forced to finally admit that more should have been done to curb the spread of the virus.

China market remains crucial

Nevertheless, despite all the rhetoric about restructuring global supply chains to reduce dependence on China — especially for products such as personal protective equipment for medical workers, testing equipment and drugs that have been deemed critical to dealing with the pandemic — and also shunning business with the Chinese firm Huawei for 5G networks because of cybersecurity concerns, China will remain a crucial market for global trade and investment because of its sheer size and economic heft. It is just too important and significant to abruptly yank out of global supply chains.

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY | DIPLOMATICA

In truth, China's manufacturing knowhow, relative currency stability and domestic market for goods and services dwarf those of other emerging economies, including India, Brazil and Mexico. As Forbes' writer Kenneth Rapoza underscores, China also has much lower corporate tax rates than its competitors, a cheaper wage structure than Brazil or Mexico, and a highly diversified manufacturing sector. Whatever you need can be produced more quickly and cheaply in China than just about anywhere else. The cost of moving goods within China and overseas is also much lower than other countries because of its state-of-the art ports and transportation system. On the corruption index, China is also viewed as a better place to do business than Brazil, Mexico, Vietnam or the Philippines, where stifling regulations and outdated infrastructure pose additional obstacles.

Nobody likes the current policies of the Chinese regime vis-à-vis Hong Kong, Taiwan or its own ethnic minorities, especially the Uighurs and Tibetan people, who have suffered years of repression and massive human rights abuses. The increasingly aggressive actions of China, which are no longer confined to the South China Sea, are a major source of global instability. All bets are off if tensions between the U.S. and China spiral uncontrollably upwards and there is armed confrontation. Rising trade tensions are also an important part of the global economic equation not just COVID-19 and its aftermath.

A POST-COVID WORLD MAY LEAD TO A MODEST RESTRUCTURING OF SOME GLOBAL VALUE CHAINS AS GOVERNMENTS AND COMPANIES REGULATE SOURCES OF SUPPLY, ESPECIALLY FOR GOODS DEEMED CRITICAL TO [CITIZENS' HEALTH.]

However, the risks of escalating China-U.S. trade wars to the global economy have been accompanied by the reverse risks of a nascent "trade truce" as China and the U.S. try to patch their rift with new "managed" trade deals. These agree-

ments don't mark the end of globalization, but the onset of a new phase of "discriminatory globalization." Phase 1 of the agreement between the U.S. and China, signed on Jan. 16, 2020, includes formal pledges to tighten rules on intellectual property protection, pirated goods and the theft of commercial property, to avoid currency manipulation and open China's financial services sector to U.S. companies. More important, the pact commits China to buy an additional US\$200 billion in American goods over the next two years, including US\$40 billion to US\$50 billion in agricultural products such as soybeans, canola, fresh and frozen pork, beef, wheat, corn, barley and a range of machinery, all on preferential terms unavailable to producers such as Canada.

A post-COVID world may lead to a modest restructuring of some global value chains as governments and companies regulate sources of supply, especially for goods deemed critical to the health of their citizenry or to strategic sectors of the economy (but they will cost more, which is the price of greater security). But COVID-19's biggest impact will be on economic growth and prosperity. The U.S. Congressional Budget Office predicts that the effects of the coronavirus pandemic on the U.S. economy alone will be felt for at least a decade, reducing economic growth



U.S. President Donald Trump meets with members of the banking industry to discuss the effects COVID-19 has had.

DIPLOMATICA | THE GLOBAL ECONOMY



Grocery store shelves, such as these at EsseLunga in Bergamo, Italy, were cleared out early in the pandemic as people hoarded staples.

by almost US\$8 trillion and output by 3 per cent. Consumer spending — the main driver of U.S. economic growth — has been ravaged by job losses that are the biggest the U.S. has experienced since the Great Depression of the 1930s, leaving more than 40 million unemployed.

Job losses in the Eurozone have been equally staggering. By the end of April, they had reached 7 per cent of the total labour force and are projected to rise to 12 per cent or higher as job-subsidy schemes expire and the number of bankruptcies (especially for small businesses) balloon. What is even more disturbing is that youth are bearing the brunt of the pain. The unemployment rate for the under-25 age bracket in Europe has skyrocketed to nearly 16 per cent and is projected to grow, even under the best economic recovery scenario.

In Canada, unemployment levels rose steadily as many businesses shuttered or were forced to close permanently. At the height of the pandemic, Canada's job losses spiked at 13 per cent or roughly three million people.

Gloomy and optimistic 2021 forecasts

The Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) has offered two scenarios for the future, neither of which is good. In the OECD's "double-hit scenario," where there is a second wave of infections in 2020, which triggers a return to lockdown, world economic output will fall by 7.6 per cent in 2020, before climbing back 2.8 per cent in 2021. Under this scenario, the unemployment rate in OECD countries will double to nearly to 10 per cent with



Prime Minister Justin Trudeau gave daily press briefings between March 13 and the end of June. He scaled them back in July.

little recovery in employment by 2021. In the second scenario where a second wave of infections is avoided, global economic activity will shrink by 6 per cent and unemployment levels will rise to 9.2 per cent, nearly double what they were before the crisis hit (5.4 per cent). Although living standards in this latter scenario will fall less sharply than in the first scenario, by year's end 2021, OECD countries will have lost roughly five years' equivalent of income growth.

Not everyone is so gloomy. Stephen Poloz, the outgoing governor of the Bank of Canada, sounded a rare note of cheery optimism at his final press conference in late May — no doubt elevated by the prospect of his own impending return to a lucrative life in the private sector. He opined that the Canadian economy would likely rebound fairly quickly after the worst of the crisis was over - Canada's total economic output declined by 15 per cent (which translates into an 8.2-per-cent reduction in GDP) in the first quarter of the year — because growth would be triggered by a new wave of Schumpeterianstyle innovation as firms and employees adapt to their new circumstances (including working from home.)

In his seminal treatise, *The Great Transformation*, Austrian economist Joseph

THE GLOBAL ECONOMY | DIPLOMATICA

Schumpeter described a "process of industrial mutation that incessantly revolutionizes the economic structure from within, incessantly destroying the old one, incessantly creating a new one." Is COVID-19 one of those creative-destructive transformative moments as businesses and society adapt to a stay-at-home, online work culture? Maybe. But really, who knows?

One of the biggest drags on Canada's post-crisis fortunes as well as those of other economies will be fiscal as governments foist higher taxes and cut spending to service the vast debt on the mountains of cash that they have been shovelling out in the form of subsidies, business loans and all kinds of sundry emergency payments during the pandemic.

The International Monetary Fund predicts that Canada's debt burden post-COVID-19 will rise to 40 per cent of GDP in 2020 on a national accounts basis. But as Canadian economist Jack Mintz points out, the debt burden will actually be considerably higher if you include government employee pension plan liabilities and unfunded liabilities such as old age security, guaranteed income supplements, age-related tax credits, seniors' drug plans, long-term care facilities and health-care



Public health officials administer temperature checks at an airport in Bologna, Italy.

benefits, all of which have taken a COVID hit. Put it all together and Canada has a debt burden of \$3.2 trillion or roughly 166 per cent of GDP — four times higher than what the IMF calculates it to be.

The U.S. government's \$2.3-trillion stimulus package was the largest in U.S.

history and included \$1 trillion of forgivable loans to small businesses and direct payments to low- and middle-income families. That figure will likely double as trillions more are handed over to state and local governments and major corporations, which teeter on the verge of bankruptcy. The U.S. federal government's public debt, which was forecast to rise to 100 per cent of total U.S. GDP in 2030, is now expected to be 28 per cent greater by then. It's not going to be pretty when those bills come due.

Economists who have studied the relationship between the persistent accumulation of public debt over prolonged periods and economic growth find that the marriage is ultimately an unhappy one. Unconstrained spending binges invariably lead to lower levels of economic activity by "crowding out" the possibilities for private investment because of rising interest rates, reduced liquidity, higher taxes and greater uncertainty. That is the painful future we now confront.

Fen Hampson is Chancellor's Professor at Carleton University. His latest book (with Derek H. Burney) is *Braver Canada: Shaping our Destiny in a Precarious World.*





Mona Nemer: Canada's chief science adviser COVID-19: 'There was no reason to think [Canada would] be spared in a major way'

Mona Nemer is the chief science adviser to Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, as well as to the minister of science and cabinet. She's charged with ensuring that science factors into policy decisions and that government science is available to the public. Prior to taking on this role in 2017, after Canada had been without a chief science adviser since 2008, she was a professor and vice-president of research at the University of Ottawa and director of the school's Molecular Genetics and Cardiac Regeneration Laboratory. She has a PhD in chemistry from McGill University and did post-doctoral training in molecular biology at the Institut de Recherche Clinique de Montréal and Columbia University. A leader in molecular cardiology, she has discovered several genes essential for normal heart development and function. She sat down with Diplomat's editor, Jennifer Campbell, to talk about COVID-19.

Diplomat magazine: When did you first start talking to the prime minister about COVID and what was your initial advice? Mona Nemer: Well, when things were happening in China, towards the end of January, beginning of February, we started talking about being prepared for [this] emerging virus, and more broadly, on the science and research front. As soon as the government set up a special COVID-19 cabinet committee, I set up the experts' group of multidisciplinary scientists to advise us on the very fastprogressing science of COVID. [In the group], there are epidemiologists, mathematicians who do modelling, psychologists, risk people as well as virology and infectious disease clinicians - so it's really multidisciplinary.

DM: Did you expect it to develop to the point of lockdown?

MN: I was hoping that we wouldn't need to do this, but realistically, just seeing what was happening in other countries, there was no reason to think that we'd be spared in a major way.

DM: Do you advise on COVID relief measures or do you stick to the scientific questions?

MN: We've advised on a number of the issues — it's the science and the evidence

that will support certain measures. Early on, the committee identified socio-economic hardship, as well as stress increase, possible increases in domestic violence, issues with homeless people, and so on. At times, we provided specific advice and other times, we just made sure there were no blind spots.

DM: What is your best guess for when we'll be able to start fully socializing again?

MN: Oh, I don't dare guess anything. There have been criteria that have been developed and accepted by various governments and countries as well in terms of when you ease measures. It has to do with the situation of the epidemic itself decreasing the number of cases and ideally [seeing] very few new cases the capacity of the health-care system as well to cope with any eruption in COVID cases, while it's caring for non-COVID patients as well. Unfortunately, people are still getting sick from other diseases. The third [criteria] is the ability to test and trace. That is really essential because this is how we're going to be able to maintain a lid on another rapid propagation. But I don't think we're going overnight from one to the other. You have to ease measures and then look at the outcome. And as for the outcome, we're not going to see it for two to four weeks - which is why most governments are doing that first easing and then waiting two to four weeks. That's how long it'll take to see the effects in the community.

DM: What is your best guess for when we'll be able to travel domestically and internationally?

MN: I think that's another level of complexity. It's one thing to go back to work and for businesses to open. And, as you've been hearing, there are a number of measures that need to be put in place — be it at stores or at workplaces. When you start talking about commercial travel — whether trains, planes or airports — then you get into another new complexity because you have to watch for what's happening in each country in terms of the infection, but you also want

QUESTIONS ASKED | DIPLOMATICA





"Vaccine development is [difficult.] It's not an exact science."

to protect those who work in those settings and you also want to make sure that you're not causing any new epidemics because you're importing cases that are not controlled. You have the control of the travellers, but you also have the control of the environment.

"You have to ease measures and then look at the

outcome."

DM: How optimistic are you that a vaccine will be found?

MN: I think we're all trying to be optimistic. Vaccine development is [difficult]. It's not an exact science. The immunity is different for different viruses and [there are different methods for the ways] that we're trying to vaccinate. Sometimes you luck out and sometimes you don't. In the case of HIV, we've been looking for a vaccine for what — 20-some years, at least. In other cases, you manage to have a vaccine [for Ebola, for example.]

There are over 100 vaccine developments, so statistically we should be able to have a few — a handful or more. I think the question is once you have safe and effective vaccines, it's the next step of the production — to do mass vaccination. So there are a multitude of scientific and research and development challenges, but I think the mobilization for vaccine development is unprecedented and hopefully it will pan out.

DM: The way it's happening is unprecedented?

MN: It is absolutely unprecedented. You have all the major pharmaceuticals working with governments across the globe to develop and test. The private sector, but also governments, are putting in con-

siderable investments because vaccine development is very pricey. It is totally unprecedented.

DM: Are you seeing any that seem promising yet?

MN: It's too early to say. There have been some that have been tested in animals or in vitro. Phase 1 and 2 are for safety so that is hopeful, but even if it's safe, it doesn't guarantee necessarily that it's effective, and [then there's] the level of effectiveness and how many times do you need booster shots and stuff like that. On the scale of pessimistic to optimistic, I think the developments so far are encouraging.

DM: Do you consult with international counterparts?

MN: Absolutely. We've been having weekly meetings among 12 of the science advisers or their equivalents. And, of course, we have a number of bilaterals, depending on the issues to be discussed. I'm in regular touch with my counterparts in the U.S., U.K., France.

DM: How many hours are you working these days?

MN: All days look the same. I don't know any more when the weekend is. I laugh when people send me emails Monday morning saying they hope I've had some time to chill this weekend. Guess what? No, I haven't! I've worked very hard all my life, but I can tell you, it's nothing like the intensity we're going through and I'm putting my entire team through this. Many of them were on task force calls over, say, the Easter weekend and on



"I think we're doing our share. Many people are working very hard."

Saturdays and Sundays. It's tough. I'm grateful to all of them. I think we're doing our share. Many people are working very hard.

DM: Are you in touch with your counterpart in China as well?

MN: In China, they don't have a chief science adviser. They have a minister of science and technology, but in terms of science and research, I think the collaboration has extended to all countries, including to China and, as you know, one of the first vaccines that has received Health Canada approval for early-phase testing is a collaborative vaccine between China and Canada. I'm actually hoping that this unfortunate health crisis, which is reminding us that we're all in it together, [raises awareness that] these science and international collaborations are critical. If we still have hotspots in one part of the world, we're all at the same sort of risk of reigniting it. I think we all need to work together.

DM: Do you see this unfortunate crisis as improving that communication?

MN: Scientists have always worked internationally and the reason things are happening fast on the international front with respect to research is because these networks and these collaborations have existed and have taken place in terms of other research initiatives. I think they have accelerated and I think that one of the great things about how we're managing the research output in the present situation is through open science and because everybody is basically publishing

DIPLOMATICA | QUESTIONS ASKED



The virus had different strains. In B.C., where this closed playground is located, the strain came from China.

right away and putting out their research data and results, putting it up for scrutiny, but also inviting collaboration so people know who's doing what and I think it has facilitated a lot of interactions in addition to making available the latest results for decision-making, to use as they manage the crisis. It's been a very interesting dynamic between research and policy decisions and co-ordination of national and international [research] in many areas. You asked about travel - Canada can decide what we're going to do in our airports, but we need to coordinate with others because our planes will land there and their people will land at our [airports] so we have to work together and it needs to be grounded in science.

DM: With which countries is Canada partnering on a vaccine — you mentioned China, but are there others?

MN: We have ongoing talks with the U.K. and we're starting some with France. We're open for business and we're happy to collaborate with whomever. Of course, there are things that are ongoing as well with the U.S.

DM: Did the complete genetic karyotyping support or refute purely natural origins of the virus?

MN: It supports it. There's no evidence

from the sequence. If it's a virus that was manipulated, you'd expect certain signatures and you don't see them. Then, the frequency of mutation of the virus is also consistent with what would be expected from a normal biologic virus.

DM: We do see the odd article that disagrees with that.

MN: Yes, unfortunately, that's the other thing. There's a lot of misinformation in this pandemic because things are going very fast and there's a lot of anxiety as well. It's why it's very important for scientists to be speaking up and engaging in a meaningful dialogue with the public. We all need to do it in our respective countries because misinformation [is] like a virus. It may start somewhere, but it travels the planet.

DM: What is your response to the controversial assertion that COVID-19 is a blend of genes such as SARS and HIV?

MN: HIV is a completely different type of virus. It's a DNA virus, it's not an RNA virus and SARS, of course, is the closest relative [to COVID-19]. That's why it's called SARS COV-2. And then the previous SARS is SARS COV-1. They're very related. Again, it's very frequent in the animal world to have very related genes and proteins.

DM: Have any Canadian scientists been allowed to enter Wuhan labs to work with Chinese scientists, especially as the virus mutates?

MN: I'm not aware of that since the beginning of the pandemic, [but] I'm not aware of the activities of all Canadian researchers.

DM: How is the virus mutating?

MN: There are variables happening. They are, so far, inconsequential in terms of the proteins that are produced by the virus and its activity, but that, of course, could change with time.

DM: Is it correct that there are several strains (NY strain from Europe and Spanish strain to the West Coast?) Which predominate in Canada?

MN: They're called variants rather than strains; strains is a little bit different. It's actually very different in different parts of the country. In Quebec, most of the cases are actually traced back to the U.S. and Europe. The first cases of COVID-19 infections in British Columbia came from China, however overall, the primary source of infections in B.C. has been shown to have come from Europe, Eastern Canada and Washington state. I'm not certain about Ontario.

PREMEDITATED CHAOS

DM: Do you expect a vaccine in 2020?

QUESTIONS ASKED | DIPLOMATICA

MN: The question isn't whether we find a vaccine, it's at what stage is it? If we're extremely lucky, and we accelerate things, we may be able to start Phase 3 trials in 2020. That would be really pushing it. I think when people ask if we're going to have a vaccine, we may well have a vaccine, but it may be totally ineffective. We might have a vaccine and then realize that upon infection, it kills people. There have been vaccines that are toxic in that, instead of blocking, they can compound the effect of infection. Are we going to have a vaccine that immunizes us against COVID? Everybody says if we're fortunate, it's 12 to 18 months, which means another year.

DM: What if we don't find a vaccine?

NM: We have to qualify what never finding one means. Never finding one means our body doesn't produce antibodies. It could also produce antibodies that disappear very quickly or that don't protect us enough. It's all these different qualifiers that need to [be studied]. Some of the hopeful news that has come out in terms of the immunological response to the virus actually bodes well for natural immunity for sure, and for being able to have an effective vaccine. We have some encouraging signs as we start understanding better the immune response to the virus.

DM: What is your assessment of a second and ongoing series of "waves" as littleby-little Canada returns to normal work, school and business operations. China reportedly is experiencing this.

MN: My educated guess is we're going to have further waves. Whether they're waves or eruptions, we'll be challenged to [curtail] them. As long as there are people who are infected, the possibility of this spreading again is there. Remember, initially we had only a few cases in Canada. This is why it's just so important to have really high capacity for testing, to trace the contact, manage the people. It is possible to maintain things under control, so we don't have to go back in lockdown, but we have to expect that there will be new hotspots or eruptions in certain settings and [figure out how] to minimize them. Maintaining some of the physical distancing is important. But the hygiene infection control is really the important thing individually and at the level of institutions and workplaces. Wash your hands, [follow] sneezing etiquette, avoid getting too close to too many people. Minimizing close contact is feasible when



The U.S. Centers for Disease Control certified this COVID test kit. Several countries are working on tests that will yield results more quickly.

you're being sociable again. Wear a mask in public places where physical distancing cannot be maintained.

DM: Are there fast tests on the near horizon, such as urine tests, to detect the virus?

MN: There are already a number of pointof-care tests available that provide results very quickly, some in the 15- to 30-minute range. With many more tests in development, it will be important to ensure that they are reliably sensitive and specific before we use them to inform public health measures.

DM: Can a person be re-infected after recovery? Is antibody protection short-lived or is it ineffective against mutated COVID-19 viruses?

MN: It is still too early to tell. These are the types of questions that the research co-ordinated by the COVID-19 immunity task force will try to answer. Currently, evidence from animal studies suggests that most recovered individuals would have some level of immunity against the COVID-19 virus, but we don't know how long-lasting or how robust that immunity is.

DM: Is there a formal organization of chief science advisers of the G7 nations, for example?

MN: Chief science advisers and ministers of science from G7 countries have organized workshops (on microplastics, for example) and I have been meeting regularly with my international counterparts since the onset of this pandemic, but there is no formal organization. Among the G7 countries, only Canada, the U.K. and [although not entirely analogous] the U.S. have a chief science adviser position.

There are also several international networks and events that convene science advisers, such as the Global Forum of National Advisory Councils, the Carnegie meeting and the STS [Science and Technology in Society] Forum, with the most active being INGSA [the International Network of Government Science Advisers.]

DM: What do you think of the WHO's performance during COVID?

MN: It is important to have an organization like the WHO to lead global health surveillance and help co-ordinate international response to a pandemic. In the months ahead, there will be evaluations of national and international organizations to look for improvements before a future pandemic occurs.

DM: Do you get involved in questions such as whether Taiwan should be allowed observer status at the WHO? **MN**: No, I am not involved. **D**

DIPLOMATICA | NOTES FROM THE FIELD

COVID-19 changes everything for War Child

By Nikki Whaites



Education is still closed in Uganda. This overcrowded "classroom" shows the problem with reopening schools.

The COVID-19 pandemic represents an existential threat to countries already responding to the consequences of war and conflict. In particular, displaced people and host communities all over the world are at heightened risk as the virus continues to spread. Uganda, for example, hosts more than 1.4 million refugees, making it the largest refugeehosting country in Africa and the thirdlargest in the world. A serious outbreak of COVID-19 would be devastating in this context.

Our staff at War Child tell us that the atmosphere in the refugee settlements is tense. Many who used to go back and forth to neighbouring South Sudan are now cut off. News of the death rates in the rest of the world is terrifying for those forced to live in cramped conditions.

As with all countries, Uganda is taking firm measures to help prevent the further spread of the disease. This includes closing all schools and higher education establishments until further notice, closing all non-essential businesses, restricting movement and preventing gatherings of more than five people. As necessary as these actions are, they are having a terrible impact on children's education and on family livelihoods.

With the imposition of this lockdown, War Child's programs for refugees could not continue as they had operated previously. Our accelerated learning programs (ALP), which allow children to quickly catch up on missed education, cannot now function in classrooms. Our youth training has been postponed due to socialdistancing rules. And our community engagement work, which relied on large group meetings, is on hold.

However, our team has found innovative solutions to keep children learning and youth-led businesses afloat. Rather than closing down ALP, War Child, which has its headquarters in Toronto, has adapted it to an at-home learning model, so children do not fall further behind while schools are closed. It has also developed ways to mentor and advise youth-led enterprises remotely, to help them adapt their business models to be responsive to the needs of their communities in the face of the crisis. And they have found contactless means of bringing information on the crisis to refugee communities.

To raise awareness and help people reduce the spread of the virus, our team uses public service announcements on radio, printed materials, billboard posters and SMS and WhatsApp messaging to deliver advice to more than 800,000 people. The team will also be establishing 120 community handwashing stations and distributing hygiene kits containing soap, facemasks and sanitizer, to 12,000 vulnerable households.

War Child is also working with community members to identify small local businesses in need of support and provide them micro-loans of up to \$500. In addition, it will provide these business owners with advice and support to identify alternative approaches to reaching their customers. This could be through internet sales, home delivery and contactless pickup. This will be done remotely to limit contact and abide by social-distancing rules.

Refugee children have had their education repeatedly interrupted and the COVID-19 lockdown is yet another major blow. There's a need for innovative solutions. War Child will be distributing home-learning materials to 18,000 children and is working with other educational organizations to collect and adapt existing radio education materials that align with the curriculum. These will be broadcast on local and national radio stations.

War Child is also working with the National Curriculum Development Centre to explore ways existing curriculum materials could be digitized and translated into a radio-based format.

The situation is fluid and War Child will need to be flexible as it tracks the pandemic's progress. This is a worrying time for its staff in the field, and its team is taking every precaution to ensure the safety of frontline workers. But for the children and families War Child serves, COVID-19 is potentially a disaster on top of the existing catastrophe of war and displacement. We must all do everything we can to keep the virus from spreading in these fragile communities. If we are truly in this together, we need a global response to this pandemic.

Nikki Whaites is director of international development at War Child Canada.

Europeans do a good turn during COVID lockdown

n an effort to highlight their unity and solidarity with European values, several of the embassies from EU member states, along with the EU delegation, volunteered for Food for Thought on Europe Day.

"Europe Day is on May 9," Brice de Schietere said in a statement about the event. "It had to be different this year in the current context and we wanted to highlight unity and solidarity as strong European values. We discussed this with the ambassadors of the EU member states and agreed that we should express this solidarity through local engagement in support of communities in need."

Food for Thought, which receives support from the Community Foundation of Ottawa, is a not-for-profit corporation that feeds people, encourages community spirit and ensures people are connected by internet and phone.

Part of the organization's mission is to run a coffee shop out of a community centre on Caldwell Avenue in the Carlington neighbourhood of Ottawa.

"We have coffee and food — waffles and smoothies," said Sylvain de Mar-



Despite a fire at his east-end Coconut Lagoon restaurant, Joe Thottungal, above, has been offering Thali, his downtown restaurant, as a place to produce meals for Food for Thought.

gerie, managing director of Food for Thought. "It's quite a hard neighbourhood and all social services carry banking



Caridad Vicen Enguita, assistant to the EU ambassador, helps package meals for Food for Thought as part of the embassy's unique way to celebrate Europe Day.

hours. They all close at 4 p.m., but most of the [Food for Thought's clients] go to school or work. Also, the evenings are crime-recruitment time for youths. That's when we open."

When COVID hit, the coffee shop, which also offers phone and internet services to clients, had to close. Instead of just abandoning its mission, Food for Thought pivoted. For the first two months of the pandemic, it moved its volunteers into Joe Thottungal's Thali restaurant on O'Connor Street in downtown Ottawa. Thottungal, an award-winning chef who is well known for his big heart, opened up his restaurant to the group, ran the kitchen and, with the help of community and chef volunteers, cooked 1,500 meals a day. The chef from the German Embassy took part, as did several diplomats from EU missions.

The new meal focus of Food for

Thought is a positive result of COVID and one that will continue even after the café can reopen.

"There's a huge number of people in Ottawa who are falling through the cracks," de Margerie says, adding that he sees them regularly at the café. "A food hamper doesn't help because they don't have pots and pans. They can't cook because they don't have a kitchen."

Diplomats from EU countries felt it was an ideal choice for them to mark Europe Day in unusual times.

"It is important to stress the fantastic job done by the volunteers in the field," de Schietere writes. "We are very proud of our partners and the many generous people who all deserve credit."

To mark Nelson Mandela Day in July, diplomats from the South African High Commission also volunteered their time at Thali with Food for Thought.

DIPLOMATICA | TRADE WINDS

Cuba: An open door to investment and trade



By Josefina De La Caridad Vidal Ferreiro

Since the beginning of the 1960s, Cuba's economy has been slowed down by the economic blockade imposed by the U.S. government, which, due to its extraterritorial scope, affects not only the functioning of Cuba itself, but also its foreign relations. As such, the Cuban economy and its links with the outside world have operated and continue to operate in a highly complex environment, facing enormous difficulties and obstacles.

Cuba is the largest island in the Caribbean so our government policy prioritizes research and technological innovation and basic infrastructure throughout the country, with communication networks, railroads, highways, airports and ports that allow deep-sea vessels to dock. The most modern of ports is located in the Mariel Special Development Zone, west of Havana, which is destined to become the main entry and exit door for Cuban foreign trade.

Cuba maintains diplomatic and consular relations with 187 countries. It is a member of numerous international and regional organizations that have allowed it to sign multiple multilateral agreements, as well as bilateral agreeements on economic co-operation. It maintains commercial relations with more than 160 countries — among them Canada, which has had a significant historical presence in the Cuban economy.

Trade between Canada and Cuba exceeded \$1.4 million. Canada is Cuba's fourth-largest commercial partner and the primary market for Cuban goods exports, which primarily include nickel, tobacco, rum and sea products. Other goods, such as coffee, fruit and vegetables have been added to this list in recent years.



The most modern port is located in the Mariel Special Development Zone, west of Havana, which is destined to become the main entry and exit door for Cuban foreign trade.

Canada is the second-largest investor on the island. Over the decades, Canadian companies have shared the risks and benefits of participating in the development of strategic sectors such as mining, energy, agri-business and tourism.

Cuba has natural, political, legal and social advantages, including an incentive regulatory framework and a broad business portfolio, which make the country an attractive and safe destination for Canadian trade and foreign investment.

When it comes to foreign investment, Cuba currently offers a portfolio with 460 projects in such sectors as energy and oil, agri-business, mining, renewable sources of energy, light and heavy industries, and biopharmaceuticals. In these sectors, Canada is an innovative leader and one of the main investors on the island.

Trade-wise, Cuba offers several agrifood products it could export to Canada. These include honey; black vegetable charcoal from native woody plants, bagged and free of dirt and dust; hot chilis, high in vitamins A and C; avocados, mangoes, pineapples, Persian limes and sweet potatoes, all fresh; and curcuma in dry powder form and without the direct intervention of solar rays.

For further information on the potential for trade and investment opportunities in Cuba, we invite you to visit the official pages of the Ministry of Trade and Foreign Investment (www.mincex.gob.cu/ index.php/portal) and the Centre for the Promotion of Foreign Trade and Foreign Investment (http://www.procuba.cu/ en). You can also contact the embassy in Ottawa, Canada (misiones.minrex.gob.cu/ en/canada).

Josefina De La Caridad Vidal Ferreiro is the ambassador of Cuba to Canada. Phone her at (613) 563-0136 or email to embacuba@embacubacanada.net

Japan and Canada should amp up trade



By Yasuhisa Kawamura

apan and Canada have a longstanding friendly relationship and share universal values such as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. We are confident that Japan could be the best bridge-builder between Canada and the Indo-Pacific region. Last year, Japan and Canada celebrated the 90th anniversary of diplomatic relations between our two countries. As ambassador of Japan in Canada, I have the luxury of doing my utmost to further develop the already excellent relations as we move towards the centennial anniversary.

For the past several months, our joint efforts to combat the COVID-19 pandemic have been our first priority. While we forged ahead with the largest stimulus packages and took rigorous measures to mitigate its economic and social impacts, Japan and Canada must co-operate in order to ensure the flow of vital medical supplies and work together to minimize disruptions to trade and global supply chains. It is encouraging that as G7 and G20 partners, we are leading the discussion on these issues.

Two-way trade and investment has increased over the past decade. Between 2010 and 2019, Japan's exports to Canada increased from approximately \$10.6 billion to \$12.58 billion, while Canada's exports to Japan increased from an estimated \$12.45 billion to \$16.75 billion. Over the similar period, the FDI stock from Japan to Canada increased from \$12.7 billion in 2010 to \$28.9 billion in 2018. In addition, there are some notable interdependent relationships with respect to specific products. For instance, canola, lumber and coal make up a large share of Canada's exports to Japan. Conversely, about half of the automobiles manufactured in Canada are



LNG Canada, a \$40-billion project, represents Canada's largest and most promising investment project, and Japan has made substantial investment in it.

Japanese brands.

Despite these encouraging highlights, overall exports and investment shares continue to be unremarkable. Japan's share of total exports to Canada amounted to two per cent in 2018, while Canada's share of total exports to Japan was one per cent that year. FDI stock tends to follow the same trend.

Given that there is still so much potential, I strongly believe we can further develop our bilateral relations. We are now partners in the CPTPP, which establishes high standards in trade and investment in the Asia-Pacific. If we take advantage of these commonalities, they can form a foundation for the next phase of our economic relationship.

The question is, how can we capitalize on this huge potential and successfully navigate our bilateral relationship to the next chapter? The answer to this lies in identifying the priority areas for bilateral co-operation and committing to them. For instance, the two countries could cooperate towards the realization of a free and open Indo-Pacific. Furthermore, as free-trading nations, it is of utmost importance for us to promote and protect a rules-based trading environment from the rising tide of protectionism. To this end, Japan and Canada could enhance cooperation in support of WTO reform, and in ensuring that the rules implemented under the CPTPP are properly maintained and expanded.

We could further co-operate in the energy sector, with a focus on LNG and the development and export of clean energy. LNG Canada, a \$40-billion project that is expected to start exporting LNG in the mid 2020s, represents Canada's largest and most promising investment project, and Japan has made substantial investment in it. In the field of innovation, Canada has human resources and hubs for the world's most advanced artificial intelligence, including deep-learning. Increased co-operation could also be possible through the promotion of a better business environment and enhanced exchange of trade missions and networking among businesses, including small- and medium-sized enterprises.

The CPTPP is a model of what we can achieve when Japan and Canada work together. Under the CPTPP, exports of Canadian beef and pork to Japan and exports of Japanese steel products and automobile parts to Canada have increased. However, many areas remain unexploited, including the export of Japan's agricultural products, such as wagyu beef, sake, whisky, fishery products and green tea to member countries, including Canada.

The CPTPP is a high-level, 21st-Century agreement that makes global trade and investment freer, fairer and more transparent. Japan and Canada, as the two largest economies among the original members, continue to collaborate with one another to promote the utilization of this multilateral economic framework to increase trade and investment in the Indo-Pacific region.

Yasuhisa Kawamura is Japan's ambassador to Canada. Reach him at infocul@ ot.mofa.go.jp or (613) 241-8541.

More trade with Mali is welcome



By Fatima B. Meite

ali is at a crossroad of civilizations — a country rich in history and home to diverse cultures. Most often known for its legendary city, Tombouctou, Mali is a country of commerce and was, for a long time, at the heart of major trans-Saharan trade.

Mali occupies a strategic geographical position in the heart of West Africa, with robust infrastructure, including 12,860 kilometres of roads connecting Nouakchott, Dakar, Conakry, Abidjan, Ouagadougou and Niamey to Bamako, its capital.

The country's economy is based on agriculture, which accounts for 39.5 per cent of GDP. It is the second-largest producer of cotton in Africa, producing more than 500,000 tons per year. In addition, it is the third-largest producer of gold in Africa, with production of 50 tons per year. Mali also has significant reserves of iron (two million tons), bauxite (1.2 million tons), uranium (5,000 tons) and other resources, such as phosphate, copper, lead, zinc, lithium and limestone.

Despite a security crisis, Mali has one of the fastest and most resilient economic growth rates in West Africa. Annual GDP growth hovers around 5 per cent. Inflation is controlled at -1.7 in 2019, according to the World Bank.

Mali has maintained a sustained pace of reforms aimed at improving the investment climate. It has repeatedly distinguished itself as one of the most dynamic countries in the region in terms of reforms over the past decade, according to the World Bank's *Doing Business* report.

Canada and Mali have a well-established trading relationship, with significant growth potential. The two countries signed an investment promotion and protection agreement that came into force



Mali is the third-largest producer of gold in Africa, with production of 50 tons per year. Sadiola Gold Mine is located in southwest Mali, near the border with Senegal.

in June 2016. This agreement further promotes and guarantees investments between the two countries.

In addition, Mali has put in place a number of incentive and advantageous tax provisions and regulations favourable to investment. The country has implemented several bold sectoral policies to facilitate mining, petroleum, agricultural and energy investments.

In 2018, bilateral merchandise trade between Mali and Canada reached \$23.1 million — including \$20.9 million from Canada to Mali, largely in machinery, vehicles and parts, among others, and \$2.2 million from Mali to Canada, including canned food and mango juice.

Two Canadian companies, B2Gold and Robex Resources Inc., opened gold mines in Mali in the past three years. The B2Gold mine is one of the largest and represents an investment of more than \$600 million. Other Canadian mining companies in Mali are Iamgold and Endeavour Mining Corporation. Canadian mining assets in Mali are worth \$1.8 billion and Canadian investment tops \$118 million.

Mali is a country that provides opportunities for Canadian companies in various sectors, including mining, energy, agriculture, infrastructure, clean technology and education.

Indeed, a total energy efficiency deficit of 22,600 gigawatt hours is expected by 2030. Demand is at all levels — government, industrial and residential. The hydroelectric potential is estimated at 1,150 megawatts and 5,600 gigawatt hours per year, of which only 300 megawatts are currently exploited. The duration of sunshine varies between 8 and 10 hours per day, producing between 5 and 7 kilowatt hours per square metre of surface per day. Mali boasts more than 300 days of sunshine and more than 600 millimetres of precipitation per year.

The land for solar energy production sites is ceded free of charge by the state. Initial research reveals five basins with high potential for oil and gas. New legislation encourages their exploration.

The southern part of Mali presents ideal conditions for growing a range of oil seeds, including rice and corn. Less than 10 per cent of the estimated 40 million hectares of arable land is cultivated. Mali is the largest producer of livestock in West Africa, with 30 per cent of the total livestock. It is also a large producer of cereals used in the production of livestock feed.

My embassy has implemented an economic diplomacy strategy with Canada and the first step was to create the Canada-Mali Chamber of Commerce in June 2020. This Canadian organization will allow us, in a global, integrated, coherent and dynamic manner, to strengthen economic relations and develop trade between Canada and Mali. It will bring together and mobilize business people from both countries and the diaspora to contribute to the development and economic prosperity of Canada, as well as to the dynamism of the economy of Mali.

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DIPLOMATICA | DIPLOMATIC AGENDA

COVID-19: The Swiss experience so far



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n Switzerland, the first case of CO-VID-19 was identified Feb. 25 and the first case of community transmission came on March 2. As of May 29, there were approximately 31,000 confirmed cases with a death toll of 1,700 out of a population of 8 million. That makes Switzerland one of the most affected countries in Europe. Switzerland hit its peak of new cases at the end of March and through early April. The rate of new cases began to slow in mid-April, and so did the number of people admitted to hospitals. Since early May, daily new infections have levelled off to between 10 and 50 — which is equivalent to a daily increase of between 0.05 and 0.1 per cent of total infections. Fortunately, since the outbreak of the pandemic, hospital capacities have not been overwhelmed in Switzerland.

The recent positive trends in Switzerland can be directly attributed to the response by the Swiss government and the Swiss people. And the response, in turn, is directly linked to the context within which it needed to be formulated: Like Canada, Switzerland is a federal state with its 26 provinces, known as cantons, enjoying wide-ranging powers and jurisdictions in a variety of policy areas. Switzerland might be known for its natural beauty, but it is also one of the most densely populated countries in Europe, with a high degree of domestic mobility. A full 70 per cent of the Swiss workforce commutes to a workplace outside of their municipality, many crossing provincial borders to do so. Every day, 330,000 workers from neighbouring countries — Germany, France, Italy, and Austria - cross the national borders to work in Switzerland. With some of the most important European transit

response strategy to fight the spread of the coronavirus needed to take this reality into account. It did so by declaring an "extraordinary situation" — basically a national state of emergency - as set out in the Federal Epidemics Act. This step allowed the federal government to order the introduction of uniform measures in all cantons, effectively limiting provincial powers, which was a first for Switzerland. But this unprecedented move was deemed necessary, considering the spatial density and high degree of mobility in Switzerland outlined above. Centralizing the COVID response at the federal level was preceded by a short, but in-depth, consultation process with the cantons, and accompanied throughout by close co-ordination and cooperation with (and among) them.

The actual measures taken in Switzerland are quite similar to the ones taken by Canadian authorities. They include the closing of all non-essential businesses, schools and universities, indoor and outdoor entertainment and leisure facilities, as well as restaurants and bars. Gatherings of more than five people were banned nationwide, and strict physical distancing requirements introduced, applicable in private as well as work environments. However, and again similar to the Canadian approach, the Swiss federal government refrained from issuing curfews or a blanket stay-at-home order for people without symptoms. Public parks have remained open for exercising, but distancing rules must be followed. Domestically, no inter-cantonal travel restrictions were in place at any time, though the public was strongly discouraged from travelling. Restrictions for entry into Switzerland were, however, introduced, with exceptions for cross-border commuters, many of whom work in essential services, such as the health-care sector or the pharmaceutical industries. This measure was taken in coordination with neighbouring countries. Around 50,000 people were turned away over the course of March and April, which was below the expectations of Swiss border authorities. It seems that most people decided to refrain from trying to cross in the first place. Along with the measures to increase physical distancing goes testing. With thousands of tests carried out each day, Switzerland had one of the highest per-capita rates of testing in the world in March and April. Early preparation and a comparatively high density of accredited laboratories and a strong health-science ecosystem in Switzerland allowed for domestic production of testing kits. Additionally, contact-tracing is being enhanced, in step with the gradual easing of restrictions. To that end, the Federal Institutes of Technology in Zurich and Lausanne jointly developed a smartphone app. It has been approved by the health ministry and is currently in pilot phase (likely until end of June), before a nationwide rollout. There are, of course, privacy and data security concerns. To address these, the source-code is open and the app processes data locally and automatically deletes them after three weeks. No contact tracing data leave the phone unless authorized by the user. According to an early survey, around 60 per cent of the Swiss population plan to download the app.

Now that we see a significant decline in the number of new cases, Switzerland has started easing restrictions. The positive trajectory has allowed the Swiss authorities to ease more restrictions faster than expected, while keeping in mind the fragility of the situation. In different phases over the course of several weeks, schools, restaurants and most shops were allowed to reopen, with safety protocols in place. The third stage of the four-stage plan was activated June 6 and included the reopening of campgrounds and events with crowds of up to 300 people. Borders to neighbouring countries were reopened on June 15. This step-by-step reopening strategy, too, was closely co-ordinated with the cantons, as well as the private sector. The federal government defined guidelines and timeframe, while the cantons and the private sector are in charge of drawing up and implementing safety

DIPLOMATIC AGENDA | DIPLOMATICA

protocols. This approach taps into a long tradition of bottom-up solution-finding processes in Switzerland, the basic idea being that each industry knows best how to protect employees and customers under social-distancing guidelines while running business operations in practical terms.

None of the measures and actions taken by the Swiss government would have borne fruit had the public not followed them. Mobilizing an entire society to voluntarily restrict their freedom is a challenge for any leadership. Imposing restrictions on citizens who are accustomed to having the last say in the political decision-making process, as is the case in the Swiss system of direct democracy, is an additional challenge. The Swiss government meets these challenges by communicating to the public regularly, coherently, transparently, with empathy and based on the best scientific expertise and advice available. Through credible communication, unprecedented actions become understandable. The government also laid the foundation for an informed debate and political discourse, which is ensuing now that the economic fallout of the crisis is becoming apparent.

Depending on the realities on the ground, different nations choose different



The Flon, usually a heavily travelled district in Lausanne, is shown here during the pandemic.

strategies and policies to address the pandemic. But one thing has become abundantly clear: No country can overcome this global crisis on its own. International co-operation has been crucial for Swit-

@WFP_Canada

zerland, whether to secure supply lines or procure and share essential equipment for health-care providers and hospitals and whether to co-ordinate policies regarding travel restrictions and border closings or whether, by teaming up with partners such as Canada, to bring home our citizens stranded abroad in the largest repatriation effort in the history of our countries. International and multilateral co-operation will remain indispensable to develop diagnostics, treatments and a vaccine, and to make them accessible for all. A rules-based and co-operative international order continues to be the single best tool we have to deal with the globally disruptive effects of this ongoing crisis while safeguarding human rights and socioeconomic security. In this, too, Switzerland and Canada are aligned.

I would like to conclude with a word of gratitude to all the essential workers in Canada, Switzerland and around the globe. Without them, all the strategies, policies and measures would have been futile. They risk their lives for us, and we owe it to them to continue to follow the rules in these difficult and unprecedented times in order to make sure the early first successes in mitigating and containing the spread of the virus will be sustained.

WFP/Mohammed N

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COVID-19 IN CHINA | DISPATCHES



"Epidemic prevention" measures at Qujiang Toll Station in Yanta District, Xi'an, are shown here. The first cases of COVID-19 were reported in Wuhan, China.

China's role in the COVID-19 pandemic

China has come under scrutiny for its handling of the pandemic that began to tighten its now-worldwide grip in January. **Joe Varner** investigated what has been reported in independent media and what the Chinese government has stated on wide-ranging aspects of the pandemic.



t publication time, we are still emerging from almost four months of lockdown in Ontario, with similar timing across Canada. As of July 21, more than 111,697 Canadians have been sickened and 8,862 have died due to the deadly virus. Around the globe, 14.9 million have suffered from the infection and a stagger-

ing 616,317 have died, although we will never likely know the real total. The cost to the global economy is in the trillions of dollars as the virus becomes a global economic disrupter. The purpose of this article is to examine China's actions during this pandemic and their impact on global security.

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nce the pandemic was in full swing, there were some observers who viewed China as taking advantage of the disease while others, think-tanks such as U.S.-based RAND Corporation, took the view that China's recent activities were just the norm for its increasingly assertive behaviour. Diplomat magazine has unsuccessfully requested interviews with several Chinese ambassadors. As an alternative, we took five subject areas and collected information from experts and journalists on each. We present those as well as the corresponding statements by Chinese President Xi Jinping or his official spokesmen.

1. Allegations that China delayed reporting and withheld information from the world and the World Health Organization (WHO) on the nature and severity of the pandemic

Global media:

Chinese doctors, such as the late Li Wenliang, warned of the danger of the virus and human-to-human spread in late December 2019 and he and eight others were censored for it by Chinese authorities. Dr. Li was later exonerated by the authorities after his death from COVID-19. According to The South China Morning Post, a Hong Kong newspaper recently acquired by China's titan retail and technology company, Alibaba, Chinese data said the first case appeared as far back as Nov. 7. China only confirmed person-to-person transmission on Jan. 19. Authorities in Beijing appear to have been alerted to the danger posed by COVID-19 on Jan. 6 and Xi was likely briefed on Jan. 7, but only publicly acknowledged the threat on Jan. 20.

On Jan. 23, Wuhan was shut down. It is also important to note that the WHO only declared the outbreak a "public health emergency of international concern" on Jan. 30, and a pandemic on March 11. By that time, the number of COVID cases globally had grown to more than 118,000 in 114 countries; 4,291 people had died.

According to recordings obtained by the Associated Press news service, China withheld the genome or genetic map of the COVID-19 virus from the WHO for more than a week. In fact, on two separate occasions, Jan. 1 and Jan. 5, Chinese authorities demanded that samples of the virus be destroyed and the research on the disease be kept secret. Beijing also stalled on providing the WHO with detailed information about patients and their case histories for a further two weeks.

By the end of March, COVID-19 had

become a global public health crisis with more than 10,000 deaths each in Italy, Spain and the U.S. and more than 5,000 in Iran and the U.K.

According to Canada's *Global News* and Tokyo-based *The Diplomat* magazine, during this period, China delayed the release of information and lacked transparency with the WHO about the infectiousness of the virus and the danger it posed to global public health.

Chinese authorities' official statements:

Xi has responded that China has always provided information to the WHO and the world "in a most timely fashion."

Liu Dengfeng, deputy-director of China's National Health Commission (NHC), has said in response to criticism: "China has always been open on sharing the novel coronavirus strains with the whole world and will carry on being open. Chinese officials have also stated that China shared the genome sequence of the virus under the WHO framework to help develop a vaccine and medicine quickly. China has also said it is false that it hid the "people-to-people infection" truth for a week before telling the world. Commission Deputy Director Zeng Yixin said "People-to-people infection' is a street term, not a scientific one. The more precise term would be the ability of the virus to spread among people. In mid-January, we were still trying to learn how fast the virus can spread. It's not until Jan. 19 that we confirmed that the novel coronavirus is dangerous. We did it as fast as we could."

2. China and shortages of COVID-19-related medical supplies and equipment

Global media:

Global News and Japan's *The Diplomat* described how China employed its United Front Work Department organizations, including its overseas diaspora community groups, to buy up and stockpile personal protective equipment (PPE) from all over the world and, in effect, hoarded valuable commodities at the expense of other nations, including Canada. The Chinese



Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi has asserted that "there is nothing to support the claim that China is using COVID-19 to expand its presence in the South China Sea."

After the scientific research on the virus started, the NHC issued guidelines on Jan. 3 to regulate how labs should treat the SARS-CoV-2 and total destruction is only one of the measures."

Communist Party's United Front began in pre-revolutionary China and was used by the party to co-opt non-communist groups into its struggle for power. In recent years, it has been used to win over the ethnic Chinese diaspora in other countries to help influence decision-making of foreign governments and to shape domestic public opinion. China sets up its United Front organizations through officials in its embassies to back China, co-opt foreign political and economic elites and promote China's global strategic agenda.

In mid-January, Chinese embassies and consulates worldwide issued an urgent call for assistance in procuring and obtaining PPE. According to Chinese documents, in six weeks, China imported 2.5 billion pieces of PPE, including more than two billion safety masks. This was in addition to foreign medical aid from countries such as Canada, which sent much of its emergency stockpile to Beijing to fight the virus in January and February.

Jorge Guajardo, Mexico's former ambassador to Beijing, told Global News that this "surreptitious" operation left "the world naked with no supply of PPE." Once Beijing had the virus under control, it offered to sell its stockpile of PPE back to other countries, such as Mexico, at 20to 30 times the price. The Washington Post and CNN reported in April that PPE from China was being sold at more than 1,000 per cent over prices seen in early January. Canada and other countries discovered that some of the PPE provided back by China as donations or at a high premium cost were defective. Like Canada, Finland, the Netherlands and Spain returned Chinese-made PPE when it failed to meet national standards.

Chinese authorities' official statements:

China has denied allegations of hoarding global pandemic supplies, noting that as COVID-19 was brought under control in China, it exported domestically manufactured PPE to other countries in need.

People's Daily, published by the ruling Communist Party, said the claims were a politically motivated attempt to preserve U.S. President Donald Trump's presidency and to divert attention from the U.S. administration's own failures in dealing with the outbreak. "As the U.S. presidential election campaigns are under way, the Trump Administration has implemented a strategy designed to divert attention from the incompetence it has displayed in fighting the pandemic," the paper said in an editorial. The paper has made U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo a central target of its attacks, in recent weeks describing him as "despicable" and of having "evil intentions" by blaming China for having caused the pandemic.

In February, Chinese respiratory spe-

cialist Zhong Nanshan stated at a press conference that "though the COVID-19 was first discovered in China, it does not mean that it originated from China."

On March 12, Zhao Lijian, China's foreign ministry spokesman, went on Twitter, to ask, "When did patient zero begin in U.S.? How many people are infected? What are the names of the hospitals? It might be U.S. army who brought the epidemic to Wuhan. Be transparent! Make public your data! U.S. owes us an explanation."

On March 19, China's *Global Times* reported that the "virus might already be spreading in Italy before the epidemic erupted in China." Chinese state broad-caster *CCTV* cited another interview to stress that "unknown pneumonia appeared in Italy as early as October last year."

The response of several Chinese embassies was to remind African leaders of their countries' "time-tested friendship," and to not let certain media organizations exaggerate the situation and "drive a wedge between China and Africa."

Agence France-Presse (AFP) news agency reported that Jin Hai, a Chinese customs official, said in late June that nearly four billion masks, 16,000 ventilators, 37.5 million pieces of protective clothing and 2.84 million coronavirus testing kits had been exported to more than 50 countries since March 1.

Jiang Fan, an official with the commerce ministry, said it was important to realize that China has "different" standards and usage habits to other countries," *AFP* reported, warning that if the equipment was used improperly, this could sow doubt over its quality.

Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman Hua Chunying responded by saying problems should be "properly solved based on facts, not political interpretations," according to *Bloomberg*. "In fact, when we first began fighting COVID-19 at home, some of the assistance China received was defective, but we chose to believe and respect the kind intentions of these countries."

3. The spread of the virus beyond China

Global media:

According to the U.S.-based National Review and Times of India, when Chinese authorities knew that they had an epidemic and potential for a pandemic on their hands, China stopped all domestic travel between Wuhan and the rest of China on Jan. 23 and between Hubei Province and the rest of China on Jan. 25, but allowed international flights out of Wuhan to land all over the world.

This had the effect of exporting the disease to other nations through 2 million travellers over a two-week period from the last week of January to the first week of February. During that time, China prevented the virus from spreading to the rest of China. It should be noted that the WHO, at the time, declared that international travel restrictions were unnecessary and ineffective.

Chinese authorities' official statements:

"In order to meet the needs of passengers in and out of the country and the international transport of supplies during this special period... airlines [are required to] ... continue transport to nations that have not imposed travel restrictions," stated the Civil Aviation Administration of China.

At the opening of the agency's executive board meeting on Feb. 3, WHO chief Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus said: "There is no reason for measures that unnecessarily interfere with international travel and trade. We call on all countries to implement decisions that are evidencebased and consistent. WHO stands ready to provide advice to any country that is considering which measures to take."

On March 27, only after a telephone conversation between Trump and Xi did Beijing agreed to curb international flights from China. China's Civil Aviation Administration stated after the discussion "that 90 per cent of international flights would be temporarily suspended. The number of incoming passengers would be cut to 5,000 a day, from 25,000. China has also ordered local airlines to maintain only one route per country, once a week, as of 29th March."

4. Pandemic political economics

Global media and expert sources, including statements from privately owned Chinese website sohu.com and Toutiao.com:

Just recently, two Chinese media organizations published nationalist pieces saying that Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were eager to rejoin China and that the territory of the two states was previously Chinese territory stolen by Russia. What the article did not say was that Kazakh tribes declared loyalty to the Chinese Emperor at the time, but the Emperor was Jurchen, and not Han Chinese, and the Chinese were subjects, not conquerors. The articles drew howls of protest from the two Central Asian states. Kazakhstan

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is viewed as the strategic lynchpin of the region and also as rich in natural resources. Kazakhstan is also home to Russia's Baikonur Cosmodrome, the world's largest space-launch facility and was home to the Soviet Union's very advanced biological weapons program during the Cold War. Interestingly, in 2011, Beijing wrote off an undisclosed debt owed to China by Tajikistan in exchange for 1,158 square kilometres of disputed territory. The Washington Post recently identified an outpost in eastern Tajikistan, near the strategic junction of the Wakhan Corridor, that hosts Chinese troops and a new dual-use airport at Yarkand called Shache. China's foreign ministry denied any involvement in pushing the media sites to put out the "fake news" stories on Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, but suspicions remain about China's real intentions towards the three states

In addition, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization warned that China would, in the aftermath of its recovery from COVID-19, go on a buying spree of rareearth minerals and high technology not easily replicated in China while the rest of the world was still fighting the pandemic. There was concern about both Beijing state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and Chinese-controlled companies buying up controlling interests in strategic businesses and critical infrastructure, such as cashstrapped Greek ports. China is rumoured to be trying to buy hard-hit oil companies. Chinese interests bought a 33.3-per-cent interest in Oklahoma-based Chesapeake Energy a decade ago and the company has filed for bankruptcy. There is concern that China might try and purchase the entire company in its current state of weakness. It is allegedly preparing to take advantage of the collapse of oil prices by shoring up its reserve and hoarding fuel. There are reports that a British semiconductor chip designer, Imagination Technologies, could be moved to China after it was bought in 2017 by an investment firm backed by the Chinese government.

China has also pursued natural resources, including agricultural lands and farm products, on a scale not previously seen in order to meet its food security needs in the aftermath of the pandemic. Canada is not immune. It was announced that Chinese state-owned mining company Shandong Gold Mining Company Ltd. had bought a 50-per-cent share of the Nunavut TMAC Resources Hope Bay Gold Mining Project. In response to potential predatory acquisitions of Canadian companies by Chinese SOEs, on June 1, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Industry, Science and Technology approved a motion to study the sale of Canadian strategic assets to SOEs during the pandemic, a motion put forward by Conservative Member of Parliament Michelle Rempel Garner.

While the Chinese economy has taken a serious hit from the COVID-19 virus, it is sitting on more than US\$3 trillion in reserves should it choose to go on a buying spree at the expense of others, particularly the United States and its allies. Purchases of controlling interest in critical infrastructure, energy, rare-earth minerals and high technology that are not easily replicated in China are at the top of the list.

There have been hacking attacks in the



Chinese President Xi Jinping insists that China has always provided information to the WHO and the world "in a most timely fashion."

United States, United Kingdom and Israel. According to the BBC, the United States and United Kingdom have warned that they believe China has attempted to steal information about drugs and a working COVID-19 vaccine, and even damaged research programs with its cyber intrusions. Canada and China are currently engaged in a joint effort to develop a vaccine and it is currently being tested in China on members of the People's Liberation Army. Not surprisingly, Chinese diplomats around the world have become increasingly vocal and aggressive in criticizing democracies that have media freedom by using uncharacteristic "wolf warrior diplomacy," which draws its name from the popular Chinese action adventure movie Wolf Warrior 1 and represents a new no-holds-barred aggressive diplomatic response to criticisms of China and its regime. According to a Globe and Mail editorial, even Canada's Trudeau government, so hesitant to criticize Beijing, has had a 'wake-up call,' one that should have come when China took the two Michaels, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, held them hostage for more than a year, and placed them on trial for threatening Chinese national security. The serious diplomatic row over Canada's detention of Huawei executive Meng Wanzhou on a United States extradition warrant for committing fraud to break sanctions on Iran is viewed as a case of hostage diplomacy.

Chinese authorities' official statements:

The *South China Morning Post*, owned by Alibaba, reported that an adviser to the Chinese government warned that "global co-ordination, either through the G7 or G20, is needed. If we lose control, the pandemic will risk a new round of global economic crises and social turmoil. So far there is no co-ordinated global action and we may not see one any time soon."

In Beijing in late June, foreign affairs ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian rejected the hacking allegation, saying China firmly opposes all cyber attacks. "We are leading the world in COVID-19 treatment and vaccine research. It is immoral to target China with rumours and slanders in the absence of any evidence," Zhao said.

Huo Jianguo, the former head of the Chinese commerce ministry's research institute, has pushed the G20 to take the lead on an economic solution. "If we keep following the current trend, people will lose confidence in global governance, and just witness the world fall into the pit of chaos."

Wang Huiyao, president of a Beijing think-tank and adviser to China's cabinet, urged international co-operation. "It is time for each country to offer their solutions, such as China's new infrastructure projects and the [U.S.] Federal Reserve's interest-rate cuts, to know what each country can do."

5. China's political and military actions during the COVID crisis

Global media and experts:

China, to date, has concentrated its actions against old adversaries in the South China Sea, namely Taiwan, Japan, India and Hong Kong, and its aggressive international moves have not abated since the pandemic outbreak.

The South China Sea, running north
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from the Straits of Malacca to the southern tip of Japan, is the busiest seaway in the world. It is home to a series of maritime border disputes with China and most of its neighbours, including Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Brunei and Malaysia over the Spratly Islands that straddle the South China Sea's shipping lanes. These lanes feed China, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea and others, carrying an estimated \$5.3 trillion in ship-borne trade transits each year, or one third of global trade. As much as 80 per cent of China's oil imports arrive via the Strait of Malacca and then sail across the South China Sea to reach China. Furthermore, these sea lanes

close the area through the use of its own "grey measures" force based around its Maritime People's Militia, a ghost fleet of fishing trawlers from small to large that surrounds rival islands and intimidates other shipping vessels.

A series of actions illustrate China's escalation against adversaries:

• Starting in mid-February, the Philippines government reported that a Chinese navy warship pointed its "fire control radar" at a Philippines navy ship off Commodore Reef in the Spratly Islands. The radar locks weapons on a target prior to an actual attack and was viewed as a highly



Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited the China-India border in early July, during the spat between China and India.

convey five times more oil traffic than the Panama Canal. The region is also home to 5 of the world's 10 busiest seaports, making it more strategic and vulnerable to conflict.

China has essentially claimed the South China Sea in its entirety and has fortified islands just off the coast of the Philippines to create a line of control and an area that shipping must pass through to get to China's regional rivals, namely Taiwan, Japan and South Korea. Beijing, against an international court ruling on its claims and the wishes of its neighbours, has essentially annexed up to the so-called "first island chain" stretching from Japan to the Philippines, on to Taiwan and down to Malaysia. At the very least, Beijing could aggressive action.

- On March 1, three Taiwanese Coast Guard cutters were challenged by about 10 Chinese fishing boats, part of Beijing's shadowy maritime militia, near Taiwan's Little Kinmen Island. In late March, Chinese fishing vessels rammed a Taiwanese coast guard patrol boat near Little Kinmen and were repelled only after the Taiwanese fired warning shots.
- In late March, a Japanese Maritime Self-Defence Force destroyer, the *JS Shimakaze*, was damaged after colliding or being rammed by a Chinese fishing vessel in the East China Sea approximately 650 kilometres west of Yakushima Island.

• While the United States Navy was fighting COVID-19 with its only two

aircraft carriers deployed in the Western Pacific and shut down by the virus, the Chinese sortied their aircraft carrier *Liaoning* and her escorts through Taiwanese near-shore waters in April and May out into the Western Pacific and Beijing's second carrier, the *Shandong*, sailed the East China and Yellow seas.

• In April, a Chinese Coast Guard vessel rammed and sank a Vietnamese fishing vessel near the disputed Paracel Islands in the second incident in fewer than six months.

• In late April, the U.S. Navy and Australia deployed warships to respond to alleged Chinese harassment of neighbouring countries in the South China Sea, particularly Vietnam and Malaysia.

• Additionally, on May 8, 2020, two Chinese Coast Guard ships approached and chased a Japanese fishing boat in Japanese territorial waters around the Senkaku Islands in the East China Sea.

• In late May, a Chinese maritime militia vessel rammed and sank a Vietnamese fishing vessel near the Paracel Islands and injured 12 fishermen. At least 12 other Vietnamese fishing vessels were damaged in similar incidents, but remained afloat.

• As well, Chinese vessels damaged 24 Vietnamese coastal security vessels during the month of May.

In terms of Taiwan, a democratic state that China considers a renegade province, China has become very bellicose and aggressive over the last several months. It may have been a Chinese Communist Party reaction to Taiwan's success in stamping out COVID-19, Western sympathy over re-admission of Taiwan to the WHO that China then blocked, or it might have been sparked by Taiwan's offer of effective PPE to foreign governments fighting the crisis, while Chinese aid garnered some criticism as substandard or extremely poor — or all of the above. It also coincided with the swearing in of proindependence Taiwanese President Tsai Ing-wen for her second term. Beijing, to strengthen its claim over the whole South China Sea, set up two administrative municipal regions covering the Paracel and Spratly islands. China has stepped up air incursions in and around Taiwan and the Senkaku Islands and Japan, including its first night-time operation around Taiwan.

Furthermore, Beijing announced that the Bohai Sea would be cordoned off for more than 70 days by the Chinese military for a series of live-fire drills to train for an amphibious landing on the mainlandfacing shore of Taiwan. As well, China stated that the People's Liberation Army

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is preparing for another beach-landing drill to be staged near the Pratas Islands, which are controlled by Taiwan, in July or August. China's prime naval assets, its two aircraft carriers and amphibious assault ship and landing craft are to feature prominently in the war games. Beijing has plans now for an air defence identification zone to cover the Spratly, Paracel and Pratas islands. There are increasing calls from within China for Taiwan's forced reunification with China that Xi promised would start this year. Lastly, China recently threatened force to "resolutely smash" any move by Taiwan toward declaring independence. Taiwan's response was to announce the purchase of new heavy torpedoes and mobile groundlaunched Harpoon anti-ship missiles from the United States, geared to defeat a Chinese invasion. The United States Pacific Fleet Submarine Command took the unusual step of announcing that all of its submarines had been forward deployed to the Western Pacific in a clear warning to Beijing. Incidentally, Japan has decided to base anti-ship missiles of its own, including hypersonic glide variants, on such disputed islands as the Senkaku, to deter China.

Threatening Hong Kong's freedom

Probably the most worrisome of China's actions during the COVID-19 pandemic is its move to end Hong Kong's relative freedom and eliminate its democratic movement while the rest of the world is distracted by the virus. China's newly legislated national security law strips the people of Hong Kong of their freedom and brings in China's secret police and likely the People's Liberation Army, now largely restricted to garrisons on the island, to enforce it. According to interviews given to The New York Times, Global News, CNN and others, some leaders and protesters of the pro-democracy movement have been arrested, jailed and tortured, despite protests by the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. The 1997 agreement governing the transfer of Hong Kong from the British to the Chinese stipulated that China would agree to let Hong Kong keep its democratic system and rights for its residents. Now, suddenly, those guaranteed freedoms are being removed and there are 300,000 Canadian citizens resident in Hong Kong who are watching their way of life change in what has been described as Beijing's "Rhineland moment."

The U.S. acted quickly to threaten to remove Hong Kong special trading status

with the United States and the United Kingdom offered a route to citizenship for three million Hong Kong citizens and extended visa access to 350,000 overseas British citizens and passport holders.

Beyond the Far East, China is clashing with India and both are reportedly sustaining casualties in a growing border war. On May 5, 5,000 Chinese troops crossed the Line of Actual Control (LAC) into the Galwan River Valley, followed by another incursion in the Pangong Lake sector on May 12. At about the same time, there were smaller Chinese incursions near Demchok, in Southern Ladakh, and in Naku La, in North Sikkim. At one point, there were as many as 10,000 Chinese



The USS Chief in the East China Sea.

troops believed to be in Indian territory. This is land that in the past China accepted as being Indian territory, but India's construction of a road and transportation infrastructure in the area has been viewed by China as a serious threat to its border security. Chinese troops, by all accounts, then dug in and brought up artillery and armoured fighting vehicles. One serious brutal border clash has taken place near Pangong Lake, where 250 Chinese troops attacked an Indian army outpost of 50 soldiers with clubs studded with nails, rocks and metal bars wrapped in wire. Approximately 20 Indian and 43 Chinese soldiers were killed in the mêlée, including senior officers.

The territorial dispute along the China-India border falls across three different areas, the eastern sector, about 90,000 square kilometres under Indian control; the western sector of Ladakh, about 33,000 square kilometres and under Chinese control. The central sector of the border, west of Nepal, is approximately 2,000 square kilometres, and control is divided between India and China. After the 1962 Sino-Indian war, the LAC served as the de facto border in all three sectors. Unlike previous border incidents between the two nuclear-armed great powers, China is simultaneously putting pressure on the LAC in multiple areas in the western sector. The standoff, at the time of writing, started to show signs of possible resolution after both sides reportedly pulled back from the disputed territory by at least a kilometre in three places in Ladakh, including the tense Galwan River Valley. Having said that, China has reinforced its positions along the LAC and Pakistan has moved two divisions of 20,000 troops to its shared border with India, leaving India to face a potential two-front conflict. It is believed that the Pakistani military has 4,500 insurgents ready to cross into Kashmir to further complicate any Indian military response.

A backlash from Western democracies

China's actions and aggressive behaviour have shaped a backlash among Western democracies that Beijing views as unwarranted and motivated by Western selfinterest, ethnocentrism and even racism. Beijing's threats to Australia, Canada and the U.K., to name but a few, are likely to be remembered for a long time to come. China's "soft power" clout is now in question and its image in Africa is tarnished by its treatment of the African diaspora working in China. The Chinese Communist Party has strengthened Western outrage over its swallowing of Hong Kong, and its aggression toward Taiwan. Japan, India, Australia, the United States and others in the Asia-Pacific are drifting to, at the very least, a maritime security alliance. Australia has said it plans on increasing defence spending by as much as 40 per cent over the next 10 years and acquiring deep precision-strike capabilities to defend against threats posed by Beijing. Many countries are looking at decoupling from China, gaining more control over their own supply chain and bringing home their business interests or moving them to democracies, such as India. Most damaging for Beijing's leadership of the future world order in the near term is that COVID-19 and China's actions have likely had the effect of killing Huawei's drive to dominate the future 5G telecommunications sector

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and likely blocked it from the Five Eyes intelligence community of the U.S., U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Chinese authorities' official statements:

"There is nothing to support the claim that China is using COVID-19 to expand its presence in the South China Sea," said Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi. Wang stated that China was working to support neighbouring countries in their efforts against the virus and criticized the U.S. for "politicizing" China's actions as well as for "foreign meddling" in Hong Kong with regards to China's proposal for imposing new security legislation. "It has come to our attention that some political forces in the U.S. are taking China-U.S. relations hostage and pushing our two countries to the brink of a new Cold War," Wang told reporters.

Beijing has also countered that these increased incidents were a result of violations of China's sovereignty, illegal fishing, poor navigation and dangerous operation of vessels by foreign operators. It has maintained that Hong Kong is a domestic matter and charged that its relative peace is threatened by outside forces instigating disorder.

China's state-run Global Times quickly issued an editorial, accusing U.S. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo of congratulating newly elected Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen to deliberately challenge Beijing. "The U.S. and Taiwan want to play petty tricks at a low cost, which is too naive. We will make them feel pain in some places that they can't think of," it said in a tweet. "Washington and the Tsai administration are so narcissistic that they think they can make the mainland uncomfortable and have nothing to do, by saying a few words. The mainland's military strength has been able to effectively overwhelm the Taiwan military and deter the U.S. The economic power between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait is tilted toward the mainland. This is the broad outline of the situation across the Taiwan Strait."

Canadians in detention

Earlier, the Chinese ambassador to Canada, Cong Peiwu, told *Global News* that "competent Chinese authorities are handling the cases [of Kovrig and Spavor] according to law." He then pivoted to Meng, saying her case was "the biggest issue in our bilateral relationship" amid renewed demands that she be sent back to China "smoothly and safely." China has said there is no link between the two cases and has charged that Canada's detainment of Meng is a politically motivated act on behalf of the U.S.'s Trump administration.

"The Canadian side should immediately correct its mistake, release Ms. Meng and ensure her safe return to China at an early date, so as to avoid any continuous harm to China-Canada relations," Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Zhao Lijian recently said. "The U.S. and Canada abused their bilateral extradition treaty and arbitrarily took compulsory measures against a Chinese citizen without cause." China has said Kovrig and Spavor are "suspected" of endangering the country's national security, and they're being kept in Ursula von der Leyden, president of the European Commission, thanked China for ... sustained communication and support on a high level through various phone calls. However, it is not surprising that Beijing's support for Europe has ruffled a few feathers. In the past week, there has been an organized attempt to create a new narrative that China's aid is geopolitically motivated and insincere, and thus is therefore a 'threat' to Europe."

The Chinese Embassy in Ottawa stated that the one million faulty N95 masks that arrived in Canada from China were the result of a "contractual" issue that was



While the U.S. navy was fighting COVID-19, the Chinese sortied their aircraft carrier *Liaoning*, shown here, and her escorts through Taiwanese waters in April and May out into the Western Pacific.

detention facilities with 24-hour lighting and denied consular visits. "China urges the Canadian side to respect the spirit of the rule of law and China's judicial sovereignty and stop making irresponsible remarks," Zhao said recently in response to a question from *The Globe and Mail*.

China Global Television Network: "As the coronavirus epidemic has afflicted Europe significantly, China has provided aid and support to a number of countries, including, as reported: Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Ireland, Germany, France, Belgium, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Montenegro and the Czech Republic. This aid has come in the form of expert medical teams, ventilators, surgical equipment, personal protective gear, COVID-19 testing kits, N95 masks and more. [In March] subsequently fixed.

Zhao levelled a string of accusations against New Delhi in late June, including an assertion that "the adventurous acts of the Indian army seriously violated the agreements reached between the two countries on the border issue."

Chinese state media have reported the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is conducting joint military exercises "aimed at the destruction of key hostile hubs in a high-elevation mountainous region."

Joe Varner is the author of *Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma*, a former director of policy in the minister of national defence's office and a consultant on defence policy, strategic intelligence and military operations.

DISPATCHES | IRAN'S MILITARY STRATEGY

Iran's new 'hard war' stance

By Joe Varner



Tehran's national security strategy is to ensure the continuity of clerical rule and regime survival. Shown here is a Shahab-3 medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) developed by Iran, being fired in a military exercise.

ran's experience in the years-long Iran-Iraq War had a profound impact on its threat perceptions, national security strategy and doctrine regarding the use of force. The Iran-Iraq war, which took place between 1980 and 1988, by conservative Western estimates killed 367,000 people, 262,000 of whom are believed to have been Iranian. Officially, Iranian estimates put the number at 123,220 killed and 60,711 missing in action. A further 11,000 civilians were also believed to have been killed. *The Economist* pegged Iran's war costs, indirect and direct, at \$627 billion.

With the demise of Saddam Hussein in 2003, Iran refocused its attention on the

United States as its principal opponent and, in turn, the U.S.'s allies — Israel, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. Its fear over Sunni Islamic extremism, both in terms of Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State, boosted its need to intervene in Iraq and Syria.

Tehran's national security strategy is to ensure continuity of clerical rule and regime survival, and, in the words of the U.S. Defence Intelligence Agency, "maintain stability against internal and external threats, secure Iran's position as a dominant regional power and achieve economic prosperity." The Iranian view is that its military is there to deter the United States and the Middle East Persian Gulf region and to establish a new order in which it is dominant. Iran maintains a system of loose alliances in the region with what it terms the "Axis of Resistance." This axis is a confederation of like-minded state and non-state actors across the Middle East who aim to counter Western influence, including: the Assad regime in Syria; Hezbollah in Lebanon, Shia militias in Iraq, the Houthis in Yemen, Bahraini militants and some Palestinian groups that also include the Sunni terrorist group, Hamas. Iran is also a member of the non-aligned movement and has observer status with the China-led Shanghai Co-op-

IRAN'S MILITARY STRATEGY | DISPATCHES

eration Organization. The Iranian regime maintains close relations with regimes in Russia, China and North Korea, which also want to see an end to the U.S.-led international order.

In terms of doctrine and the use of force, the Islamic Republic maintains its conventional forces primarily for deterrence and its unconventional and proxy allies for furthering its regional interests and to achieve a degree of strategic depth. In a showdown with the United States, Israel or Saudi Arabia, all options for military action - both conventional and unconventional — would be on the table. Owing to its experience in the Iran-Iraq war and conventional military weakness when set against the United States and Israel, Tehran prefers to use its special operation forces, the Quds Force, proxies, cyber and long-range missiles to achieve its ends rather than overt acts that could lead to a conventional war. Like Russia, Iran takes a view of relations in which the line between peace and war is blurred and it lives in a constant state of near war. In the Iranian view, it is engaged in hybrid warfare, or what Tehran terms "soft or hard war" with the United States and its allies. According to the Mackenzie Institute's J. Paul de B. Taillon, hybrid warfare is a "subtle blend of all instruments of power,



Maj. Gen. Qasem Soleimani, who was killed by a U.S. drone strike in January, 2020.

combining regular and irregular modes of fighting, which applies to most, past and present, wars."

There are literally dozens of Iraniansupported militias and groups in Southwest Asia, the Middle East and the Persian Gulf. A partial list of the most effective Shia militias includes Iraqi popular mobilization forces groups, whether official or claimed; Lebanese Hezbollah; Syrian Shia groups, organized on the Hezbollah model; Shia militias that claim alignment with the Syrian army; Muqtada al-Sadr's groups, Saraya al-Salam and Liwa al-Youm al-Mawud; Iraqi and Syrian Shia tribal militias; groups that identify as part of a larger camp under the control of Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani; the Houthis; the Pakistani Shia group Liwa Zainabiyoun; and the Afghan Shia group Liwa Fatemiyoun. Liwa Zainabiyoun and Liwa Fatemiyoun are considered by some to be actual units of the Quds Force.

Not surprisingly, improvised explosive devices (IEDs) used in Iraq and Afghanistan had telltale signs that they were made based on Iranian Quds Forces design and with Quds Force trainers to repel American and Western forces, including Canadians in Afghanistan. Two of the more successful Iranian-affiliated militias are Hezbollah in Lebanon and the Houthis in Yemen and they are used regularly to carry out violent acts on behalf of the Iranian regime when it does not want to get its hands dirty and wants a degree of plausible deniability that does not invite a counter-strike at Tehran.

Hezbollah remains the jewel in the Iranian crown of terrorist groups, having emerged with Iranian help during the Lebanese Civil War in 1975 and in the 1980s during Israel's occupation of Lebanon. Hezbollah is essentially a state



Maj. Gen. Qasem Soleimani's funeral was attended by ten of thousands of mourners.

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THE IRANIAN MILITARY AT A GLANCE

According to the well-regarded International Institute for Strategic Studies' *Military Balance 2020*, the Iranian Army stands at 350,000 men, of which 220,000 are conscripted soldiers. The army's order of battle includes one commando, four armoured, two mechanized and four infantry divisions. It also has an additional six commando brigades and one special forces brigade. As an army, it is generally well trained, but must contend, as the entirety of the Iranian military does, with a lack of spare parts and aging primary equipment.

The Iranian navy is 18,000 strong with 18 submarines, 3 of which are Russian kilo-class conventional-powered patrol submarines, 68 frigates and coastal combatants and 7 corvettes. The Iranian navy maintains 12 aging landing ships and 11 landing craft, with 2,600 marines. Naval aviation is limited to transport, electronic intelligence, rotary wing aircraft (again geared to transport) and anti-submarine and counter-mine warfare.

The Iranian air force is made up of 18,000 personnel and several squadrons, including 5 fighter, 9 fighter-ground attack, 1 maritime patrol, 1 intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance, 1 search and rescue, 1 tanker, 6 transport and 4 trainer.

The land element, Revolutionary Guard Corps, is 190,000 strong and is geared for internal security and to support the army in times of war, and to give direction to the para-military Basij militia. It is organized as 31 corps on a provincial basis with 3 special operations divisions, 1 airborne brigade, 2 armoured divisions, 3 armoured brigades, 8 light infantry divisions and 5 independent infantry brigades. The Revolutionary Guard Corps Naval Forces' 20,000 personnel operate 126 coastal and patrol vessels, along with 3 amphibious landing ships and 2 landing craft to support naval mine-laying. The naval guard units also operate many other attack craft — some estimates suggest as many as 3,000 to 5,000 — and have a substantial coastal defence anti-ship cruise-missile capability geared to shutting the Gulf to commercial and military maritime traffic.

The Revolutionary Guards' 15,000-man aerospace force controls the Islamic Republic's strategic missile force made up of a series of between 2,500 and 3,000 medium-range, short-range ballistic missiles, unmanned aerial vehicles and cruise missiles, which have recently proven very effective in combat operations. Lastly, the Revolutionary Guard Quds Force of 5,000 troops, along with units of the paramilitary Basij militia form the bulk of Iran's asymmetric support to its allied militias abroad and an expeditionary capability when coupled with Shia militias in various countries, including Hezbollah in Lebanon, Syria and Iraq and the Houthis in Yemen. within a state and its military forces in many ways are more effective than the Lebanese Army. The military wing of Hezbollah is 10,000 strong with 20,000 reserves and armed with small arms, main battle tanks, armed drones and long-range rockets. It is the traditional Iranian foreign policy tool for maintaining its influence against Israel and the West in Lebanon and to strike at the Jewish state. In 1983, Hezbollah attacked the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut with a truck bomb, killing 241 American military personnel. Then in 1992, it engaged in an out-of-theatre operation attacking the Argentine Jewish Mutual Center and embassy in Buenos Aires with another truck bomb, killing 29 and wounding 242 innocents. In 2005, Hezbollah assassinated Lebanese prime minister Rafik Hariri and 22 other people. It is armed, funded and trained by Iran and generally follows Iranian direction. During the 2006 war with Israel, Hezbollah fired 4,000 rockets at the Jewish state. It has been heavily engaged on Iran's



A Russian-built Iranian kilo-class diesel submarine being towed to Egypt.

behalf in fighting in the Syrian Civil War (2011 to present).

The Houthi militia has been an effective tool for Iran to strike at the Yemeni government, Saudi Arabia and its allies in the Yemeni Civil War (2015 to present). The Houthis militia in Yemen is a state within a state, controlling much of that country's Northern territory. The Houthis' 20,000-strong militia is heavily armed, with 20 mechanized brigades. It has a series of short-range ballistic missiles, armed drones, ground-launched cruise and antiship cruise missiles. The group benefited from previous military training as part of the Yemeni national army, and has since been trained, funded and equipped by Iran. It has engaged in ballistic-missile attacks on Saudi Arabia, tried to mine and

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destroy warships at sea off Yemen's coast, using remotely powered craft, and carried out armed drone and missile attacks on Saudi oil infrastructure. The Iranianbacked militia has a capability to seize ships at sea and to strike ships using Chinese and Iranian anti-ship cruise missiles. In September 2019, the Houthis essentially destroyed three Saudi army brigades with the assistance of "mercenaries," likely from Iran.

In addition to its aggressive use of proxy militias, Iran will act with its own military forces if it feels critical interests are at stake or it sees a potential advantage in doing so. Events over the past two years have demonstrated this and more often than not, the forces used are the Revolutionary Guard and Quds Force. These recent use-of-force cases demonstrate how Iranian doctrine is employed in the region and they set the tone for the future. Following the United States withdrawal on May 8, 2018 from the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action geared at stalling Iran's military nuclear program, and the reimposition of tough sanctions by the United States on the Iranian regime, Tehran threatened to close the Persian Gulf. In late 2019. Iran started to shift from a "soft" to "hard" war stance. Iran moved from small provocations with the United States and its regional allies to open attacks by the Revolutionary Guards on tankers and the seizure of oil tankers in international waters. On May 12, 2019, four oil tankers were damaged off the coast in the Gulf of Oman, including two Saudi Arabianregistered vessels, a Norwegian-registered tanker and an Emirati-registered bunkering ship. The ships were anchored in the United Arab Emirates territorial waters for bunkering in the Port of Fujairah and likely attacked with Limpet mines. Again on June 13, 2019, two oil tankers - one Panama-flagged and Japanese-owned and the other Marshall Islands-flagged and Norwegian-operated — were attacked with Limpet mines near the Strait of Hormuz while they transited the Gulf of Oman, sustaining fire damage. At the time of the attacks, the tankers were carrying petroleum products from Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

On July 4, 2019, British Royal Marines seized an Iranian tanker off Gibraltar, which they suspected of smuggling oil and breaking sanctions. They refused to release it under American pressure and against Iranian protests. In retaliation, the Revolutionary Guards seized the British tanker *Stena Impero* on July 19, 2019, and held it illegally for almost two months



THE U.S. ARMED FORCES AT A GLANCE

In contrast to the Iranian military, the United States maintains the most modern, effective and powerful military in the world. The U.S. armed forces are made up of 1,379,800 regular personnel, supported by reserve forces numbering 849,450.

The 2020 Global Fire Power Report globalfirepower.com, which ranks countries' military strength, lists the U.S. first, Russia second, China third and Iran 14th.

The U.S. Strategic Command maintains a nuclear arsenal built on a triad of land, sea and air forces for delivery of its nuclear weapon assets. The land-based component is based on nine squadrons of Minuteman III Inter Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM), totalling 400 missiles that can reach anywhere in the world to deter a nuclear-armed opponent. The U.S. has 14 strategic nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines carrying up to 20 Trident Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs) per vessel. As well, the U.S. has 7 strategic bomber squadrons of 46 B-52 and 66 B-2 bomber aircraft armed with air-to-groundlaunched cruise missiles.

The U.S. army has 481,750 personnel and two armoured, two infantry, 2 mechanized infantry, 2 light and 2 air-manoeuvre divisions. These divisions are supported by a series of independent brigades and their supporting troops. The United States Army Reserve has 333,800 members and is made up of National Guard units on a structure of 8 divisions. It has an additional 190,900 army reserve members. Ground forces are supported by more than 7,000 main battle tanks and many thousand armoured fighting vehicles.

The U.S. navy is comprised of 337,100 personnel and with 53 nuclear-powered attack and guided-missile submarines, 11 aircraft carriers, 24 cruisers, 67 destroyers, 19 frigates, 84 patrol and coastal combatants and 32 principal amphibious warships, including 9 helicopter land ships and amphibious assault ships that are essentially miniature aircraft carriers. The navy has 3 more of these small aircraft carriers in the reserve fleet along with a naval reserve of 102,250 sailors. It has its own naval air arm of 34 modern fighter squadrons and 981 combat-capable fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft. The marines have 186, 300 personnel in 3 divisions, and 3 air wings made up of 432 combat-capable aircraft.

The air force is made up of 332,650 personnel, with 11 strategic bomber, 13 fighter and 3 ground-attack squadrons and other supporting fixed- and rotary-wing aircraft too numerous to describe.

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until the Iranian tanker was released by the British at Gibraltar. Iran went on to seize two more tankers before releasing the ships and their crews.

In late September, Iran fired seven cruise missiles and sent 18 drones to attack Saudi Arabia's Aramco oil facility, temporarily knocking out 50 per cent of Saudi Arabia's processing capability. To mask its culpability, Iran had the drones and cruise missiles fly circuitous routes over neighbouring countries before hitting their targets. The attacks and seizures were all an attempt to increase international pressure to force the United States to abandon the sanctions regime on Tehran. As well, in November, there were cyberattacks on European Union energy sector companies and in late December 2019 and early January 2020, there were cyberattacks, traced to Iran, on a Bahrain oil company.

On Dec. 27, 2019, the K-1 airbase in Iraq, one of many Iraqi military bases that host Operation Inherent Resolve coalition personnel, was hit by more than 30 rockets, killing an Iraqi-American and a U.S. defence contractor and injuring multiple American and Iraqi service members. The U.S. blamed the Iranian-backed Kata'ib Hezbollah militia for the attack. Two days later, U.S. retaliatory airstrikes targeted five Kata'ib Hezbollah weapons storage facilities and command hub locations in Iraq and Syria, killing 25 militia members and wounding 55 more. Following intelligence that the Iranian Quds Forces were going to direct further attacks at U.S. forces and allies in the region, on Jan. 3, 2020, a U.S. drone strike near Baghdad International Airport targeted and killed Iranian Maj. Gen. Qasem Soleimani, commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) Quds Force, and Kata'ib Hezbollah co-founder Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis. Soleimani was the second most powerful man in Iran and architect of its regional alliances and foreign policy and he was killed as he planned to meet Iraqi PM Adil Abdul-Mahdi to discuss Iran-Saudi Arabia peace mediation in Baghdad.

Iran retaliated for Soleimani's killing, launching a barrage of missiles that targeted two Iraqi airbases hosting U.S. and coalition troops in Irbil and Ain al-Asad. The troops had warning, no one was killed, but more than 100 were injured, some suffering traumatic brain injuries. The date coincided with Soleimani's birthday. It was the first time in many years that Iran had attacked the U.S. directly and not through proxies. It's important to note that this also coincided closely with the Iranian military's shooting down of a Ukrainian airliner with 176 people on board, including 63 Canadians. Since then, there have been several attacks on U.S. forces and coalition forces in Iraq, using long-range rockets. In January, rockets were fired multiple times toward Baghdad's Green Zone and the U.S. Embassy, Balad airbase, Camp Taji and K1 military base. As well, in January, there were several cyberattacks on U.S. government offices by people traced back to Iran.

In early March, the U.S. Embassy in Iraq was attacked several times. On March 11, 30 rockets were fired at Camp Taji; 18 of the rockets hit the base and killed an American soldier, an American contractor Without question, Iran has plans for a new regional order with itself as leader. It represents a direct threat to the future security of Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. Iran will use proxies, the Quds Force and hybrid warfare to attempt to achieve these goals.

When great powers such as the U.S. or the U.K. show any weakness or hesitation, Iran uses direct force to take advantage. A nuclear-armed Iran would be even harder to deter than the conventionally armed, asymmetric-inclined Tehran and Iran's view of deterrence might be shaped more by its apocalyptic religious views than its wish for regime survival. Iranian influence in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon,



Iran has plans for a new regional order, with itself as leader. It represents a direct threat to the future security of Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf States. Shown here are five Iranian air force F-14A Tomcats in flight.

and a British soldier and injured at least 12 U.S.-led coalition troops. Then, on March 14, another barrage of 33 rockets was fired at Camp Taji, wounding three U.S. soldiers and two Iraqi air defence personnel. Some of these rocket attacks came from the Iraqi-Iranian frontier and some from within Iraq. The goal is always to exacerbate tensions among members of the U.S.led coalition and to try and force them from Iraq. But there is little doubt about who is calling the shots, who is training, equipping and paying the militias in Iraq, if indeed they are not actually Iranian Revolutionary Guard units.

In conclusion, the U.S. and its military allies in the Middle East and Persian Gulf have entered an increasingly dangerous time with Tehran and its leadership. Eastern Afghanistan and Yemen is clear, and with sizable Shia communities in the Gulf States and even Saudi Arabia, it is not hard to see what the future may hold should civil unrest be stoked by Iran. The moment Iran can find a foothold in vulnerable Gulf States, expect to realize a militia, such as the Houthis or Hezbollah, formed. Iran would love to realize the old Persian Empire dream that the Persian Gulf be just that — Persian — with much of the world's oil supply choked by land and by sea and the Ayatollahs in the driver's seat.

Joe Varner is the author of *Canada's Asia-Pacific Security Dilemma* and a former director of policy in the office of the minister of national defence.

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Preparing for disaster

Saving the world's seeds has become an even more important endeavour than it had been before COVID-19. By Laura Neilson Bonikowsky



umans are fearful. We grapple with our mortality, unable to imagine the planet without us, but optimistic that we will prevail. Our anxiety has been reflected in popular culture for eons, from the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, circa 2000 BC, to *The Walking Dead*. Our fears rise as the century wanes and the new one begins. We see multiple zeroes in a date as preternatural, convinced it portends disaster,

and we react emotionally. In these early decades of the 21st Century, we are ripe for heightened fears and anticipate apocalypse through climate change or a virus (including the zombie variety.)

We feel the need to prepare; in all scenarios, survivors must eat, a need to be served by the roughly 1,740 vaults and initiatives preserving seeds worldwide. They are insurance against drought, floods, food insecurity, species extinction, war, lost agricultural diversity, climate change and even a zombie apocalypse.



On an island 1,300 kilometres from the North Pole is Norway's Svalbard Global Seed Vault. It stores nearly one million seed samples — everything from apples and tomatoes to forage grasses and orchids, essentially a back-up copy of the world's plants.

DISPATCHES | STORING THE SEEDS

SEED STORAGE

People have stored seeds for millenniums, stashing them in silos, cellars, barrels and urns for the next planting season or the one after that. We've even tucked them in with the dead on their journey to whatever comes next.

Although the world has approximately 400,000 plant species, just 15 provide 90 per cent of the world's food energy intake, with three — rice, maize and wheat — making up two-thirds of this. The others include potatoes, beans, sorghum, millet, soybean, sugar, yam, rye, barley, oats, teff and cassava.

Saving seeds is both prescient and necessary. Seed vaults, also called gene banks, vary in structure and technology. The shelf life of seeds varies by species; longterm viability requires the right balance of humidity and sub-zero temperatures. But *in situ* (in the original place) storage preserves the evolutionary processes that allow adaptation.

Gene banks work with farmers and researchers to determine whether crops will grow in different regions — important research given the many threats to agriculture. The world's regions defined by the United Nations Statistics Division are: Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Although these regions are vast, their commonalities are important: soil, climate, growing season, agricultural practices, pests and social and political conditions affecting agriculture.

The seed vaults and initiatives presented are organized by geography; they are rated as significant by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), the Science and Environmental Health Network, CropTrust and Food Tank.

GLOBAL

Slow Food International, a global consortium in Bra, Italy, founded in the mid-1980s, has more than 100,000 members in 150 countries. The organization believes we are duty-bound to protect and preserve seeds to guarantee crop biodiversity, which includes promoting diversity. For example, of the thousands of types of apples in the world, how many have you tasted?

UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere (MAB) reserves (701 in 124 countries) and Global Geoparks are hubs for seed preservation in arid ecosystems. MAB establishes plant nurseries, distributes seedlings and promotes sustainable development. The core of each biosphere is a protected ecosystem that conserves plant species and genetic variation.

AFRICA

The ECHO Global Seed Bank is part of the ECHO community and a resource for development workers experimenting with underutilized crops to support small-scale farmers and gardeners. It maintains a collection of seeds that thrive in tropical and sub-tropical conditions. ECHO in East Africa provides packaged seeds and seed exchanges and in West Africa, training in agricultural practices.

Ethiopia

The Plant Genetic Resources Centre, established in 1976 to conserve Ethiopia's biodiversity and indigenous knowledge, became the Ethiopian Biodiversity Institute in Addis Ababa. It comprises a series of cryogenic vaults, storing seeds of more than 165 agricultural plant species as well as *in situ* and *ex situ* gene banks for endangered forest, medicinal and forage and pasture plants.

Nigeria

The genetic resources of the International Institute for Tropical Agriculture in Ibadan are instrumental in conserving seed crop germplasm to ensure the genetic continuity of crop species and maintain a genetic base for improving them. The institute's germplasm collection includes peas, beans, soybeans and legumes. Seeds are stored for the medium term at 5C and long-term at -20C.

NORTH AMERICA

Canada

The Canadian Plant Germplasm System is a network of centres for preserving



Source: Crop Trust

Norway's Svalbard Global Seed Vault is built into the mountain. It holds 6,377 species but its capacity is 4.5 million seed varieties

STORING THE SEEDS | DISPATCHES



The most successful and widely cultivated cranberries and other crops are the direct result of years of careful breeding. They're grown primarily in Canada and a few states in the U.S.



France's National Research Institute for Agriculture, Food and Environment is studying barley lines at Tessaout Station in Morocco as part of ICARDA's DIIVA project.



A farmer in Morocco examines his onions in the field as part of the International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas' ongoing work in Morocco.

DISPATCHES | STORING THE SEEDS



Just 15 crop plants provide 90 per cent of the world's food energy intake, with three — rice, maize and wheat — making up two-thirds of this.

Canadian biodiversity in crop plants and their wild relatives. Plant Gene Resources of Canada was part of Ottawa's Central Experimental Farm from 1970 until 1998 when it moved to the more modern Saskatoon Research Centre, which co-ordinates Canada's germplasm system. The gene bank holds 113,000 seed samples. Storage facilities include long-term storage at -20C, medium-term at 4C and 20 per cent relative humidity, and cryopreservation units, which involve freezing in or over liquid nitrogen at -196C. Other centres are the Fredericton Research Centre in New Brunswick, responsible for potato varieties, the Canadian Clonal Genebank in Harrow, Ont., for fruit trees and smallfruit crops and the Canadian Animal Genetic Resources Program for cryopreservation of animal breeds.

United States

Many of the USDA's facilities include gene banks to preserve major crop genetic resources, such as potato germplasm (Bamberg Lab, Madison, Wisconsin), tree fruits and nuts (National Clonal Germplasm Repository, Corvallis, Oregon) and wheat (Cereal Crops Research Unit, Fargo, North Dakota). The Agricultural Genetic Resources Preservation Research facility in Fort Collins, Colorado, protects more than 500,000 accessions (a group of related plant material from a single species collected from a specific location) from almost 12,000 plant species in its cold storage vault, including cryogenically preserved shoot tips that ensure the diversity of clonally propagated fruit species. The unit's genetic resources include animal, insect and microbial material.

In Griffin, Georgia, the Plant Genetic Resources Conservation Unit holds more than 100,000 seed and plant samples of 1,608 species. The unit's mission includes preserving genetic resources for agronomic and horticultural crops for researchers and educators.

The Hawaii Public Seed Initiative, founded by the Kohala Centre in Kamuela (Waimea), on the Big Island, Hawaii, works to promote, increase and improve the state's crop biodiversity. It collaborates with communities, farmers and gardeners to store, improve and exchange seed varieties within the island's diverse microclimates.

Based in Tucson, Arizona, the Native Seeds/SEARCH conserves seeds of the Southwest U.S. and Northwest Mexico. A leader in heirloom conservation, its stateof-the-art facility houses roughly 2,000 types of seeds adapted to arid land from southern Colorado to central Mexico. Seed varieties include corn, beans and squash traditionally used by the Apache, Hopi, Mayo and other tribes.

SOUTH AMERICA

Colombia

The International Center for Tropical Agriculture, though based in Cali, Colombia, works in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. It is a CGIAR (Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research) centre that contributes to several UN Sustainable Development Goals related to ecosystems, climate-smart agriculture and sustainable food systems. Its gene bank focuses on beans, cassava and tropical forages.

Peru

Camino Verde Living Seed Bank is a nonprofit organization based in Concord, Massachusetts, operating in the Peruvian Amazon through Puerto Maldonado. Its focus is preserving trees useful for

STORING THE SEEDS | DISPATCHES



The Svalbard Vault opened in 2008, though discussions about a storage facility for seed samples from around the world began in the 1980s.



The vault is entirely funded by the Norwegian government. The temperature in the vault remains between -3C and -4C.

DIPLOMAT AND INTERNATIONAL CANADA

BECOME YOUR OWN SEED VAULT

Saving seeds is simple. Let your plants go to seed (or fruit over-ripen), collect the seeds, let them dry, and store them in airtight, labelled containers (pill bottles, envelopes in a jar) in a cool, dry, dark place. Here are some tips:

Fertile or infertile? Soak seeds from inside the vegetable (tomatoes, cucumbers) in water until they start to ferment (approximately two days). Infertile seeds float; fertile seeds sink. For other seeds, do not soak, but ensure they are dry.

Self-pollinating or cross-pollinating? Self-pollinating plants, such as lettuce, beans, peas, tomatoes and peppers, produce flowers with male and female parts and pollinate within the flower. These seeds stay "true" — they will produce the original species — and are your best bet. Cross-pollinating plants, such as squash, cucumber, cabbage, spinach and broccoli, need pollen to be carried by wind or insects from one flower to another on the same or another plant. If you grow several types and they flower together, cross-pollinated seeds will produce a hybrid that is neither parent plant. To avoid hybrids, grow cross-pollinating plants in alternate years or stagger planting so they will flower at different times if your growing season is long enough.

Viable lifespan? Lifespans are limited without specialized storage, as in a seed repository. The chart below is a general guide.

One year	Two years	Three years	Four years	Five years
Carrots	Corn	Beans	Cabbage	Cucumbers
Onions	Peppers	Beets	Cauliflower	Turnips
Peas	Leeks	Chard	Eggplant	Endive
Parsnips	Chives	Radishes	Lettuce	Radishes
	Cilantro	Spinach	Melons	Cress
	Okra	Tomatoes	Pumpkin	Basil
		Broccoli	Squash	
		Carrots	Kale	
		Fennel	Oregano	



medicine, food and crafts by planting and protecting them to promote genetic diversity from which healthy seeds can be harvested. Camino Verde has planted more than 250 tree species.

ASIA

AVRDC — the World Vegetable Centre — is an independent organization headquartered in Shanhua, Taiwan, with sites in Asia, Africa, Uzbekistan, Korea and Cameroon. Its goals include reducing poverty and improving nutrition through extensive research, which includes collecting, conserving and distributing vegetable germplasms. The centre maintains a collection of more than 61,000 accessions from 155 countries, with approximately 12,000 accessions of indigenous vegetables.

As part of the ECHOcommunity, the ECHO Asia Seed Bank is a resource for de-



Show here are pigeon peas from the gene bank in India.

velopment workers within Asia working with underutilized crops. The seed bank maintains a collection of seeds of uncommon plants that thrive in the tropics and sub-tropics.

India

Navdanya means "nine seeds" in Hindi. It is a female-led research-based initiative founded by environmentalist and scientist Vandana Shiva. The network of seed keepers and organic producers has established more than 100 community seed banks across India. It has trained thousands of farmers in sustainable agriculture over

STORING THE SEEDS | DISPATCHES



These seeds belong to AVRDC, the World Vegetable Centre, which is an independent organization headquartered in Shanhua, Taiwan, with sites in Asia, Africa, Uzbekistan, Korea and Cameroon.

three decades. Navdanya's seed bank at its biodiversity farm in Uttarakhand, North India, preserves rice and grains, medicinal plants, amaranth and mustard.

Lebanon and Syria

The International Centre for Agricultural Research in the Dry Areas (ICARDA) is a CGIAR Research Centre headquartered in Lebanon. It conducts research-fordevelopment for communities across the non-tropical dry area, from Morocco to India. ICARDA's seed bank in Aleppo, Syria, holds more than 130,000 accessions, roughly two-thirds from crops adapted to arid environments. In 2012, as the Syrian conflict raged around them, a group of scientists, concerned that military action would damage their freezers, packaged samples of 87 per cent of their holdings and shipped them to the Arctic.

EUROPE

Norway

Jutting out of a snowy mountain on an island 1,300 kilometres from the North Pole is Norway's Svalbard Global Seed Vault. It stores nearly one million seed samples — everything from apples and tomatoes to forage grasses and orchids, essentially a back-up copy of the world's plants. It holds 6,377 species, but its capacity is 4.5 million seed varieties. The vault opened in 2008, though discussions about a storage facility for seed samples from around the world began in the 1980s. There had been a seed facility in abandoned coal mines near Longyearbyen, which has led to the misunderstanding that the Svalbard vault is in a coal mine. It is not; it was carved out of the solid rock of a permafrost mountain where the temperature remains between -3C and -4C. Though funded by the Norwegian government, the vault is not political; it holds seeds from 87 depositors, friend or foe, who retain ownership of their seeds. In 2015, ICARDA became the first organization to make a withdrawal from Svalbard to restore its collection. They replaced the seeds in 2017.

United Kingdom

In the appropriately bucolic setting of the 2-square-kilometre woodland at Wakehurst Place, West Sussex, the Millennium Seed Bank houses contributions from

DISPATCHES | STORING THE SEEDS



The architectural features of the Svalbard Seed Vault and the landscape make it a playground for photographers.



Workers conduct quality control tests over specially produced rice for archiving and distribution at the Philippines-based International Rice Research Institute.

more than 95 countries, including 34,000 wild plant species. Seeds are stored in underground vaults at -20C. It is under the auspices of the Royal Botanic Gardens and housed in the Wellcome Trust Millennium Building. The bank opened in 2000 and in 2009 achieved its goal of obtaining seeds from all of the U.K.'s native plant species, except for a few that are very rare or especially difficult to store.

Russia

The oldest seed bank in the world, founded in 1921, is the Vavilov All-Russian Institute of Plant Genetic Resources (VIR) in St. Petersburg. It was named for agronomist and geneticist Nikolai Vavilov, among the first scientists to understand the need for crop diversity. The VIR has a storied history of politics, war and courage. During the siege of Leningrad in the Second World War, while Soviet officials protected art and heritage, the curated collection of 187,000 seed types was forgotten. Scientists managed to smuggle samples to the Urals, while many stayed with the collection. Nine lost their lives protecting their work, starving to death amid thousands of rice packets. By the 1990s, the gene bank had 250,000 seed types from 50 countries and now has 380,000. In 2010, the institute was threatened with demolition to allow a government-supported housing development, but public outcry delayed the project; it remains vulnerable.

OCEANIA

Australia

Overlooking the Cumberland Plain Woodland, an endangered ecosystem in New South Wales, the Australian PlantBank (formerly NSW Seedbank) works in partnership with the Millennium Seed Bank. PlantBank's seed vault holds more than 11,000 seed collections plus 723 tissue culture collections, mainly from New South Wales. It uses cryopreservation as well as tissue cultures for plants that don't produce seeds or whose seeds cannot be dried.

SEED STORES THREATENED

There are many risks to the seeds we're saving; plant species evolve, pests and diseases adapt, climate change poses unknown challenges. Seed storage means accounting for these risks and avoiding threats to the seed banks themselves.

The Svalbard vault has natural security,

being on a rugged, isolated island 120 metres above sea level, without risk from earthquakes or volcanoes. However, in 2017, permafrost around the vault melted and water seeped into the tunnel leading to the vault. The permafrost hasn't returned, so the Norwegian government is upgrading the vault entrance.

One purpose of seed banks is to ensure the restoration of agriculture if arable land is damaged. Land is being lost to flooding, drought, erosion, pollution, rising sea levels and war; the world has lost a third of its arable land over the past 40 years. The worst land losses have been across Africa, India and Asia. In Ivory Coast, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, war has destroyed seed vaults. Incomprehensibly, in 2011, looters in Egypt damaged collections in Cairo and North Sinai.

In a perfect world, we wouldn't need to preserve plant species. As we imagine the worst, but hope for the best, we have, at least, created some assurance against whatever apocalypse is in store for us.

Laura Neilson Bonikowsky is an Alberta writer. She is a gardening enthusiast who has learned that gardening is cheaper than therapy — and you get tomatoes.



Restorations, Renovations, Real Estate and Rentals



It is with great pleasure that we announce Snookie Lomow, President of Snookie Lomow & Associates Inc, will be representing Highbridge Construction a reputable restoration and renovation company. As well, she will represent HD Property Management Group, a long and short term property rental service for your staff accommodation requirements.

The addition of Snookie Lomow to Highbridge Construction and HD Property Management Group positions the newly formed Highbridge Group to offer the highest quality services in the renovation, restoration, real estate and rentals fields. This all-encompassing service was designed with diplomats and embassies in mind. Having a diverse

service provider available in these spaces will help seamlessly provide the highest quality service in all relevant fields that has been desperately lacking. Trust is key to every relationship and with Snookie on the team the Highbridge Group is excited to build this trust one client at a time.

Snookie brings a world of experience to our businesses. She will use her expertise in working with the Diplomatic Corps and business community to assist with all their staff accommodations requirements as well with any renovation or restoration projects.

Snookie is best known for her role in the Ottawa 2017 celebrations where she was the producer and developer of the Ottawa Welcomes the World series of events that brought together 88 countries in a series of 45 events during the course of Canada's 150th anniversary year that saw over 240,000 attendees at her events.

She has run her own consulting firm doing business development and large-scale events for over 18 years working specifically with the diplomatic, international and local business community. Prior to that she has lived and worked abroad on diplomatic posting with her husband. She has had careers in the clothing business as a fashion buyer, retailer sector as owner of a \$3M sales agency and worked for Global Affairs Canada developing programs and activities to build exports amongst SME's as well as coordinating large scale business marketing events.

Snookie can be reached any time at:

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DISPATCHES | AFRICA'S COVID CONTAINMENT

COVID-19 hits Africa

The continent has so far avoided fatal decimation, but the number of cases is starting to grow and national economies are shrinking. It's not over yet, but consumate leadership has helped curb COVID.



A woman from the United Nations' stabilization mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo washes her hands as part of measures to slow the spread of COVID-19 in the country. Africa has fared better than other continents in stemming the pandemic, partly due to strict lockdown measures.



Robert I. Rotberg

espite a woeful medical infrastructure, widespread disease, food insecurity and crowded urban slums, much of Africa — compared to the Americas and Europe — has largely been spared a wrenching publichealth disturbance from this year's raging coronavirus. So far. At the same time, economies throughout the continent have tanked and Africans have been thrown back into poverty.

Has the pestilence been biding its time and gathering strength to burst out in months to come? Is Africa's predominantly youthful population — the median age is 19 — a protective factor? Has Africa's usually warm and humid weather in and around the tropics slowed the virus's spread? Or did the fact that the virus first proliferated in China, Europe and the Americas offer African political leaders valuable lessons, allowing them to lock down their own nations in a timely and preventive manner? Or have Africans finally just drawn lucky straws?

Whatever the cause, Africa is avoiding a fatal decimation only simultaneously to suffer — possibly because of a prudent management of the COVID-19 pandemic — a massive contraction of its 54 national economies, large reductions in GDPs per capita and the kinds of employment losses and company collapses that plunge Africans (and well-meaning outsiders) into the depths of acute despair and worry. Just when Africa was finally entering a zone of 21st-Century prosperity, the coronavirus has wiped out any possibility of the sustained economic growth on which many Africans were counting.

The IMF estimates that sub-Saharan Africa's economy will shrink by 3.2 per cent in 2020, with real per capita GDP contracting by more than 5 per cent. Growth will collapse in many countries, especially those dependent on tourism and resources, such as oil and mineral exporters. Growth in more diversified non-resourcebased economies is expected to come to a

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"near standstill." Overall, in sub-Saharan Africa, the coronavirus could destroy 10 years' worth of economic growth and progress.

The results of the virus have wiped out job opportunities, educational advances and the potential of middle-class achievement for an entire generation of emerging Africans. A World Bank study fears as many as 58 million Africans will be pushed by the virus into "extreme poverty." Food prices are soaring because of scarcities, doubling the pain for impoverished villagers and urban dwellers facing the virus on empty stomachs.

Virus may delay development

The Malawi National Planning Commission believes that the coronavirus lockdown will leave that country \$12 billion poorer — the equivalent of two years of GDP. Angola, Djibouti, Kenya and Zambia may be unable to service their borrowings from China, leading to further economic pain. Everywhere, even if deaths are relatively few, whole national economies are being shattered — and not just for a few months. Africa's development has been pushed downward, perhaps by decades.

Africa's population numbers about 1.3 billion, and is rising at a rapid rate. By 2050, there will be about 2.6 billion Africans (despite the coronavirus, despite HIV/AIDS and malaria and despite food shortages and starvation). Nigeria, now a country of more than 200 million, will more than double in size and become the third most populous place on the planet. Lagos, already a massive urban conglomerate of 21 million people will soar in size along with 100 other Nigerian cities with populations of more than one million each. Similar kinds of growth will take place in Tanzania, soon to be the fifth largest country in the world, and in the Democratic Republic of Congo, destined to be the eighth largest, edging out Brazil.

If the coronavirus ultimately hits Africa the way it has pummeled Brazil, China, India, Italy, Spain, France, Russia and the United States, the African population surge would be limited and hundreds of thousands of Africans would die without much medical help, ventilators, oxygen assistance or palliative care. After all, globally, Africa has the fewest physicians, nurses and medicine supplies per capita. Canadians benefit from 2.7 physicians per 1,000 residents. Africans make do with an average of 0.19 trained medical personnel per 1,000 people. In Malawi, one of the worst-served, the ratio is one physician to 52,000 people. Only South Africa, on the

continent, shows personnel ratios similar to nations in Europe and North America.

Given the woeful paucity of medical personnel and services, and very few intensive care units and intensive care beds, Africa is hardly protected against the coronavirus. Nor, across the continent, is water and soap easily available. Washing hands cannot be accomplished easily by most inhabitants in most cities and countries on the continent. Nor are Africans willing to wear face masks, even if they have them, the way Asians, and now most North Americans, do. Social distancing is



Staff members from Nigeria's State Environmental Protection Agency in Lagos practise social distancing.

almost impossible in the congested cities and across the shack communities of the continent.

Despite these harmful realities, the numbers of cases and deaths in Africa are, so far, comparatively modest. Admittedly, aside from South Africa, testing capabilities are mostly absent and in some countries virtually non-existent. Only 3 million people had been tested for the virus by mid-July, with fully 1,944,000 of those tests being administered in South Africa. Whereas the United States by mid-July had tested 109 persons per 1,000 population, the United Kingdom, 96, Canada, 78; South Africa, 31; and Morocco, 21; much of Africa reported far lower testing numbers per 1,000: Rwanda, 12; Ghana, 10; Senegal, 5; Kenya and Uganda, 4; Ethiopia and Zimbabwe, 2; and Nigeria (and many other African countries) 0.74 per 1,000 or fewer. Many coronavirus cases may go unlisted and deaths may be attributed to other plausible causes.

The real numbers could be much higher

Several African observers point to a number of well-reported hot spots within key countries to suggest that real numbers of cases and deaths are much more elevated than those reported. Kano, the centre city of Muslim Northern Nigeria, is one such hot spot of virulence. Another is Yaoundé, the capital of Cameroon, and the surrounding rural areas of that troubled nation. A third is Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia. All have rampant nodes of infection that belie official numbers. Burials are three times more numerous than usual; grave diggers provide data that are tough to refute. In South Sudan, too, there are low reported case figures, but nearly all of its key political figures tested positive for the coronavirus. In that country and in neighboring Kenya, massive and congested refugee camps, where social distancing is impossible, probably harbour the disease. In Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mauritania, coronavirus cases were suddenly doubling in number daily in June. The United Nations forecasts that 300,000 Africans could die as their nations hit a peak infection rate in the coming months.

It took 100 days for Africa to realize its first 100,000 cases of the disease, only 18 days for its next 100,000, 10 days for its third 100,000, and 9 days for its fourth and fifth tranches of cases. If those rate increases continue, the UN prediction may prove too real. Conceivably, too, Africa could eventually catch up with Brazil; on July 10, Brazil (a country of 206 million people) had 1,800,000 confirmed cases and 79,600 deaths. In mid-2020, however, such a dire result for Africa looks distant.

By July 26, The New York Times was reporting there were 828,000 cases of coronavirus across Africa's 54 nationstates, compared to 4.3 million cases in the United States (whose population is 320 million). South Africa had 434,000 cases; Egypt, 92,000; Nigeria, 40,000; Ghana, 32,000; Algeria, 27,500; Morocco, 20,000; Cameroon, 17,000; Kenya, 16,600; Cote d'Ivoire, 15,500; Ethiopia, 13,400; Sudan, 11,300; Senegal, 9,700; the Democratic Republic of Congo, 9,000; Gabon and Guinea, both 7,000; Mauritania, 5,000; the Central African Republic, 5,000; Zambia, 4,481; Malawi, 3,453; and Somalia, 3,000. Smaller countries on the African continent have reported fewer than 2,500 cases each: Zimbabwe, 2,434; Mozambique, 1,669; Tunisia, 1,443; Namibia, 1,178; Uganda, 1,100; Angola, 934; Chad, 915; Botswana, 686; Tanzania, 509 (as of June 1); and Mauritius, 344. Lesotho only announced its first case in late May, and reported a total of 446 cases as of July 26. Some of these numbers are particularly suspect because of the weakness of statistical services and other reporting mechanisms.

DISPATCHES | AFRICA'S COVID CONTAINMENT

But the strangest numbers are those from Zimbabwe and Tanzania, both authoritarian countries, the latter tightly run by a president who derides the coronavirus as a hoax.

Conceivably, there has been massive underreporting, given the paucity of available tests and poor statistical services. Doctors without Borders asserts, for example, that the real rate of positive cases in Cameroon is five times higher than reported. But, still, in terms of cases, Africa has not yet been ravaged the way we would have anticipated.

Whereas the U.S. has endured 149,000 deaths as of July 26, across Africa deaths from the coronavirus have been comparatively few. Only 18,000 are reported across the entire continent. If the United Nations is right, that number is five or 10 times lower than it should be, realistically. Individual African states, with limited statistical experience and rudimentary reporting capabilities, may both lag and undercount. Many deaths may occur away from hospitals and from confusing causes. Nevertheless, as of July 26, deaths from the coronavirus are: South Africa, 7,000; Egypt, 6,000; Algeria, 1,151; Nigeria, 900; Sudan, 717; Cameroon, 385; Morocco, 305; Democratic Republic of Congo, 204; Kenya, 278; Mauritania, 156; Ghana, 161; Ethiopia, 209; Cote d'Ivoire, 94; Somalia, 91; Senegal, 187; Tunisia, 50; Central African Republic, 59; Gabon 49; Guinea, 42; Zambia, 139; Malawi, 87; Angola, 50; Zimbabwe, 34; Mauritius, 10; Mozambique, 11; Botswana, 1; Namibia, 8; Lesotho, 11; Uganda, 1.

If there are no more than steady upticks in deaths from the virus over the next six months and, despite the dire United Nations' predictions and the rightful forecasts of Doctors Without Borders and other charitable organizations, Africa could escape the onslaughts of fatalities that have ravaged the Americas, Europe and Asia. But it is equally likely that numerous unrecorded fatalities have occurred distant from hospitals, and from unspecified causes. The fact that Uganda has recorded no deaths at all, whereas neighbouring Kenya's toll is approaching 200, seems inherently unlikely.

What possibly has gone right? Key African countries locked themselves down early, made social distancing the rule, closed their borders, imposed oftdraconian curfews and enforced these impositions with sometimes heavy-handed policing. South Africa led the way, tried to confine inhabitants to quarters, curtailed all but the most essential kinds of shopping and movements, made mask-wearing mandatory and only permitted people to leave their homes for one-kilometre walks and runs in May. After opening a little, President Cyril Ramaphosa realized in July that he had eased restrictions too much, so he reimposed a liquor ban and reinstated a curfew.

Zimbabwe arrested 40,000 citizens for various violations of lockdown rules, such as moving more than five kilometres from homes, or failing to wear masks in public. Rwanda, Uganda and Kenya shut airports and their mutual borders. Senegal, on the west coast, was another nation to close itself off from the outside world. No nation (bar Tanzania) dithered. Many states imposed quarantines on citizens and others coming from abroad and were careful to impose lengthy quarantines on anyone who tested positive.

Malawians and Zimbabweans arriving from South Africa and abroad, however, frequently fled their quarantine camps, bribing guards or hopping fences. Some had tested positive for the virus. But, in places with leaders who commanded respect, national lockdowns, curfews and travel bans have largely been observed.

Africa learned from its battles with Ebola in 2014-2015 and 2019-2020. Isolation was critical. Contact tracing of individuals in presumed physical proximity to infected victims was necessary to combat Ebola, and now the coronavirus.

Tough versus lenient controls

A key to Africa's early success was consummate, articulate leadership. South Africa's Ramaphosa set an example by imposing tough controls and by honestly explaining why social isolation was going to be so beneficial to his people, saving lives. Ghanaian and Senegalese authorities behaved in the same manner. All wore masks and obeyed their own controls. They were credible in what they forced their citizens to do, and clear about the necessity of obeying public health common sense.

In a show of responsible leadership new to much of Africa, Malawi's President Lazarus Chakwera, elected in late June, cancelled his inaugural ceremony and, in mid-July, after 83 new cases nationally within 24 hours, promulgated tough new measures: He banned mobile markets and street-vending, shut all public drinking and entertainment establishments, suspended weddings and sporting events, cancelled traditional dances and ceremonies, forbade religious ceremonies to continue unless everyone wore masks, and told the country's 19 million citizens to stay home.

Only a few politicians tried to play the fool and behave duplicitously with their publics. President John Magufuli of Tanzania, an outlier, derided the science of CO-VID-19, advocated for home-grown herbal remedies, sacked health ministers and refused to close schools or curtail ordinary daily doings in any manner. He claimed that the coronavirus was the devil's work and thus kept churches open and businesses operating at full speed. Neglecting the early lessons of Burkina Faso and Nigeria, where church and mosque gatherings had spread the virus, he asserted that only churchgoing could drive out the "satanic" virus. Tanzania thus is believed to have positive cases and deaths far in excess of those officially admitted. (The ministry of health was prevented from releasing any statistics after about June 1, hence the outdated data above.)

Nigeria was another African nation with leadership largely in denial despite alarming reports from Kano, Lagos and Port Harcourt. Tests were hard to obtain. Physicians in Kano's teaching hospital often had to send sick patients home, despite the severity of their illnesses. Doctors there and elsewhere in Nigeria also lacked protective clothing, even gloves, and therefore ran major risks in treating likely COVID-19 patients who waited interminably in long lines outside their hospitals. One physician in Kano's teaching hospital died from the virus and almost a fifth of the entire medical and nursing staff tested positive.

Despite Magufuli-like politicians and their errors, Africa has thus far (pending a possible second wave) dodged the CO-VID-19 bullet more effectively than the nations of the developed world. Maybe surviving this pandemic reasonably well from a public-health viewpoint will compensate for the damage the global shutdown (and low mineral and petroleum prices) will do economically to the Africans who have managed to survive.

Robert I. Rotberg is the founding director of Harvard Kennedy School's Program on Intrastate Conflict and he was Fulbright Distinguished Professor at Carleton and Waterloo universities. He wrote *The Corruption Cure* (Princeton University Press, 2017) and will publish *Anticorruption* (MIT Press) this year. His *Things Come Together: Africans Achieoing Greatness in the Twenty-first Century* (Oxford University Press) appears this August. rirotberg@gmail.com

Lost UN seat could be a win

By David Kilgour

any Canadians were disappointed at Canada's recent loss in the "Western Europe and other" regional race for a two-year seat on the United Nations Security Council.

The late start aside, errors abounded in our campaign. Kaveh Shahrooz, a Harvard-educated lawyer formerly at Global Affairs Canada, criticized it for omitting such issues as Beijing's mass human rights abuses and Bashar Assad's massacres in Syria. "(W)e chased a prize of questionable value, betrayed our values in the process and still failed."

Recent nationwide polling for the Macdonald-Laurier Institute indicates that Canadians believe we should speak up more against gross human rights abuses by Beijing. About 26 per cent are highly negative about the federal government's performance, while those who were highly positive comprise just 3.7 per cent. Eight in 10 say the government should speak up more; 40 per cent responded that it should speak up "a lot more."

Conrad Winn, Carleton university professor and founder of COMPAS Research, calls the poll results "stunning," adding that rarely in Canadian political history has the general public been "so united in their concern as they are presently" about China's human rights abuses.

Brock University academic Charles Burton terms it a "turning of the tide of Canadian public opinion on China" and "a wake-up call for the federal government...."

Whether a short-lived Security Council (SC) membership has become an empty prize relates partly to the widespread view that the most needed reform to the UN structure is removing all five permanent vetoes. Most of today's 193 member states appear to feel inadequately represented on the SC, the key body responsible for world peace at a time when there are an estimated 80 million refugees.

Europe beyond Russia, with barely five per cent of the world's population, still controls (through the U.K. and France) two of the five permanent veto seats. China and Russia abuse their vetoes regularly. The status quo is unfair to countries such as Japan and Germany whose finan-



United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres met with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau in New York in 2017.

cial contributions to the UN outweigh most of the permanent five (P5) members. The current SC membership denies opportunities to states such as India that have contributed in kind with peacekeeping operations.

For a decade, Germany, India, Japan and Brazil have tried to reform the SC, hoping to benefit from any expansion in the number of permanent members. Canada and Spain sensibly oppose permanent membership for anyone. But without two-thirds of the UN member states supporting change, any of this is probably impossible in the foreseeable future.

Two P5 members are currently among the most difficult global citizens. Russia's Vladimir Putin is doing everything he can to harm democracies in Europe and beyond. There is strong evidence that the Beijing party-state is incarcerating up to two million Uighurs and other Muslims in numerous concentration and forcedlabour camps in Xinjiang. It is crushing Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement. Its concealing of the COVID-19 outbreaks in Wuhan for weeks resulted in the worldwide pandemic. After 557 days of incarceration, Canada's "Two Michaels" Kovrig and Spavor — have just been charged with espionage, a crime punishable by life in prison, and are undoubtedly retaliation for Meng Wanzhou's arrest.

Unencumbered by the need to win a SC seat, the federal government should now work on changing what David Mulroney,

Canada's former ambassador to China, terms its "almost humiliating posture" towards Beijing.

Canada could take a harder line on dangerous regimes that take political prisoners or kill their citizens. Whether it's imposing Magnitsky sanctions on their officials, shutting out their politically controlled sensitive technology companies such as Huawei, or leading multilateral actions to isolate them internationally, Canada must speak out against the world's human rights abusers and push for changes that will keep the worst regimes out of the UN Human Rights Council.

Former secretary-general Ban Ki-moon noted in 2007: "The true measure of the success for the United Nations is not how much we promise, but how much we deliver for those who need us most."

Better lives for the world's poor, oppressed and voiceless, including more effective peacekeeping and humanitarian initiatives, should be the system-wide priority.

We must put our lack of an SC seat behind us and focus on pursuing international goals that matter to Canadians and the world. That way, the next time we seek a seat, we can be proud of what we stand for, win or lose.

Former MP David Kilgour was part of the team that lobbied successfully for Canada's bid for an SC seat in 1999.

DISPATCHES | ESTONIAN E-GOVERNMENT

Estonia's e-government revolution

The tiny country of 1.3 million has put itself on the global map with innovative e-government programs, one of which allows foreigners to establish companies there, from afar.



This photo is a Zoom app background for virtual meetings. It's provided by Estonia's e-Residency program, which invites foreigners to start businesses in the country. So far, 70,000 foreign businesses have been launched through the program.

fter Estonia finally gained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, following 51 years of occupation and poverty, then-prime minister Mart Laar was searching for a way the tiny nation could carve its place in the world. The internet was relatively little known at the time, but Laar could see it was something Estonia could embrace and something that could take his country into the 21st Century.

The government embarked on a series of reforms to modernize the economy, always with a digital-first approach. Back then, the *Economist* notes, fewer than half of Estonians had a telephone line. Today, Estonia, which is made up of just 1.3 million citizens and located west of Russia and south of Finland, is one of the most connected countries in the world. Bolt is an Uber-like service that was founded by Marjus Villig when he was in high school. In March 2020, the company was ranked third in the FT 1000, a list of Europe's fastest-growing companies. Skype's software — the original free video chat and voice-call application and a precursor to the COVID-19 pandemic's ubiquitous Zoom application — was created by three Estonians in collaboration with developers from Denmark and Finland. These innovative companies have produced a generation of developers and innovators who've gone on to establish their own "unicorn" companies.

The backbone of Estonia's recent successes — especially since it joined the European Union in 2004 — is its digital

economy and its e-government system, which gave Estonia the distinction of being the first country to allow online voting in a general election. That happened in 2007. Now it's old hat in the nation that grants its citizens a digital identification card that slips easily into any Estonian computer by way of a USB adapter and opens up all of the government's services to them, at the touch of a key. In Canada, our health records are in the hands of our general practitioners. If your GP retires, it's up to you to prise your records from the company he or she hires to deal with them. Expect to pay about \$200 for access. In Estonia, your ID card will get you to your own health records in mere seconds, any time, day or night, and from anywhere in the world.

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It's not an exaggeration when Estonians say they consider online access essential. Ask about the wide public access to internet through Wi-Fi in the country, and more often than not, everyone from shop owners and Bolt drivers to public servants and business people will shrug and say: "It's a human right."

And since COVID-19 hit, Estonians have been ever more grateful for their e-government system.

"Our president has said that these [pandemic] times are giving fuel for the rest of the world to think about e-government solutions," says Anett Numa, digital transformation officer at the e-Estonia Briefing Centre in the capital, Tallinn.

There are global examples of why this is so, she says, including the fact that some countries — such as Poland — had to postpone presidential elections because of COVID-19. Even the United States has floated the idea of postponing. President Donald Trump has suggested the possibility as he watches his approval ratings drop thanks to his cavalier attitude to the crisis.

"It's risky for democracy [to put off elections]," Numa says, adding that Estonians would have no problem with an election in COVID times because they can vote from the comfort of their homes, from a café or even from the beach. "We had elections a year ago and 46.7 per cent of people voted online. [On election day], I had brunch with my family, my mom was making pancakes and we were talking about the elections and then we all voted from her place. Before that, we had local elections and I was vacationing at the beach, so I just grabbed my computer and voted from Paradise Island in the Maldives. In fact, this year, when we had the parliamentary elections, that was the first time I was in Estonia for the elections." Canadians, meanwhile, have to get themselves to limited advance polls if they plan on being out of their ridings on election day.

The electronic nature of the health system has been particularly helpful during the pandemic. Those needing sick notes from their doctors were able to sign in and access one online, from the comfort of their homes

"They don't have to deal with annoying paperwork," Numa says. "A lot of people have to stay home because their kids can't go to school. Some people also had to take a break from work. The easiest way to do that is to have a sick-leave letter."

Those who accessed the sick-leave letter service, which was developed by

the private sector, triggered a response from the government, which had agreed to pay 80 per cent of the salaries of those who [had] a sick-leave letter. Fraud may well have happened occasionally, Numa admits, but the government will catch up with those people eventually, just as the Canadian government says it will with its \$2,000-a-month Canada Emergency Response Benefit.

Another example of how e-government works in a crisis: A woman gives birth to her first child. She can register her child for a personal ID card through her own card and, as soon as she does, it triggers a government query about whether she wants to receive the child benefit to which she's now entitled. "She didn't have to go anywhere to do all of this," Numa says of the experience of a friend of hers. In addition, the system sees her address used to have to be done in person, but COVID changed that. Now those transactions can also happen online.

"People couldn't go to notaries in person because of the crisis," Numa says. "But they still needed to buy apartments and houses, so we changed that and now you have an application that recognizes your face from your ID card and allows you access to a notary online. It would have been an economic disaster if those couldn't happen, so that was a very good change."

When COVID hit, Accelerate Estonia, an economic affairs ministry initiative, along with private-sector hackathon partner, Garage 48, launched a #Hack-TheCrisis program that invited people to submit their ideas for a competition. The top five received \$5,000 to further develop their ideas. Zelos developed an app that



The e-Estonia Briefing Centre in the Estonian capital of Tallinn is a popular place for foreign officials and journalists alike, who travel to hear about the program.

and offers three different public schools as options once the baby turns six. Not only does it eliminate bureaucracy for the family, it also helps authorities seamlessly plan the numbers of classrooms they'll need.

Estonians pride themselves on the fact that there are now just two public services that must be accessed in person: Getting married and getting divorced. A third one — buying and selling real estate — also connects society's most vulnerable people to volunteers at a call centre. Ventit developed a breathing apparatus that would duplicate the work of a ventilator should they end up in short supply. Vanemuine developed a medical volunteer-management database while Share Force One developed a workforce sharing platform that connects businesses to a temporary workforce exchange. Finally, Velmio developed a virus tracker.

DISPATCHES | ESTONIAN E-GOVERNMENT



The Estonian ID card, which every citizen receives, fits easily into any computer with a USB drive.



This display shows visitors to Tallinn's e-Estonia Briefing Centre how the e-government system works. and what kind of security measures it offers.

The small-scale Estonian event inspired regional hackathons and then a team from Estonia organized The Global Hack, supported by the World Bank, United Nations, European Commission, Startup Europe, among others, so crisis-related solutions could be scaled worldwide. It saw more than 15,000 participants from 98 countries and the prize pool topped 200,000 euros.

The country also has e-curriculums in public schools. When Numa was in school — she graduated from high school in 2012 — and had to take a few sick days, she could access the curriculum from home and find out what she missed. This has meant the system was able to easily convert to online learning when the pandemic hit. When not every family had enough computers for their children, a movement started to collect unused computers from the general public and redistribute them.

"The families that had more computers than they needed would donate them for rent for free," she says.

Not having an online curriculum proved problematic for several Canadian provinces and other Western countries such as France.

Estonia's creative thinking also extends beyond its borders with its e-Residency program. Launched in late 2014, the program allows foreign digital entrepreneurs the freedom to establish and manage an EU-based company paperlessly, from anywhere in the world. Thus far, nearly 70,000 people from more than 170 countries are e-Residents and from that, 13,000 Estonian companies have been established. e-Residency gives members access to a digital ID card that's different from the one Estonians receive in that it can't be used for certain services, such as voting, or as a travel document, but it allows them to access e-services and to establish a business.

Alex Wellman, who does the marketing and communications for e-Residency, says the Estonians designed this great e-government system and then thought it was a shame that only 1.3 million residents get to use it, so they expanded it to serve non-residents who want to set up a virtual shop there.

Wellman said they see three different kinds of consumers at the e-Residency program. First, they see people from "emerging" European countries — such as Turkey and Ukraine — who want to do business in the European Union member countries. Western Europeans, from countries such as Germany, France and Italy, also like it because there's so much less paperwork involved in setting up a busi-

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ness. The third group is those who travel a lot and can work from anywhere. They need a place to be their home for business and the Estonian "home" offers them paperless ease.

For Estonia, it gives the country's supply chain of services — accounting, marketing, web development or legal services — business. Although they don't have to use Estonian companies, Wellman finds they do and it becomes an economic growth driver for the country.

"We also see it creating a network effect among e-Residents and they start to do business with each other," Wellman says. "All this contributes to the Estonian GDP."

Over five years, the program has created 31 million euros of direct economic impact to the country, including taxes and state fees.

"The indirect number is much higher, but it's harder to measure it," says Wellman, an American who moved to Estonia from Michigan because he's a "huge fan" of e-government and wanted to work in the field. "It's also creating a network of friends of Estonia, so we have [thousands] of ambassadors for Estonia around the world. They're kind of a part of Estonia and I think people like that."

One such ambassador is Asad Munir, a Pakistan-based e-Resident with a cement machinery and equipment business. He had been working mainly in South Asia, but decided he wanted to move into Europe and chose Estonia's program to help him do so. He's found it useful for sourcing equipment from manufacturers across the continent without border and customs hassles. Munir said the process wasn't hassle-free, however. Opening a bank account was challenging, but he succeeded after he proved he had enough connections and business relations in Estonia.

"If the government of Estonia can streamline the account-opening process, it could solve many problems for entrepreneurs," Munir says.

Krzysztof Radecki's complaint was also with banking issues.

"The technology works, the card is good, you can establish a company within 20 minutes," said Radecki, who established a smart contract company that used blockchain in Estonia. "Estonian banks want you to prove that you are somewhat attached to Estonia — either you live there or that you do business there. And that's the problem. It's probably a good program for self-employed entrepreneurs who don't need to establish corporate infrastructure or corporate bank accounts. They can work with fintech companies.



Moving to at-home schooling during the COVID-19 lockdown was easy for Estonian school students whose curriculum is online anyway, designed for students who take ill but want to keep up.

But these are not real banks. Typically, you have issues with PayPal and Amazon because when your bank account, company address and your domicile don't match, that sets off alarm bells."

A little more than two years after establishing their company in Estonia, Radecki and his partners pulled out and returned it to Poland, but not without some regrets.

"The entire idea and the program and philosophy we liked," he says. "It's a great program in terms of technological leadership. They were selling how we envision doing business. It played into our brand."

He also loved the simplicity of Estonia's flat-tax system, which collects 20 per cent for corporate and personal income tax.

"It's the simplest and most understandable tax system I've seen," he says. "And with corporate tax, if you reinvest [profits] into the company, you don't pay tax."

For the simplicity of the tax system alone, Radecki would move his company back to Estonia if they solved the banking problem. He says the government did remove the requirement to have a bank account in Estonia, but realistically, that doesn't work very well. Creditors question things, he says, when bank accounts aren't based in the same place as the business.

"I'd go back, though, if they solved that

problem," he says. "Polish tax and company law is complicated and I hate going to government offices and banks. If I can do business from any place in the world, that's a win-win for me."

Gwenaël Mouthuy, who is the vicepresident of political relations at the Estonian e-Residents International Chamber Association, says the tax system was also an incentive for him. "Everything can be done online, so it's really easy."

Joao Bezerra Leite, a Brazilian, has just received his e-Residency and said the process was "very fast."

A white paper on e-residency notes that the existence of more Estonian ambassadors globally "is fortunate because, as Estonians have learned throughout history, if more people can find our country on a map, then we are more likely to remain on that map."

A recent international conference on e-government, held online only because of COVID-19, attracted 1,150 participants from 135 countries. It seems Mart Laar's vision way back in the 1990s is still putting Estonia on the map — at least virtually.

Jennifer Campbell travelled to Estonia in October to research e-government. The government of Estonia paid for her travel, but did not see this article before publication.

On succeeding — and compromising — in Putin's Russia



Christina Spencer

Between Two Fires: Truth, Ambition, and Compromise in Putin's Russia By Joshua Yaffa January 2020 Tim Duggan Books, Penguin Random House 368 pages Kindle \$17 Hardcover: \$36.63 Paperback: \$16.55

In 1999, Heda Saratova and her young child huddled, terrified, in their apartment in Grozny, Chechnya, as Russian troops battered the capital of the rebellious republic. The city had been torn apart, buildings razed, supplies cut off, residents forced to dodge shells daily. Trapped like every other civilian, Saratova knew that among the helpless were elderly, often frail women. She set out each day, somehow evading sniper fire, to find provisions for them and herself.

Eventually, Saratova began to also document the atrocities and ongoing human rights violations by Russian soldiers in Chechnya and Ingushetia. Such acts of bravery — Saratova was constantly travelling through the war zone to gather evidence of Russia's "cleansing operations" — transformed her into a full-fledged human rights activist. Then a close colleague was murdered, and her own children were threatened. She bought tickets to Moscow and sheltered there for nearly a year.

On her return to Chechnya, Saratova was a different person, deciding that "I would have to change the style of my work, maybe even change myself." So began an activism of compromise, in which she backed Russian President Vladimir Putin's Chechen ally now running the republic, in exchange for help in blunting some of the worst abuses that continued to occur. She cultivated ties with highranking police, military officers and Putin



Elizaveta Glinka, shown here with Russian President Vladimir Putin, was known as "Dr. Liza." She was a medical professional who reintroduced the notion of charitable acts to a populace that had relied on the state for its needs over decades. Her story ended tragically, however.

backers. She persuaded the government to allow Chechen wives and daughters who had gone to Iraq and Syria with their ISIS families to come home. Despite the fact her own people, and her homeland, had been targets of Russian brutality for years, she would greet the returnees at the airport with a smile and a sign: "We thank Putin for our children." Saratova was frank about this personally painful image: "I imagine if I didn't do this, there wouldn't be a next round of women and children coming home."

Saratova's story is among author Joshua Yaffa's examples of how those subject to the power of Putin cope. The book isn't about Putin directly; more interestingly, it is about the kinds of people who

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succeed in Putin's Russia — remarkable people who live lives of compromise in a system where no alternative seems to exist. Are they making unethical choices or simply practical ones? The answers are not always clear and while the author repeatedly poses this harsh question, he is not judgmental, allowing his real-life characters to speak for themselves and describe their adaptation.

Yaffa, who first went to Russia in 2001, returned in 2012 as a journalist for *The Economist*, then *The New Yorker*. Putin re-



turned to the presidency that same year, spending the time since cracking down on dissent and working to reposition Russia as a world power.

In Between Two Fires, we meet an array of people surviving or thriving in Putin's world. For instance, there is Konstantin Ernst, the general-director of state-backed Channel One who, while enjoying some creative freedom in the 1990s, became an ardent propagandist for the Putin regime without ever seeming to realize he was one. Ernst used the rising power of television to help boost the image of Putin as Boris Yeltsin's successor, and once the president was in place, directed his own legitimate creativity and talent to "building the myth of Putin as a quasi-sacred figure, in a realm above politics." Yaffa's chapter on the dynamics of Russian television under Ernst is fascinating.

We also meet figures in the Russian Orthodox Church who became powerful allies of Putin, adding to the mythology around the strongman leader (and Yaffa tells the story of one priest who wouldn't bow to the top-down diktats of that arrangement). We meet a Russian zookeeper in Ukraine who supported Putin's annexation of Crimea; Westerners will get a sense from this chapter of why the move looks very different in Russia from what our own political leaders see. We meet a group of historians who tried to chronicle the days of the Soviet gulags, and we follow the compromises that occurred to ensure the once-independent museum they built on the grounds of the perm-36 gulag could keep operating.

And finally, Yaffa tells the story of the extraordinary "Dr. Liza" - Elizaveta Glinka - a selfless medical professional who almost singlehandedly reintroduced the notion of charitable acts to a populace that had relied on the state for their needs over decades. Glinka's story is a particularly devastating one, because while helping the needy, the sick and the injured particularly during the Russian-backed war in Ukraine - she was determined to remain non-political. But not taking sides is, in itself, a political act, and Glinka, who faced danger to her own life on countless occasions - inevitably ended up a tool of the Putin state, with tragic results.

Yaffa clearly yearns for a loosening of the psychological bonds Putin has placed on his people, but finds no easy answers. In fact, while *Between Two Fires* is unflinching in showing how individuals compromise in today's Russia, the author is generous in his conclusions about those he meets: "The sorts of compromises made by the people in this book are not all alike: a retreat in the face of grave danger is one thing; an abandonment of principles in search of power and wealth is another."

A Very Stable Genius: Donald J. Trump's Testing of America By Philip Rucker and Carol Leonnig Penguin Press, January 2020 480 pages Kindle: \$13.90 Hardcover: \$18 Paperback: \$23.48

Earlier this year, before the outcome of the impeachment hearings against Donald Trump was known, and before the U.S. president had enmeshed himself in a series of confusing and fact-challenged press conferences about COVID-19, *Washington Post* reporters Philip Rucker and Carol Leonnig released their carefully researched chronicle of the first three years of the Trump presidency.

A Very Stable Genius is useful reading as the U.S. approaches the November presidential election, if only to confirm that things in the Trump White House have been every bit as bleak as the president's opponents claim.



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Here, U.S. President Donald Trump visits the Pentagon in early 2019 to address the organization's Missile Defense Review. During a visit two years earlier, to which he was invited to be briefed on vital security issues, the president called the highest military brass "a bunch of dopes and babies."

Based on interviews with more than 200 sources — Trump himself declined to be interviewed — Rucker and Leonnig delve into the character and motivations of the man who, we already know from The Apprentice, loves firing people or forcing them out: the FBI's James Comey, attorney general Jeff Sessions, chief of staff Reince Priebus, national security adviser H.R. McMaster, chief of staff John F. Kelly, secretary of state Rex Tillerson, national security adviser John Bolton, secretary of homeland security Kirstjen Nielsen, secretary of defence James Mattis ... the list goes on. At one point, the erratic president had fired so many people, he appeared to be having trouble recruiting a new chief of staff. Former New Jersey governor Chris Christie turned down the position, saying "Why the f- am I going to take this job? You guys are nuts."

No, Trump isn't one to go along to get along. In one now-famous meeting described in gritty detail, the president tells a gathering of the nation's highest military brass, who have invited him to the Pentagon to brief him on vital security issues, "You don't know how to win anymore ... You're a bunch of dopes and babies."

In another instance, he badgers Kelly for months about daughter Ivanka and son-in-law Jared Kushner's security clearance, which the chief of staff has downgraded amid concern from the intelligence establishment about Kushner's relations with foreign leaders. "Help 'em out here," Trump demands. "They want the clear-



ance, they're embarrassed. Why can't [they] have it?" Kelly staunchly refuses; eventually the president simply overrules his top aide.

Trump proves to have little policy experience or interest in gaining it. He

is over his head in dealing with North Korea's Kim Jong-un, seeking input from Christie on what to do. His tough border talk leads to children being separated from their parents and caged, a policy he wants both undone and upheld simultaneously. He decides abruptly to abandon his country's Kurdish allies in northern Syria, then later backtracks; he zigs and zags on NATO's usefulness. And his interactions with Vladimir Putin are either breathtakingly naïve or wilfully reckless, from the well-reported "I don't see any reason why it would be" response when he is asked about Russian interference in the election, to congratulating Putin on the Russian leader's rigged re-election despite pleas from his top advisers not to lend U.S. credibility to a clearly tainted exercise.

Sucking up so much of the oxygen of the Trump presidency, of course, is the special counsel investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election. But where Trump is an open book — "In a way, never before has an American president been as accessible and transparent as Trump," the authors write — Robert Mueller is a cypher. There are genuinely odd aspects to his investigation.

Trump is eager to meet and be interviewed by the special counsel, convinced,

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as is the legal team around him, that he has not colluded with any Russian plot. But Mueller is also investigating obstruction, and Trump's lawyers, worried that the president might inadvertently perjure himself, convince him to reject a face-toface interview. In what the authors term a capitulation, the Mueller team agrees to accept written answers to a series of questions. (In many, Trump states that he simply doesn't remember enough to provide answers.)

Though he is "a living legend in the law enforcement community... stern, secretive and straightlaced," Mueller appears at times to sit on the sidelines of his own investigation, even absenting himself from a key meeting with the Trump legal team. "We weren't repping some minor player, we were representing the president of the United States," one of Trump's bewildered lawyers recalls.

There is dissent within Mueller's team about how to deal with the evidence on presidential obstruction of justice, and the team finally agrees to say, not that Trump is guilty, but that he cannot be exonerated. Effectively, this book's authors conclude, Mueller has decided "not to decide."

The 448-page report that is eventually produced is "classic Mueller; brimming with damning facts," write Rucker and Leonnig. "But it is stripped of advocacy or judgment, and devoid of a final conclusion." Mueller's team then also declines to give its views on how the report should be represented to the public, leaving that to Attorney General William Barr, who then summarizes the report publicly as not proving collusion by the president or his team.

That interpretation apparently stuns the special counsel. "Mueller's team," the authors write, would later describe Mueller's reaction: "He looked as if he'd been slapped." Despite a mountain of detail in the investigation about obstructive episodes, "Trump was winning the spin wars."

But Mueller, the authors write, "had himself to blame for the misrepresentation of his work, in that he was a by-the-book creature of bureaucratic norms miscast for the Trump era." Indeed, testifying later to Congress about his report, Mueller gives a lacklustre performance. His work appears to fizzle.

The irony of course, is that a short time after declaring the Mueller "witch-hunt" over, Trump makes a blunt plea to Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelensky to interfere in the coming 2020 election — and this finally sparks impeachment proceedings.



As the book ends, with the outcome of the impeachment not yet known, the authors ask, "Would the system the founding fathers imagined withstand the pressures of this moment? Or would Trump prevail yet again, another pursuit of justice stymied by his sheer political force and the fealty of his followers?"

Months later, we know the answer.

SHORTER TAKES

Braver Canada: Shaping Our Destiny in a Precarious World By Derek H. Burney and Fen Osler Hampson McGill-Queen's University Press, March 2020 251 pages Hardcover: \$29.65 Kindle: \$10

Donald Trump's America First policy, coupled with "the rise of China, populism and authoritarianism" has led to a "less interdependent world," observe Derek H. Burney and Fen Osler Hampson, and that spells major challenges for Canada, which has no real plan for dealing with this new state of affairs. Dependent for far too long on our neighbour to the south, and on the international order created after the Second World War, Canada has missed opportunities and committed "unforced errors" in foreign policy under Liberal and Conservative governments alike.

So how does this country advance its interests and values in future? Among other things, the authors say, it must take its own security, including cyber-security, much more seriously and invest in it; it must focus on innovation and boosting made-in-Canada technologies; it must diversify its trade and interests beyond the U.S.; it must regain its "competitive



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edge" and it must revisit its loose attitudes toward immigration. Canada, the authors say in this follow-up tome to their book *Brave New Canada*, "should occupy the mainstream, not the 'progressive' slipstream, a tactic that in recent years has confined it to the periphery on many global issues."

War Doctor: Surgery on the Front Line By David Nott Abrams Press 2020 287 pages Hardcover: \$31.63 Paperback: \$23.09 Audio CD: \$38.07

David Nott is a British surgeon who, in his own words, has "travelled the world in search of trouble. It's a kind of addiction, a pill I find hard to resist." Over two decades, he has regularly volunteered as a physician in war zones, from Afghanistan



to Sierra Leone, from Sudan to Iraq. He does it, he writes, because all people have a right to proper care, even in the midst of the bombing.

Three times, he ends up travelling to conflict-battered Syria, where, he notes, there were more than 450 attacks on hospitals in the first six years of the conflict, 90 per cent of them perpetrated by the Syrian government or Russian forces. Eventually, Nott's medical interests move him into activism as well, as he struggles to get medical staff and children out of Aleppo before it is annihilated. Those efforts include a detailed recounting of a series of bizarre regular phone calls he makes directly to the office of Syrian President Bashar Assad.

Gods and Demons: Behind the tourist veneer of Bali and greater Indonesia: a

foreign correspondent's memoir By Deborah Cassrels ABC Books, April 2020 336 pages Kindle: \$10.25 Paperback: \$37.70 Audio CD: \$30

Her marriage in tatters, journalist Deborah Cassrels moved to Indonesia in 2009 as the first Bali correspondent for the Australian, an adventure that would include coverage of politics, terrorism, criminal trials and travel — lots of travel. The archipelago measures 1,760 kilometres north to south, and is one of the most active volcano zones in the world, in turn sparking earthquakes, floods and tsunamis.

None of it daunts Cassrels, who has come to escape her own "personal war zone" back in Sydney, Australia. "There was nowhere I wouldn't go. From the jungles of north Sulawesi in 2013 to hundreds of trips to the heaving city of Jakarta and back to incongruous Dickensian pockets in remote Bali ... My remit as a correspondent for *The Australian* in 2009 was all-encompassing. With no frills." From interviewing drug dealers at Kerobokan Prison to flights aboard death-defying



small aircraft, she covers her beat with energy and a sense of adventure, despite a national government that wants to keep foreign correspondents "under its thumb."

Christina Spencer is the editorial pages editor of the Ottawa Citizen and the inaugural recipient of the Claude Ryan Award for Editorial Writing at the 2017 National Newspaper Awards. She holds a master's in international affairs from the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs at Carleton University.

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The tastes of summer



Avocado Crêpe Rolls is a recipe that makes a great canapé or appetizer.



invite you to experience several of my summer recipes, each of which offers a unique and tempting twist to what one might normally expect. Avocado crêpe rolls include touches of caviar and drops of maple syrup, which contribute discretely to the complexity of flavours. Certain to catch one's attention are the grilled steaks served with a most compatible truffle mayonnaise sauce and escargot-stuffed mushroom tempura as an optional but exotic accompaniment. One may choose to serve the latter as an hors d'oeuvre on a separate occasion. Finally, my white chocolate whipped cream will delight palates, taking traditional shortcake — whether blueberry, raspberry or blackberry — to a new level.

Avocado Crêpe Rolls

Makes 12 rolls (4 to 6 hors d'oeuvre servings)

This is a no-fail recipe, regardless of one's culinary skill. Just follow the instructions. The recipe's complexity of flavours never goes unnoticed. Served as an hors d'oeuvre — or appetizer — these rolls offer a well-appreciated vegetarian option. Regular or buckwheat crepes both work. 12 prepared crêpes (diameter: 4½ inches or 11 cm), recipe for regular crêpes follows 1 avocado, ripe (about 8 oz or 225 g) 14 cun (60 mL) sour graem

¹⁄₄ cup (60 mL) sour cream

2 tbsp (30 mL) Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise* 2 tbsp (30 mL) Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise**

1 tbsp (15 mL) black caviar (e.g., welldrained mullet and herring roe), optional ³⁄₄ tsp (4 mL) maple syrup

1. Cut avocado in half, remove stone and peel carefully. Cut avocado lengthwise into 12 thin wedges (width: 1/3 inch or 0.8 cm) and set aside.

2. Lay crêpes out on a clean flat surface. To the centre of each crêpe, add 1 tsp (5 mL) of sour cream and ½ tsp (3 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise and spread evenly over the entire surface of crêpe except for

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Grilled Steak with Truffle-Mayonnaise Sauce includes Margaret Dickenson's versatile beef rub.

$\frac{1}{2}$ inch (1.25 cm) at the top edge.

3. Place one wedge of avocado in a horizontal position near bottom edge of crêpe. Drizzle ½ tsp (3 mL) of Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise along the length of the avocado wedge, sprinkle avocado with caviar (1/3 tsp or 2 mL) and drizzle with a few drops (i.e., 1/16 tsp or 0.3 mL) of maple syrup.

4. Starting from bottom edge, roll crêpe securely around avocado wedge to form a roll. If desired, wrap a fresh chive stem around the centre of each roll and tie into a bow. (If not serving immediately, arrange avocado rolls with seam-side down in a single layer in an airtight plastic container and store refrigerated for up to 6 hours.)

5. Just before serving, if desired, insert a fresh viola blossom under the chive bow. * To make ½ cup (125 mL) of Zesty Ginger Mayonnaise, whisk together ½ cup (125 mL) of mayonnaise, 2 tsp (10 mL) of peeled and grated fresh gingerroot and ½ tsp (3 mL) of granulated sugar. ** To make ½ cup (125 mL) of Tarragon Hollandaise Mayonnaise, whisk together ½ cup (125 mL) of mayonnaise, 1 tsp (5 mL) of prepared mustard (sandwich type) and 1/3 tsp (2 mL) of dried tarragon leaves.

Crêpe Batter

Makes about 40 small crêpes*

1 cup (250 mL) all-purpose flour 1 ½ tsp (8 mL) granulated sugar 1/8 tsp (pinch) ground ginger 2 eggs 2 egg yolks 1½ cups (375 mL) milk, divided ¼ cup (60 mL) unsalted butter or margarine, melted

 In a medium-sized bowl, sift together flour, sugar and ground ginger.
In another medium-sized bowl, using an electric mixer, beat together eggs, yolks and ¾ cup (about 180 mL) milk.

3. Continuing to beat constantly, gradually

add $\frac{1}{2}$ cup (125 mL) of flour mixture, then remaining milk ($\frac{3}{4}$ cup or 180 mL) and remaining flour mixture ($\frac{1}{2}$ cup or 125 mL). Beat to form a smooth batter.

4. Beat in melted butter. (Note: If batter is not perfectly smooth, pass it through a coarse mesh sieve.)

5. Allow batter to rest for at least 30 minutes before using.

* Diameter: 41/2 inches or 11 cm.

Make ahead tip: Crêpe batter may be prepared and stored refrigerated in an airtight plastic container for up to 2 days or frozen for months.

Escargot-stuffed Mushroom Tempura *Makes 24 pieces*

It is wonderful to have a few recipes that are truly unique and innovative. These escargots are certain to thrill even guests who would not normally eat escargots — so, don't tell them. Serve as an hors d'oeuvre or on top of grilled steak to really wow your guests.

Oil for deep fryer 24 cremini (or white) mushrooms, medium-sized 24 sautéed and seasoned escargots*

Delicate Tempura Batter: ½ cup (125 mL) cornstarch ¼ cup (60 mL) all-purpose flour 1/3 tsp (2 mL) baking powder ¼ tsp (1 mL) salt ½ cup + 1½ tbsp (150 mL) soda water (ice cold)

1. Twist stems out of mushrooms and stuff each mushroom cap snugly with a single sautéed escargot. They should be at room temperature.

2. To make the tempura batter, in a medium-sized wide-bottom bowl, sift together cornstarch, flour, baking powder and salt. Just before ready to use, whisk in ice cold soda water. Note: Batter is slightly thicker than heavy whipping cream.

3. In a deep fryer, heat oil to 350F or 180C. 4. Working in batches, drop stuffed mushrooms into batter and coat thoroughly; drain off excess batter and gently but quickly drop one at a time into hot oil. Avoid overcrowding. Turn regularly with a fork and cook until golden brown.

5. With a slotted spoon, transfer fried escargot-stuffed mushrooms briefly to a paper towel-lined tray, sprinkle lightly with salt before arranging them on a wire rack.6. Serve as soon as possible. **Note: If nec-

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essary, set wire rack of tempura on a baking sheet and place in a warm oven (150F or 65C) for a few minutes until ready to serve.

* Take 1 can of escargots (4 oz or 115 g drained weight), rinse and drain escargots well. Melt 1 tbsp (15 mL) of butter into a small non-stick skillet over medium heat, add ½ tsp (3 mL) of both chopped fresh garlic and grated fresh gingerroot (peeled); stir constantly and cook for 1 minute. Add escargots, sprinkle with 2/3 tsp (3.5 mL) of instant beef bouillon powder and to taste with crushed black peppercorns. Cook for another 2 minutes. Remove from heat and allow escargots to rest for 10 minutes to absorb flavours. Cool.

** When serving as an hors d'oeuvre, offer a suitable dipping sauce (e.g. soy sauce, an aioli or sriracha mayonnaise-type sauce).

Grilled Steak with Truffle-Mayonnaise Sauce

Makes 4 servings

In a search to reinvent grilled steak, instinct led me first to dust the steak with my versatile beef rub. Served with a unique truffle-mayonnaise sauce, the combination is a winner.

4 steaks (e.g., strip loin; each 7 oz or 200 g) 1½ tbsp (23 mL) Beef Rub 2 tbsp (30 mL) teriyaki sauce 2 tbsp (30 mL) sesame oil

Beef Rub:

1 tbsp (15 mL) each of ground coffee, granulated sugar and whole black peppercorns 2 tsp (10 mL) each of coriander seeds, ground cumin, ground thyme and garlic powder 2 whole star anise

¹⁄₄ tsp (1 mL) ground cloves

Truffle Mayonnaise Sauce: ¾ cup (180 mL) mayonnaise 3 tbsp (45 mL), or to taste, white truffle oil*

1. To make the Truffle-Mayonnaise Sauce, whisk together mayonnaise and truffle oil to form a smooth mixture. (Makes ³/₄ cup or 180 mL.) Keep refrigerated until ready to serve.

2. To make the Beef Rub, place all the appropriate ingredients in a spice or coffee grinder and process to a powder. (Makes more than 1/3 cup or 90 mL.)**

3. Using only $1\frac{1}{2}$ tbsp or 23 mL) of Beef Rub, rub all surfaces of steaks, and allow steaks to come to room temperature.



Escargot-stuffed Mushroom Tempura



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This reinvented shortcake features white chocolate in the whipped cream for a nice twist on an old classic.

4. Twenty minutes before grilling, drizzle steaks with teriyaki sauce and then sesame oil.

5. Place steaks on a lightly-oiled preheated (medium) barbecue grill over direct heat. With hood up, grill steaks to desired degree of doneness, turning once. (Note: Or, cook steaks on a preheated lightly oiled grill pan or heavy skillet over medium heat.)

6. Transfer steaks to a platter, cover with aluminum foil (shiny side down) and let rest for 5 minutes to allow for the redistribution of juices.

7. Serve with Truffle-Mayonnaise Sauce, your favourite accompaniments^{***} and fresh herbs. (Note: If topping the steaks with Escargot-Stuffed Mushroom Tempura, allow 3 per serving, cutting them in half for the final presentation.)

*Available at gourmet or specialty food stores.

** This makes much more than required so that one may keep it on hand for use on a regular basis.

***Whether the steak is cooked on a barbecue grill or a cooktop, I find that the traditional corn on the cob and garlic sautéed mushrooms make for satisfying accompaniments.

Shortcakes Reinvented

Makes 4 filled mini shortcakes

Who doesn't enjoy shortcake? This recipe features individual mini shortcakes made even more tempting with a White Chocolate Whipped Cream filling.

4 individual mini shortcakes/cake shells (commercial or homemade) 4 oz (115 mL) white chocolate 1 cup (250 mL) heavy cream (35% fat) 1½ cups total (375 mL) fresh raspberries, blueberries and sliced cherries (pits removed)

Garnish:

12 whole cherries (with stems)4 stems of fresh herbs3 tbsp (45 mL) caramel sauce (commercial or homemade), optional

1. Partially melt chocolate over hot water in a double boiler, or soften in microwave oven on "defrost" mode. Remove from heat; stir carefully until chocolate is completely melted and smooth.

2. Meanwhile, heat cream in a small saucepan over low heat until hot. Do not boil. Stirring constantly, gradually add hot cream to melted chocolate, forming a smooth mixture. Refrigerate for several hours or overnight to allow chocolate cream to chill and thicken.

3. Beat sauce in a chilled bowl with chilled beaters until very firm peaks form. This recipe makes 1½ cups or 375 mL of White Chocolate Whipped Cream. Store refrigerated in an airtight plastic container until ready to use.*

5. Just before serving, fill shortcakes/cake shells with White Chocolate Whipped Cream (about ¼ cup or 60 mL per shortcake) and crown with the fresh berries and sliced cherries; if desired, top with drizzles of White Chocolate Whipped Cream.

4. Garnish plates with whole cherries, a sprig of fresh herbs and, if desired, drizzles of caramel sauce..

* The White Chocolate Whipped Cream retains its quality for a week. It is firmest immediately after having been beaten; however, if the foam softens, transfer the chocolate whipped cream to a small chilled bowl (leaving behind some of the liquid if desired) and re-beat with chilled beaters until very firm peaks form.

Margaret Dickenson is a cookbook author, TV host, menu and recipe developer and a protocol, business and etiquette instructor.





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DELIGHTS | WINE

Wine-growing practices being rewritten

Some producers are moving beyond their usual systems into a new realm of wine-making and farming.



Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock

he wine grape is as fickle as agricultural products come. Centuries of documentation has helped to determine the ideal soil structures, sun coverage and vine placements on the properly angled hillsides of historic regions, affecting the quality and pricing of wines. With shifting weather patterns, this is increasingly no longer true.

Extreme weather events are becoming more common. Wine grapes of quality, often tied to the notion of terroir, face the consequences of these changes. To call wine-making in the midst of the climate crisis a challenge would be an understatement.

In trying to adhere to nature's desire rather than seeking complete control through chemical sprays, producers are looking to new, unrealized regions and implementing new varietals into regions already entrenched in wine production. Reactive measures alone cannot stand up to the changing climate.

Rather, conscious producers are looking to better the health of their vineland by implementing plant and biodiversity and viewing the farmland as an ecosystem. Keeping the soil happy and lively in turn keeps the vines happy and productive. Organic and biodynamic certifications on wine labels, alongside the popularity of the natural wine movement, has showcased the importance of sustainability to the consumer market.

Sustainably speaking, packaging is a quick fix. Glass bottles shipped around the globe do us no favours. According to *Scientific American*, "almost half the weight of an ordinary case of wine comes from the bottles; about 95 per cent of the weight of a case of boxed wine is the wine itself."



Campbell Kind Wine is an international brand made up of environmentally conscious producers, some of whom are based in Italy, shown here.

When you're shopping for international wine, cans, plastic bottles or boxes are ideal. Granted, there aren't many qualitydriven options presently, but the trend is growing — slowly. The agency called The Living Vine imports an Italian Primitivo (also known as Zinfandel in California) in five-litre bag-in-boxes, making for a stellar, dark, fruit-forward and purple-hued



Campbell Kind Wine is the brainchild of Steven Campbell (shown here), owner of Liffort Wine & Spirits.

house wine, all the while farming biodynamically and respecting the vineyards.

Campbell Kind Wine is the brainchild of Steven Campbell, owner of Lifford Wine & Spirits. Launching an international brand and teaming up with environmentally conscious producers, Campbell aims to move Lifford beyond its present status as carbon-neutral by reducing its footprint even further. To do this, he measures the climate impact of his wines, offsetting their impact through tree-planting in conjunction with Tree Canada. Working with producers from Spain, Italy, California, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa has ensured there's a style of wine at an affordable price for everyone shopping at the LCBO.

On the East Coast, Nova Scotia has made waves with sparkling wines of all sorts. Benjamin Bridge's mineral-driven Champagne-like bubbles raise eyebrows until they've been tasted. The winery's online shop offers canned versions of both its naturally sparkling Pet-Nat, a light and fresh sipper meant for lounging in the sun,

WINE | DELIGHTS



Nova Scotia winery Benjamin Bridge has been canning its popular Nova 7 and sparkling Pet-Nat to make them more sustainable.

and Nova 7, a definitive mimosa replacement boasting tangerine and passion fruit flavours and low-alcohol, at just 6.5 per cent. They're the ideal picnic pairing: low alcohol, food friendly, easy to transport and even easier to recycle.

If we want to keep enjoying wines from producers we admire and from the regions we revere, we should consider the impact we can make by supporting those whose values we admire.

Lunaria Orsogna's Primitivo comes in a convenient five-litre bag-in-a-box design. Pouring through the spout protects the wine inside from oxidation for a longer period of time. The box costs \$84.95 and is available through www.thelivingvine. ca in a four pack. It's ideal for upcoming BBQs, roast vegetable dishes and woodfired pizza.

Campbell Kind Wines are now available at the LCBO. The three available products are all under \$20 and include a New Zealand Sauvignon Blanc, a South African Syrah and a Spanish red blend, with more offerings to come.

Benjamin Bridge can be purchased online through www.benjaminbridge.com.

Tristan Bragaglia-Murdock writes on all things alcohol, is co-owner of Union 613 and Jabberwocky bars and works for Revel Cider and iBi Wines. <image>

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DIGNITARIES | NEW ARRIVALS

New arrivals

Chang Keung Ryong Ambassador of Korea



Ambassador Chang comes to diplomacy from academia — and this is not his first stint in Canada. He studied political science and diplomacy at Kyunghee University in Seoul

and then did a master's in international relations at Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey before coming to McGill University in Montreal to complete a PhD in political science, which he did in 1996.

He went to work as an assistant professor at Kwangju Women's University in Gwangju, later being promoted to associate professor. He was a visiting professor at McGill for four months between 2014 and 2015 and then returned to Gwangju. Between October 2019 and June 2020, he was chairman of the International Cooperation Standing Committee of the 19th National Unifications Advisory Council.

The ambassador has a presidential citation from 2001 and is married with two sons.

Rema Jamous Imseis Representative of the UNHCR



Representative Jamous is a lifelong advocate for refugees. She joined the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 2017 and served most recently as

deputy director for the Middle East and North Africa bureau, where she covered UNHCR operations in North Africa, including Libya, as well as Yemen, the Gulf countries and Israel.

Since joining the United Nations in 2003, she has held numerous international assignments in the areas of political, legal and humanitarian affairs. She served as head of the United Nations regional office for the co-ordination of humanitarian affairs in Cairo, and as special assistant to the United Nations special co-ordinator for the Middle East Peace Process in Jerusalem.

Kallayana Vipattipumiprates Ambassador-designate of Thailand



Ambassador Vipattipumiprates was Thailand's ambassador to Iran for three years before coming to Ottawa and prior to that, he was the ambassador to Libya for two years.

He joined the foreign ministry in 1988 as an attaché in the press division and then moved up through the ranks, reaching the position of second secretary in 1992 while he was posted to the embassy in Britain. He returned to headquarters and became first secretary in the public affairs division and then in the secretariat to the department of information. In 2000, he was sent to Myanmar as first secretary and was promoted to minister-counsellor during his time there. He returned as ministercounsellor in the department of East Asian Affairs and then became director of the same department. He then returned to Myanmar before being named minister. He returned to headquarters as deputydirector of consular affairs and was then transferred to the secretariat of the prime minister for a year.

The ambassador has several awards from the government of Thailand.

Pham Cao Phong Ambassador of Vietnam



Ambassador Pham is a career diplomat. He joined the foreign ministry in 1990 and has since been assigned to different postings at headquarters, including director-general of

the department of external cultural and UNESCO affairs, secretary-general of the National Commission for UNESCO Affairs, chief of staff and secretary to the foreign minister. He also held various positions, including deputy director-general, head of chancery and head of Northeast Asia studies division at the Institute of International Relations.

He was ambassador to Malaysia between 2014 and 2017 and consul-general in Hong Kong between 2008 and 2011. After his posting in Malaysia, he became deputy secretary-general of the Communist Party of Vietnam's committee of the Overseas.

He holds a master's in international policy from George Washington University. He is married and has two children.

Non-heads of mission

Dominican Republic

Carolyn Eliza Adames Vasquez Second secretary

Israel

Eitan Na'eh Chargé d'affaires

Japan

Aya Okada Second counsellor

Peru

Augusto Humberto Mannucci Zapata Assistant defence and naval attaché

Vargas Blacido, Victor Alfredo Assistant defence and air attaché



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DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM













1. Canada's Ambassador of the Year and Public Diplomacy Awards took place at the University of Ottawa. Cameroon High Commissioner Solomon Anu' A-Gheyle Azoh-Mbi spoke. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Also at the awards, from left, Paraguayan Ambassador C. Ines Martinez Valinotti, retired Canadian diplomat Lawrence Lederman, Kenyan High Commissioner John Lepi Lanyasunya, then-Korean ambassador Maeng-ho Shin, Moldovan Ambassador Ala Beleavschi, Pierre Thibault, Cuban Ambassador Josefina de la Caridad Vidal Ferreiro, Indonesian Ambassador Abdul Kadir Jailani, chief of protocol Stewart Wheeler, Anu' A-Gheyle Azoh-Mbi, Tunisian Ambassador Mohamed Imed Torjemane, Cypriot Ambassador Vasilios Philippou. Honduran Ambassador Sofia Cerrato and Yemeni Ambassador Jamal Abdullah Yahya Al-Sallal at the ceremony. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Lawrence Lederman, co-ordinator of Carleton University's Ambassador's Speakers Series, received an award. From left: Pierre Thibault, assistant dean of civil law, Lederman and Anu' A-Gheyle Azoh-Mbi. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Tunisian Ambassador Mohamed Imed Torjemane received the ambassador of the year award. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. British High Commissioner Susan Jane Le Jeune D' Allegeershecque hosted a reception for newly elected MPs. From left: MP Raquel Dancho; Scott MacKenzie, Toyota Canada event sponsor, and Le Jeune D' Allegeershecque. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. Maureen Boyd, left, organizer of the two-day orientation event on behalf of Carleton University, and the high commissioner. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS



1. The ASEAN Committee in Ottawa (ACO) presented a generous donation to Bethany Hope Centre. From left: then-Thai chargé d'affaires Thanapol Wang-Om-Klang; Sandra Randall, executive director of Bethany Hope Centre; then-Vietnam chargé d'affaires Huong Tra Nguyen; Myanmar Ambassador Kyaw Myo Htut; Brunei High Commissioner Kamal Bashah PG Ahmad; Indonesian Ambassador and ACO chairman Abdul Kadir Jailani, Philippines Ambassador Petronila P. Garcia, Malaysian High Commissioner Dato' Nor'Aini Abd Hamid and the Salvation Army's Glenn van Gulik. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Cuban Ambassador Josefina de la Caridad Vidal Ferreiro hosted a reception to mark the 75th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Cuba and Canada and the visit of Marcelino Medina González, Cuban first deputy minister of foreign affairs. From left: Gónzalez and Vidal Ferreiro. 3. To mark the national day of Cuba, Ambassador Vidal Ferreiro hosted a reception. From left, House of Commons Speaker Anthony Rota, Vidal Ferreiro and MP Rob Oliphant. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. On the occasion of Estonia's independence day, Ambassador Toomas Lukk and his wife, Piret, hosted a reception at the Rideau Club. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. To mark Diplomats' Day, Russian Ambassador Alexander Darchiev and his wife, Tamilya Akhmetzhanova, hosted a reception and concert at the embassy. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. To mark the 176th anniversary of the independence of the Dominican Republic, Ambassador Pedro Vergés hosted a reception and art show at Ottawa City Hall. These dancers, in traditional costumes, took part in cultural performances. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM













1. To mark Kuwait's 59th national day, Ambassador Reem Alkhaled hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. From left: Alkhaled and Veterans Affairs Minister Lawrence MacAulay. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Japan Day, a Paralympics promotional event, was held at TD Place arena. The event was organized in collaboration with the Embassy of Japan, the Canadian Cerebral Palsy Sports Association, the Ontario Cerebral Palsy Sports Association, Boccia Canada, the Canadian Paralympic Team and the Ottawa Japanese Community Association and Cultural Centre. From left: Japanese Ambassador Yasuhisa Kawamura, Ottawa Boccia athlete Bryce Desrochers and MP Adam van Koeverden. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. On Japan's national day and the birthday of the Emperor of Japan, Ambassador Yasuhisa Kawamura and his wife, Miho, hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Mongolian Ambassador Ariunbold Yadmaa (left) and Sri Lankan High Commissioner Madukande Asoka Kumara Girihagama attended Japan's national day reception. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Inara Eihenbauma, wife of the ambassador of Latvia, initiated a charity project called growBaltic during the pandemic. She made 500 cloth face masks for front-line workers, Canadian veterans, foreign and Canadian diplomats and their families and for the Latvian community. She's wearing one here. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. The Ottawa Conference on Security and Defence took place at the Fairmont Château Laurier hotel. Janis Garisons, Latvian state secretary of the ministry of defence, was a speaker at the annual event organized by the Defence Associations Institute. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS









1. Latvian Ambassador Karlis Eihenbaums hosted the opening of the exhibition "The Latvian Tragedy 1941" at the Canadian War Museum. From left: Jeff Mierins, Latvian-Canadian entrepreneur and president and founder of ColdWarCollection.com; Caroline Dromaguet, acting director-general of the Canadian War Museum; Janis Garisons, state secretary of the Ministry of Defence of Latvia; Ambassador Eihenbaums; Ilya Lensky, director of the Latvian museum, Jews in Latvia; and Robert Austin, associate director of the Centre for European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. Malaysian High Commissioner Dato' Nor'Aini Abd Hamid presented donated food collected by her staff to the Bethany Hope Centre's Sandra Randall. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Malaysian High Commissioner Dato' Nor'Aini Abd Hamid presented a large donation of toys for the children. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Malaysian High Commissioner Dato' Nor'Aini Abd Hamid hosted a Chinese New Year celebration at her residence. From left: Thai chargé d'affaires Thanapol Wang-Om-Klang, Philippines Ambassador Petronila Garcia, Brunei High Commissioner PG Kamal Bashah PG Ahmad; Henry Lee, honorary consul of Malaysia in Toronto; and the high commissioner. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 5. Du Chenghao, senior director of public affairs and communications at Huawei Technologies Canada Co., took part in the Chinese New Year celebrations hosted by the Malaysian High Commissioner at her residence. (Photo: Ülle Baum)



DELIGHTS | ENVOY'S ALBUM















1. Slovenian Ambassador Melita Gabric hosted a Slovenian day of culture at the National Arts Centre with national food and entertainment by zither player Tanja Zajc Zupan and accompanist Hermina Matjaši , pictured here, from Slovenia. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. The Plesati Slovenian Dance Group performed in traditional costumes during the reception. Audrey Sluban and Emma Pajnich were among the dancers. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Slovenian Ambassador Melita Gabric delivered a speech at Slovenian Cultural Day. She's shown with her husband, Michael Benson. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 4. Each year, Gov. Gen. Julie Payette hosts the city's female heads of mission. They are pictured here. (Photo: Rideau Hall) 5. On the occasion of the 72nd national day of Sri Lanka, High Commissioner Madukande Asoka Kumara Girihagama and his wife, Sudarma, hosted a reception and cultural performance at the Sheraton Hotel. This dancer, in traditional costume, performed. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 6. Sri Lankan High Commissioner Madukande Asoka Kumara Girihagama and his wife, Sudarma, hosted a luncheon and cultural performance at their official residence to celebrate the Thai Pongal multi-day Hindu harvest festival. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 7. The Embassy of Vietnam hosted a reception at the Fairmont Château Laurier to bid farewell to Ambassador Nguyen Duc Hoa and his wife, Tran Nguyen Anh Thu. From left, Jonathan Fried, associate deputy minister at Global Affairs Canada, and Nguyen Duc Hoa. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

ENVOY'S ALBUM | DELIGHTS







1. To promote South African wines and tourism, the South African High Commission co-hosted a wine-tasting reception and dinner with the Opimian Society at Orange Art Gallery. From left, Ian Myles, director-general of the Southern and Eastern Africa Sub-Saharan Africa Branch at Global Affairs Canada, and High Commissioner of South Africa Sibongiseni Yvonne Dlamini-Mntambo. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 2. South African winemaker Nick Pentz, of Groote Post in Cape Town, spoke about his wines. From left: Pentz, chief of protocol Stewart Wheeler, South African High Commissioner Sibongiseni Yvonne Dlamini-Mntambo and Paula Caldwell St-Onge, director-general of the Pan Africa Bureau at Global Affairs Canada. (Photo: Ülle Baum) 3. Chinese Ambassador Peiwu Cong and his wife, Tong Zhang, hosted a Chinese New Year celebration and concert at the embassy. Zhang, Cong and Liberal MP Jean Yip attended. (Photo: Ülle Baum)

CORRECTION

In the April issue, an editing error caused a mistake in a name. On page 87, photo No. 1 included Arian Ahmadi, wife of the Afghan ambassador. We incorrectly stated the person in the photo was Shabana Kargar, third secretary at the embassy.

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DELIGHTS | DESTINATIONS

On the road again

By Patrick Langston



Pembroke has an outdoor art gallery. Known as the Pembroke Heritage Murals, there are 30 of them, painted by artists of local and national renown and depicting the history of the area.

abin fever has gripped most of us over the past few months. But, as the pandemic lockdown eases, opportunities for daytrips and even overnighters are opening up. Since staying safe still generally means staying close to home, we're turning the spotlight on nearby attractions you can reach by car, bike or even foot and where physical distancing is feasible.

Being cooped up also means many of us are longing for the great outdoors. That's why nature holds a key spot in this summer's travel suggestions.

Before setting off, check that your destination is still open. Pack extra face masks and hand sanitizer, and bring

your own food and refreshments in case an eatery you'd planned on visiting has suddenly closed. Be prepared for lineups at some attractions and try to avoid mingling with folks outside your own cohort. The U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention recommends limiting travel if you are at risk of severe illness from COVID-19.

Most important, get out and celebrate summer. We've all been too confined for too long.

Walls tell the story

You could go online to read about history and heritage, but since a picture's worth a thousand words, why not make the 90-minute drive northwest to Pembroke and check out the murals instead? There are more than 30 of them, painted by local and national artists on downtown buildings, depicting the story of Pembroke. The murals include a trompe l'oeil rendering of a 1950s gas station, a 1920s-era grocery store and a tribute to the old-time fiddling and stepdancing that's a hallmark of the Ottawa Valley. QR codes or a printable/ downloadable audio tour guide explain what's what on the self-guided mural tour. pembroke.ca/tourism/art-and-culture/pembroke-heritage-murals/

While many smaller museums in outlying areas remain closed, Pembroke's Champlain Trail Museum is open, with



Thousand Islands National Park is gradually reopening this summer. The park is along the St. Lawrence River, east of Kingston and offers camping in an oTENTik, a cross between a tent and a cabin, for those who book early. The park also features Boldt Castle, pictured here.

safety protocols in place. You can peek into an early doctor's office, learn about the life of a log driver and visit a pioneer village. pembroke.ca/tourism/museums/ the-champlain-trail-museum

To break up the trip to and from Pembroke, stop by the old growth forest of Gillies Grove in Arnprior. A stroll along the green, quiet trails is a guaranteed rejuvenator. The beach at Arnprior's Robert Simpson Park may reopen later this summer. mfnc.ca/gilliesgrove arnprior.ca/ live/recreation/parks

Wilderness, kayaks and an oTENTik

Along with other federal and provincial parks, Thousand Islands National Park is gradually reopening this summer. The park, along the St. Lawrence River east of Kingston, is a mix of granite islands, secluded bays, hiking trails and rare species of turtles and birds. Activities include swimming, fishing and boat rental. Overnight accommodation is available in an oTENTik, a cross between a tent and rustic cabin that sleeps up to six, although that's by reservation only. This and other national parks are reopening in stages, so check what activities are available before you set out. pc.gc.ca/en/ pn-np/on/1000

Pedalling the rural routes

Historic sites, wineries and the countryside feature large in the nine local rural cycling routes carved out by Ottawa Tourism. The routes vary in length and range from easy to challenging. For instance, the Osgoode Ride for experienced cyclists is 59 kilometres and includes stops at food spots, a farmers' market and fairgrounds. The Cumber Tour de Land offers a challenging route of 69 kilometres and a moderate tour of a little more than 20 kilometres on paved country roads with stops at a berry and vegetable farm and other locations, including the Cumberland Village Heritage Museum. ottawatourism. ca/en/rural-cycling

You'll also find cycling routes a little further afield, including more than two dozen in Lanark County alone. There, you'll spin by everything from the riverside ghost town of Herron Mills to historic churches. lanarkcountytourism.com/ tours/cycling

Tip: While you're checking out the cycling routes at Ottawa Tourism, grab the free #MyOttawaPass. It gets you discounts on activities in and around the capital, including rafting on the Ottawa River, food tours and a biplane excursion over Parliament Hill. ottawatourism.ca/en/ myottawa-pass

Hop-scotching across Canada (virtually)

Flying all the way to Vancouver may sound less enticing than ever just now, but how about a virtual visit to that city's aquarium, which you might remember featured regularly in the 1980s Canadian television series, *Danger Bay*?

DELIGHTS | DESTINATIONS



Ferguson Forest Centre, just off Highway 416 north of Kemptville, is made up of mixed forests, wetlands and meadows with 22 kilometres of forest trails for hiking, biking and horseback riding. There's also a fenced dog park, fish sanctuary and a sheltered picnic area.

Forbes magazine has assembled a list of places across Canada to visit virtually this summer. Many are free, including the Vancouver Aquarium, where you can watch a series of terrific underwater-cam videos (the jellyfish in sinuous motion and a bunch of frolicking otters are especially good). Forbes' selection also includes Epic Films for the Great Indoors, a collection of Canadian and international films from past iterations of the Banff Centre Mountain Film and Book Festival. It also links to a tour of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, home to extensive Indigenous art, including the world's largest public collection of contemporary Inuit art.

And don't miss the virtual iceberg tour in an open boat with Newfoundland's Skipper Bob Bartlett. Motoring through Trinity Bay toward a mountain of an iceberg, he says, in understated fashion, "A nice chunk of ice, this one." The blues and whites of sea, sky and ice make the virtual visit almost tangible. forbes.com/sites/ sandramacgregor



The Gladstone Theatre presents *Midsummer* on its outdoor patio in early August and Pierre Brault will present his play, *Dief the Chief,* sometime this summer. Check the website for details.

DESTINATIONS | DELIGHTS



Forbes magazine has assembled a list of places across Canada to visit virtually this summer, one of which is the Vancouver Aquarium, where you can watch a series of terrific underwater-cam videos. The jellyfish alone, all moving in sinuous motion and seen above, are worth a look.

Theatre at a distance

While theatre lovers are starting to wonder if they'll ever see live performances again, Ottawa's Plosive Productions has seized the opportunity to do something new: A patio play. The professional company presents the romantic comedy *Midsummer*, a two-person play with songs, on the outdoor patio at The Gladstone Theatre until Aug. 8. To ensure physical distancing, shows are limited to 20 audience members. Drinks will be available. thegladstone.ca

Still at The Gladstone, Ottawa playwright/actor Pierre Brault has been live-streaming some of his best solo shows from the theatre's stage during the pandemic. Brault plans to continue this initiative by streaming *Dief the Chief* sometime this summer. The two-person show, which also features Peter James Haworth, tracks prime minister John Diefenbaker's fraught navigation of the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, when the Soviet and American governments teetered at the edge of thermonuclear war. facebook.com/pierrebraultottawa

Into the woods

Ferguson Forest Centre, just off Highway 416 north of Kemptville, is 3.1 square kilometres of balm for the weary urban and even suburban soul. The mixed forests, wetlands and meadows host a fledgling arboretum, 22 kilometres of forest trails for hiking, biking and horseback riding, a sheltered picnic area, a fish sanctuary and a fenced dog park. There's a 1.2-squarekilometre tree nursery, and paddlecraft enthusiasts can access Kemptville Creek from the centre. Although there are no events planned at present, the centre normally offers guided birding sessions, walking meditation, astronomy nights and more. friendsofthefergusonforest.ca

Drive-in deal

Not only is it COVID-compliant, it's a heck of a deal. A new urban drive-in at Place des Festivals — Zibi in Gatineau is screening two feature films on selected summer weekend evenings for just \$30 per vehicle. What's more, \$2 from each ticket goes to La Manne de l'Île, a non-profit food organization helping people in the Outaouais facing financial and social difficulties.

The movie site holds up to 300 vehicles, and the audio is broadcast over two radio channels, so audiences can watch the movies in French or English. Shows start at 7:30 p.m., there are two new movies every night and each weekend has a theme. The films run from Aug. 20 to 22 with the theme of "box office hits." They include the 2,000 British crime comedy *Snatch*, the award-winning *Ali*, with Will Smith in the role of irrepressible boxer Muhammad Ali, and Quentin Tarantino's much-acclaimed paean to the final days of Hollywood's golden era, *Once Upon a Time in Hollywood*. https://bit.ly/cineparczibi

Patrick Langston is a local writer who's become adept at virtual travel, but likes nothing more than the real thing.

DELIGHTS | NATIONAL DAYS



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Celebration time

A listing of the national and independence days marked by countries

July		
1	Burundi	National Day
1	Canada	Canada Day
3	Belarus	Independence Day
4	Rwanda	Liberation Day
4	United States	Independence Day
5	Venezuela	Independence Day
7	Nepal	Birthday of His Majesty The King
10	Bahamas	Independence Day
11	Mongolia	National Day
14	France	National Day
14	Iraq	Republic Day
20	Colombia	National Day
21	Belgium	Accession of King Leopold I
23	Egypt	National Day
28	Peru	Independence Day
30	Morocco	Ascension of the Throne
August		
1	Benin	Independence Day
1	Switzerland	National Day
3	Niger	Proclamation of Independence
6	Bolivia	Independence Day
6	Jamaica	Independence Day
7	Côte d'Ivoire	Independence Day
8	Macedonia	Independence Day
10	Ecuador	Independence Day
11	Chad	National Day
15	Congo	National Day
15	India	Independence Day
17	Gabon	National Day
17	Indonesia	Independence Day
19	Afghanistan	National Day
24	Ukraine	Independence Day
25	Uruguay	National Day
31	Malaysia	National Day
31	Trinidad and Tobago	National Day
September		
1	Slovak Republic	Constitution Day
2	Vietnam	Independence Day
7	Brazil	Independence Day
15	Costa Rica	Independence Day
15	El Salvador	Independence Day
15	Guatemala	Independence Day
15	Honduras	National Day
16	Mexico	National Day
18	Chile	Independence Day
19	St. Kitts & Nevis	Independence Day
21	Armenia	Independence Day
22	Mali	Proclamation of the Republic
23	Saudi Arabia	National Day



This young walrus was part of a group of pinnipeds on the Arctic island of Svalbard, Norway. The large group of inquisitive walruses gallumped to the beach to observe our group of photographers and pose for portraiture. We had a wonderful one-hour session before they headed back out to sea for a clam fest. Walruses are covered in massive layers of blubber and folds of thick skin and weigh as much as a tonne. They're valued for their ivory, meat and blubber and Indigenous groups of the North still harvest them responsibly as a major part of their diet. The Atlantic walrus was hunted to extinction by Europeans in its southern range during the 18th Century. The Gulf of St Lawrence, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland once had teeming herds which are no more. Their scientific name (*Odobenus rosmarus*) is Latin for "who walks on his teeth" in the mistaken belief they used their tusks for walking. Although ungainly on land, walruses are balletic under water, where they also become aquatic acrobats. They can also become one-tonne torpedoes when protecting the herd. They can drown an adult polar bear in the water, but on land, the walrus will lose to the bear. Walruses are most often found near shallow sea beds where they can access mollusks and bivalves in the sediments. Their lips and facial musculature is so powerful they can suck clams right out of their shells. There are an estimated 21,400 Atlantic walruses in existence. They live 20 to 30 years in the wild and a single young calf is born after 15 months of gestation.



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