You will just have arrived at Halifax Stanfield International Airport.

Twenty years ago, on September 11th, 2001, Halifax would welcome 40 diverted planes carrying 7,000 people. All told, Canada took in over 30,000 unplanned visitors on the day the world changed.

Thousands of terrified passengers were stuck on planes, often for 25 hours or more, unable to reach loved ones, and uncertain of what was happening.

The local communities in Halifax, Nova Scotia; Gander, Newfoundland; and 15 other Canadian cities responded with open arms, caring for stranded travelers for almost a week. They opened their homes and provided food, shelter, and comfort.

Canada showed the world what it means to help friends in need.

That is what Halifax International Security Forum is all about.

We are proud that you are part of our community, and we are proud to welcome you to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Thank you for making this trip.
The 2021 Halifax International Security Forum is a fully vaccinated event.

In addition to ensuring that all participants, staff and volunteers are fully vaccinated, the following measures to protect you and the local community are in place.

**PLEASE DO YOUR PART TO ENSURE A SAFE ENVIRONMENT FOR EVERYONE.**

- Wearing a mask is mandatory, over the nose and mouth, at all times in all public places. (The only exceptions are for speakers on stage, and when eating or drinking.)
- Masks are available throughout the hotel.
- On-site testing is available throughout the weekend.
- Hand sanitizer is available throughout the hotel.
- Please remind all of your fellow participants of the vital importance of following these health and safety measures.
- Do not hesitate to ask the Halifax Team if you have any concerns.
# Halifax Papers

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Creating conversations, from 2009...
...to today.
"Advancing strategic cooperation among the world’s democracies has always been our mission, but it has never been more important."
Welcome

Every year since 2009 I’ve written welcome messages in this program, but I have never been so happy to publish the following words: On behalf of the HFX Board of Directors, welcome to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Advancing strategic cooperation among the world’s democracies has always been our mission, but it has never been more important. The two-year period since Halifax International Security Forum last convened in person tested all of our democracies. During that time, we had the opportunity to learn a great deal about ourselves. This weekend, we will take what we’ve learned – the good with the bad – and together we will work both to identify what the next tests might look like, and, just as important, how best to meet them together.

Some of you have been here before and know how the weekend will develop, and some of you are joining the Forum for the first time, and don’t know exactly what to expect. Either way, you make up a group of 300 select democratic decision-makers, military leaders, and thinkers who influence your nations’ strategies on global security issues. There is no doubt that each of you will contribute to and will benefit from the in-person human interaction that has always made Halifax International Security Forum so meaningful.

With that in mind, I am proud to let you know that we are going above and beyond all jurisdictional requirements to keep you and the Halifax community safe from the coronavirus throughout the weekend. First among our many precautions is making this a COVID-vaccination required event, meaning that every person in every venue is fully vaccinated. Still, we do ask that other precautions continue to be followed, including wearing a mask indoors.

Just as you seek to be an active participant, we will do our best to help you make the most of your time here. In the first instance, please use this program as your guide. Together with the folded pocket agenda, it explains where to be, and when, for everything from the Plenary Agenda to the Friday Gala Dinner at historic Pier 21 to the Sunday morning 5K run.

I take this opportunity to thank Club HFX, and the industry leaders that it represents, for its commitment to our work. Club HFX ensures that leaders from around the world will continue this vital annual meeting for mutual understanding and joint action.

Thank you also to the Government of Canada – the Department of National Defence and the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency – for its continued support. Simply put, there is no better host than Canada.

Finally, Halifax International Security Forum would not be possible without you, our participants. Thank you for making the trip. Once again, I am delighted to welcome you to Halifax.

Sincerely,

Peter Van Praagh
President
Information Desk

The Halifax International Security Forum Information Desk is located in the lobby of the Westin Nova Scotian. Forum staff, identifiable by their yellow lanyards, are always available to assist you with registration and any questions you may have.

Transportation Desk

For questions or information about transportation back to Halifax Stanfield International Airport, please consult the Transportation Desk located in the lobby of the Westin Nova Scotian.

Session Locations

All plenary sessions will be held in Commonwealth A at the Westin Nova Scotian, located on the first floor, up the main stairs from the lobby. Headsets for simultaneous French interpretation of the plenary sessions will be available in the Commonwealth Foyer.

Off-the-record Friday Night Owls and Sunday Breakfasts will be held at various locations throughout the hotel. Please see your pocket agenda for specific locations of off-the-record sessions.
Friday Night Gala Dinner

Friday evening’s Gala Dinner will take place at Pier 21, the Canadian Museum of Immigration. Shuttle bus service begins at 18:00 on November 19. Pier 21 is located a short distance from the Westin Nova Scotian, for those participants who would prefer to walk. Please consult the Information Desk for directions.

Saturday Night Dinners

On Saturday evening, November 20, we will host off-the-record, intimate dinner conversations at restaurants and venues throughout downtown Halifax, each organized around a different topic. Buses will depart from the VIA Rail Station for the restaurants at 18:30 on Saturday, November 20. If you have not yet received your dinner assignment, please visit the Information Desk in the lobby of the Westin Nova Scotian.

Saturday Night Sociable

On Friday and Saturday nights, the lobby of the Westin Nova Scotian becomes the meeting point for socializing and networking. Please join us once the formal program for the day has ended.

Sunday 5K Run

The 5K run is not a race, but rather an opportunity to experience sunrise over the Atlantic and get a little exercise. The 5K will begin on Sunday, November 21 at 7:00 in the Westin Nova Scotian lobby.

Attire

All activities at the Halifax International Security Forum, including the Gala Dinner, are business attire or military equivalent.

Credentials

Forum attendees are required to wear their credential at all times for access to the Westin Nova Scotian hotel and to enter all Forum sessions. Please see the Information desk for any questions.
Halifax International Security Forum is pleased to work with many local, national, and international members of the media who report on the activities of the Forum. We appreciate your attention to the confidentiality rules outlined below.

**On-the-Record Sessions**

The opening remarks, plenary sessions, and Halifax Chats are on-the-record and will be streamed live on halifaxtheforum.org. Live broadcasts of these sessions will be available to networks in the United States, Canada, and around the globe.

**Off-the-Record Sessions**

The smaller sessions—breakfasts, night owls, and Saturday night dinners—will be strictly off-the-record. In addition to traditional media, these rules apply to any blogging, tweeting, and other forms of social media that participants may take part in throughout the weekend.

**Social Media**

For those participants and members of the media who are using social media, the Forum hashtag is #HFX2021 and Forum organizers will be tweeting from @HFXforum. Please be aware that social media is strictly prohibited during off-the-record sessions.

**Media Resources**

Participants seeking assistance with media interviews are invited to be in contact with the Forum Media Relations Team by emailing communications@halifaxtheforum.org or visiting the Press Room onsite. Forum participants may be contacted by the Media Relations Team from time-to-time to request media interviews. Halifax International Security Forum appreciates your consideration of these requests.

**Interview Locations**

The Forum is pleased to offer a private space for participants interested in conducting one-on-one interviews with journalists in-person, by phone, or via Skype. Please visit the Press Room or email communications@halifaxtheforum.org to make arrangements.
THE 2021 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 2021 Builder Award will be presented at the gala dinner on Friday, November 19 to:

CINDY HENSLEY McCAIN

THE 2021 BUILDER AWARD RECIPIENTS

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<td>2014</td>
<td>Mr. Bill McCaffrey, President and Chief Executive Officer, MEG Energy Corp, and Founder, Halifax Canada Club</td>
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<td>2015</td>
<td>The Honourable Peter MacKay, PC, QC</td>
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<td>2016</td>
<td>Senator Tim Kaine, United States Senator, and Co-Chair, United States Congressional Delegation</td>
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<td>2017</td>
<td>NATO, Accepted by His Excellency Mr. Jens Stoltenberg, Secretary General, NATO</td>
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<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>Senator Jeanne Shaheen, United States Senator, and co-Chair, United States Congressional Delegation</td>
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<td>2019</td>
<td>Ms. Nancy Southern, President and Chief Executive Officer, ATCO, Canada</td>
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JOHN MCCAIN PRIZE FOR LEADERSHIP IN PUBLIC SERVICE

SENIOR JOHN S. MCCAIN INSPIRED HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL SECURITY FORUM’S MISSION TO STRENGTHEN STRATEGIC COOPERATION AMONG THE WORLD’S DEMOCRACIES.

SENIOR MCCAIN FOUGHT IN WAR AND IN PEACE FOR LIBERTY, EQUALITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND DEMOCRACY — HIS COUNTRY’S IDEALS.

HIS MEANINGFUL PRESENCE AT THE FORUM EVERY NOVEMBER IN CANADA GAVE CONFIDENCE TO ENTIRE NATIONS THAT THE BENEFITS OF DEMOCRACY OUTWEIGH ANY ALTERNATIVE.
The John McCain Prize for Leadership in Public Service is bestowed annually at Halifax International Security Forum upon individuals from any country who have demonstrated uncommon leadership in the pursuit of human justice. With this Prize, Halifax International Security Forum salutes John S. McCain’s extraordinary life — a permanent reminder of the strength of the human spirit.

The Honorable Cindy McCain will present the 2021 John McCain Prize for Leadership in Public Service to:

AFGHAN FEMALE TACTICAL PLATOON

IN SOLIDARITY WITH THEIR BRAVE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM, DIGNITY, AND DEMOCRACY.
The 2021 Class of the Halifax Peace With Women Fellowship brings together 12 diverse and accomplished women from 12 NATO member and partner countries. All Fellows are senior-ranking, active-duty officers and represent varying military branches with a broad spectrum of responsibilities. HFX is proud to welcome this class of distinguished leaders.

2021 FELLOWS

Colonel Biljana Blazheska, Army, North Macedonia
Colonel Krista Bouckaert, Army, Canada
Brigadier General Catherine Bourdès, Air Force, France
Colonel Jennifer de Poorter, National Police Force, Netherlands
Group Captain Louise desJardins, Air Force, Australia
Colonel Erinç Evren Elmas, Air Force, Turkey
Colonel Katherine Lee, Army, New Zealand
Lieutenant Colonel Monika Mertinaitė, Army, Lithuania
Lieutenant Colonel Diana Morais, Army, Portugal
Colonel Anna Siverstig, Air Force, Sweden
Commodore Judith Terry, Navy, United Kingdom
Colonel Danielle Willis, Air Force, United States
Increasing women’s leadership roles in international security affairs is central to safeguarding democracies and in 2018 HFX launched the Peace With Women Fellowship to do exactly that. The Fellowship supports the future decision-makers of NATO by providing military personnel 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 2021 Selection Committee

Dr. Jacquelyn Schneider
Chair
Hoover Fellow
Hoover Institution, Stanford University

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

Iain Paterson
Managing Director
Cycura

Lieutenant Colonel (Ret.)
D. Michael Day
Canadian Armed Forces

General (Ret.) Janet Wolfenbarger
United States Air Force

THE 2020 PEACE WITH WOMEN FELLOWSHIP WILL TAKE PLACE IN MARCH 2022.

THE CALL FOR APPLICATIONS FOR THE CLASS OF 2022 WILL BE AVAILABLE IN JANUARY AT HALIFAXTHEFORUM.ORG
Halifax International Security Forum is a conference with a mission: to strengthen strategic cooperation among democracies. That mission has never been more important than it is today.

Since the first Forum convened in November 2009, Halifax International Security Forum has produced an agenda that becomes both a prescient guide to the year ahead and an outpost of optimism that together – as the world’s democracies – we can overcome any and all challenges.

This year is different. To arrive credibly at the optimistic outlook that we all crave, we first must look back with brutal honesty about what has gone wrong. The opening plenary, “After the Fall --” gives panelists and participants an opportunity to contemplate some of the traumas our democracies have experienced in the past period. Whether it was 9/11 and the decisions made in its wake, the Great Recession, the successful arrival of populist politics, the higher than necessary death toll from coronavirus, January 6 and its aftermath in the United States, or the shocking withdrawal from Afghanistan, there are serious reasons to reflect.

But there are too many challenges before us to allow reflection to become unending naval-gazing. “The Next 9/11: From Kabul or from California (or from some lab we haven’t heard of yet)?” briskly moves us to consider both the external and the internal threats to our democracies.

Senator John McCain knew that strong American leadership was essential to maintaining global stability and advancing universal values. He was also one of the Forum’s best friends. “W. W. J. M. D? (What Would John McCain Do?)” is Halifax code for what responsible, internationalist American leadership should look like at this time.

The climate disasters on every continent this year were no surprise and “Fires and Landslides and Droughts, Oh My!” will search the post-COP26 environment for urgent solutions. “Post-Pandemic: Heed Expectations, Heal Globalization” explores how the neo-liberal international economic order left millions of people behind, and how interruptions caused by coronavirus might lead to new opportunities to mend it.

“China’s Quantum Leap Backward” studies how China’s technological prowess continues to advance even as its politics regress. Meanwhile, as consensus grows that President Xi’s China poses serious threats to democracies everywhere, “#StandTogetherOnChina” urges democracies on each continent to coordinate at strategic and tactical levels.

I am grateful to every member of our longstanding Agenda Working Group that meets during the summer months to craft this Agenda. Together with the off-the-record night owl sessions, breakfast sessions, and Saturday night dinners, the Agenda Working Group’s dedicated commitment gives you an opportunity to dive deep into the challenges that are lurking around the corner and come up with real solutions.

This year’s final plenary, “-- Keep the Faith” bookends the opening and serves as this year’s optimistic conclusion that our democracies are superior to any alternative – precisely because their very future rests in our fallible hands. So long as individuals choose their leaders freely and fairly, we will have the courage and the determination to keep our democracies nourished and strong. So let’s do just that -- Keep the Faith.

Peter Van Praagh
President
2021 TOPICAL AGENDA

PLENARY SESSIONS (ON-THE-RECORD)

After the Fall --
The Next 9/11: From Kabul or From California (or from some lab we haven’t heard of yet)?
W.W.J.M.D? (What Would John McCain Do?)
#StandTogetherOnChina

Post-Pandemic:
Heed Expectations, Heal Globalization
Fires and Landslides and Droughts, Oh My!
China’s Quantum Leap Backward
-- Keep the Faith

INFORMAL SESSIONS (OFF-THE-RECORD)

Afghanistan: Why?
Arabian Fights
Arctic Allies
At The Summit
The African Century
Battlefield: Tech
Belarus Hijacked
Caribbean Matters
Climate, Climate, Blah, Blah
Corruption: Corrosive
Culture Change: Making Militaries Stronger
France + Aukus = Fracas
Forward Defense: Ameri-can or Ameri-can’t
Geopolitics Today: Toward Tech Mate

The Importance of Indo-Pacom
Iran and its Proxies of Evil
NATO’s Winning, Russia’s Whining
Pristina’s Peace
Private Space
Refugees: Lesson from “None is Too Many”
Quad: Join the Q
Supply Chain Solutions: Rare Earth Recycled
Taiwan Strong
Taliban’s Survival, Global Jihad’s Revival
Tracking Hacking: AI, Quantum and Whatever Else Comes Next
Ukraine: Liberty on the Line
Without Merkel: Europe and the Future
Xinjiang: Genocide 2022
Michael Auslin
Senior Advisor for Asia, HFX; Payson J. Treat Distinguished Research Fellow in Contemporary Asia, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

Alyssa Ayres
Dean, Elliott School of International Affairs George Washington University

Ian Brodie
Program Director, Canadian Global Affairs Institute and University of Calgary

Rosa Brooks
Scott K. Ginsburg Professor of Law and Policy Georgetown University Law Center

Leslie Campbell
Senior Associate and Regional Director, Middle East and North Africa Programs National Democratic Institute

Dean Fealk
Chair, Global Strategy & Innovation, HFX; Managing Partner, DLA Piper

John Glenn
Policy Director U.S. Global Leadership Coalition

Jerrold Green
President and CEO Pacific Council on International Policy

Heather Hurlburt
Director, New Models of Policy Change New America

Rachel Kleinfeld
Senior Fellow, Democracy, Conflict, and Governance Program Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

François Lafond
Special Adviser to the Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs Republic of North Macedonia

Paz Magat
Director, Peace With Women Fellowship HFX

C. Dixon Osburn
Fellow, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy Harvard Kennedy School

Roland Paris
Professor of International Affairs University of Ottawa

Luis Rubio
Member of the Board of Directors, HFX; Chairman, Mexico-Evalua; Former Chairman, Mexican Council on Foreign Relations

Chris Sabatini
Senior Fellow for Latin America Chatham House

Randall Scheunemann
Strategic Counselor, HFX

Robin Shepherd
Vice President, HFX

Janice Stein
Chair of the Board of Directors, HFX; Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management and Founding Director, Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto

Peter Van Praagh
President, HFX

Kurt Volker
Senior International Advisor; Advisory Board Member BGR Group

W. Bruce Weinrod
Adjunct Professor, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University
The Halifax Papers
Pictures of the Taliban walking into Kabul appeared under headlines that screamed - Kabul has “fallen.” The fall was obvious to the United States and its partners, and to those Afghans who had staked their lives that the ways of the coalition were the ways of the future. Recriminations began almost immediately as discussions erupted over who had “lost” Afghanistan.

But “the fall” is not obvious to everyone. Leaders in Islamabad, Beijing and especially in Moscow, where there was more than a hint of schadenfreude, spoke not of the fall but of the return of the Taliban who had prevailed against the foreign occupiers. Many tribal leaders in Afghanistan, especially in the south but in parts of the north as well, quickly accommodated the returning Taliban.

Who wins and who loses as the Taliban consolidate power? At the top of the list of winners for many is Pakistan, which for two decades gave Taliban leaders a safe haven and made it possible for them to continue their insurgency. Now that the Taliban are back in power next door, Prime Minister Imran Khan inherits a set of serious challenges. Not the least among these is an empowered intelligence service that has withstood government pressure, and a domestic Taliban in Pakistan that is encouraged by the victory of their brothers across the border. Pakistan now “owns” the government next door. It is likely a gift that will keep on giving and will require Pakistan to focus more and more of its resources on its neighbor.

Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping cannot but take satisfaction from the shambolic withdrawal of the United States and its allies. How long that satisfaction will last is another question. Russian leaders worry about the radicalization of Muslim populations in central Asia as well as at home, as do China’s leaders who have already implemented the most draconian and repressive measures against their Uyghur population. The challenges of a fiercely independent Afghanistan led by leaders with a conservative interpretation of Islam have now returned to the region as a central preoccupation.

Of course, the fall of Kabul is felt most keenly by Afghans, especially Afghan women, who invested deeply in rights and democracy and now find themselves abandoned, left alone to face the Taliban. This cannot but be a long-lasting stain on all those among the coalition who encouraged them with promises of support and loyalty. The abandonment of these Afghans is a black mark against those who promote democracy and a chilling reminder to people of the fecklessness of the democracies that made these promises. The lesson is clear: be wary of those bearing gifts.

It is the coalition members who must now take stock of their efforts and understand why, given the magnitude of the investment they made in lives and money, Kabul fell. It is very early days yet, but the broad outlines of these lessons are beginning to come clear.
Above all, it should be obvious that democratic practices cannot be promoted out of the barrel of a gun. It is puzzling why anyone would believe that they could. The oft-cited experience of post-Second World War Japan and Germany, where occupiers sowed the seeds of democratic institutions in societies that were laid waste by a devastating war, does not speak in any way to a country like Afghanistan where networks of tribal leaders still come together outside Kabul to shape policy. To repeat and underline, the first lesson is clear – democracy promotion must be an exclusively civilian activity.

At least two other arguments go much further. The first, unabashedly realist, argues that democracy promotion has always ridden on the backs of global powers. As the United States turns toward the Indo-Pacific and away from the broader Middle East and Central Asia, the prospects of democracy promotion dim in those parts of the world. The United States is shifting its focus, not for the first or the last time, and with that shift the resources and the energy for democracy promotion will shift as well. These are nothing but the brutal realities of great power politics. Will coalition partners pick up the slack? Nothing in the past suggests that smaller allies will stay the course once the United States moves on.

Rory Stewart, the British academic, explorer and politician who once walked across Afghanistan, makes an even more sobering argument. The obsession with universal plans backed by heavy resources that led to the failure in Afghanistan, he claims, is a product of inattention to context and culture on the ground. The problem goes deeper, however, than inattention. It reflects our hubris that our values are everyone’s values and that our ways are everyone’s ways. While we remain steadfast in asserting that democracy and the rule of law are superior to autocracy, we have just had a sobering reminder that great hubris in great powers often goes before a fall.

Janice Gross Stein is Belzberg Professor of Conflict Management and Founding Director of the Munk School of Global Affairs and Public Policy, University of Toronto
The Next 9/11: From Kabul or From California (or from some lab we haven't heard of yet)?

— Hans-Jakob Schindler

It’s the problem that won’t go away. Like a virus, it mutates into new variants just when we think we have it on the back foot. Again and again, it raises old questions about what we are prepared to sacrifice in order to defeat it. It challenges our seemingly irrepressible urge to locate the dangers in distant lands when, in reality, it is a disease that can also strike us with deadly effect from within our own homes, and from people we think we know.

The year 2021 saw two major events that exemplify the multifaceted nature of the terrorism challenge. On January 6th, a violent mob, including members of right-wing extremist groups such as the Proud Boys, as well as QAnon supporters of former president Trump, stormed the US Capitol building. This showcased the growing threat of violent right-wing extremism at home.

Then, on August 30, international forces completed a hasty withdrawal from Afghanistan, enabling the Taliban to take control, and raising the specter of the country transforming again into a safe haven for al-Qaida and similar groups.

The twin challenge from right-wing and Islamist terrorism will continue to dominate the terrorism threat-landscape. Enabled and fueled by technologies such as social media, internet communication and the increasing abuse of cryptocurrencies, these groups are now able to cooperate and organize globally, and to communicate and finance themselves effectively, mostly by using cost-free services.

The Coronavirus pandemic also raised the prospect of biological attacks. Terror groups are masters of disruption. They can hardly have failed to notice the devastating societal impact that COVID-19 brought with it. Whatever the truth about the origins of the virus, the prospect of new forms of attack, using biological, chemical or radiological means cooked up in some lab we have never heard of, should be taken with the utmost seriousness.

It is also worth noting that even before the return of the Taliban to power, and despite significant military setbacks and leadership attrition, the global networks of the so-called Islamic State (ISIS) and al-Qaida had not been strategically defeated. Their decentralization and regionalization allowed them to adapt and spread in several regions of the globe. In the past two years, Africa has become a new growth area for both networks. JNIM – the coalition of various al-Qaida affiliates in West Africa – was able to fend off several rival groups linked to ISIS, while al-Shabaab, the al-Qaida affiliate in Somalia, continues to solidify its position. At the same time, ISIS systematically established a range of new affiliates throughout the northern half of the African continent, as well as in Central Africa, which exposed a new region to its operations.

This expansion, in combination with the still largely unsolved problem of thousands of ISIS foreign terrorist fighters and their families imprisoned in camps in Iraq and Syria, will continue to ensure heightened terrorist threat levels.
And lest anyone fall prey to wishful thinking about a reformed Taliban, the ongoing symbiotic relationship between the Taliban and al-Qaida was demonstrated by the triumphant return to Afghanistan at the end of August of Amin-ul-Haq, top-terrorist and former aide to Usama Bin Laden. According to UN reports, in addition to the al-Qaida core, several regional al-Qaida affiliates as well as a range of al-Qaida linked Pakistani groups already operate on Afghan soil. Unsurprisingly, online chatter among terrorist sympathizers around the globe concerning travel to Afghanistan has already begun.

ISIS also maintains an affiliate in Afghanistan, demonstrating its power through a string of bomb attacks since August, killing hundreds. The presence of ISIS as a competing ideological movement will also limit the ability of those in the Taliban movement that may wish to moderate their positions. Disgruntled, extremist Taliban factions can now easily defect to an already established terrorist structure.

In parallel to these developments, right-wing extremist groups in Europe, North America and Oceania have developed strong transnational links. New extremist narratives such as “The Great Replacement” or conspiratorial concepts such as QAnon, allowed significant parts of the right-wing extremist milieu to transcend their previous hyper-nationalist positions. They find common ground by defining new perceived enemies across the globe such as migrants, liberal politicians or the LGBTQ+ community. Bomb attacks in 2016 in Sweden as well as the horrible attacks in Charlottesville, Pittsburgh, Christchurch, Poway, El Paso, Halle and Hanau since 2017 indicate how serious this threat has become.

The digital revolution complicates matters further. Both right-wing and Islamist terrorists have learned to skillfully exploit online tools to inspire, organize and direct attacks by radicalized sympathizers. The accelerated transformation of societies online during the COVID-19 pandemic has only increased this threat. Unfortunately, the limits of corporate social responsibility of global internet platforms have again been demonstrated by the revelations of Frances Haugen, the latest Facebook whistleblower. Unless government regulation enables these companies to set up effective internal defense systems against their misuse, public safety and security will continue to be sacrificed on the altar of commercial expediency.

In the short term, rather than a next 9/11, attacks from radicalized individuals and small cells, fueled and enabled by online tools, are a core concern. However, this could change in the medium term. The developing situation in Afghanistan may enable al-Qaida and ISIS to again plan more elaborate plots. At the same time, the arrests, and subsequent revelations about, members of the right-wing “accelerationist” Hannibal network in Germany demonstrate that these groups too are capable of preparing large scale attacks.

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W.W.J.M.D? (What Would John McCain Do?)

— Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović

Many called him a maverick. He had a reputation for being argumentative, sometimes confrontational. He was often criticized for his “old Cold War mentality.” But in essence, he was a man of principle and principled politics: an officer and a gentleman; a leader with a romantic sense of honor and duty, with genteel manners. He possessed dignity and resolve, and composure in the face of adversity.

John McCain was an American patriot, a transatlanticist to the core, and a citizen of the world. Politically, he was both a realist and an idealist, in pursuit of democratic internationalism.

Throughout the almost 15 years that I knew him, including when I was President of Croatia, we maintained a continuous dialogue, and would often engage in long deliberations, exchanging our views, hopes and fears, including on the margins of the Halifax International Security Forum, of which he was a founding pillar and an ongoing source of inspiration.

His legacy endures because his values were timeless, which is why, in these troubled times, he still has so much to offer. So, what would John McCain do?

First, he understood that American leadership matters, but also that such leadership was at its most potent when people and nations sharing the same fundamental values could be brought together. Perhaps his most valuable characteristic was his ability to see past our differences. Just as he so often reached across the aisle and called for Republicans and Democrats to work together, so would he today reach across the Atlantic to bridge our differences for a more cohesive and a stronger NATO alliance.

John McCain never doubted the role and the relevance of NATO – the most successful alliance ever. Our purpose remains the same – collective defense, with Article 5 at its backbone. But NATO’s new strategic concept has been long overdue. In today’s world of major geopolitical shifts and the re-emergence of geopolitical competition, multifaceted security threats, the development of connective and disruptive technologies and artificial intelligence, climate change, and disruptors such as the pandemic, NATO needs to focus on adaptation more than ever, as John McCain would have been the first to say.

Our main task in NATO is to address structural weaknesses created by internal discord that are corrosive to the alliance. In the face of the persisting asymmetry of expectations, contributions and capabilities across the Atlantic, we need to achieve alignment on divisive issues and reinforce our mutual reliability. The US needs to reiterate its commitment to a Europe that is whole, free and at peace, and Europe needs to reaffirm the vital character of the transatlantic relationship for its defense.

He would remind us repeatedly that we are also an alliance of values, and ask of
us to stand by the right of every nation to choose their own future.

A proponent of free trade, I am certain that he would today be a lot more vocal about China, its economic statecraft and political influence. He would, without a doubt, call for an effective enforcement of global trade rules, and stronger trade alliances between democracies.

I am also certain that John McCain would call for a calibrated approach toward both Russia and China, with a focus on de-escalating tensions and keeping the lines of communication open. Cooperate where you can, compete where you must, but steer off the course of confrontation if at all possible.

He would say that Iran achieving nuclear capability is unacceptable, praying we avoid conflict, and he would demand “verifiable denuclearization” of North Korea.

In the wake of the exit from Afghanistan, he would remain eternally grateful to the service men and women who have sacrificed themselves for our freedom. He would appeal to us all to protect and preserve the gains, especially the rights of women and girls.

He would ask us vigorously to respond to the erosion of democracy in our own ranks, since it is only when democracies are healthy that they can deliver for their peoples at home, and sustain strong alliances abroad.

For John McCain, nothing was irrelevant; none of us was irrelevant. He projected the kind of respect that embodies the power of American example. The kind of America that those of us born in societies that had never before been governed by consent looked up to, yearned to be friends with, and wanted to belong to.

Frequently calling himself “a student of history,” he understood what it was like to be a victim of great power politics. “No more Yaltas, no more spheres of influence,” I remember him declaring, while reminding us of our responsibility for the maintenance of peace and stability.

John McCain was a staunch believer that we are all created equal. He believed in the inalienable rights of every individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To him, those ideals were the very definition of our identity, and in their pursuit, he found the meaning of his own life.

Kolinda Grabar-Kitarović served as President of Croatia from 2015 to 2020
In April 2016, in Beijing, President Xi Jinping assured me that China and Australia did not have historical animosities or conflicting fundamental differences. Chinese investment in Australia was growing year by year, over 200,000 Chinese students were at Australian universities, and 133 flights went from Chinese cities to Australian cities every week.

The President acknowledged our two countries had different values and would differ on issues from time to time. But any differences could be dealt with in a constructive fashion.

So, five years later, what went wrong? My successor as prime minister, Scott Morrison, has not been able to secure a meeting with Xi Jinping in three years. There has been no ministerial contact for more than a year. Sanctions have been imposed on Australian wine, barley, beef and coal.

Earlier this year, the Chinese Embassy in Canberra published a list of fourteen demands Australia should satisfy in order to get out of the diplomatic freezer. They included stopping our media from criticizing China and repealing our laws against foreign influence and interference.

Far from dealing with differences constructively, President Xi has determined to make an example of Australia. First, in 2017, there was resentment that Australia dared to criticize China’s unilateral building and militarization of islands in the South China Sea. We urged all parties to comply with the decision of the International Court of Arbitration and abide by the law of the sea.

Then, in 2018, we passed new laws to prohibit corrupt, coercive or covert interference in our politics. This was prompted by, but not exclusively directed at, the increasingly active operations of the Chinese Communist Party’s United Front Work Department.

Faced with objections from Beijing, I observed that every country is entitled to defend its sovereignty. It was not just the Chinese people who had the right to stand up.

Then in August 2018, shortly before I left office, my government decided to ban Huawei from participating in our 5G networks. This was a decision taken with great care and after long, technical consideration of whether it was feasible to mitigate the risk of this enormous leverage being misused. We made no allegations of espionage: we were hedging a risk; pointing not to a smoking gun, but a loaded one.

Then in 2020, Mr. Morrison proposed that there should be an independent inquiry into the origins of what was, at the time, called the Wuhan virus. The reaction was even more furious than that which had attended the 5G decision. The ministerial freeze deepened and the trade sanctions were imposed.

Australia did not, in my time or Morrison’s, buckle to this pressure. Our exporters found other markets and the

— Malcolm Turnbull
economic impact was modest. Recently, because of the energy crisis in China, Australian coal imports have resumed. It turned out that the greatest pain from Chinese sanctions was felt in China itself.

Once again, China’s bullying has been counterproductive. Public sentiment toward China, which only a few years ago was overwhelmingly positive, has nosedived. I can only assume this increasingly aggressive foreign policy is designed to impress a domestic audience.

Internationally, China is less liked and less trusted. For Beijing, an enormous opportunity has been missed. The erratic years of Donald Trump unsettled many American friends and allies around the world. China could, and should, have been the anti-Trump: calm and consistent, while he was furious and frenetic.

As all democracies need to understand, meeting the challenge of China requires us to hold our ground and never back down to bullying. That only invites more of the same.

We must, however, be wary of falling into a Cold War mindset – China against the United States. The world is more complex, and nowhere more so than on our side of the Pacific. We should not see our relations as a series of spokes ending in hubs in Washington or Beijing, but rather as a mesh where nations, large and small, who share democratic values, can support each other.

When President Trump pulled out of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in 2017, most people thought the deal was dead. I did not, and persuaded Japan’s Shinzo Abe and other leaders that we should stick with it. The TPP lost one member, added two letters to become CPTPP, and is not only on track, but is likely very soon to admit the United Kingdom as its twelfth member.

And by keeping the deal alive, the United States retains the option to rejoin at some point in the future.

But while we are concerned about an increasingly authoritarian China, we cannot forget that the most profound threats to our democracies lie within. The United States is more divided and angrier than it has been since the Civil War. The same forces that fomented the seditious disinformation that led to the January 6 attack on the Capitol are still there, and they are present to some degree in most other western democracies as well.

Viewed from Beijing, the case for liberal democracy looks weaker than ever. We cannot meet the challenge of a more powerful China without restoring, in our own houses, the practice of the democratic values that we preach. Only then will we be able to stand together on China with all the advantages that healthy democracies can bring to bear.

Malcolm Turnbull served as Prime Minister of Australia from 2015 to 2018
The funny thing about freedom, as Colonel Hitchcock reportedly quipped, is that it is not free. It is very costly to maintain. That seeming contradiction is compounded by most people choosing to free ride whenever they can, and to focus on the effects rather than the essence of freedom.

Since, in classical liberal terms, true freedom is “negative” – composed of very deliberate measures to protect against the “arbitrary will of others”, as opposed to “positive”, i.e. founded on notions of empowerment – globalization, as a classical liberal system, was always going to tend against empowerment per se, as those of us from the Global South are all too well aware.

In the context of a crisis, such as a pandemic, neo-liberalism comes up for scrutiny in the field of supply chain geopolitics. While the nature of the discussion, and even the terminology that animates it, may appear abstruse and academic, the sometimes devastating effects of globalization on the ground make the effort to understand what is really going on a requirement of seriousness.

Those arguing on behalf of so-called “supranational fiat,” for example, argue for the dismantling of private international law and the very delicate network of voluntary, yet prescriptive, rules and regulations that govern global interconnectedness.

Generally well-meaning though they may be in their quest to empower marginalized communities, who truly are at risk of being cut off from critical commodities – whether they be medicines, vaccines, ventilators or other necessities – such supranational fiat enthusiasts promote conditions for supply chain nationalists in wealthy countries who could not care less for communities on the global fringe.

Without understanding the vast and complex network of contracts and relationships that enable, say, a single vaccine vial to be produced, many supranational fiat enthusiasts push for global hard law policies for the empowerment of marginalized communities that can only work if the delicate underbrush of private international law is healthy and thriving. They overprescribe antibiotics to fast-cure terrible global inequities whilst taking for granted, and refusing to invest in, the balance of rights and obligations making up the local ecosystems of international trade and production.

Yet, this pandemic is our best chance to double down on international action to enrich these ecosystems, and to constrain the growing actions of nationalists. In short, it is our best chance to heal globalization.

Whether it is the ongoing efforts by various nationalist architects to re-engineer the internet into balkanized fiefdoms or attempts to impose notions of geographic determinism on complex manufacturing, the real evidence from the pandemic has shown that such control-freak strategies simply do not survive the
harsh realities of meeting the escalating needs of humankind.

The only way vaccine ramp-ups really occurred was through the repurposing of a labyrinthine network of production facilities strewn across the world for drug substance production and fill and finish activities.

It was neither supranational fiat enthusiasts nor nationalist geniuses who, through grand blueprints of action, solved the first phase of the supply crunch. What did it were the carefully nurtured trust-building systems of international contracting and tendering that allowed investments to flow efficiently from governments and businesses to sites of high productivity. Where such conditions are weak, things unravel.

As we wind down the second year of the pandemic, we are faced with a completely unjustifiable state of affairs where African countries with resources to invest in vaccine supplies cannot get their hands on the product due to geopolitical supply chain interference of many kinds. The answer to this debacle is revamped investment into deepening Africa’s integration into global supply chains by trust-based linkages to sources of technology, finance, knowledge and materiel.

Africa’s lack of capacity to engage freely in the rule-based international deal-making space has seen major supply contracts fall through, plagued by underperformance and, in some cases, even fraud.

The interesting thing is that our understandable focus on vaccines and health commodities during the pandemic has obscured deeper pathologies in the global economic system, and if we are to heal globalization we need to heed the legitimate expectations of the many people in this world who have not been privy to it benefits.

In short, the gains of globalization have all too often bypassed the global fringes, such as Africa, due to a poor and perverse understanding of what the true nexuses of globalization, freedom and cooperation really are, and what global freedom, properly construed, really means for the empowerment of people who live on the margins.

We must reverse this unfortunate trend across the Global South by concentrating less on supranational handouts and demanding more freedom to participate in the shaping of global norms.

*Bright Simons is the Founder of mPedigree, and Vice Chair of the APHRC, Africa’s preeminent public health think tank*
Fires and Landslides and Droughts, Oh My!

— Andrew Fishbein

Each year for the past decade, 5 million people have been killed by extreme heat and cold conditions caused by global climate change, according to a groundbreaking study led by Australia’s Monash University. Two hundred and twenty people in Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands died in July 2021 in flooding that was made up to 9 times more likely by climate change, scientists say. In the same month, more than 920 people perished in landslides and floods around the world. Meanwhile, North America has been gripped by a severe drought since early 2020, with Western Canada, the Western United States, and much of Mexico withered by record high temperatures that brought raging wildfires and unprecedented water shortages. Electricity infrastructure, drinking water supplies, and food production were severely strained. Climate change is here, and its effects will get worse.

Who knew? Well, almost all of us did, which raises the question of why we continue to adopt such faltering responses to this most urgent and pressing of existential matters.

The 196 countries that are parties to the Paris Agreement – including 110 that can be called democratic – all recognize that human-induced climate change is a global threat that must be squarely addressed, and fast. But this is not just a question about our survival writ large. Democratic leaders should recognize that failing to get climate change right will undermine democracy itself.

Activists like Greta Thunberg and her generation of rising leaders are rightly outraged that democratic political establishments by and large have not taken substantial and urgent action to modernize their economies and evolve the international system in response to climate change. Continued failure to do so is an abrogation of the social contract of democratic governments to protect their citizens, including the protection of minorities.

According to September 2021 Pew Research Center polling, even in the US, where public support for climate action lags behind the rest of the democratic world, 60% of Americans are worried that climate change will harm them personally. Significantly to those who worry about public loss of faith in democracy, 51% of Americans say their country is doing a bad job fighting climate change.

What good is living in a democracy if elected leaders won’t do all they can to protect citizens from a steadily encroaching threat that has been well-understood for decades? One can hardly blame people for asking. If democratic governments fail to act decisively, they will deepen growing mistrust in democratic institutions and further erode the credibility of democracy as a system of government that lives up to its own principles, and can deliver for its citizens. It needs to be understood and internalized by political leaders from all parties that it is in the direct self-interest of each democratic nation to take rapid and aggressive action on the climate, and to support other democracies in doing so...
– irrespective of intransigence on the part of any other country, even China.

Carbon accountants will quickly point out that China is currently the world’s largest greenhouse gas emitter, representing more than 26% of global emissions. But even if tomorrow China were to join a binding global agreement on emissions, there would be little reason to believe that Beijing would honor its commitments. China’s track record of living up to its international treaty obligations is dismal, from its consistent flouting of World Trade Organization rules for its own economic benefit, to its disregard of the Sino-British Joint Declaration as it tramples Hong Kong’s democracy. In September 2020, China made headlines by pledging to achieve carbon-neutrality by 2060. A year later, Beijing promised to stop financing new coal-fired power plants abroad, but made no commitment to curb coal production and consumption at home. (In 2020, China built 38.4 gigawatts of coal-fired power capacity, more than three times the combined coal capacity built in the rest of the world that year).

Yet, democracies, implicitly or explicitly, make a claim to moral superiority over tyranny. Dubious promises by autocracies on carbon emissions provide no cover for the rest of us to do nothing. That would be no more defensible than, say, turning a blind eye to child labor in our own countries just because other governments allow it and even seek to profit from it. If democracies want to be taken seriously, they must show that they are taking the lead on climate change.

Wealthy, developed democracies could make an immediate material impact by honoring their pledge to help developing countries finance low-carbon economic growth. National legislatures could follow the example of the United Kingdom and Germany and pass laws to decarbonize and modernize their economies. Democracies could explore innovative free trade models that integrate climate change and sustainability, like the Agreement on Climate Change, Trade and Sustainability.

There is no excuse for inaction. The climate crisis is a one-shot challenge, and an opportunity for democracies to restore democracy’s credibility at home and abroad.

Andrew Fishbein is Head of Policy Relations at HFX
China’s Quantum Leap Backward

— Samantha Hoffman

The myth that a digitally interconnected world would strengthen liberal democracy and undermine authoritarian regimes such as the Chinese party-state has been disproven. Digital connectivity has instead created a new competition space where neither liberal democratic nor authoritarian values have established clear dominance. The lines between them are increasingly blurred in the digital domain.

The platforms that have become integral to democratic political participation are also being used for the subversion of those processes. This was never more evident than it was on January 6 this year when outrage masked as freedom of expression mobilized into insurrection at the US Capitol. A key failure of democracy in responding to this phenomenon has been to assume the system will self-correct with minimal oversight.

America was caught off guard on January 6. In fact, the world has been caught off guard by the surge of populist movements, and in particular the rise of far-right extremism, both of which have relied on online mobilisation. The problem isn’t just internal to liberal democracies. Incidents of foreign interference in elections and referendums globally show that foreign adversaries actively seek to disrupt democratic processes using cyber-enabled means.

Authoritarians are less surprised, because in countries like China, threats of this nature have been palpable to political leaders for years. Liberal democracies championed the ways technology aided societies to overthrow autocratic leaders in the Color Revolutions and Jasmine Revolution. China’s leaders observed those same events and warned they’d need to act far in advance to prevent similar mobilization processes from subverting their own power. This is why the Chinese party-state has prioritised incrementally shaping, managing and controlling global discourse in ways that accommodate its interests and power.

What makes this problem more urgent is that the visibility of ideological competition between the two opposing values systems has never been clearer in the post-Cold War period.

One of the most visible features of the growing values conflict is the so-called battle for tech-supremacy between the United States and China. At the heart of the issue, from a liberal democratic perspective, is the PRC’s repressive surveillance state, and the security risks associated with the global export of those same technologies. This is why, for example, last year HFX issued a set of “China Principles” at the Halifax International Security Forum that included a call for opposing any PRC attempts to “bring global governance of the internet and technological standards into alignment with its own authoritarian values and ambitions.”

Yet, while it is safe to say that liberal democracies now recognise the urgency of these issues, it is clear that they are not prepared for actual “competition” in this space.
The US-China tech contest is typically framed in terms of which country might be leading a “race” – whether that is a race in Artificial Intelligence, Quantum Computing, or other technologies. But this is not a Cold War arms race to see who can develop the deadliest bomb. It isn’t even about who is leading in terms of R&D and production capacity.

The race is about concepts more than it is about specific sets of capabilities. Who is “winning” is more sharply defined as the government that can better deal with an ambiguous definition of how one might derive benefits from the technology in terms of risk assessments and in terms of the implementation of those technologies.

For liberal democracies, strategy must begin to catch up with reality. Most of the technologies involved in the so-called “race” are inherently dual-use, but this function isn’t turned on or off in a time of conflict, rather it is innate to the technology itself. And those uses are always embedded in the technology, whether or not the end-user recognizes it.

The Chinese Party-state sets itself apart because it is setting itself up to be able to exploit that inherent dual-use at all times. This is notable in terms of how it applies PRC law to Chinese companies, and in terms of how it seeks to seize advantages in the development of technical standards.

The debate on the problem with China’s tech-enhanced authoritarianism illustrates where liberal democratic understanding of risk is flawed. If we focus on the coercive uses of technology in the PRC alone, we miss how those same technologies also contribute to problem solving. The party does not see those things as being mutually exclusive, yet analysts often see a false dichotomy. Therefore, they also underestimate, or do not fully grasp, the problems.

In this sense, the Chinese government is taking better advantage of advances in technology. Whether or not it is “winning” or “losing” a race in terms of R&D and production, it is innovating in terms of concepts about application. As a result, liberal democracies are at risk of allowing the Party-state to incrementally push us all backward, in a way not so dissimilar from how exploitation of digital connectivity has pushed us back politically.

Dr. Samantha Hoffman is a Senior Analyst at the Australian Strategic Policy Institute’s International Cyber Policy Centre
Pick your own apocalypse: Global pandemic? Climate change? Great power tensions? Rising authoritarianism? Barbarians sacking the very seat of American democracy? We haven’t yet had frogs, locusts or boils, but give us a few years.

Increasingly, global publics doubt that democracy can deliver. A 2020 Pew Research Center report looked at 34 countries, from Canada and Italy to Russia, Indonesia, Brazil, Lebanon and Nigeria—and found that a median of 52% of those polled were dissatisfied with democracy, while only 44% percent declared themselves “satisfied.” Even many in the world’s oldest democracies were ready to toss democracy into history’s dustbin: 69% of United Kingdom residents, 59% of Americans and 58% of those polled in France expressed dissatisfaction with democracy. (Canadians were outliers: 66% still have faith.)

Around the world, leaders with authoritarian leanings have taken advantage of these popular doubts. According to Freedom House, the world has experienced fifteen straight years of “democratic depression,” with more states seeing declines in the health of their democracies than have seen improvements.

Global skepticism about democracy isn’t entirely unfounded. In the giddy years immediately after the fall of the Berlin Wall, pundits and politicians assured the world that democracy brought only peace, prosperity and other blessings. But democracy never fully delivered.

Democracies may not go to war with one another, but they certainly go to war, and their wars leave people just as dead as the wars undertaken by illiberal regimes. And lately, at least, authoritarian capitalism appears to many to be as successful as democracy in raising incomes.

But just as it was a hubristic mistake to crow about the wealth and security democracy would surely bring, it would be a mistake now to give up on the democratic project.

We should embrace and promote democracy, in our own states and elsewhere, not because it is perfect or because we are perfect, but because we are imperfect. It remains the only political system yet devised that builds in a capacity for self-correction.

Democracy is premised on a simple but radical idea: that every human being counts, that we all have a right to participate in making the decisions that will affect us, and that no individual or group has a permanent monopoly on political wisdom. And this implies at least some minimalist assumptions about human rights, the rule of law, and freedom of expression.

Democracy rests equally upon the conviction that worthy ideas can come from anyone, and upon the conviction that humans are inherently fallible. Pernicious ideas can also come from anyone, and in democracies there will be times when pernicious ideas will dominate our politics and our
policies. But, again, this is why we need democracy. Think of it as the ultimate human fail-safe: things can go badly wrong in democracies, but it is hard for them to go badly wrong forever. Democracy can enable and empower political extremism, but it also allows us to find ways to protect moderates and minorities. Democracy lets us start foolish wars, but it also allows us to elect leaders capable of ending them.

American democracy, for instance, remains deeply flawed, and continues to produce bad policies and bad leaders with impressive regularity. The Bush Administration’s pursuit of democracy through military force was one of those bad ideas. America’s (thankfully brief) official embrace of torture was another. Then, of course, there was the administration of Donald Trump, which launched a concerted assault on democratic principles. American democracy enabled all of these things—but American democracy also ultimately enabled their repudiation.

This is why we shouldn’t abandon the democracy agenda: not out of any triumphalist conviction that democratic states are the best of the best, the richest, the wisest, the safest or the happiest, but rather out of humility.

It is also this that makes the global advancement of democracy an urgent project. We must protect the integrity of democratic processes when they are threatened, for when democratic processes are corrupted, democracy can no longer play its protective role.

When electoral districts are gerrymandered in a manner that prevents minorities from having a meaningful voice in political decision-making; when laws or policies make it difficult for those with less power to access the ballot box; when constitutional arrangements permanently give some voters, regions or parties more power than others; when electoral officials are bullied, blackmailed or bribed into rejecting ballots cast by supporters of a particular political party; democracy at this point becomes a sham, and no longer offers the ability to self-correct.

The primary lesson of the last few years is not that democracy is worthless, but that democracy cannot be taken for granted. With constant vigilance and constant effort, the laws, institutions, processes and human commitments that enable and sustain democracy can ensure that it survives and thrives. With a bit of imagination and a lot of hard work, there is always good reason to keep the faith.

Rosa Brooks is a law professor at Georgetown University and a former official at the US Department of Defense. Her latest book is Tangled Up in Blue: Policing the American City.
GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR OFF-THE-RECORD SESSIONS

Friday Evening

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR NIGHT OWL OFF-THE-RECORD SESSIONS

Afghanistan: Why?

What went wrong and why? Were our expectations about what could be achieved in Afghanistan so misaligned with what was really possible in the “graveyard of empires” that failure was inevitable? Or is “failure” too strong a word? Are some of the gains for rights of women and the general experience of democratic practices now wired into the expectations of a significant enough section of the Afghan population that it is possible to talk about some kind of progress, perhaps over the long term?

And what of the military and strategic calculations attending the decision to withdraw? Should the United States and its allies have known that the Taliban was bound to mount a successful bid to return to power quickly? Did the Afghan Army let down both the Afghan people, and the US and its allies who trained them so long and equipped them so well? Or is it the US and its allies who let down the Afghan Army and people? Could not the US and its allies have left in place a small but powerful force in Afghanistan over the long-term, providing air, drone and intelligence cover for the Afghan Army? Two decades after 9/11 – the event that precipitated the Afghanistan intervention – what does the Taliban’s return to power mean for the global jihad?

Climate, Climate, Blah, Blah, Blah: Dealing With Bad Faith Actors

As the world continues to warm, storms grow in intensity and frequency, droughts increase and sea levels rise, what, if anything, will it take for the world to cut carbon emissions sufficiently to address the problem? International agreements are not adhered to, targets are not met, and emissions continue to grow. How meaningful are long-term pledges if they don’t impel action now? Who is actually walking the talk?

Should we shift the emphasis to adaptation? Or is that a dangerous strategy forged out of an incomplete and misleading narrative of failure of governments to meet targets? Even if some governments do not adhere to their targets, is it not true that at least some progress is being made on carbon emissions? Despite reasonable calls for the world’s leaders to do more, are we in danger of letting the good become the enemy of the best? Is the most realistic approach anyway a combination of strong leadership by the majority of the world’s nations on emissions combined with investment strategies to meet consequences of climate change that are now inevitable?
Taiwan Strong

As a vibrant democracy with leaders and people possessed of an unyielding belief in their right to live in a free society, does Beijing underestimate Taiwan at its peril? Does Beijing also underestimate at its peril the resolve of the United States and its allies to stand shoulder to shoulder in Taiwan’s defense?

Has the withdrawal of US and allied forces from Afghanistan given Beijing hope that Washington will abandon its friends in the end? Or should Beijing and the rest of the world draw the opposite lesson? Did the US withdraw from Afghanistan precisely so that it could pivot ever more strongly to Asia and better defend its allies, Taiwan in particular? What of Taiwan’s other allies, such as in Europe and Asia? How important a role are they playing in Taiwan’s support? How strong is Taiwan’s military anyway? How capable is Taiwan of mounting a credible defense against any Chinese military attack regardless of what its allies do? And how likely is any such Chinese attack?
GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR OFF-THE-RECORD SESSIONS

Sunday Morning

GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR BREAKFAST OFF-THE-RECORD SESSIONS

Refugees: Lessons from “None is Too Many”

From the Evian Conference in 1938, which failed the Jews of Europe and left millions at the mercy of the Nazis, right up to the present day, questions about obligations to help refugees go to the heart of what it is to be a civilized nation. What are those obligations? Is it an excuse for one nation to do little or nothing because others refuse to do their bit? How many is enough for one country to accept? How much of a burden should any one nation be expected to bear?

How big is the refugee problem today? Which flashpoints around the world are driving refugee crises? How big a factor in all this is climate change becoming? What are the political trends in the democratic world regarding refugees? How can we find a common language with those who have hitherto argued that we should focus on problems at home, and that the refugee problem is someone else’s problem?

Geopolitics Today: Toward Tech Mate

Technology is the great battle space of the 21st century. Where do we stand right now? Who is winning the race in artificial intelligence and quantum computing? What would be the consequences for our democracies should China make a dramatic leap forward in such technologies? What is really at stake? What would or could actually happen in the real world should Beijing make a great breakthrough in quantum computing before the United States does?

Is “race” the wrong way to phrase and formulate the challenges arising from these dual use technologies? For some analysts, the “race” is more to do with concepts than capabilities per se. Are they right? Is what is innate to the technology and the development of technical standards what really matters in this discussion?

Military and security leaders of the democratic world talk a lot these days about the centrality of technology in the geopolitical domain? Do words match reality? If not, what more do they need to do?
At the Summit of Democracy

As President Biden gears up next month to convene the first of two Summits for Democracy, what do participants at the Halifax International Security Forum think should be addressed? Unique among major international organizations, HFX, which runs the Halifax International Security Forum, is driven by a mission to strengthen cooperation among democracies. It has looked at democracy at home and abroad for almost a decade and a half, and has done so from a whole range of different angles.

Drawing on that experience, what do participants at President Biden’s democracy summits need to know? What are the pitfalls in democracy promotion abroad? Why precisely is the health of democracies at home so central to the credibility of the global democracy agenda? Indeed, what is left of the global democracy agenda? How can it be modernized to both draw on the successes and the failures of the past, and to come into alignment with the new realities of the digital revolution? How can NGOs like HFX be of assistance in helping to answer these questions?
The HFX China Principles are seven tenets for defending the values that underpin democratic societies. The Principles were featured in *China vs. Democracy: The Greatest Game*, a Handbook for Democracies published by HFX in November 2020.

HFX’s #StandTogetherOnChina program advances these principles as a common agenda for democracies to meet the challenge from China.

**HFX CHINA PRINCIPLES**

- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST CHINA’S ATTEMPTS TO INTERFERE IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES.
- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST THE SELF-CENSORSHIP OF IDEAS RELATED TO CHINA.
- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST CHINA’S OPPRESSION OF ITS OWN PEOPLE.
- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST CHINA’S ATTEMPTS TO CONTROL TECHNOLOGY AND THE INTERNET.
- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST PUNISHING THOSE WHO ARE CRITICAL OF CHINA.
- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST THE TRADE OF CHINESE PRODUCTS MADE BY FORCED LABOR OR THEFT.
- WE STAND TOGETHER AGAINST CHINA’S INTIMIDATION OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT DEMOCRACY.
PLEASE
#StandTogetherOnChina

We each have an important part to play in this effort, and your voice matters.

Make an impact by contributing a few seconds of your time to HFX’s global campaign to urge world leaders to uphold the HFX China Principles.

HFX will be available throughout the Forum weekend to film your appeal – simply choose an HFX China Principle and read it to the camera.

You can help us amplify the message through your own social media networks by sharing your video using the hashtag #StandTogetherOnChina and tagging @HFXChina on Twitter.

DON’T FORGET TO FOLLOW @HFXCHINA !
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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HFX, which convenes Halifax International Security Forum each November, is dedicated to strengthening strategic cooperation among the world’s democracies.

Halifax International Security Forum is now widely recognized as the foremost gathering of democratic leaders committed to global security and prosperity, and is 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.

HFX expresses its sincere gratitude to the volunteers, staff, partners, and vendors whose steadfast dedication and tireless support make the Forum a must-attend 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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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. As of December 31, 2020, the Defence Team includes approximately:

- 65,833 Regular Force members
- 24,191 Reserve Force members
- 27,446 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 stability. 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, as well as addressing global crises and security threats with the United Nations (UN), NATO Allies, and other international partners.

The CAF is involved in a number of important missions abroad that reflect these priorities.

- **Europe:** We are commanding the Standing NATO Maritime Group One, assisted by the deployment of Her Majesty’s Canadian Ship Fredericton. We continue to play an active role in NATO as the framework nation of the multinational battle group in Latvia, which is part of Operation REASSURANCE – NATO’s enhanced Forward Presence in the Baltic region. Since 2015, we also provide military and capacity building training to the Ukrainian military through Operation UNIFIER.

- **Middle East:** We have committed to Canada’s Middle East Strategy through a number of operations focused on reducing terrorist threats, building partner capacity, and supporting UN efforts. Currently, we continue to build the military capabilities of Iraq, Jordan, and Lebanon, through Operation IMPACT, including support to NATO Mission Iraq (NMI), which the CAF commanded a few years ago.

- **Asia-Pacific:** In the Asia-Pacific region, we have worked to promote peace and security by deploying our maritime assets as part of Operations PROJECTION and NEON. The CAF participates in exercises and contributes to the monitoring and deterrence of North Korean maritime sanction evasion activities.

The world in which the CAF operates has changed significantly in recent years. In the face of new and emerging threats and challenges we continue to remain a strong and reliable defence partner that is able to meet our international obligations and work to make the world more secure.
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.
The private sector has a critical role in meeting the global challenges of today and tomorrow.

Club HFX is the highest level of support for HFX and its mission that external donors provide. Members benefit from unparalleled opportunities to build relationships and gain insights that strengthen their global strategic vision. Club HFX members are part of the community of leaders in governments, militaries, and industry shaping solutions to the world’s most pressing security issues in the pursuit of democracy, peace, and prosperity.

Members take advantage of white glove service at HFX’s global events, including the flagship annual Halifax International Security Forum in Canada, and are given the highest level of access to all HFX programs and activities.

Club HFX members ensure that HFX can continue to advance mutual education between government and industry that leads to cooperation, action and results on matters of global significance.
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 mission of promoting strategic cooperation among the world’s democracies. The generosity of these organizations is instrumental to our success.

Halifax International Security Forum would like to thank NATO for its continued support and its sponsors CAE, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, AWS, General Atomics, MDA, Strider, 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*