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WELCOME TO HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORUM
"WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE FOR; AND WE KNOW WHAT WE ARE AGAINST. THIS IS HOW HFX2020 DIFFERS FROM ALL OTHER CONFERENCES OF SIMILAR STATURE."
On behalf of the Board of Directors, I am pleased and proud to welcome you to the 12th Halifax International Security Forum or as we are calling it: HFX2020.

Halifax International Security Forum prides itself on being a prescient guide to the year ahead. Still, when we met in person in Halifax, Nova Scotia in November 2019 we could not predict the pandemic and accompanying uncertainty that 2020 would bring.

As a result of the pandemic, HFX2020—like all meetings scheduled since March—will not meet in person. Instead, my team worked diligently for months to bring you, the HFX community of democratic leaders from around the world, a timely, relevant, and important virtual gathering.

The dynamic live panel discussions that HFX has brought to its community for more than a decade are moving on-screen. From studios in Halifax, Ottawa, and Washington, DC, HFX2020 will bring the most important issues of the day to a wider audience than ever before.

Those of you who traveled to Halifax in years past to join the Forum, and those of you who are watching the Forum for the first time, will be among like-minded people committed to enhancing human dignity around the world.

We know what we are for; and we know what we are against. This is how HFX2020 differs from all other conferences of similar stature.

Moving into 2021, we know all too well that democracy is always both an ideal and a work in progress. Building democracy and maintaining a healthy democracy requires hard work and dedicated vigilance by all of its participants. This is specifically important to international security because democracies are more inclined to work together when they are strong.

The health of our democracies—medically, structurally, economically, and morally—is a security challenge in its own right.

As an HFX2020 participant, you are joining forces with democrats from around the world who are working toward solutions to all that ails us. Together over the next few days, we will deepen our knowledge of existing security threats, alert the world to the challenges to come, and find real world solutions to both.

I want to take this opportunity to thank the Government of Canada – the Department of National Defence and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency – for its continued support. Let me also thank the members of Club HFX, and the industry leaders it represents, for their firm commitment and support.

Professor Janice Stein took the helm as Board Chair earlier this year, and I am very grateful to her for the leadership she’s already demonstrated as HFX navigated through the pandemic. Our Board of Directors includes outstanding individuals, all strongly committed to our mission of strengthening strategic cooperation among democracies. Their guidance makes our work stronger.

Finally, HFX2020 depends on you, our participants. Thank you for your confidence in us. Most of all, thank you for your confidence that it is democracy, and our commitment to democracy, that will make the world a safer place.

Sincerely,
Peter Van Praagh
President
THE 2020 BUILDER AWARD

Established in 2012, the Halifax Builder Award expresses our respect and appreciation to those who have been instrumental to the success of Halifax International Security Forum.

Each year, the Builder Award is bestowed upon an individual or group that has made a special contribution to ensuring that Halifax International Security Forum continues to further its mission of advancing strategic cooperation among the world’s democracies.

The 2020 Builder Award will be presented virtually on Friday, November 20 to:

GENERAL JONATHAN VANCE

CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE STAFF, CANADIAN ARMED FORCES

BUILDER AWARD RECIPIENTS

2012  General Walter Natynczyk, Chief of the Defence Staff of Canada

2013  Senators John McCain and Mark Udall, United States Senators, and Co-Chairs, United States Congressional Delegation

2014  Mr. Bill McCaffrey, President and Chief Executive Officer, MEG Energy Corp, and Founder, Halifax Canada Club

2015  The Honourable Peter MacKay, PC, QC

2016  Senator Tim Kaine, United States Senator, and Co-Chair, United States Congressional Delegation

2017  NATO, Accepted by His Excellency Mr. Jens Stoltenberg, Secretary General, NATO

2018  Senator Jeanne Shaheen, United States Senator, and co-Chair, United States Congressional Delegation

2019  Ms. Nancy Southern, President and Chief Executive Officer, ATCO, Canada
The 2020 Class of the Halifax Peace With Women Fellowship brings together twelve diverse and accomplished women from eleven different NATO member and partner countries. Fellows are active-duty senior officers representing various branches of the military with a broad spectrum of responsibilities. HFX is proud to welcome its third class of distinguished leaders. The class will convene in the spring of 2021.

2020 FELLOWS

- **Group Captain Carol Abraham**
  New Zealand
- **Colonel Katharine Barber**
  United States
- **Colonel Rejanne Elmers-van Nes**
  Netherlands
- **Colonel Melissa Emmett**
  United Kingdom
- **Colonel Ivana Gutzeinig, MD**
  Slovak Republic
- **Colonel Dr. Stephanie Krause**
  Germany
- **Colonel Geneviève Lehoux**
  Canada
- **Lieutenant Colonel Lene Lillevlund**
  Denmark
- **Colonel Valérie Morcel**
  France
- **Captain Rebecca Ore**
  United States
- **Major General Germaine Seewer**
  Switzerland
- **Colonel Rebecca Talbot**
  Australia
Halifax International Security Forum inaugurated the Peace With Women Fellowship in 2018 as a new initiative to advance women’s leadership in international security. Since its inception, it has nearly doubled in size and has become one of the premiere programs in international security. Increasing women’s leadership roles in all aspects of society is central to safeguarding democracy and is more critical than ever. The Fellowship supports the future top military decision-makers of the NATO community by providing senior officers with the mentors, networks, and knowledge they need to become better-informed leaders. Fellows are challenged to engage across government, military, business, and academic sectors in order to learn about and articulate innovative solutions to the challenges facing their home countries.

With Special Thanks to the 2020 Selection Committee

Lieutenant General D. Michael Day
Chair
Canadian Armed Forces, Retired

Gina Bennett
Adjunct Associate Professor
Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

Iain Paterson
Chief Executive Officer
Cycura

Dr. Jacquelyn Schneider
Hoover Fellow
Hoover Institution
Stanford University

General Janet Wolfenbarger
Chair
United States Air Force, Retired

THE CALL FOR APPLICATIONS FOR THE 2021 CLASS OF THE PEACE WITH WOMEN FELLOWSHIP WILL BE AVAILABLE IN JANUARY 2021 AT HALIFAXTHEFORUM.ORG.
HFX2020 TOPICAL AGENDA

PLENARY SESSIONS (ON-THE-RECORD)

Democracy vs. Ourselves: Divided We Fall
China vs. Democracy: The Greatest Game
Economic Depression: Democracies’ Recession
Clubs Med: The Scramble For Middle Earth
Space: Contested
Go Canada! Middle Powers Show The Way
75 Years On: Re-Making The Democratic World Order
After 2020: The World With America

INFORMAL SESSIONS (OFF-THE-RECORD)

Africa Matters
Climate: Changed
France, Freedom, Faith
From Moscow to Minsk: Putin’s Poison
Himalayan Heat: Sino-Indian Friction
Israel’s New Friends
Afghanistan’s Final Piece
Back: Nagorno-Karabakh
Hong Kong’s Present, Taiwan’s Future
London Outs, Brussels Pouts
Maduro’s Venezuela: A Rogues’ Gallery
Tide Power: Bay Of Fundy’s Electric Waves
Biden: His Time
Racial Justice: When?
Steal IP: Get Rich Quick
TikTok, Tick Tock: Globalization Times Out
Worthless Advice: The End Of Experts
Post-Pandemic Precipice
CHINA VS. DEMOCRACY: THE GREATEST GAME

WITH THE CHINA HANDBOOK FOR DEMOCRACIES, HFX WILL BE CHAMPIONING THESE PRINCIPLES AROUND THE WORLD. PLEASE JOIN YOUR VOICE WITH OURS IN DEFENDING THE VALUES THAT UNDERPIN OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES.

HFX CHINA PRINCIPLES

The democratic world pledges to defend itself from the following practices that undermine its values and way of life:

- Ignoring China’s attempts to interfere in democratic societies;
- Submitting to, collaborating with, or participating in any censorship or self-censorship of ideas, writings, artistic endeavors, or statements related to the People’s Republic of China;
- Participating in any business or technology-related practices or exchanges that aid and abet Chinese Communist Party oppression of its own people;
- Neglecting to oppose attempts by the People’s Republic of China to bring global governance of the internet and technological standards into alignment with its own authoritarian values and ambitions;
- Supporting or engaging in any kind of punishment or sanction of anyone for engaging in criticism of China;
- Failing to support democratically-minded people and governments across the world who face pressure or intimidation by the People’s Republic of China;
- Knowingly buying or trading in Chinese products or services made with forced labor, or that are the result of criminal activities like counterfeiting or intellectual property theft.

TO READ THE FULL REPORT TAP THE BUTTON BELOW:

DOWNLOAD
As the COVID-19 pandemic rages around the world, the 11th year of Ipsos research conducted exclusively for the Halifax International Security Forum has captured some startling shifts in public opinion. The survey of over 21,000 adults across 28 countries has revealed that over the last year global citizens have become more insular, more critical of the behavior of other countries (China in particular), and more worried about the general state of the world and the dangers posed to their own country.

First, the data demonstrate that the world has become more protectionist, as countries attempt to limit the import of COVID-19 through their borders. Eight in ten (78%, up 5 points since last year) believe that economic concerns mean their country should focus less on the world outside and more at home. Today, fewer (79%, -2 points) believe that free trade is beneficial to their country [Figure 1]. Given that just one in three (33%) global citizens believe the coronavirus is contained and will soon be over, 67% believe that their country’s borders should be closed, and people should not be allowed in or out until COVID-19 is contained. Global citizens are split on the performance of the World Health Organization in this crisis, with 53% saying it has shown good leadership in dealing with the pandemic. But some countries stand out as being leaders and laggards in how they’ve responded to COVID-19: New Zealand leads (74%) in positive global assessments, while the United States trails significantly (22%).

Second, COVID-19 has caused opinions of China to shift negatively in the last year, accelerating a decline in standing first measured in 2018. Until 2017, a steadily growing proportion of global citizens believed that China would have a positive impact in the coming decade. Now, only 42% believe China will have an overall positive influence on world affairs in the next decade, down from 53% in 2019 and 58% in 2017 [Figure 2]. While the decline for China is steep, since 2017 global citizens are less positive about the impact that most countries will have on world affairs, including India (-9 points), France (-5 points), the United States (-5 points), Russia (-5 points), Israel (-4 points) and Iran (-4 points).

Third, global citizens see the world becoming a more dangerous place, with 82% of respondents agreeing that it has indeed become more dangerous in the last year, up 2 points from 2019. [Figure 3]. In particular, those in South Korea (90%, up 10 points), Australia (86%, up 7 points), the United States (86%, up 6 points) and Japan (84%, up 6 points) are among the most likely to believe the world is becoming more dangerous. Interestingly, while residents of China are less likely than the global average to believe the world is becoming more dangerous (76% China vs. 82% global average), the figure within China is up 10 points since last year, perhaps reflecting deteriorating global attitudes toward China itself. Moreover, residents of G7 countries are among the least likely to agree that, when they really think about it, more things are getting better in the world these days than are getting worse (21% agree in Japan, 27% in France, 31% in Italy, 37% in Canada, 38% in USA), while those in less economically advanced countries are among the most likely to believe things are generally improving (80% in China, 72% in India, 58% in Brazil, 58% in Russia.)

Fourth, a health epidemic is now seen as the top threat to security worldwide. The threat of a major health epidemic is seen as being real by 78% of global citizens, which is up 27 points since last year. A health epidemic is seen as the number-one threat in this year’s
poll, unseating being hacked for fraudulent or espionage purposes, which, over the years, has consistently topped the list of perceived threats. The survey also shows that many global citizens are not confident that appropriate levels of security and protection could be provided by their government or its agencies to respond effectively to a health epidemic in their own country. Just 53% are confident in their government’s ability in this regard, with such opinions ranging from 72% in India to 32% in France [Figure 4]. Global citizens have similar levels of doubt when it comes to how well their country can protect them from hacking or espionage threats.

Fifth, there is a growing sense that economic power is more important in world affairs than military power (80%, up 2 points since last year). Despite global citizens believing the world is becoming a more dangerous place, and 62% believing that another world conflict will erupt in the next 25 years, it does not appear that these concerns translate into increased desire for more military spending. In fact, a minority (46%, down 5 points) now believes their government needs to spend more on their country’s military [Figure 5]. Declines are evident in nearly every country, except for Russia (49%, +3) and Spain (35%, +2). Support for increased military spending has declined considerably in the United States (49%, -10), Canada (45%, -7), Great Britain (45%, -8), Brazil (49%, -6) and many other countries too.

As the world shifts to fight a common enemy in COVID-19, global citizens are turning their focus inward and are increasingly prioritizing non-military solutions to their security concerns.
A YEAR LIKE NO OTHER: IPSOS POLLING CAPTURES SHIFTS IN PUBLIC OPINION

BELIEF THAT CHINA WILL HAVE A POSITIVE IMPACT ON WORLD AFFAIRS IN NEXT DECADE

OVER THE LAST YEAR THE WORLD HAS BECOME MORE DANGEROUS
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## GIVEN THE DANGERS IN THE WORLD, MY GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO SPEND MORE ON MY COUNTRY’S MILITARY

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Iko Ibanga
Founder and CEO, Pro-Health International, Nigeria

Dolkun Isa
President, World Uyghur Congress, China

Wolfgang Ischinger
Chairman, Munich Security Conference, Germany

Farahnaz Ispahani
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Dhruva Jaishankar
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Jackson Janes
President Emeritus, American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, United States

Josef Joffe
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HFX is dedicated to strengthening strategic cooperation among democracies. Recognized as the foremost gathering of democratic leaders committed to global security and prosperity, Halifax International Security Forum is widely acknowledged by the international community as an essential annual meeting place.

The Forum convenes key leaders in an unscripted, intimate atmosphere to define the security agenda each November for the coming calendar year. HFX gathers individuals on the ground who face local threats, writers who challenge and influence the world’s thinking on security, and decision-makers who make the tough choices.

Defining security broadly, HFX engages an approach that addresses today’s range of threats, from war, terrorism, cyber attacks, and nuclear proliferation to climate change, resource scarcity, and economic instability. HFX maintains that true security is only achieved when people enjoy the benefits of democracy, leading in turn to economic opportunity, and lasting peace.

HFX is an independent, non-profit, non-partisan organization based in Washington, DC.

The Board of Directors of HFX would like to express our sincere gratitude to the volunteers, staff, partners, and vendors whose steadfast dedication and tireless support make the Forum a must-watch) event on the international calendar. THANK YOU.
At the very beginning of Halifax International Security Forum, more than a decade ago, a group of people shared a vision that the world needed a modern venue to reinvigorate strategic cooperation among the world’s democracies.

Some of these people have been recognized over the years at the Forum podium with the annual Builder Award.

Others, who were no less instrumental to the original success of Halifax International Security Forum, were publicly recognized at the 10th anniversary Forum in November 2018.

Without these people, the Forum would not have become the international gathering of democracies that it is today.

### HALIFAX FORUM FOUNDERS

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IN MEMORIAM

E. JOSEPH HALL
1958 — 2020

CO-FOUNDER AND FOUNDING VICE PRESIDENT
HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORUM
Joe dedicated his life to fighting for equality, democracy, and human dignity for all people. He spent over 30 years in non-profit leadership providing creative and far-sighted direction for advocacy organizations and philanthropic institutions across the US and abroad. No matter where Joe found himself, he took a keen interest in nurturing and mentoring junior staff and helped launch countless careers.

And, indeed, Joe found himself in some unusual places. After a lengthy visit to India, Joe joined the Washington, DC-based National Democratic Institute (NDI), an organization committed to enhancing democratic institutions. For NDI, Joe lived and worked in Israel/Palestine, Baku, Azerbaijan, Freetown, Sierra Leone, and Beirut, Lebanon. He worked on specific democracy projects in more than a dozen other countries, including Egypt, Iraq, and Ukraine. During his tenure in Beirut he developed a nuanced understanding and appreciation for the complex region. Most important, it was in Beirut where Joe met Andre, his husband.

After 15 years abroad, Joe returned to Washington, DC to build the Halifax International Security Forum with his close friend and former NDI colleague, Peter Van Praagh. Joe was instrumental in building the organization from the ground up, fortifying the mission, and providing strategic vision and guidance to the staff. He was responsible for setting the incredibly high production standards that HFX still endeavors to live up to.

At HFX, Joe was responsible for building relationships across the city of Halifax. Just as in any of the more exotic international destinations where Joe worked, he loved everyone in Halifax and developed deep ties and friendships there.

*Joe’s spirit, sense of humor, incredible laugh, and zest for life live on in Halifax as they do in so many other places around the world.*
The Canadian Armed Forces and the Department of National Defence: Canada’s Defence Team

The Department of National Defence (DND) and the Canadian Armed Forces (CAF) make up the largest federal government department. Currently the Defence Team includes approximately:

- 68,000 Regular Force members
- 27,000 Reserve Force members
- 25,000 civilian employees

CAF members serve at sea, on land, and in the air, with the Royal Canadian Navy, the Canadian Army, the Royal Canadian Air Force, and the Canadian Special Operations Forces Command, while defence civilians perform a number of critical enabling functions for both the CAF and DND.

At any given time, the Government of Canada can call upon the CAF to undertake missions for the protection of Canada and Canadians and to maintain international peace and security. The Defence Team is prepared and equipped to advance Canadian international security objectives and to support our allies where our shared interests are at stake.

Canada continues to show its commitment to international peace and security by building defence relationships and enhancing military cooperation with countries around the world, and by addressing global crises and security threats with the United Nations (UN), our NATO Allies, and other international partners.

The CAF is involved in a number of important missions abroad that reflect these priorities. In Europe, we have provided military and capacity building training to the Ukrainian military through Operation UNIFIER since 2015. We also continue to play an active role in NATO as the framework nation of the multinational battle group in Latvia, part of NATO’s enhanced Forward Presence in the Baltic region.

The CAF is committed to Canada’s Middle East Strategy through a number of areas focused on reducing terrorist threats and building partner capacity to set the conditions for long-term success. Canada commanded NATO Mission Iraq for the first two years of the mission and will continue to provide support to it through Operation IMPACT after its command comes to an end this November.

In the Asia-Pacific region, we have worked to promote peace and security by consistently deploying our maritime and air assets to monitor and deter North Korean sanction evasion activities. Across the region, the CAF maintains a persistent presence through our contribution to the United Nations Command on the Korean Peninsula, as well as through our participation in exercises, training events, and senior level visits.

The world in which the CAF operates has changed significantly in recent years. In the face of these new and emerging threats and challenges we continue to remain a strong and reliable defence partner, able to meet our international obligations.
The Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) is a Canadian federal government department that is headquartered in the Atlantic Region.

ACOA’s goal is to enhance the economy of Atlantic Canadian communities through the successful development of business and job opportunities.

The Agency works to create opportunities for economic growth in Atlantic Canada by helping businesses become more innovative, productive and competitive; by working closely with communities to develop and diversify local economies; and by championing the strengths of Atlantic Canada.

With our many partners in economic development, ACOA works to strengthen the Atlantic economy through:

- **Enterprise development** – helping improve the business climate and lending a hand for individual business start ups, modernizations and expansions.

- **Community development** – working with communities to nurture economic growth, improve local infrastructure and develop opportunities in the local economy.

- **Policy, advocacy and co-ordination** – being a champion for Atlantic Canada by representing the region’s interests at the national level in areas like policy development, research and analysis and in work with other departments to ensure coordination of policies and programs.

ACOA puts special emphasis on initiatives that foster greater productivity, the commercialization of innovative technologies, improved global competitiveness, and skills development.
Public policy is at its best when it is a result of disciplined and educated dialogue between the private and public sectors. Every November, government and industry leaders of the world’s democracies gather in Halifax, Nova Scotia for three days to develop strategies to strengthen security and expand opportunities and prosperity for their citizens.

In recognition of the important contribution to mutual education on strategic issues between the public and private sectors, the Government of Canada and MEG Energy announced in August 2012 the creation of Club HFX—a permanent body for the private sector to support the work of Halifax International Security Forum. Together, this public-private partnership of the Government of Canada and Club HFX will ensure that the Halifax International Security Forum’s fundamental mission to build greater international security and global prosperity will continue to grow.

The purpose of Club HFX is to ensure that the Halifax International Security Forum continues to create the productive environment that allows for significant education between government and industry that, in turn, leads to cooperation, action, and results on matters of global concern. Club HFX members agree that when responsible industry and democratic governments work together, the result is enhanced public policy that leads to increased prosperity and greater international security.
Since its founding in 1922, Foreign Affairs has been the leading forum for serious discussion of American foreign policy and global affairs. It is published by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), a non-profit and nonpartisan membership organization dedicated to improving the understanding of US foreign policy and international affairs through the free exchange of ideas.

POLITICO strives to be the dominant source for politics and policy in power centers across every continent where access to reliable information, non-partisan journalism and real-time tools creates, informs and engages a global citizenry. Political professionals read POLITICO. Public policy professionals need POLITICO. And those who hunger to better understand Washington and government power centers around the globe go to POLITICO first.
Halifax International Security Forum is fortunate to benefit from supporting organizations that contribute to its work advancing a modern vision of security. The generosity of these organizations is instrumental to our success.

Halifax International Security Forum would like to thank NATO for its continued support, its sponsors CAE, Pansophico, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, AIDC, as well as Ipsos Public Affairs for the important services that they provide.

Halifax International Security Forum is grateful to all of these organizations for their contributions.
Halifax International Security Forum appreciates our community partners who help make our event possible year after year. Thank you for your support and collaboration and we look forward to working together in 2021.