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EDUCATION | RESEARCH | POLITICAL INSIGHT

WORKING ACROSS BORDERS AND PARTY LINES TO COMBAT EXTREMISM, ADVANCE DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS – AND MAKE A STAND IN AN INCREASINGLY UNCERTAIN WORLD

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2020 was a thoroughly obnoxious year. Covid-19 ransacked the Earth and everyone within it. It has thrown society into disarray, and put grief and heartache at the forefront of daily life.

With the benefits of the vaccine on the horizon, we emerge from rubble. 2020 could have destroyed the Henry Jackson Society. Instead, our output is richer than ever before.

We took the decision that the pandemic was an opportunity as well as a crisis, and pivoted into related research – augmenting our well-established streams with new themes that started by concentrating on issues of coronavirus compensation and strategic decoupling from Chinese trade monopolies, sparking debate globally.

We argued that the Chinese Government’s early handling of the disease and failure to adequately report information to the WHO breached the International Health Regulations, a treaty China is a signatory to and legally obliged to uphold. These breaches allowed the outbreak to rapidly spread outside Wuhan, its place of origin. The rewards of this approach were swiftly seen. The Mail on Sunday devoted a double page spread to coverage of the report, calling it “a landmark study”. Our call for a rethink in relations with Beijing was supported by 15 senior Members of Parliament, including a former Deputy Prime Minister and several former Cabinet Ministers, who signed a letter demanding that they planned to amend the Trade Bill (currently before Parliament at the time of writing in February 2021) to legally require the Government to reduce strategic dependency on China. Outlets beyond The Times, which covered the story in the first instance and published an editorial backing our recommendations, picked up the story, including British and international newspapers of note.

In the US, Fox News broadcast a package and interviews on our report and the risks to the USA of the strategic dependency on China that we had identified. Canada’s Journal of record, the Globe and Mail, devoted a front-page article to the report in which former Defence Minister Peter Mackay and the Chairman of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce backed our calls to end dependence. Australia’s leading newspapers picked up the story, with Chairman of the Intelligence & Security Committee Andrew Hastie MP leading the charge. Global publications like Forbes also reported on our paper and its implications for global trade and security.

Our policy vision was echoed in every corner of the Five Eyes, leading to discussions on cross-party levels embracing our ideas. It led to US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, along with 20 MPs and peers from four separate parties, meeting in London for an extended HJS briefing and discussion where Secretary Pompeo discussed the shared security challenge we face from China. We were delighted that The Telegraph, The Guardian and The Times covered this event on their front pages, with the BBC and Channel 4 referencing the meeting as well.

Our success in new areas of study was mirrored in our more traditional areas of interest. The impact of our research over 2020 has led to features on major media networks including the BBC, Sky News, CNN, Good Morning Britain and Fox, whilst making headlines in The Telegraph, The Times, The Sun, The Guardian, The Daily Mail, The Spectator, and many others.

Our media appearances continue to shape public opinion on key issues, and in doing so, set the agenda.

2020 also saw one of the most important policy victories in HJS’s entire history. Our call to merge the Foreign and Commonwealth Office with the Department for International Development was taken on board by the UK Government – helped by the endorsement of Prime Minister Boris Johnson – leading to a significant change in Whitehall’s machinery. This streamlines the UK’s external affairs and crucially means that there will be better accountability for the spending of aid money on wasteful projects and those that are against the interests of the British state, such as the funding of anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist publications in the Palestinian territories.

A number of other recommendations in various HJS publications have also now become policy, particularly in the fields of radicalism and extremism, where we have enjoyed great success in encouraging the British government to close various loopholes allowing extremists and terrorists early release from prison sentences.

Forced to transfer to online-only events by lockdowns, we have since attracted well over 10,000 attendees across an incredible 200 countries for our virtual programme.

The Henry Jackson Society has fought back against a twisted year. What could have sunk us as an entity instead became a platform from which we were able to refocus our abilities to make a tangible difference to the world as is, shaping it to the world we want to live in. It turns out that it is possible to make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear after all.

Reflecting this, 2021 will see us honing our work into two easily definable streams: ‘Securing our Societies Programme’ and ‘Advancing the Free World Programme’. The Securing our Societies Programme will focus on threats to free societies within the West, while the Advancing the Free World Programme will examine how the enemies of the free world are operating internationally. Together, they represent a newly cohesive approach to our ongoing mission: to fight the principles and alliances which keep societies free.

Thank you for your interest during this difficult period. For all our efforts, we have only been able to succeed because of the help of partners in the cause like you, who have realised that HJS can only exist with your active support. We look forward to going forward together with you once more into a brave new post-pandemic world.
RESEARCH OVERVIEW

by Jade McGlynn, Director of Research

The HJS Research Team has been renewing and reorienting itself since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, producing a number of projects that have generated significant media, policy, and political interest.

This is most obvious with the ‘Coronavirus Compensation? Assessing China’s Potential Culpability and Avenues of Legal Response’ report, which was released in early April. The report argued that the Chinese Government’s early mishandling of the Covid-19 outbreak breached the country’s obligations under the International Health Regulations. This could entail lawsuits against China running to at least £3.2 trillion from the G7 nations alone.

The report generated headlines across the Five Eyes, has been cited in debates and discussions in the UK Parliament and US Senate, and has directly informed policymaking in the UK.

It is additionally obvious with two reports released by the Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism. The first explored how Covid-19 had been “weaponised” by the far-right in both the UK and US to spread anti-Semitism. The second provided a critical analysis of the impact of Covid-19 on civil liberties and national security on both sides of the Atlantic.

Looking beyond Covid-19, the Research Team have released a number of influential reports, policy papers and briefings in 2021, including a report co-authored with Bob Seely MP on the need to introduce a Foreign Overseas Lobbying Act. The UK Government has since pledged to adopt such an act. Shorter briefings have examined topics ranging from Islamist Extremism in UK prisons to the increasing role of Mixed Ideologies in extremist violence. The former was featured heavily in The Telegraph with a detailed response from the Ministry of Justice, while the Mixed Ideologies briefing has directly informed Home Office policymaking.

Global events over recent months – not least the hardening of the West’s approach to Huawei, the UK Parliament’s Intelligence and Security Committee’s release of its long-awaited Russia report, and the poisoning and arrest of Aleksei Navalny – have also afforded HJS researchers the opportunity to contribute op-eds to a variety of top-tier newspapers and magazines, including The Telegraph, The Spectator, The Times, and Foreign Policy.
If Coronavirus has been on the top of politicians’ agendas for the past few months, then China – the source of the virus – has been immediately below it.

Three years ago, when HJS significantly expanded its work on China, it was considered a fringe issue. Encouraging British MPs - with a few exceptions – to take seriously the threats of a country with which we were supposed to be enjoying a “golden era” was like drawing blood from a stone.

Now, everything has changed. Over lockdown, dozens of MPs have signed letters on the back of HJS reports asking the Government to toughen up its stance towards the Chinese Communist Party-run state. The House of Lords held a debate on HJS’s supply chains paper and the Government launched Project DEFEND, a cross-government group which seeks to reduce the UK’s strategic dependency on China.

The high point for HJS was when Parliamentarians of four different parties crammed into a room - while socially distancing - for HJS’s roundtable with US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. Not only was there a waiting list of MPs wanting to go to the event, but other Parliamentarians perched on seats at the back of the room in order to join us.

To have gone from battling to be heard to batting away MPs is testament to the efforts of HJS staff over many years, whose groundbreaking work has shifted the debate in this area.

It has not merely seen a change in debate though; action has followed. Shortly after we first published our report on Huawei, the UK Government signalled that it was happy to admit the Chinese firm into the UK’s 5G network. After 18 months of work on the issue, it was heartening to see the UK Government signal a shift in policy and announce a ban on the firm from 2027.

China has not been the only area in which we have seen shifts in policy from the UK following HJS’s work. Last year, we published a paper entitled ‘Global Britain: a Vision for the 21st Century’, which argued – amongst other things – that Britain’s aid budget could be better spent.

It called for the merger of the Department for International Development into the Foreign and Commonwealth Office to make sure spending is aligned with our foreign policy objectives. Given that the report was endorsed by one Boris Johnson, then MP for Uxbridge, we were optimistic at the prospect of success. A year after his ascendency to the position of Prime Minister, and despite a concerted campaign by the aid industry, we were delighted to see him implement the proposals.

Equally reassuring was the passage of a new law to end the scandal of early release for terrorist offenders. Following the London Bridge II and Streatham terror attacks, we identified that in each of these attacks, the jihadists responsible had recently been released automatically from prison.

Within days, the Government introduced emergency legislation in Parliament that ended the principle that such offenders could be released without checks and having served only half of their sentences. Instead, no terror offender would be released early unless the parole board consented.

Such rapid action was as unusual as it was impressive.

In all, these past few months have seen politics speed up after several years of political indecision and stagnation over Brexit. While no one could describe the past few months as straightforward, it is clear that with Britain’s leaving of the European Union there is a genuine battle to reshape the future of Global Britain. All this means that HJS’s policy work has never been more essential – ensuring that Global Britain projects the values that we share.
Tessa Glinoer, Chief of Staff

Tessa Glinoer is Chief of Staff to the Executive Director. She works closely with the Executive Director, maintaining and sourcing funding from trusts, embassies and High Net Worth Individuals. She also works with the senior management team and researchers to produce projects and reports. When necessary, Tessa acts on behalf of the Executive Director.

As one of the organisation’s external representatives, Tessa travels globally to build awareness and support for HJS initiatives. Last year, she was present at a series of meetings in the White House, Washington D.C., as part of a successful effort to engage America with British politics. These meetings emphasised the enduring nature of the Transatlantic Alliance and the importance of the UK and US working together.

Prior to this role, Tessa spent a year as Head of Alliance Relations and Creative Content at HJS, marrying donor relations with the creation of videos and graphics for the organisation. Creative successes included a short video about Covid-19 at the very start of the global pandemic. The video highlighted the gravity of the outbreak before its full effect had been realised, and garnered thousands of views online.

Tessa previously sourced private finance for a London-based film company, in which she travelled to film festivals worldwide before being promoted to Chief Creative Officer.

She holds a Master’s degree in Philosophy from KCL.
Historically, UK overseas aid was distributed by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) – the body responsible for the UK’s foreign policy – to projects identified by local experts in Embassies. However, when Tony Blair became Prime Minister in 1997 he gave aid its own department, the Department for International Development (DFID), believing that it would boost its profile and importance. Over time, DFID’s budget was boosted until it was spending £7 in every £1,000 in the UK.

Yet, despite its size and apparent stature, DFID frequently appeared to be spending money poorly. Some projects were mad, including funding girl bands in Ethiopia, anti-smoking campaigns in Pakistan, and eel farming in Indonesia. Others were plain bad, including funding groups like the United Nations Refugee and Works Agency (UNRWA) which poisoned the minds of young Palestinians by using textbooks that teach Jihad and violence.

We were concerned that this spending was not only profligate but harmful to the UK’s interests. As such, we proposed merging DFID into the FCO. Here, spending would be directed by those responsible for the UK’s overall foreign policy objectives, including combating extremism and resisting the revisionism of China and Russia.

We made these arguments in a report launched in February 2019, with backing from Boris Johnson. In June 2020, he put his money where his mouth was by announcing that DFID would be dissolved into a newly formed Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office.

If there has been one issue that has brought home the complex question of how risks from an emergent, combative China can be handled, it is Huawei. Here, a Chinese firm – with close links to the state – sought to install complex equipment, in which defects may be undetectable, into the UK’s critical national infrastructure.

While the equipment was cheaper and could be installed more rapidly than by other suppliers, it required a good deal of trust in the character of a regime which increasingly warranted little.

For over a year, HJS sought to raise public and political awareness of the risks of any role for Huawei. We featured in hundreds of national media articles and broadcast appearances, met with dozens of MPs and wrote thousands of words about the subject.

Ultimately, a political campaign led by Bob Seely MP – the co-author of HJS’s Huawei report – convinced the Government that a change of tack was needed and they announced that Huawei was to be stripped from the UK’s 5G network by 2027.

HJS’s landmark publication ‘Islamist Terrorism’, which is now in its fourth edition, records the sentence of every convicted Islamist terrorist in the UK. It has long pointed out that many will be released far sooner than the public might expect – and that in a period of 12 months between 2019 and 2020, a sudden flood of prisoners were due for release.

So when Usman Khan, a recently released jihadist, used the opportunity of a rehabilitation conference to stab two people during a knife-wielding rampage in the London Bridge II attack, we were more saddened than surprised. Khan was just one of many due for release, however. Shortly after the attack, we warned that four further terrorists were due for release.

One was Sudesh Amman, who, six days after his release, walked to Streatham High Street, stole a knife, and stabbed two people before being shot by undercover officers assigned to tail him. It was clear that automatic release would have to end.

Within days, emergency legislation to make sure the parole board approved the early release of any terrorist offender had been introduced. We have continued to point out loopholes in the programme both publicly and in private but the law marked a serious step forward for British security.
Coronavirus Compensation

When coronavirus struck, the world was left to pick up the pieces after thousands died, economies were left in disarray, and the lives of ordinary people were left in chaos and confusion. None of this was meant to happen though. After the SARs outbreak, the international community established rules designed to prevent mass pandemics.

We sought to establish whether China – as the source of this virus – had complied with its duties under the International Health Regulations. We identified a series of key failings and cover-ups that manifestly breached China’s legal duties. For at least three weeks, as coronavirus was spreading like wildfire, not only did China fail to report the pandemic, they actively covered it up. As a direct result, five million people left Wuhan at the height of the virus, helping to spread coronavirus worldwide.

So severe were the failures, we argued, that China’s breaches could leave it exposed to a legal liability of some £3.2 trillion should a case be brought to an international tribunal. We set out ten legal avenues for action against China over the case.

The report became a global hit with stories covering it becoming the most shared online of any issue that week. Millions of people saw and engaged with our work on the subject. The report was covered by the press in every continent and triggered focus around the world on the level of Chinese negligence in the spreading of the virus.
Wuhan Laboratories

If negligence was how coronavirus spread around the world, then very real questions exist as to how it ever emerged to do so.

The virus, which descends from a strain spread amongst bats (and not humans), erupted in the city of Wuhan, in central China. Yet the horseshoe bats that carry coronavirus are from a province over a thousand miles away. There were only two ways that such a virus could have travelled to Wuhan.

The first was that bats were imported to Wuhan in October 2019 and – out of all the cities in which such creatures are traded – it was in Wuhan that the pandemic exploded. The other was that the virus had spread by negligence out of China’s leading bat virus research facilities, both of which were based in Wuhan and both of which worked on exactly this form of virus.

Over a period of several months, we worked with investigative journalists around the world to reveal just how concerning what was going on at these Wuhan laboratories was. In association with national newspapers, we published evidence of several breaches of basic biosafety that took place at the labs over a number of years. Our experts appeared around the world commenting on piece of evidence after piece of evidence that pointed towards a cover-up of a dangerous manmade public disaster.

The work did not just earn us attention in the UK. Our research was singled out for denunciation by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs at its weekly press conference – a sure sign of success.
Strategic Dependency

Despite having been the world’s first industrial power, the UK has become increasingly dependent, since the 1980s, on foreign countries for supplies of manufactured goods. This dependency was revealed most starkly earlier this year when the government clamoured to procure medical equipment and protective clothing in the fight against Covid-19.

During the 1990s and 2000s, when the West was dominant and many thought – or hoped – that the world would come to resemble countries like the UK, there was little resistance to allowing developing countries to manufacture goods needed by Britons. The offshoring of manufacturing reduced the cost of products in the UK, reduced pollution in the UK, and allowed the British economy to move higher up the value chain.

But since the return of geopolitics and great power competition in the 2010s, economic matters are no longer immune from the agendas and intrigues of authoritarian powers. This means that the UK needs to ensure that it has strategic independence and that the governments of foreign producers cannot hold it to ransom economically – or exert undue influence in other areas using economic means – over issues of policy.

Thus, if Global Britain is to prosper in the 21st century, it needs to begin to economically “decouple” from authoritarian states like China. As a recent study by the Global Britain Programme identified, there are three forms of “decoupling”: “negative”, “positive”, and “cooperative”. Negative decoupling involves legislation to restrict the import of specific strategic products; positive decoupling involves taking measures to “onshore” lost industries; and cooperative decoupling involves working with democratic allies to ensure that certain strategic products are stockpiled or accessible through a range of suppliers.

By taking such measures, the UK could prevent foreign authoritarian powers from using their industrial leverage to force the UK’s hand. After all, a Global Britain cannot be a dependent Britain; the resurgence of geopolitical competition forces the UK to reorient its economic connections and redevelop its economic and industrial base.
Weaponising Covid-19

While many consider the Covid-19 pandemic to be a challenging and worrying time, extremists perceive such a crisis in a different light – as a golden opportunity to advance their radical ideologies.

Far-right extremists – both abroad and closer to home – have exploited the pandemic to peddle unfounded conspiracy theories and intensify anti-Semitic hate in their societies. The association of Jews with disease and infection draws on deep-rooted anti-Semitic tropes. In the 14th century, for example, Jews were blamed for causing the Black Death plague by poisoning wells.

This is the anti-Semitic legacy that is echoed by contemporary far-right ideologues. HJS’s report ‘Weaponising COVID-19: Far-Right Antisemitism in the UK and US’, explored how far-right actors on both sides of the Atlantic are exploiting the pandemic, focusing on two organisations: the UK’s British National Socialist Movement (BNSM) and the US’s National Socialist Movement (NSM).

Material posted by the BNSM on encrypted messenger app Telegram, and published on the website of the BNSM, includes suggestions that Jewish people were behind the “manufacturing” of Covid-19 and stand to profit from the increased demand for medicines; are celebrating the effects of the pandemic on non-Jews; and are “controlling” government responses to the crisis to “test” the willingness of people to comply with restrictions on their civil liberties.

One of the recommendations made in the report, authored by HJS research fellow Dr Rakib Ehsan, is the creation of online units to counter non-evidenced conspiracies which pose a threat to Jewish minorities.
Leaving Lockdown

The ‘Leaving Lockdown’ report, by Director of the Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism Nikita Malik, explored the impact of Covid-19 on civil liberties and national security in the United Kingdom and the United States. It examined legislation passed in the UK and the US in response to Covid-19, reflecting on the implications of emergency measures and their longevity.

The paper then analysed the use of surveillance and policing to monitor the movement of individuals, as well as the spread of disease. It cited the use of counter-terrorism legislation to prosecute those who intentionally spread Covid-19, and considered the risks of over-policing. The report explored the use of data to monitor individuals following the easing of lockdown constraints. Finally, the report put forward a series of recommendations to the governments of the UK and the US to address the balance between civil liberties and securitisation for the sake of public safety, based on successes from the counter-terrorism space.

One of the main recommendations of the report was for the creation of an Independent Reviewer of Pandemic Legislation position, which was backed by the UK's former Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, Lord Carlile. In endorsing the report, Lord Carlile stated that a new Independent Reviewer of Pandemic Legislation should review and advise on the legislation and its consequences for the public, as does the Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation. By doing this, areas such as aviation security, contact-tracing apps, and policing in relation to infection would be accurate, transparent, and proportionate in the context of human rights.
National Resilience

The ‘National Resilience Index 2020: An Assessment of the D-10’ by Nikita Malik and Dr Rakib Ehsan puts forward a new approach to defining resilience and the policy recommendations that may stem from this.

The report systematically examines existing definitions of resilience across the “D-10” group of leading democracies - the current G-7 members (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States), plus Australia, India, and South Korea - to put forward a new definition of national resilience. This definition forms the baseline for ten indicators to measure resilience, which, when combined, can be used to understand a country’s national resilience overall. The paper employs the indicators in question - collectively forming an “index” - to rank the D-10 in terms of their ability to respond to crisis, with specific attention given to the effects of global public health emergencies, such as Covid-19, as well as terrorism attacks. The report analyses data on a country-by-country basis, providing insight into the trends observed within each resilience indicator. Finally, the paper ends with a number of recommendations based on this data analysis, intended to improve national resilience within each country.

Based on the results of the study, the countries of the D-10 have been divided into three categories of performance in relation to the National Resilience Index (NRI) - high, medium, and low. The high-performing countries are the US, Canada, and Australia; the medium-performing countries are the UK, Germany, and India; and the low-performing countries are France, Japan, South Korea, and Italy.
The visit to a foreign country by a US Secretary of State is never planned lightly. Never more so than for the first major tour following coronavirus during which the US chief diplomat is seeking to change the mind of its closest ally on an issue as big as China.

So we were honoured that when he visited London in July, Mike Pompeo chose to host his first major event with us at HJS. We arranged a roundtable of 25 MPs who have been active on the issue of China. We were delighted that MPs from the Liberal Democrats, Conservatives, Labour, and Scottish National parties joined us for an extended 80-minute meeting.

Of all the themes discussed, the dominant one was the need to restore the Atlantic Alliance that preserved the Free World when we last faced a threat as menacing as China. When our two great nations stand together, our freedoms are safeguarded. It is a mission to which we, at HJS, devote ourselves.

We were delighted that The Telegraph, The Guardian and The Times covered HJS’s event on their front pages, with the event shown across the UK’s broadcast networks and covered in much of the American press.
UNRWA, Brian Hook and Jared Kushner

The UK’s lukewarm approach to just about every Middle Eastern policy question is longstanding. Despite ample debate – and even more evidence of failure – little real change seems to come to how the UK handles the region’s longstanding issues.

The scandal of what the UK funds through UNRWA is just one example. In February, alongside Dr Simon Waldman we published our exposé of the UK aid money being spent on textbooks which glorified terrorism. It was swiftly followed by a debate in Parliament.

Following the success of the paper, we were delighted when Dr Alan Mendoza was invited to the White House to discuss the research and the UK’s stance on UNRWA with Jared Kushner, President Trump’s Israel/Palestine Tsar.

The UK’s stance on Iran has been equally tepid. We were pleased therefore to host two events that enabled Brian Hook, US Special Representative for Iran, to expand to a – at some times hostile – UK audience the rationale of the Trump administration’s strategy to stop Iran wreaking havoc across the Middle East.

In March, Special Representative Hook held a roundtable briefing for journalists and MPs at HJS’s offices. In June, in conversation with former UK Foreign Secretary Jeremy Hunt, he conducted a public webinar as part of our popular Zoom series. Both events saw extensive coverage in the press and contributed – we hope – to a better understanding on this side of the Atlantic of the US strategy.
It is an unfortunate reality that anti-Semitism is still a serious issue in modern-day Britain. While politicians of different party colours have talked tough on the need to tackle the scourge of anti-Semitism, there remains a broader reluctance to call out this deep-rooted prejudice within British Muslim communities in particular.

A 2017 report by the Institute for Jewish Policy Research (JPR) found that, across a range of indicators, British Muslims were more likely to hold anti-Semitic views when compared with the general population. This included being more likely to be of the view that the Holocaust was a myth, and to believe that Jews possess a feeling of “group superiority” over non-Jews.

A recent Savanta-ComRes survey commissioned by HJS explored which sections of the British Muslim population are most likely to hold anti-Semitic views. The results, presented in Dr Rakib Ehsan’s CSPR-CRT report *Muslim Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Great Britain*, highlight the positive impact of social integration in the British Muslim context.

British Muslims who are part of friendship groups that largely include people from the same faith background are notably more likely to believe that Jews have “too much” control in the global spheres of politics, banking, media, entertainment and arms production. Conversely, British Muslims who are part of predominantly non-Muslim friendship groups are less likely to hold anti-Semitic views. They also view authoritarian Muslim-majority countries, such as Iran and Saudi Arabia, less favourably.

The research suggests that tight-knit, predominantly Muslim peer circles act as social echo chambers, in which support for anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and overly positive orientations towards autocratic Muslim-majority countries are constantly reinforced. Meanwhile, British Muslims who have branched out and developed meaningful social ties with “out-groupers” tend to hold more favourable views of non-Muslims, and are less likely to believe in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.

As such, branching out and developing social ties with people outside of one’s own faith group can be significant in helping to bridge the trust gap between different religious communities.

There is great social value in innovative community projects which bring together Britain’s Jewish and Muslim communities, along with educational initiatives which are designed to spread awareness of historical instances of persecution experienced...
by Jewish people. Interfaith not-for-profit organisations such as Muslims Against Antisemitism (MAAS) can play a critically important role on this front, enabling the fostering of stronger Jewish–Muslim relations in Britain.

In the post-Brexit, post-Covid-19 world, the UK Government must treat social integration and community cohesion as political priorities in their own right. This is essential in helping to create resilient local communities which are immune to the age-old virus of antisemitism.

“A majority of British Muslim respondents who reported that they attend a mosque at least 3-4 times a week agree with the view that British Jews are more loyal to Israel than to the UK – 54.6%. The corresponding figure for respondents who never attend a mosque or do so only once or twice a year, is 33.8% – a difference of 20.8 percentage points.”

“British Muslims with no university education are more likely to agree than disagree with the view that Jewish people have too much control over the global media (28.6% compared with 24.3%).”

Demonstrating in-group favouritism, the highest mean favourability score is for fellow Muslims (8.09). Of the non-Muslim religious groups, the highest favourability score is for those who follow the Christian faith (6.23), followed by Sikhs (5.78), Buddhists (5.68), and Hindus (5.58). Of the faith groups included in the analysis, the lowest mean favourability score is for Jews (5.49), with the only group receiving a lower score being atheists/non-believers (5.10).
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2020

The first quarter saw progress in the Centre’s research on the Indo-Pacific as a concept crucial to emerging Western geostrategies designed to protect and sustain the international rules-based order. Progress was made on two reports examining the South China Sea: one relating to Taiwan and the need for effective alliances against China’s aggressive revisionist power projection, and the second exploring Vietnamese perspectives on the region.

The ASC continued its monitoring and coverage of the Hong Kong crisis with an event in mid-February led by Dr Brian Fong, an eminent local democracy movement scholar and activist. He revealed ways in which pro-democracy groups are consolidating the results of their recent election victory through informal processes, despite being denied a proper voice in Hong Kong Government decision-making.

Similarly, investigations into the PRC’s grim record of abuses against religious minorities highlighted accumulated evidence of how successive Chinese regimes have attempted to suppress religious movements to keep control of their subjects. Even the most brutal persecution of religious groups has failed to prevent rebellions that ended in regime change. This provides an insight into the motives behind the Chinese Communist Party’s persecution of Muslim minorities and Tibetan Buddhists in Tibet, Inner Mongolia and elsewhere, as well as abuses against Christianity and the Falun Gong movement which includes compelling evidence of commercialised organ harvesting.

The ASC continued an intensive campaign of research, publications, and briefings designed to shift the balance of opinion against allowing Huawei to become part of the UK’s 5G system. When the UK Government eventually announced a decision in Huawei’s favour, we increased our efforts and engagement. We assembled evidence on the threats Huawei poses to Britain’s secure control of its own data via integration in 5G and associated developments such as the Internet of Things (IoT). Through HJS’s contacts with senior US and other Allied officials and politicians, and a number of European think-tanks, we warned against underestimating how much damage the Huawei decision could do to important security relationships with Five Eyes and other partners.

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

Through the year, much has happened that has informed the Asia Studies Centre’s work, most obviously the Covid-19 pandemic itself. But beyond a focus on the origins of the novel coronavirus, a number of things stand out.

China’s decision, in late June, to impose a draconian National Security Law on Hong Kong was a needless disaster. The Law effectively criminalises as “terrorism” the freedoms guaranteed under the “one country, two systems” principle. It also, as Matthew Henderson argued in a piece for *The Telegraph*, conflicts directly with China’s international obligations under the legally binding Sino-British Joint Declaration, registered with the United Nations. In order to explore this further, HJS hosted a panel discussion with The Rt Hon Sir Malcolm Rifkind KCMG QC, former UK Foreign Secretary, and Martin Lee Chu-Ming SC JP, founding Chairman of the United Democrats of Hong Kong and its successor, the Democratic Party.

In July, the UK Government announced a reversal of policy when it banned Huawei from providing kit for the 5G networks, and instead ordered telecom operators to start stripping their existing equipment out of the networks. Huawei benefits from a close relationship to the Chinese Communist Party, and in the run-up to the decision there had been increasing levels of public and political concern about the influence the CCP might wield over the UK. As Matthew Henderson explained in a piece for *City AM*, the devil is in the detail of the Government’s decision, and many questions remain unanswered about the practicalities of the U-turn.

Within China’s borders, the authorities’ long-term brutalisation dealt out to not only ethnic minorities but also religious groups and dissidents from the majority Han population has continued. Repression is taking place on a scale not seen since Mao’s dictatorship. But in contrast to earlier years, there is greater recognition of the situation outside China. As Matthew Henderson argued in a piece for *CapX*, the grainy footage of Uighur Muslims being blindfolded and herded onto trains, which emerged in mid-July, is not the image of a benign global partner which successive CCP leaders spent decades building up and selling to the West.
IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2020

During the last three months of 2020, the Centre released three major research projects related to its work on Asia.

The first project explored how the CCP's building of links between China's civilian universities, military, and security agencies has played out in the UK. Over the past decade, China has carried out a policy of leveraging the civilian sector to maximise military power (known as “Military-Civil Fusion”), as a result of which large numbers of Chinese universities are engaged in defence research, training defence scientists, collaborating with the military and cooperating with defence industry conglomerates. This raises questions for UK universities that collaborate with Chinese partners, as there is a clear risk that the research which results from such collaboration could be leveraged by the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) or security agencies for surveillance, human rights abuses, or military purposes.

The second project focused on renewed great power competition in the Southern Hemisphere, and in Antarctica in particular. Co-authored with James Rogers, of the Global Britain Programme, and Dr Andrew Foxall, of our Russia and Eurasia Studies Centre, the report reviewed major countries’ current approaches to Antarctica governance structures, and drew attention to the fact that China has dramatically increased its activities there as its economic and political power has grown over recent decades. China's increasing assertiveness poses a challenge to the fragile, but so-far sustainable, governance structures, and will likely continue to do so, particularly over the coming decades as the two “mega-trends” of the current period, geopolitical competition and climate change, increasingly affect the continent.

The third project focused on the thousands of Chinese postgraduate students who come to the West every year and how many undertake research in some of the most sensitive areas. It is a trend long welcomed by Western universities, which welcome the influx of fees. However, a string of indictments in the US reveals the far more sinister side to this industry. The CCP is actively despatching thousands of individuals around the world to steal intellectual property. In particular, the CCP is greedy for information on the weapons and military platforms of the future. Following on from the White House decision to ban graduates of Chinese military universities from postgraduate study, this project explored the scale of this problem and how to fix it. It suggests that a hybridised model of the US and UK regulatory system could mitigate risk while the UK must adopt an American approach to enforcement.
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2020

HJS released its much-anticipated report into the activities of the United Nations Refugee and Works Agency (UNRWA), the UN body responsible for providing services for Palestinian refugees.

Authored by CNME Associate Fellow Dr Simon Waldman, the report exposed and detailed over forty pages how UNRWA acts not as a vehicle towards peace but as an obstacle to it. It demonstrated how textbooks for children as young as six promote extremism and violence. It also highlighted how UNRWA’s own staff and facilities were intricately involved in Hamas terrorism, and showed how its pupils have swelled the ranks of suicide bombers.

What’s more, the report showed publicly and authoritatively, how all these activities are funded by the UK taxpayer through UK foreign aid. Over the past five years, more than £300 million of British taxpayers’ money has gone to fund the activities of UNRWA. In fact, even before accounting for funds previously indirectly contributed by the UK through the EU, the UK is one of UNRWA’s top-three donors.

The report received significant media attention, with The Daily Mail covering the allegations contained within it as a special series. The paper called through its editorial for a moratorium on funds for the agency until it undergoes significant reform.

Following publication of the report, we shared its content and met with dozens of MPs to discuss our findings. We were buoyed when, in March, Jonathan Gullis – the new MP for Stoke-on-Trent North – hosted a debate in Parliament to discuss radicalisation in the Palestinian curriculum. The Government response was to await the EU’s “independent investigation” before taking action. However, having discussed this matter with the relevant Minister, we are optimistic that progress will be forthcoming.

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

Throughout the year, two issues have dominated our work in the Middle East.

The first has been combatting the instability caused by Iran’s sponsorship of terrorism both in the region and beyond. Within the UK, much focus has been given to preventing the nightmare situation of Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon. Far less attention has been paid to the war of terror that Iran wages and the corrupt regimes it has enabled.

Two events have changed all of this. The first came when the US killed Qasem Soleimani, the Iranian Revolutionary Guard’s walking, talking terrorist command and control centre. The second came when Lebanon suffered a massive explosion in August, painting in stark colours the risk of corrupt, ineffective regimes propped up by the Ayatollahs. With new focus on these dangers, Parliamentarians have been prepared to consider afresh the UK’s response to the Middle East. This has greatly aided our collaboration with the US Federal Government, helping them as they explain their strategy in London.

The second string of our work in this area has been on UNRWA. Following the publication of our landmark study into the group in March, we have met with Ministers and Parliamentarians to draw their attention to the realities of UNRWA’s work.

This work reached its climax in a debate in Parliament earlier this year in which dozens of MPs crammed into Westminster Hall in order to discuss the UK’s support. Many clutched copies of HJS’s report as they extracted an assurance from the Minister that funding would be reviewed following the results of an investigation into the materials contained within UNRWA-funded Palestinian textbooks.
IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2020

Repeating something does not transform a bad idea into a good one. One of the biggest fallacies in the discussions of policy makers, activists and academics about the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is the idea that peace can be achieved through a one-state solution, either through some kind of confederate state or binational system, or another type of arrangement under a unified multi-ethnic policy.

Although the idea of the one-state solution in its various forms is as old as the Zionist movement itself, such ideas are marred by utopian fantasies that two national movements can reconcile their differences in order to forfeit their most minimum of aspirations, national sovereignty. Indeed, there remains the strong presence of Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other extremist Palestinian terrorist groups which violently deny Israel’s very right to exist as a Jewish state.

Some advocates of the one-state formulation know full well that far from being a peaceful solution to the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, such an arrangement could amount to the death knell of Zionism and Jewish sovereignty in the land of Israel through demographic means. Despite the contemptibility of a one-state solution, it continues to gain attention in public debates and policy discussion, especially as peace talks using the more reasonable two-state paradigm appear to falter. As such, in the autumn of 2021, we hope to publish a new report by Dr Simon Waldman, an Associate Fellow in the Centre for New Middle East, which will offer detailed analyses for policy makers and interested parties explaining why the one-state idea should be dismissed as a serious policy option in international mediation.
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2020

The first quarter of 2020 saw CRT publish two research reports. The first was ‘Free to be Extreme’, which was sponsored by Facebook and which called for greater powers on the part of the British Government to proscribe far-right organisations. This policy recommendation was actioned by the Home Office in February, when System Resistance Network and Sonnenkrieg Division were proscribed to ensure individuals are prevented from, and punished for, spreading their hateful views.

The second report was ‘Far-Right Terrorist Manifestos: A Critical Analysis’ which was funded by the Airey Neave Trust. This analysed three far-right manifestos which were published online immediately before the 2019 terrorist attacks in Christchurch, at Poway Synagogue, and in El Paso. In addition to common far-right themes, the analysis showed that the manifestos also displayed sympathies with leftist views such as anti-corporation and extreme environmentalism.

In addition to responding to the recidivist terrorist violence once again hitting our streets, our experts were called on by national and international media to discuss the fallout from the American assassination of Qasem Soleimani. They analysed Iran’s infrastructure in the UK, and put forward a clear line stressing the violence Soleimani had previously directed.

CRT also hosted a number of important events, including a speech by Jonathan Hall QC, the new independent reviewer of terrorism legislation, and made comments on new policies, including the end of automatic release of convicted terrorists halfway through their sentences, and the prosecution of women returning to Britain from IS-controlled territory.

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

The Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism has delivered several hard-hitting reports corresponding with the Covid-19 period. Research was linked to pandemic-related issues and how these may parallel or amplify extremist and terrorist movements.

In April 2020, CRT published ‘Countering the Far Right: An Anthology’. Co-edited by Dr Rakib Ehsan and Dr Paul Stott, the anthology featured insightful contributions from academic researchers, professional cyber-analysts, and experienced security practitioners. As well as discussing the ideological underpinnings and recruitment methods of far-right extremist organisations, practical recommendations were provided on how to neutralise this rapidly growing threat in our societies. Due to the rapid internationalisation of far-right movements, one of the recommendations called for the deepening of global cyber-security alliances.

Dr Rakib Ehsan’s paper ‘Weaponising Covid-19: Far-Right anti-Semitism in the United Kingdom and United States’ examined how anti-Semitic content increased online and was related to issues around Covid-19, such as specifically targeting Jews for purportedly exploiting the crisis or attacking their places of worship. The paper put forward a series of recommendations to the British and American Governments to better monitor content on smaller alt-tech platforms and create a commission to better educate police and policy makers on these issues. The paper was named as Smart Thinking’s 2020 Report of the Year.

Director of CRT Nikita Malik’s paper ‘Leaving Lockdown: The Impact of Covid-19 on Civil Liberties and National Security in the UK & US’ examined the impact of Covid-19 on civil liberties and examined the overlap between increased securitisation following terrorism and the issues relating to privacy and data collection that are likely to emerge following the Covid-19 crisis. One of the key recommendations was the creation of an Independent Reviewer of Pandemic Legislation, which was endorsed by the former Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation, Lord Carlile QC.

As well as research, CRT hosted several important Covid-19-related events, including an event with representatives from Facebook examining how conspiracy theories and health information are likely to amplify on the platform. Nikita Malik spoke on two panel events on Covid-19 and misinformation, both with the American Jewish Committee and the Soufan Centre in the United States. Op-eds authored by Rakib and Nikita were featured and referenced in the latest report produced by the Commission for Countering Extremism in the United Kingdom.
IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2020

The Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism continued to produce essential research on terrorism in the United Kingdom and abroad. Dr Rakib Ehsan also authored a report on the deportation of foreign nationals convicted of terrorism-related offences. It explored the socio-demographic characteristics most strongly associated with terror convictions involving non-British nationals, and the grounds on which some have successfully appealed against their deportations from the UK. The report also explored avenues which can provide the UK Government greater flexibility when seeking to deport non-British criminals convicted of terror offences.

Dr Ehsan’s seminal work on anti-Semitism amongst Muslim communities in the United Kingdom, and how better integration reduces anti-Semitism amongst these populations, has proved to be an enduring talking point with officials and Ministers at the heart of Government. As well as meetings with Parliamentarians, researchers in CRT will brief the Commission for Countering Extremism and the Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities on extremism issues and policy recommendations.
Throughout the year, CSPR has continued to make important and robust contributions to debates on issues of society and culture.

The Centre’s latest report (published jointly with the Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism, CRT), ‘Muslim Anti-Semitism in Contemporary Great Britain’, investigated the prevalence of anti-Jewish attitudes and anti-Semitic conspiratorial beliefs within Britain’s Muslim communities. Authored by current CSPR lead Dr Rakib Ehsan, the report found that well-integrated British Muslims have more favourable views on Jewish people and are less likely to indulge in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories than their poorly integrated co-religionists. However, the report issues a word of caution: pointing out that levels of antisemitism among better-integrated British Muslims remain higher than the general population.

As well as featuring in The Telegraph and UnHerd, the report has made its mark in the Jewish press – forming the basis for articles published by the Jewish Chronicle, Jewish News, Mispacha Magazine, and The Algemeiner.

Dr Rakib Ehsan has also featured in the mainstream press, providing his analysis of the Black Lives Matter UK demonstrations on Sky News and writing for outlets such as The Telegraph and CapX on a range of race-related issues. This has included exposing hard-left interpretations of British politics and life, which are all too often unfounded and not based on existing research. Addressing socially divisive narratives surrounding race and ethnicity, CSPR also hosted a successful event, ‘Black Lives Matter UK: Where does the message end and the movement begin?’ Featuring leading British broadcaster Trevor Phillips, the event was ranked first in Smart Thinking’s analysis of think-tank events for July 2020.

In the first quarter of 2020, CSPR has continued to contribute articles to a wide spectrum of outlets on issues associated with social and political risk. This includes a recent piece for Spiked! which defended Trevor Phillips’ views on multiculturalism and integration, following his suspension from the Labour Party, and another piece for the same outlet which highlighted how Islamist extremists are exploiting Covid-19 to fuel anti-West sentiment and foster feelings of hatred towards non-Muslims.

At the same time, CSPR has hosted an active events programme. One that stands out took place at Parliament on 25 February and was entitled ‘Priorities for a Red Tory Administration’. Discussing how the Conservative Party could consolidate new-found blue-collar support in Labour’s former heartlands, the event was chaired by the newly elected Conservative MP for Bassetlaw, Brendan Clarke Smith.

CSPR has also provided media commentary on the Covid-19 global pandemic. This includes a TalkRadio appearance on the Independent Republic of Mike Graham, where Dr Rakib Ehsan discussed public attitudes towards the UK Government’s response to the coronavirus outbreak.
IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2020

CSPR continued playing its part in exposing politically divisive and socially corrosive narratives, and presenting the case for social cohesion and broad-based cooperation in the name of strengthening structures of democratic governance. This was reflected in both its written output and online events programme.

Much of the focus was on social cohesion and race relations in the British context. CSPR lead Dr Rakib Ehsan submitted written evidence to the UK Government’s Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities (CRED). The CRED, set up by Director of the Number 10 Policy Unit Dr Munira Mirza, focused on areas such as employment, poverty, education, health and the criminal justice system. Dr Rakib Ehsan continued to make the case for a hard-headed discussion on racial and ethnic disparities – one which takes into account factors such as family breakdown, unhelpful attitudes towards education, and cultural barriers to social integration.

Dr Rakib Ehsan also authored a report titled ‘Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology’, which draws on the views of prominent ethnic-minority voices in Britain who have been critical of the BLM UK movement in terms of its aims and actions.

The anthology tackles a number of important themes. This includes dissecting the role of hard-left narratives in inflaming racial tensions in the UK, and exploring how emerging “anti-system” movements are vulnerable to attracting and absorbing anti-Semites into their ranks. The report also considers the role of internal socio-cultural factors which are stalling social and economic progress in Britain’s black communities – such as high rates of family breakdown and the rise of an “anti-responsibility culture”. It also engages with claims of systemic racism in Britain – especially in areas such as policing and employment.

The anthology, crucially, provides a guide for what should be explored by the Government’s recently announced Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities.
In the First Quarter of 2020

Over the first quarter of 2020, a number of important events took place that were consequential to the work of the Russia and Eurasia Studies Centre.

First, on 1 January 2020, Vladimir Putin marked two decades of being in power in Russia. He was appointed acting president after Boris Yeltsin’s resignation on 31 December 1999, and was subsequently elected president in May 2000. Barring four years between 2008 and 2012 when he served as prime minister, he has been in the Kremlin ever since. Dr Andrew Foxall marked this occasion with an op-ed for The Telegraph.

Second, in mid-January, we released our report, ‘Russian Kleptocracy and the Rule of Law: How the Kremlin Undermines European Judicial Systems’. The report argues that the Kremlin has, on occasions, turned European judicial systems into tools of Russian foreign policy. In a Foreword, Ben Emmerson QC, who represented Marina Litvinenko in the public inquiry into her husband’s murder, explained that the scale of Russian interference in the English judiciary is such that it now constitutes a “critical national security threat”. The report’s release was covered in The Times, and there were follow-up op-eds in The Telegraph and The Times.

Third, in early March, court proceedings began in The Netherlands into the downing of Malaysian Airlines flight MH17 over eastern Ukraine on 17 July 2014. The RESC marked this with an event in Parliament, which featured Eliot Higgins, founder of Bellingcat, a British investigative journalism website. In an op-ed for The Telegraph, co-authored with Natalia Galibarenko, Ukrainian Ambassador to the UK, Dr Foxall argued, “Nobody really doubts that Russia was responsible… And nobody really doubts that Russia will never admit its guilt… Nevertheless, the legal proceedings are essential – they will put the truth on the record.”

Throughout the Year

The Russia and Eurasia Studies Centre’s work continued throughout the year.

First, Vladimir Putin was forced to delay his coronation party. The first half of 2020 was supposed to have been when Russia’s president enshrined his personal power via a referendum on constitutional changes (on 22 April) and stimulated mass enthusiasm in a Victory Day parade on 9 May.

But then Covid-19 struck, and Putin had to reschedule his plans. As Dr Andrew Foxall argued in a piece for The Spectator, when Victory Day took place on 24 June and Putin’s referendum on 1 July, they did so in a radically different setting to the one initially envisaged – the Kremlin’s mishandling of the pandemic meant that Putin’s approval rating fell from 69% in February to 59% in April, its lowest-ever figure.

The UK Parliament’s Intelligence and Security Committee finally released its Russia report in July. The report describes Russia’s influence in the UK – in a now much-quoted phrase – as the “new normal”. Although the report appeared to be written in bland prose, it is anything but. The report, as Dr Foxall argued in a piece for The Telegraph, tells a clear story of the Kremlin’s subversive influence. It outlines how Russia has gained influence, penetrated our institutions, and subverted our democratic processes.

To explore the report’s release, as well as to put it into a much broader context of Russian malign influence throughout the West over recent decades, the RESC hosted a webinar featuring Nina Jankowicz, a member of the Wilson Centre and author of the book How To Lose The Information War, and Brian Whitmore, a member of the Centre for European Policy Analysis and host of the Power Vertical podcast.
IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2020

The Centre released three research projects related to its work on Russia and Eurasia.

The first research project explored the evolution of disinformation within Russia over the post-Soviet period. In particular, it looked at how something called “black PR” (чёрный пиар) is used in conjunction with compromising material (компромат) and other legal, semi-legal, and illegal practices used to discredit an individual or damage an individual’s reputation. While “black PR” has been a feature of Russia’s political system since at least the 1996 presidential election, it is increasingly used in the business world as part of the process of corporate raiding (реидерство).

The second research project focuses on renewed great power competition in the Southern Hemisphere, and in Antarctica in particular. Co-authored with James Rogers, of the Global Britain Programme, and Matthew Henderson, of our Asia Studies Centre, the report reviews countries’ – including, Russia’s – current approaches to Antarctica governance structures, and highlights that China has dramatically increased its activities there as its economic and political power has grown over recent decades. The report explores how the two “mega-trends” of the current period, geopolitical competition and climate change, are likely to affect the continent through to 2050.

The third report outlined options that the UK Government could adopt in building a sanctions regime for authoritarian states.

Until the beginning of 2020, much of the UK’s framework for punishing rogue nations and their leaders had been organised under the auspices of the European Union. Following Brexit, the UK now needs to design and develop a regime of sanctions fit to take on the worst abusers of human rights and international norms, worldwide.

In this paper, international lawyer Dr Alan Riley argued that the UK should adopt elements of best practice from the systems of both the US and EU. The need for the UK to develop a sanctions regime capable of bringing the UK’s adversaries to heel has been cast into sharp relief with the arrest of Alexei Navalny and China’s increasing authoritarianism.
IN THE FIRST QUARTER OF 2020

The Global Britain Programme (GBP) focused on two areas.

Firstly, the Programme published a report focusing on the core assumptions which have guided Britain’s global role since the end of the Cold War. The report’s findings were presented to the Ministry of Defence and in the Houses of Parliament during February 2020.

It examined what had changed in our underlying assumptions over the last thirty years and, in response to the new strategic environment, the report recommends that the Government should:

- Embrace the need for substantial adaption;
- Acknowledge the nature of authoritarian competitors;
- Focus the power of the British union-state;
- Reassert intellectual and technological leadership;
- Reorder the institutions responsible for strategic policy;
- Recalibrate strategic resources, with boosts for diplomatic and military resources;
- Expand geographic horizons, particularly beyond Europe;
- Continuously test the core assumptions guiding British strategic policy.

Secondly, the Programme continued working on projects with the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam (DAV) and the Taiwan Representation Office, both with an “Indo-Pacific” focus.

In addition, James Rogers, Director of the GBP, was invited to participate in a conference on the future of Britain’s role in the world at the Ditchley Foundation in March. The same month, he was also invited to give oral evidence on the future of British foreign aid policy to the International Development Committee in the Houses of Parliament. There he raised the wasteful spending of British aid money including on UNRWA, the UN development agency which claims to spend the aid on what it considers to be Palestinian refugees.

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

GBP focused on three issues. Firstly, the Programme published, in conjunction with the Asia Studies Centre, a report focusing on the UK’s growing strategic dependency for manufactured goods, which was revealed most starkly in relation to Covid-19. We uncovered that both the US and UK depend on China for hundreds of strategically significant goods.

Secondly, also in conjunction with the Asia Studies Centre, the Programme launched a new perspective on the rise of the so-called “Indo-Pacific” region. This project, funded by the Taiwan Representation Office in London, argues that Britain should concentrate more on the region in the years ahead, and factor it into the ongoing Integrated Strategic Review. Third, the Programme, in conjunction with the Russia and Eurasia Studies Centre and the Asia Studies Centre, undertook a lengthy project on the geopolitics of the Southern Hemisphere, centred on Antarctica.

In addition, James Rogers, the Director of the GBP, was invited by the Secretary of State for Defence to participate in a seminar at the Ministry of Defence to look at Indo-Pacific geopolitics and its implications for the future of British strategic policy.
IN THE LAST QUARTER OF 2020

GBP has published, in conjunction with the AthenaLab think tank in Chile, a major study on climate change and geopolitics in the Southern Hemisphere, particularly Antarctica.

The Programme also completed a study, in conjunction with the Asia Studies Centre, on the need to prevent the theft of Intellectual Property in Britain's universities.

Every year, thousands of Chinese postgraduate students come to the West. Many undertake research in some of the most sensitive forms of research. It is a trend long welcomed by Western universities, who welcome the influx of fees.

However, a string of indictments in the US reveal the far more sinister side to this industry. The Chinese Communist Party is actively despatching thousands of individuals around the world to steal intellectual property. In particular, the CCP is greedy for information on the weapons and military platforms of the future.

Following on from the White House decision to ban graduates of Chinese military universities from postgraduate study, this paper explores the scale of this problem and how to fix it. It will go onto to suggest that a hybridised model of the US and UK regulatory system could mitigate risk while the UK must adopt an American approach to enforcement.
Islamist Terrorism: Foreign National Offenders and UK Deportations

By Dr Rakib Ehsan | Published 12th January 2021

Dr Rakib Ehsan authored this report on the deportation of foreign nationals convicted of terrorism-related offences. It explored the socio-demographic characteristics most strongly associated with terror convictions involving non-British nationals, and the grounds on which some have successfully appealed against their deportations from the UK. The report also explored avenues which can provide greater flexibility to the UK Government when seeking to deport non-British criminals convicted of terror offences.

Foreign Interference Unchecked: Models for a UK Foreign Lobbying Act

By Robert Seely MP | Published 10th February 2021

In the documents issued to accompany the Queen’s Speech in December 2019, the Government announced plans to review the foreign anti-lobbying legislation of Britain’s allies to ascertain whether the UK should enact similar legislation.

Calls for such legislation have grown louder over recent years, not least because authoritarian regimes have grown more aggressive and clever in their attempts to get inside Britain’s political ecosystem to push their narratives and agendas.

For this reason, the GBP undertook a study to identify US and Australian legislation, and to offer options for the UK Government, should it wish to push forward with similar legislation. Co-authored with Bob Seely MP, a member of Parliament’s Foreign Affairs Select Committee, the paper offers a handful of options for a British anti-foreign lobbying act.

BLM: A Voice for Black Britons?

By Dr Rakib Ehsan | Published 24th February 2021

Dr Rakib Ehsan, the main lead for HJS’s Centre on Social and Political Risk (CSPR), has worked on a quantitative research project which explores British public attitudes towards UK race relations and the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement.

The report, which was published at the end of February 2021, also investigates people’s perceptions of different ethnic and religious groups, their level of confidence in public institutions such as the UK Parliament, and how satisfied they are with life in Britain. While the project considers public opinion in the wider general population, there is a particular focus on socio-political attitudes within Black British communities. This part of the research concentrates on identifying which sections of the Black British population have an unfavourable view of the social mainstream, are sympathetic to forms of civil disobedience and direct action, and tend to believe in anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.
The Erdoğan Revolution in the Turkish Curriculum Textbooks

By IMPACT-se in conjunction with The Henry Jackson Society | Published 3rd March 2021

We are delighted to have worked with IMPACT-se on this timely report, exploring the state of Turkey’s new curriculum.

As outlined in the report, this is the first time that President Erdoğan has made significant changes to Turkey’s state-approved school textbooks since taking power in 2003. This report is the fourth undertaken by IMPACT-se into the Turkish curriculum and a distinct trend line of deterioration can be drawn from this latest research in regard to meeting UNESCO-defined standards of peace and tolerance.

The Islamisation of the curriculum is a direct attempt by Erdoğan to shape future generations to fit in with his grand narrative of an Islamic Turkish revival. The insertion of jihad into religious studies and the characterisation of it as a nationalist pursuit are deeply worrying and run contrary to any supposed human rights education. Textbooks can be seen as a primary site for Erdoğan’s slow revolution of Turkish society.

An Ideological Pick ‘n’ Mix: The Rise of ‘Mixed’ Ideologies and their Implications for Terrorist Violence

By Matt Dryden | Published 8th March 2021

Extremist ideology is experiencing an identity crisis. Movement across increasingly porous ideological borders presents grave challenges for the authorities, both with regards to the accurate and timely identification of divergent and disparate ideological influences, and the associated cross-pollination of tactics and methods used to perpetrate terrorist violence. The rise of “Mixed” ideologies is in part a product of the internet and social media’s ability to unite an ideologically disparate milieu who coalesce around hate and violence and deliver an incalculable supply of ideologically diverse propaganda and mind-set material directly to the fingertips of the most vulnerable and disenfranchised in our societies. The face of the terror threat is evolving, and so too must our response and original insight into this emergent phenomenon of global importance.

The Carrier Strike Group 2021: The Maritime Component of Global Britain

By Rob Clark | Published 11th March 2021

This research brief highlights the intrinsic role which the Royal Navy’s Carrier Strike Group (CSG) deployment has in fulfilling a significant function within the UK Government’s foreign policy, aligning with two of the three “Global Britain” strategic pillars. First, it works to ensure a secure and prosperous Europe by working with NATO partners in the Mediterranean and by seeking to uphold international laws in the contested South China Sea, on which so much of British and European trade depends.

Second, the deployment reinforces the role of Britain as a force for good on the global stage. By engaging further with international allies and partners, including the US, Japan, NATO, CANZUK and the FPDA, the UK is reaffirming its position as a leading defender of the liberal rules-based order. This is further demonstrated by the CSG seeking to uphold the UNCLOS, and a visible demonstration of how the recently introduced Integrated Operating Concept doctrine for the UK Armed Forces will take effect from conceptualisation through implementation to delivery across defence. A more forward-deployed military, engaging and operating with allies, will seek to firmly deter potential peer and near-peer state competitors from challenging the nation’s interests – particularly at the sub-threshold level of conflict. The CSG is the first instance of how the UK Armed Forces will become more forward deployed and engaged across several domains, fulfilling the “Global Britain” strategy.
A Steppe Change? Should Britain Be Bolder in Central Asia?  
By Dr Jade McGlynn | Published 15th March 2021

This 4,000-word briefing examines whether and how the UK should push for more ambitious trade engagement with Central Asia (CA), a region comprising the five post-Soviet states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. It argues that the UK should pursue a firm but cautious approach to trade engagement in the region, taking care not to rush into trade deals and forget our commitment to promoting human rights and championing democracy on the way. It provides a set of policy recommendations for this agenda, including the creation of a UK–Central Asia business and development forum, similar to President Obama’s C5+1. This proposed forum would establish collaboration with the five CA states on business, trade, energy infrastructure, and development issues, thereby building on the UK’s positive reputation in the region.

The SolarWinds Cyber Incident: Consequences and Policy Options  
By Dr Danny Steed | Published 24th March 2021

The Centre on Cyber Security and Online Threats released a research brief on the implications of the SolarWinds incident, tabling numerous policy options for the British Government to consider. It focused on the need to recognise the shift in threat level that this incident represents, taking full acknowledgement of its nation-state origin in Russia. Policy options included adjusting the price points for existing cyber security accreditation standards, introducing regulatory standards for supply chains, and suggesting actions to strengthen existing legislation against foreign hostile intelligence services.

Eradicating Prison Extremism: Understanding Islamist Hierarchies in Prisons  
By Eilish O’Gara | Published 29th March 2021

This research paper discusses the importance of expanding knowledge around the ways in which Islamist extremists build and bolster their networks within the UK’s high-security prison estate. It also discusses how we may use such knowledge to dismantle them. The piece discusses Islamist hierarchies and the different roles played by individuals, and the impact these roles have on the general prison population. Importantly, the short report also discusses the impact such hierarchies have on national security and how we can examine these hierarchical roles to better tailor counter-extremism measures towards Islamist radicalisers and/or “would be” terrorist offenders. The piece also discusses the need for flexibility within separation centres, whilst highlighting the importance of making the much-needed changes quickly, before the number of extremist prisoners, and those they radicalise, becomes unmanageable.

The Terrorism and Extremism Disclosure Scheme (TEDS): Empowering Families and Communities to Reject Radicalising and Extremist Influences  
By Matt Dryden | Published 30th March 2021

We know that extremists are actively targeting children in our communities, attempting to radicalise them into adopting extreme beliefs and ultimately becoming involved in terrorism. Many parents will be completely unaware that those with access to their children – including those in positions of trust – may be avowed extremists or even convicted terrorists. The Government should urgently consider establishing schemes by which parents are able to understand just who they are dealing with, just as they are with convicted sexual offenders and domestic abusers. The proposal for a Terrorism and Extremism Disclosure Scheme (TEDS) would achieve exactly that. The UK Government should institute a TEDS to warn parents if their children are coming into contact with extremists. The paper proposes that the police disclose concerns about the extremist pasts of faith leaders, relatives, and neighbours to the parents of children in a scheme modelled on those already in place to handle sex offenders and domestic abusers.
The One-State Fallacy and the Future for Israeli–Palestinian Peace

By Dr Simon Waldman

With a problem as vexing as that of Israel/Palestine, it is little surprise that academics and thought leaders would think outside the box when dreaming up solutions. One such blue-sky idea that has emerged onto the scene with a vengeance of late is that of “the one-state solution” in which Palestinians and Israelis share power in a model similar to the power-sharing agreements operated in Northern Ireland and the Lebanon. While this proposal might sound worth considering from the Ivory Towers of academia, there are very serious practical, ideological, and political concerns. All this, before even considering the security ramifications.

In a groundbreaking new report – the first in the UK to consider this concept – Dr Simon Waldman will lay out the flaws with this increasingly discussed proposal. He will also ruthlessly and systematically expose just who lies behind its sudden popularity. None of it will make pleasant reading for the left-wing activists and anti-Israel agitators who have been pushing the plan.

A New Platform for Crimea

By Jade McGlynn

It has now been seven years since Russia invaded Ukraine, illegally occupying Crimea until this day. As the situation there continues to deteriorate, this 4,000-word briefing asks what the UK can do, in partnership with Ukraine, to stop further Russian aggression on the peninsula and, ultimately, to initiate de-occupation. The briefing first outlines the highly anticipated Crimea Platform being launched by Ukraine’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs: its aims, objectives, and approach. It then demonstrates how and why a post-Brexit UK should engage with the Platform, listing a host of moral, security, geostrategic, economic, and environmental reasons. The briefing ends on a set of clear policy recommendations for the UK Government to use the Platform to support Ukraine as it works to secure the region and the continent against Russian aggression.

Iranian Influence Networks in the United Kingdom: Audit and Analysis

By Paul Stott

In 2020 the assassination of the head of Iran’s Revolutionary Guards Corps, Qasem Soleimani, produced an outpouring of grief on the streets of London by a small but dedicated band of supporters of the Islamic regime in Tehran. The Charity Commission subsequently censured the venue of the commemoration – west London’s Islamic Centre of England.

The extent to which Iran has built up political, social and religious networks of influence in the United Kingdom has been an under-researched topic – until now. This report, due for publication in May, will detail the support networks Iran has established in the UK, plus those it relies upon to set forth Tehran’s message in this country. It will do this by researching in eight core areas where Iran has sought to build its influence – political networks, religious networks, the media, culture, the Iranian diaspora, academia, business and finance.
Future National Cyber Security Strategies: Defending Values in Cyber

By Danny Steed

This report will inform the policy directions and discussions of UK policymakers ahead of the production of the UK’s new National Cyber Security Strategy (NCSS), due later this year. The report, due to be published in May, considers the international dimension the UK now needs to focus on, after the previous strategy focused so heavily on domestic resilience. Key to this will be engagement in multilateral governance practices, upholding and shaping the acceptable normative behaviours, and reengagement with liberal democratic nations to build an allied political stance against digital authoritarianism.

Countering Iran in the Arabian Gulf: A collaborative British-American Security Approach

By Rob Clark

This project involves undertaking an in-depth and exhaustive study of the Iranian regime’s foreign policy impacts upon British and American national security interests in the Arabian Gulf region. Specifically, this includes: nuclear proliferation and Iranian breaches of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA); Iran’s ballistic missile programme; continued sponsoring of proxy forces and proscribed terrorist organisations (including the Assad regime, Houthis, Hezbollah, and various Iraqi Shia militias which the IRGC controls); and the continued illegal seizure of tankers and disruption to maritime trade. This study will result in a comprehensive overview of the JCPOA, with sound and structured policy recommendations for the UK Government based upon the evidence presented of the above-mentioned Iranian actions since 2015. These recommendations will include: a broadening of the JCPOA to include restricting Iran’s ability to further develop ICBMs; targeted sanctioning of the Lebanese banks which the IRGC relies upon for funding should Iran breach the likely renewed JCPOA; and an uplift in the presence of the International Maritime Security Construct (IMSC) and the British military in Bahrain to counter continued illegal tanker seizures. This will include a recommendation to permanently extend the current three-year deployment and basing rights for a Royal Navy frigate or destroyer.

Defender of the Faiths? How Russia Uses Religions for Influence Abroad

By Jade McGlynn

As it looks to forge new alliances and bolster its global influence, the Russian Government has presented itself as a keen defender of religious beliefs and the faithful. Using close textual analysis of primary source Russian Government concepts and doctrines, as well as Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ press releases, this 10,000-word report analyses how and why Russia uses religion(s) in bilateral and international relations. After delineating the Government’s approach, the report then considers how Russian politicians adapt their “religious diplomacy” in accordance with the religion of the target country, examining each of Russia’s four founding religions (Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Buddhism). These case studies show how Russia uses each religion to build bilateral ties, pursue geopolitical aims, and ultimately present itself as an alternative civilisation to the West at home and abroad. The report will also draw attention to the relevance of these influence-building activities to the UK as it (re)asserts itself as a global player, including by highlighting areas of potential conflict between UK and Russian activities and how to manage these.
Supporting Taiwan: ‘A Calling for the Free World’

By Gray Sergeant

This report aims to encourage Britain and its allies to step up their support for Taiwan, a vibrant liberal democracy under threat from an authoritarian superpower. In recent years, China has ramped up its hostility towards Taiwan. Threatening rhetoric is now back, along with frequent incursions into the island’s air space by Chinese fighter planes. Beijing has also engaged in a campaign to isolate the country on the world stage by poaching diplomatic allies and blocking Taiwan’s entry into international bodies like the World Health Organization. While not imminent, an attempted invasion of Taiwan is an increasingly likely prospect. If this was to occur, it would shatter the ambitions for a free and open Indo-Pacific and challenge British allies and interests. Over the past four years, the USA has increasingly signalled its resolve to stand by Taiwan with both words and deeds. This report will argue that other liberal democracies can and should follow this lead.

Distance or Demand Change: The Future of the UN Human Rights Council

By Dr Simon Waldman

Established in 2006, the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) was supposed to replace the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) and remedy the latter’s unashamed double standards in which some of the world’s worst human rights abusers were judging the actions of liberal democracies and unable to sincerely promote human rights. However, the UNHRC has proved itself to be just as problematic and unfit for purpose. The protection and promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms is an important duty and should not be belittled by the conduct of the UNHRC. This report will highlight the drastic need for the UN body to be reformed and chart the failure of such attempts to date. It will challenge Western democracies to accept that reform strategies have not worked and propose that if the UNHRC proves impervious to change, the UK and other leading stakeholders should direct their human rights efforts elsewhere and withdraw their support.
Dr Andrew Foxall discusses US killing of Qassim Suleimani
Date: 3rd January 2020
Outlet: BBC Radio 2

Matthew Henderson discusses the Government's Huawei 5G decision
Date: 28th January 2020
Outlet: BBC Radio 5 Live

Dr Andrew Foxall discusses the resignation of Russia's Government
Date: 16th January 2020
Outlet: Sky News

Dr John Hemmings discusses Huawei being granted a role in UK 5G
Date: 29th January 2020
Outlet: BBC World

Dr Andrew Foxall discusses Russian political interference
Date: 24th January 2020
Outlet: CNN

Dr Alan Mendoza discusses Streatham terror attack
Date: 3rd February 2020
Outlet: BBC Radio 5 Live
Matthew Henderson asks “does China owe the world billions for Covid-19”?
Date: 8th April 2020
Outlet: The Sun

Dr Alan Mendoza discusses Streatham terror attack
Date: 3rd February 2020
Outlet: BBC News

Nikita Malik discusses Streatham terror attack
Date: 4th February 2020
Outlet: BBC Breakfast

The Henry Jackson Society’s warning about Sudesh Amman mentioned on BBC Radio 4
Date: 4th February 2020
Outlet: BBC Radio 4

Dr Alan Mendoza discusses Streatham terror attack
Date: 4th February 2020
Outlet: Sky News

Discussion of the Henry Jackson Society’s China poll report in The Times
Date: 20th April 2020
Outlet: Sky News
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<th>Media Event</th>
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<td>Alan Mendoza speaks to BBC Breakfast about Shamima Begum’s return to the UK</td>
<td>17th July 2020</td>
<td>BBC Breakfast</td>
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<td>Matthew Henderson speaks about the Hong Kong National Security Law</td>
<td>1st July 2020</td>
<td>Mike Graham on talkRADIO</td>
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<td>James Rogers discusses the HJS Report on decoupling from Chinese supply dependence</td>
<td>20th May 2020</td>
<td>Mike Graham on talkRADIO</td>
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<td>Matthew Henderson discusses HJS’s ‘Breaking the China Supply Chain’ report</td>
<td>25th May 2020</td>
<td>Fox News</td>
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<td>The House of Lords debate on the HJS’s ‘Breaking the China Supply Chain’ Report</td>
<td>1st July 2020</td>
<td>House of Lords</td>
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<td>China is exploiting Covid-19 to become a superpower – Matthew Henderson interview</td>
<td>15th May 2020</td>
<td>The Sun</td>
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<td>Matthew Henderson discusses HJS’s ‘Breaking the China Supply Chain’ report</td>
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<td>17th July 2020</td>
<td>BBC Breakfast</td>
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ITV News covers HJS’s roundtable with Mike Pompeo
Date: 22nd July 2020
Outlet: ITV News

Dr Rakib Ehsan speaks about the threat of terrorism
Date: 5th November 2020
Outlet: Mike Graham on talkRADIO

Dr Alan Mendoza discusses opportunities for closer UK–Taiwan ties
Date: 15th September 2020
Outlet: Taiwanese TV programme, ETToday

Dr Alan Mendoza discusses the cut to foreign aid
Date: 26th November 2020
Outlet: Cristo Foufas on talkRADIO

Dr Alan Mendoza speaks to BBC News about the latest Coronavirus figures from China
Date: 27th October 2020
Outlet: BBC News

Matthew Henderson discusses HJS’s ‘Coronavirus Compensation?’ report
Date: 30th November 2020
Outlet: 60 Minutes Australia
**MEDIA – OPINION**

**3rd January 2020**

**The Sun**

**VEGETABLE TEHRAN**

**Trump’s execution of Iran general is biggest security event since 9/11 – and Britain will be on edge for revenge attacks**

The assassination of top Iranian general Qasem Soleimani in a US drone strike is the most significant global security event since 9/11 - and will spark further terror atrocities.

Britain, as an American ally, will be watching the events with real concern. Iran and its proxy forces may strike out wildly in the coming weeks and months as they enact the ‘severe revenge’ they have promised following their intelligence chief’s killing.

**8th January 2020**

**CITY A.M.**

**Qasem Soleimani’s death is the UK’s first test of post-Brexit foreign policy**

Alan Mendoza

Alan Mendoza is executive director of the Henry Jackson Society.

It would be safe to say that the last thing our new government expected at the start of 2020 — flush with enthusiasm for its domestic agenda — was a foreign policy crisis, much less so one sprung upon it by the reaction of the mercurial Trump administration.

But in truth, the drone strike on Iran’s regional meddler-in-chief, General Qasem Soleimani, in Baghdad last week by the US should have been entirely understandable to our leaders, even if not predictable.

Soleimani, the commander of the elite Quds Force of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, had his fingerprints over all manner of Iranian interventions in the Middle East over the past two decades, including the deaths and maiming of British soldiers in Iraq through terrorist activities under his influence.

**10th January 2020**

**The Times**

**Global Britain: the UK’s policymakers need new operating assumptions**

Britain is about to undertake what Boris Johnson, the prime minister, has promised will be “the deepest review of [its] security, defence and foreign policy since the end of the cold war”. As the UK leaves the European Union and transforms into Global Britain, this review, long awaited, is as urgent as it is necessary.

**14th January 2020**

**The Telegraph**

**Why Britain’s spooks are wrong to downplay the risks of Huawei**

John Hemmings

Sir Andrew Parker’s assertion that incorporating Huawei components in the next stage of the UK’s 5G network would be unlikely to disrupt intelligence relations with the US or its allies is alarming for a number of reasons. It would appear that the UK’s spymasters have decided – much like Britain’s telecommunications companies – on a policy of asking the right questions in order to guarantee the right answers.

The UK needs Huawei’s 5G tech at its laughably cheap prices. And so ignored is the geopolitical context of an increasingly authoritarian China, funding Huawei’s expansion across Europe. Ignored is the company’s role in Xinjiang. Ignored is China’s place as a leading source of global cyber espionage. Ignored is the 2017 National Intelligence Law which requires Chinese companies to cooperate with China’s intelligence agencies, at home and abroad. Ignored are China’s increasing influence operations inside Western democracies.

**16th January 2020**

**CITY A.M.**

**Donald Trump proved the doubters wrong and got it right on Iran with Qasem Soleimani**

Alan Mendoza

Alan Mendoza is executive director of the Henry Jackson Society.

When the Middle East crisis broke at the start of this year, many outcomes were predicted by a panicked commentator in response to the US drone strike on Iran’s terrorist-in-chief, Qasem Soleimani.

The various theories peddled by such observers fell into two broad camps: that war would inevitably result, or that the west would suffer from the wrath of an Iran united in grief for the loss of a great leader.

Some particularly emotive souls even conflated both ideas into a combined critique of the foreign policy errorism and adventurism of their much-loathed target, the Trump administration.
Leader-for-life Putin has condemned Russia to decades more of stagnation and decline

ANDREW FOXALL

Ever since Vladimir Putin’s re-election as Russia’s president in 2018, the key question facing the country has been: what will happen in 2024, when he is constitutionally obliged to step down? Will he stay or will he go? It seems that we now have clarity – Putin is here to stay.

In a country where major policy speeches are often tedious even when at their most exciting, Putin used a televised address yesterday to announce a radical re-shaping of Russia’s political system. Government and ministerial accountability would move from the presidency to the Duma, the country’s parliament. The Duma would select the prime minister and approve most ministers, and the president would be obliged to appoint them. The powers of the State Council, an advisory body, would be strengthened.

Russia poses a critical threat to Britain. We must act fast to stop it getting worse after Brexit

ANDREW FOXALL AND BEN EMMERSON

Last week, Boris Johnson announced the imminent publication of a report of Russian interference into British democratic processes. It is long overdue, and its release should not have been delayed to begin with. But our politicians (and intelligence and security services) also need to look at how Russia manipulates UK judicial processes. Both are part of the same strategy of covert asymmetrical operations aimed at destabilising the institutions on which Western democracies depend.

Russia’s blatant war on the West must go unchallenged no longer

Andrea Foulkes

Russia is at war with the West. It uses propaganda, economic coercion, military sabre-rattling, extraterritorial killings and diplomatic pressure to systematically undermine the rules-based international order. It also wages “lawfare”, abusing international legal cooperation and law-enforcement institutions.

Since coming to power in 2000, Vladimir Putin has built an authoritarian kleptocracy in Russia. In this system, elections and political institutions have been hollowed out, the judiciary is supine and several critical journalists and political opponents have been killed.

To combat extremism, we must first understand it

Red Box | Comment

The recent appointment of Sara Khan to head the new commission for countering extremism has led to a fair share of debate. Wherever there is consensus, is that the task ahead will be a difficult one. Much work needs to be done to understand and prevent the prevalence of the extremism that contributed to five incidents of terrorism on British soil last year.
MEDIA – OPINION (continued)

THE TIMES
4th February 2020

Terrorist offenders require a new range of legal measures

Amman was released after serving half of a prison sentence of three years and four months. Those given such determinate sentences have been entitled to automatic release halfway through their jail terms. The other example is London Bridge attacker Usman Khan, who was freed on licence after serving eight years of his 16-year term.

CITY A.M.
5th February 2020

Trump’s peace plan has shifted the Palestinian direction of travel

History is usually a cruel mistress to its losers, particularly in the case of peoples attempting to create new nations who failed in their aspirations.

The Telegraph
19th February 2020

Coronavirus conspiracies are a gift to Russia’s disinformation machine

The European Union’s warning that pro-Kremlin media has “been prominent in spreading disinformation” about Covid-19 should come as no surprise to anybody who has been paying attention to what Russia has been doing over the last half a decade or so. Over this period, Russia has been waging “political warfare” against the West. This form of warfare is a toxic cocktail of propaganda, influence-peddling, cyber-attacks, subversion, economic pressure, military sabre-rattling, and everything else short of actually military conflict.

CITY A.M.
26th February 2020

The Democrats face a beating if they choose Bernie Sanders as their presidential nominee

In December 2019, a peculiar experiment in British politics hit the buffers in a most brutal manner. One of our great political parties — Labour — had gambled that it could swing radically leftwards away from the ideological centre ground.

CITY A.M.
27th February 2020

DEBATE: Would it be a disaster for Democrats if Bernie Sanders became the nominee?

Would it be a disaster for Democrats if Bernie Sanders became the nominee?

Samuel Armstrong, head of communications at the Henry Jackson Society, says YES.
The UK risks plunging the Five Eyes alliance into crisis

JOHN HEMMINGS

The Five Eyes alliance has long been a bulwark of the free world. On one level, it is simply an intelligence-sharing partnership between the US, the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand.

Legal proceedings in the Netherlands will hold the Kremlin to account

H.E. NATALIA GALIBARENKO AND DR ANDREW FOXALL

These proceedings are essential - not only do they mark the start of a process of closure for the relatives of the victims, they will also put the truth on the record.

The government should keep calm, focus on facts, and commit to a Covid-19 strategy

Alan Mendoza

If ever there were a case of Man proposes but God disposes, the Covid-19 outbreak would fit the bill.

Coronavirus conspiracies are a gift to Russia's disinformation

ANDREW FOXALL

The European Union's warning that pro-Kremlin media has been prominent in spreading disinformation about Covid-19 should come as no surprise to anybody who has been paying attention to what Russia has been doing over the last half a decade or so. Over this period, Russia has been waging "political warfare" against the West. This form of warfare is a toxic cocktail of propaganda, influence-peddling, cyber-attacks, subversion, economic pressure, military sabre-rattling, and everything else short of actually military conflict.

A blame game helps no one but fake news is even worse

Alan Mendoza

In the midst of a crisis like Covid-19, the ability to remain objective is usually one of the first human characteristics to be abandoned.

There's one way to get our liberty back: Test, test, test

Alan Mendoza

Covid-19 has achieved much during its brief reign of terror on this planet thus far. The virus has physically infected people around the globe, showing that humanity is one family after all.

Security and police forces need help to meet new threats posed by the virus

The effects of Covid-19 have resonated globally, crippling healthcare services and disrupting financial markets. In the UK, recent measures announced by the government regarding a lockdown mean that our police and security services will face pressure too.

Beware the corona crisis power grabs

Alan Mendoza

In the midst of the financial crisis of 2008, Rahm Emanuel, soon to be chief of staff for US President-elect Barack Obama, famously announced that “You never want a serious crisis to go to waste. And what I mean by that is an opportunity to do things that you think you could not do before.”
8th April 2020

CITY A.M.
Coronavirus: The government must outline the way forward

It is said that it is always darkest before dawn. And with our nation in the grip of the Coronavirus crisis - with the economy sinking, civil liberties restricted, and the peak of infections and deaths approaching - it certainly appears to be a particularly baleful moment for the UK.

8th April 2020

CITY A.M.
The City View podcast from City A.M., with Dr Alan Mendoza

In this episode Christian talks to foreign policy specialist Dr Alan Mendoza about China’s handling of the coronavirus pandemic, amid suggestions that Chinese authorities should be held to account for the global damage caused by the outbreak.

1st May 2020

NATIONAL REVIEW
The U.K. Should Abandon Plans to Collaborate with Huawei

The Chinese company, with its ties to the Communist regime, would put British interests at risk.

5th May 2020

THE TIMES
We are not powerless in resisting authoritarian China

With the outbreak of Covid-19, the “golden decade” of relations with Beijing that British leaders hoped for a few years ago looks increasingly exhausted. If it was easy to ignore the plight of the Uighurs in Xinjiang and China’s military build-up and aggressive claims in the South China Sea back then, the deaths of more than 20,000 British citizens and the crippling damage inflicted on our economy make it harder to overlook China’s behaviour now.

19th May 2020

SPECTATOR
Andrew Foxall
Where is Britain’s China strategy?

The UK doesn’t have a China strategy. We have not had one since George Osborne declared a ‘golden era’ of Sino-British relations on a trip to Beijing in 2015. In hindsight, Osborne’s ‘era’ looks more like an ‘error’.

15th April 2020

THE TELEGRAPH
#YouClapForMeNow shows that even coronavirus isn't safe from woke identity politics

Rakib Ehsan

Idenitarian liberal-left types are never ones to waste a crisis – and the Covid-19 pandemic is no different.

Since the June 2016 referendum on EU membership, woke ideitarians have aggressively peddled the inaccurate characterisation of Britain as a racist, xenophobic country. This has only intensified, following the Conservative Party’s comfortable victory in last December’s general election.

15th April 2020

THE TELEGRAPH
The World Health Organisation has come under China’s growing - and malign - influence

John Hemmings

President Trump has announced that the United States will stop funding the World Health Organization (WHO), a specialized UN agency, saying its “Sino-centric” behavior has been a catalyst for the global spread of the Covid-19 pandemic.
Ending the Dangerous U.S. Dependence on China

By ANDREW FOXALL

As the pandemic has made clear, the U.S., and the West as a whole, cannot continue to depend on an authoritarian rival state for strategically important goods.

The far right are using a crisis to target Jews

Extremists are exploiting Covid-19 to peddle conspiracy theories and intensify antisemitic hate

Rakib Ehsan
June 8, 2020

While most of us see a crisis like the pandemic as a challenge to be overcome, there are others who consider this as a gift — a golden opportunity not to be wasted.

Far-right extremists — both abroad and closer to home — are exploiting Covid-19 to peddle conspiracy theories and intensify antisemitic hate.

We shouldn’t give up our personal data blindly even in a time of emergency

Résumé liberty may be the price we need to pay for increased security.

The 9/11 attacks in the US, and 7/7 in the UK, led to almost two decades of new legislation under the broad remit of counterterrorism.

DEBATE: Is it time for western investors to abandon China?

Alan Mendoza
Alan Mendoza is executive director of the Henry Jackson Society.

and Gordon Power
Gordon Power is chief executive and chief investment officer of Earth Capital.

Is it time for western investors to abandon China?

The phrase "caveat emptor" should be ringing in the ears of China investors.

When it comes to business, western countries are waking up to Chinese policies that undermine free trade and distort the global market. Western nations, aware of Chinese dominance of many critical industries, will also move to find safer sources of supply. The trend will be for a US-led increase in tariffs and possible trade wars, which will damage returns.
MEDIA – OPINION (continued)

15th June 2020

**The Spectator**

**Andrew Foxall**

Coronavirus has spoiled Vladimir Putin's coronation party

Vladimir Putin's traditional ways of dealing with crises don't work with Covid-19. Unlike previous opponents he has faced, the coronavirus cannot be co-opted, jailed, invaded, bought off, forced into exile, or bullied into submission. And if this weren't bad enough, it is fast becoming apparent that, in the fight against the pandemic, one of the Kremlin's biggest problems is itself. Russia has been accused of spreading disinformation abroad, but disinformation is now hampering its response at home.

16th June 2020

**The Telegraph**

**Munira Mirza is the bigoted Left's worst nightmare**

The No 10 adviser tasked with a new racial equality commission refuses to bend to identity politics.

Baroness Warsi

The new government commission on racial inequalities, set up by the Head of the Number 10 Policy Unit, Munira Mirza, is coming under fire from "progressive anti-racists" who are interested in neither social progress nor fighting all forms of racism.

30th June 2020

**The Telegraph**

**The day freedom died in Hong Kong**

The Chinese Communist Party's oppressive new law has turned the territory into a miserable shadow of its former self.

Matthew Henderson

Beijing's imposition of a draconian National Security Law on Hong Kong is a needless disaster. The law effectively criminalises as 'terrorism' the freedoms guaranteed under the 'one country, two systems' principle. Yet, there are no terrorists in Hong Kong who threaten anyone's 'national security', let alone that of China.

15th July 2020

**CITY A.M.**

The Huawei 'U-turn' isn't enough to keep Britain safe

Matthew Henderson

Matthew Henderson is director of Asia Studies at The Henry Jackson Society. He is a former British diplomat who served in China and Hong Kong.

Yesterday, the UK government announced the results of its long-awaited review into Huawei's role in our country's 5G system.

16th July 2020

**The Telegraph**

Vladimir Putin has never stopped fighting the Cold War

The latest hacking attacks are part of a long line of Russian aggression emanating from the dictatorial president.

Perhaps the only surprise about the latest revelations of Russian disinformation and hacking to afflict the UK - with reference to interference with the 2019 elections and attempts to steal Covid-19 vaccine research - is that anyone should have been surprised at all. That they have been suggests that we have become dangerously short-sighted to the continued threat that the Russian intelligence apparatus poses to the UK and our interests.

21st July 2020

**The Telegraph**

This Russia report is no smoking gun, but it is still damming to our security services

The government has failed in its primary role to protect UK citizens.

Andrew Foxall

Rarely has the adage 'better late than never' been more apt than when applied to the Intelligence and Security Committee's Russia report, which has finally been released. But rather than undermining the report, this tardiness reinforces its central message: successive governments have been asleep at the wheel.

23rd July 2020

**CITY A.M.**

Pompeo and Circumstance: The special relationship endures

Opinion: Alan Mendoza

Alan Mendoza is executive director of the Henry Jackson Society.

The visit of a US secretary of state to any country is always an eagerly anticipated affair.

25th August 2020

**The Telegraph**

Putin has no good options in Belarus

The country is vital to Russian interests, but Alexander Lukashenko has rarely been a reliable partner for the Kremlin.

Andrew Foxall

In the six years since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, commentators have speculated about what might lead the Kremlin into another military intervention in the eastern part of Europe. What is currently happening in Belarus - large-scale protests against Alexander Lukashenko following rigged presidential elections - has been the most popular bet.
 instantaneous opinion: the trumps are ‘the republicans’ second most dysfunctional family’

your guide to the best columns and comment on tuesday 25 august

5. dr andrew foxall, director of the russia and eurasia studies centre at the henry jackson society, in the daily telegraph

the weekly

25th august 2020

haaretz

opinion | erdogan’s crumbling
superpower dreams make turkey even more dangerous

faced with a determined anti-turkey alliance in the mediterranean and beyond, and economic shambles, erdogan’s grandiose, belligerent ambitions are struggling. but ankara will double down, not back down.

simon a. waldman

26th august 2020

the spectator

it’s time for the west to ditch its russian playbook

we have been here before. russia is at the centre of an international crisis of its own creation. and we know how it plays out: briefly there is shock in western capitals, quickly followed by outrage.

this is entirely justified given that alexey navalny, russia’s most prominent opposition figure – and the second most popular politician in the country – is lying in coma in a berlin hospital having been poisoned, according to the german government, by the nerve-agent novichok. in diplomatic language, this is expressed as ‘deep concern’ with russia’s ‘shocking and irresponsible’ behaviour, which is condemned ‘in the strongest terms’.

7th september 2020

the telegraph

it’s vital the government gets real over ethnic differences in its covid strategy

it’s not politically incorrect but responsible to have authorities understand the realities of ethnic differences in the uk’s pandemic response.

28th september 2020

the telegraph

the Islamist beheading in Paris should be a wake-up to the rest of Europe

last Friday’s killing was not simply the gruesome murder of a teacher – it was a vicious attack on enlightenment values.

29th october 2020

the times

the vilification of macron by muslim countries is disturbing

the french leader is right to take a bold stance against Islamic extremism.

30th october 2020

lockdown special review
MEDIA – PRESS COVERAGE

**THE TIMES**
1st January 2020
Razwan Faraz: Teacher in Trojan horse scandal is back in classroom

**Mail Online**
2nd January 2020
Deputy head, 39, who lost his job at Trojan horse school after branding gay people 'animals' in WhatsApp chat is back in the classroom giving advice to teachers

**EXPRESS**
2nd January 2020
Teacher in Trojan horse scandal who lost his job for homophobic remarks back in classroom

**Mail Online**
2nd January 2020
After Hong Kong riots, Huawei row and LSE takeover battle: China blocks Shanghai stock market pact with London

**Mail Online**
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British tourists in Egypt are warned they could be soft targets for terrorists loyal to Iran

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Iran plotting to target Brits on holiday with fears hotels to be hit in terror attacks

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UK-registered Islamic charity has described Qassim Soleimani as a 'great martyr'

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Inquiry into charity Islamic Centre of England that called Iran’s Soleimani a martyr

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Attack on prison officer by inmates wearing fake suicide belts as they shouted ‘Allahu Akbar’ ‘is terror incident’ say police

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Prison terror attack suspect, Brusthom Ziamani, held sharia courts inside HMP Whitemoor

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Corrupt Russian oligarchs are suing each other in English courts as a way of laundering hundreds of millions of pounds in dirty money

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Oligarchs launder dirty cash in our courts
Britain after Brexit: it’s time to decide on our place in the world | 12 January 2020

Sadiq Khan and Google launch counter extremism fund | 14th January 2020

Google and Sadiq Khan join forces to create a local counter extremism fund | 15th January 2020

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Islamists get longer jail terms than far-right extremists | 19th January 2020

Online far-right extremists ‘get lower sentences’ than Islamists | 19th January 2020

Back for Bad Almost 500 terrorists freed from prison in the past decade — with many living back where they were radicalised | 19th January 2020

Nearly 500 terrorists have been freed from jail over past decade - with many Islamists living back in communities where they were radicalised | 19th January 2020

Russia warning: West faces DECADE of stalemate under Putin's sweeping changes | 19th January 2020

Terrorists ‘living next-door to each other’ after early release from prison | 19th January 2020
MEDIA - PRESS COVERAGE (continued)

**INDEPENDENT**
19th January 2020
UK’s failure to ban far-right groups undermines fight against online extremism, report finds

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South China Sea fury: How UK could scupper China’s plans after Brexit

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New faith schools will create more division
If Boris Johnson wants to unite Britain he should be wary of backing a policy that allows discrimination by religion

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Terrorism crackdown: Watchdog unveils new model to tackle extremism in Britain

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Government terror adviser warns 'no magic test' to stop reoffending
Criticisms follow government plan to include lie-detector tests in monitoring of convicted terrorists on release

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Jihadi brides should be given punishments as tough as their terrorist husbands, says top lawyer

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Terror suspects should face jail if they refuse to hand over phone passwords to police, says Government adviser

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Terror watchdog calls for clampdown on jihadi brides

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The strange world of the radically left-wing Soas university

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Mike Pompeo: Think again on Huawei or risk spy pact

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How will post-Brexit Britain find its way in the world?

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1st February 2020
Every woman and girl should be screened for 'barbaric' FGM practice, coalition of police, barristers and charities urge
The sale of British Steel could cement relationships with new allies but at the risk of angering old ones

Pictured: Streatham terrorist named as Isis supporter Sudesh Amman

First photo of Streatham 'terrorist' as he's unmasked as 'knife-obsessed' ISIS fanatic

Britain's plan for post-Brexit union with Canada, Australia and New Zealand REVEALED

Streatham Terror Attack: Man Shot Dead By Police After Three People Injured During Stabbing Spree

Why was he free? Streatham terrorist was on MI6's 'top 5 most dangerous jihadis' list before knife frenzy days after jail release

At least 20 jihadists on the loose: At least 20 terrorists back in London where they committed offences that put them in prison

What are we doing releasing them? Piers Morgan rages on GMB that if Streatham jihadi Sudesh Amman had not been shot by police he would soon

Boris Johnson promises 220 convicted terrorists WILL stay locked up for longer: PM unveils tough new laws to be passed this week in wake of Streatham attack

Mother of Streatham terrorist reveals her 'disgust' at son's attack, claims he was radicalised in Belmarsh - and how he asked for his favourite mutton biryani just hours before his knife rampage

Streatham terrorist Sudesh Amman was tailed around the clock on his release from prison by officers warned to carry guns because he was so dangerous but they still couldn't stop him attacking 10 days later

Susanna Reid tells of frantic dash TOWARD scene of horrific Streatham terror attack after seeing a helicopter fly over her home and social media posts of armed police outside her local Lidl

Man shot dead by police in Streatham attack was convicted terrorist

Streatham terrorist 'in MI6's top five' was freed halfway through sentence without being assessed by Parole Board even though he 'still held extremist views': - a month after PM vowed crackdown on releasing jihadis
MEDIA – PRESS COVERAGE (continued)

1. **The Sun**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - ‘WHY RELEASE THEM?’ Piers Morgan slams ‘utterly ridiculous’ release of Streatham attacker Sudesh Amman after just half his terror sentence

2. **The Sun**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - CHILLING BOAST Streatham jihadi told childhood pal ‘When I grow up, I’ll be a terrorist’

3. **Express**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - ‘I don’t care how expensive it is!’ Furious row erupts on Jeremy Vine over terror attack

4. **Express**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - ‘The country is on edge!’ Piers Morgan lashes out at Sadiq Khan after London terror attack

5. **Daily Star**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - Streatham attack: Eyewitness reveals terrifying first-hand account of crash near scene

6. **The Sun**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - FREE TO WAGE WAR Faces of the jihadists freed to roam UK streets after early release

7. **The Sun**
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   - MY JIHADI BOY Streatham terrorist pictured as innocent boy as ‘disgusted’ mum says he asked for favourite biryani hours before attack

8. **The Sun**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - FREE TO ATTACK Officials warned against freeing Streatham terrorist Sudesh Amman from jail in DECEMBER

9. **The Sun**
   - 3rd February 2020
   - WHY WAS HE FREE? Streatham terrorist was on MI5’s ‘top 5 most dangerous jihadists’ list before knife frenzy days after jail release

10. **The Sun**
    - 3rd February 2020
    - TERROR ON HIGH STREET How Streatham carnage unfolded: Jihadi with fake bomb vest struck as undercover cops tailed him
A freed terrorist strikes again: two stabbed in Streatham attack

Terrorists who pose a threat to the public should not be let out of prison

Wave of jihadi terrorists due to be freed on early release within months

Streatham attack: Terror returns to streets of London

Streatham terror: Police raid home of Amman’s ‘associate’

UK may bypass human rights convention to rush through terror laws

‘Be a GOOD boy’ Streatham terrorist’s dad ‘told him not to be naughty’ just hours before knife rampage

‘Priti VACANT!’: Home Secretary is ruthlessly mocked for repeatedly promising to tackle ‘counter-terror offenders' in car-crash interview likened to The Thick of It

Hundreds of convicted terrorists roaming British streets after being granted early release

Stop jails breeding fanatics who want to kill us, says STEPHEN POLLARD

Streatham attack shows Britain needs new ideas on deradicalisation

‘Be a GOOD boy’: Streatham terrorist’s father reveals he told his son 'not to be naughty' less than 24 hours before his knife rampage - and says he had no idea 'he had been radicalised'

Rush to change sentencing laws before release of convicted terrorists
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5th February 2020

Seconds from SAVAGERY: Streatham terrorist Sudesh Amman’s final moments before he knifed two people in horrific street attack then police shot him dead are caught on CCTV

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On the trail of the Streatham terrorist: MI5 officer on motorbike is seen in pursuit of Sudesh Amman as he walks along south London road... moments before his horrific knife rampage

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Streatham terrorist ‘in MI5’s top five’ was freed halfway through sentence without being assessed by Parole Board even though he ‘still held extremist views’ - a month after PM vowed crackdown on releasing jihadis

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Streatham terror attack: What we know about Sudesh Amman

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Prosecutors allow dozens of charges brought against terrorists to ‘lie on file’

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Terrorist inmate attacked guards while wearing a fake suicide vest inside maximum security prison while serving sentence for plot to behead soldier

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Preacher who inspired Streatham terror attack peddling jihad from behind bars

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TWISTED YOUTH UK’s youngest terrorist who plotted to behead police could be released in 2020 – but his identity is being kept secret

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How former Uber driver plotted second terror outrage within days of release from

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Urgent crackdown on terror sentences will affect about 50 inmates

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The Terror Bill: has Boris Johnson’s rush to legislate left us with a sticking plaster instead of a real solution?

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Huawei paid for Cambridge study ‘to launder reputation’
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Cambridge caught in crossfire of US-China tech war

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Johnson unveils major review of foreign and defence policy

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UK envoy’s dressing down of Australian MPs weakens relationship

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Boris Johnson signals first major defence spending increase in 5 years

The review will look how at the UK ‘better use technology and data to adjust to the changing nature of threats we face’

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Jihadi textbooks in schools funded by £100 million of OUR cash as foreign aid goes on science material that teaches physics in Palestine by showing a slingshot being fired at ‘Zionists’

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Emergency terror legislation becomes law

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Nathan Cuffy: Arms dealer who sold gun to terrorists set for early release

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Emergency law blocks automatic early release of 50 convicted terrorists

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New terror laws come into force two days before extremist due to be freed

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IN THE NICK OF TIME Emergency law passed just in time to block convicted terrorists from being released in days

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Law to block terrorists’ release to officially take effect - with just hours to spare

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Dominic Cummings wins fight for widest security review since Cold War

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Ex-MI5 chief Jonathan Evans says the most serious terrorists should get 'whole life' jail sentences and die behind bars

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‘End of soft justice’ for jihadis as no more will go free early to carry on their carnage

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Who is the real Priti Patel?

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Jihadi behind soldier beheading terror style plot claimed £1m legal aid

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UK immigration no longer 'top of mind' issue, says new report

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South China Sea standoff: How UK warned China 'we will intervene' amid US clash

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Trump called Russia’s coronavirus aid to U.S. ‘very nice’ Putin may use it as a propaganda coup

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‘PROPAGANDA COUP’ Putin is ‘storing up favors’ with US medical supplies airlift, expert says but Trump dismisses warnings of Kremlin stunt

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China owes us £351 billion: Britain should pursue Beijing through international courts for coronavirus compensation, major study claims as 15 top top Tories urge 'reset' in UK relations with country

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China must pay Britain £351bn in coronavirus damages - report calls for UN to step in

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UK coronavirus live news: Hancock says no change to exercise rules as Calderwood steps down from daily briefings - as it happened

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**Chinese Takeaway** China owes Britain £351 billion for coronavirus pandemic and we should take them to court, study claims

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China should be sued for $6.5 trillion for coronavirus damages says top UK think tank

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China’s orchestrated disinformation campaign is costing lives, MPs warn

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Sue China for coronavirus outbreak, says think tank

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Will China be sued over coronavirus?

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China abandons bid to seize control of chip maker Imagination Technologies after Westminster backlash

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Despite Mounting Criticism over America’s Coronavirus Response, Here’s What the U.S. Is Getting Right

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Bull in a china shop: No place for xenophobia in Australian society

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Make China pay! Boris told to seize property and halt debt repayment over COVID-19 damages

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US medical workers sue China for ‘hoarding’ PPE during coronavirus pandemic

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There are valid questions about how China handled coronavirus but advocating hostility won’t help

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Covid-19 a blow to Beijing’s ambitions for global leadership
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Make China pay! Majority of Brits blame 'utter contempt' of Beijing for coronavirus - poll

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Pope in Easter isolation as eerie St Peter's Square deserted for poignant annual service

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British government adviser who worked with China from the start of the coronavirus outbreak faces questions about whether he could have done more to raise the alarm in the UK

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UK spy agencies hint at tougher stance on China after coronavirus pandemic

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China unlikely to emerge as leader of post-coronavirus world
Outbreak's economic cost and lack of allies limit Beijing as global power

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Matt Hancock announces social care plan to tackle care homes coronavirus crisis

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FIEND'S MUM CASH 'Beatles' jihadi’s mum given £23,000 in legal aid to help him avoid death penalty

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China Hawks Are Calling Coronavirus Their Smoking Gun. Don't Buy It | Opinion

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Thousands sign up to US class action to sue China over coronavirus

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China’s post-pandemic power grab: Beijing is desperate to overtake America as the world’s economic superpower - and with the West brought to its knees by the virus, who can stop it

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Eight in 10 Britons want an international inquiry into China’s handling of coronavirus crisis as three quarters of people say they believe Beijing is to blame for allowing deadly disease to spread

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Covid-19 coronavirus: Grieving US family joins class action to sue China for six trillion dollars

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Britons want China to face inquiry over coronavirus outbreak

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Coronavirus POLL: Should Boris send a bill to China to pay for devastating outbreak? VOTE

One of Britain’s most wanted ISIS jihadis arrested as police raid bolthole

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WHO on earth do they think they are?

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China ‘owes us’: Growing outrage over Beijing’s handling of the coronavirus pandemic

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Tory MPs to scrutinise UK’s relationship with China amid anger over Covid-19 response

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The outrageous reason why Australian businesses and coronavirus victims WON’T be able to sue China for ‘covering up’ severity of deadly virus

The Coming China Backlash
There is a pent-up volcano of rage against the Chinese regime for its reckless cover-up of a devouring pandemic.

Why I’m walking away from China
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Putin crisis as tumbling oil prices sees Russia facing huge social spending cuts

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How Australian families and businesses could lose $60B because of COVID-19 - as it’s claimed 95% of people infected globally would have been spared if China acted faster

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Could China face global legal consequences over its handling of the coronavirus crisis?

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Gunrunner who supplied terrorists released early from jail despite law for longer sentences
The early release of a gunrunner who supplied terrorists has prompted demands for the Government to close loopholes

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'High-risk' extremist to be released from jail despite fears over copycat terrorist attack
Extremist who befriended Streatham knife attacker will be released following an unprecedented legal delay forced by the Justice Secretary

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Shocking new dossier claims china cover-up led to coronavirus pandemic

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Land of Secrets What’s really going on inside North Korea and what’ll happen if Kim Jong-un dies?

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KIM'S KILL ZONE Truth behind ‘Bond villain’ Kim Jong-un’s brutal executions... from piranhas to anti-aircraft guns and devil dogs

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LAB SCANDAL Wuhan lab blamed for coronavirus LIED about safety precautions it took during controversial bat tests

**MACLEAN'S**
3rd May 2020
China was in violation of International Health Regulations. What do we do now?
As we look towards a post-coronavirus world, we must seek accountability for the human toll and economic devastation that this virus has wrought

**Sun**
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LAB COVER UP Pics of Wuhan scientists handling bats with shocking lack of safety precautions are deleted from institute’s website
The Telegraph
Bat faeces, linked to coronavirus outbreak in humans, available on Amazon and delivered to the UK
A spokesman for Amazon said they require all products offered in their store to comply with applicable laws and regulations.

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Canada and its allies must hold the Chinese government to account
Peter MacKay: Rather than rely on China for critical goods, Canada’s strategic interests require us to shift towards partners that align with our rules-based system.

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Ministers ‘fully aware’ China was covering up extent of coronavirus outbreak in early weeks of crisis
Questions raised over decision to delay lockdown after Government was told ‘not to believe Beijing’s claims’.

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The Times
Our leaders must wake up: dependence on China is dangerous
Bob Seely: Thursday May 14 2020, 12.01am, The Times
Twenty years ago, Western countries believed that a modernising China would become “like us”. We hoped that by trading and engaging with China, it would move to a more liberal and democratic state over time. It hasn’t. In fact, it is moving further away. Yet some Western powers still cling to a China policy which is not only outdated but actively damaging.

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The Sydney Morning Herald
’Greatest peril’: study finds Australia most dependent on China among the Five Eyes

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Tory MPs call for trade bill overhaul amid fears over UK’s reliance on China

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Mail Online
White House official urges Britain not to hand China control of its electricity as Beijing-run nuclear energy company jostles for dominance

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Britain is too dependent on China for vital imports including ingredients for painkillers, antibiotics and anti-viral drugs says think tank

14th May 2020

The Times view on Western reliance on an aggressive China: Conscious Decoupling
The pandemic has made clear the urgent need for the West to unite in confronting Beijing

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Is Biden truly able to trump Trump? Obama 2.0 isn't a done deal says MARCO GIANNANGELI

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Fears of global trade war with China after Beijing slaps 80 per cent tariff on Australian exports starting TODAY as brutal payback over country’s call for coronavirus inquiry backed by 100 nations including the UK

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Marco Rubio tapped as acting chairman of Senate Intelligence Committee

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Donald Trump says WHO must 'clean up its act' after threatening to permanently ends its funding over accusation it failed to sound the alarm on coronavirus

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Donald Trump threatens to permanently pull $400M in WHO funding from the US unless it makes 'major substantive improvements within 30 days' as China offers $2bn virus aid

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Beijing accuses America of 'inciting countries to demand compensation from China' for coronavirus after hitting Australia with huge tariffs as payback for Covid-19 inquiry calls

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Five Eyes allies urged to lessen dependence on China

21st May 2020
Morning Update: How protecting hospitals from COVID-19 impacts fuelled crises at care homes

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Boris Johnson flags shift on rules for Chinese investment

22nd May 2020
The FOUR ways China could be sued for coronavirus outlined by international law expert

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Boris Johnson wants self-sufficiency to end reliance on Chinese imports

24th May 2020
US dependence on Chinese imports posing potential threat on national security, think tank says

24th May 2020
Cyber security review may spell end for Huawei 5G deal

24th May 2020
Your Aussie friends are baffled, Britain: Why escape from Brussels – only to kowtow to Beijing, asks former prime minister of Australia TONY ABBOTT
CRISIS IN COURT: Terror suspect freed in five-hour trial as coronavirus spreads chaos in UK courts and causes backlog of cases.

英国寻求新供应商以增强韧性

中国警告：英国准备保卫Taiwan和DEFEND国家免受北京的攻击

议员呼吁Brexit Britannia扬帆出海以促进贸易

Forty Under 40: Our top 10 take a bow!

HSBC and Standard Chartered slammed for supporting China’s Hong Kong security law

前外交部长支持延长对伊朗的UN武器禁运

议员指责HSBC和其他英国公司支持香港镇压，并批评‘背离人权’
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Boris Johnson scraps foreign aid department – major revamp announced in Commons

**Telegraph** (17th June 2020)
Spend the aid budget on a successor to HMY Britannia, Penny Mordaunt tells Boris Johnson

**Telegraph** (18th June 2020)
How the China vs US technology race is remapping the world

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The Dfid merger, explained

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Islamic charity which described Qassim Soleimani as ‘great martyr’ given official warning by watchdog

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Terror suspect was described an unpredictable character who smoked cannabis

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‘Obsession’ with catching far-right extremists to ‘appease the hard left’ in Britain is diverting police, MI5 agents and public money away from stopping dangerous jihadis, intelligence expert warns

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Reading stabings: terror suspect was on MI5 list

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US v China: is this the start of a new cold war?

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American anger over plans for Huawei centre near Cambridge

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U.S. Gains Ground in Effort to Freeze Huawei Out of 5G
Cecil Rhodes statue demo chief works for charity guarding 'racist's' legacy

Americans likely to be barred from Europe when borders reopen next week due to coronavirus surge

Strict contracts with seven-page confidentiality agreement drawn up for workers at new £1 billion Huawei centre

Boris Johnson's pick for national security post attacked as too political

Former officials question David Frost's suitability for role as neutral adviser

Hong Kong latest: Boris Johnson offers refuge to 3 million after China crackdown

Banks caught in crossfire over Hong Kong turmoil: HSBC and Standard Chartered facing threat of US sanctions

China WAR warning: Beijing launches ‘invasion’ in terrifying military rehearsal

Prince Harry's 'calculated attack' backfires as Duke's stance labelled 'vapid nonsense'

Chinese work on nuclear plants ‘will be next flashpoint’

UK universities accused of censorship by complying with China

Ministers poised to ban Huawei from 5G network
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Ministers fear China will blitz UK with a devastating online attack – dubbed ‘cyber 9/11’ - amid perfect storm of diplomatic fallout.

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Up to 150 jihadis could attempt to come to the UK after Isil bride Shamima Begum’s court victory.

The court of appeal’s unprecedented ruling that Shamima Begum should be allowed into the UK could open the door to other Jihadiis.

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Shamima Begum ruling reignites debate over Britons who joined Isis.

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UK ‘on alert for China cyber attack’ in retaliation for Hong Kong.

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Extremism report highlights spike in far-right antisemitism during pandemic.

Researchers show how conspiracies have gained traction online during the lockdown with calls made to ‘infect Jews’ with Covid-19.

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UK-China relations: from ‘golden era’ to the deep freeze.

Bilateral ties have been deteriorating, but a rejection of Huawei by Britain would mark a new low.

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Shamima Begum ruling: The other Britons wanting to return to the UK from Syria.

Dr Alan Mendoza, executive director of the Henry Jackson Society, said the decision would have ‘dramatic repercussions’ for the UK’s counter-terrorism strategy.

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Tory China hawks to meet Mike Pompeo for Huawei talks.

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Shamima Begum’s predictable return shows how feeble our authorities have become.

Dripping with sanctimony, the Court’s decision is an insult to the British public which will have to pay for this outrageous racket.

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BEGUM’S BELIEF Round-the-clock surveillance on Shamima Begum could ‘cost taxpayers £10million’ over her lifetime.
Mail Online

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Revealed: Chinese firm on same banned list as Huawei makes British police radios as another firm’s Big Brother spy cameras watch your every move

The Telegraph

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Mike Pompeo claims China 'bought' WHO chief

The Guardian

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Mike Pompeo attacks WHO in private meeting during UK visit

The Washington Post

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Pompeo praises Britain for hard line against ‘disgraceful’ China, denies U.S. pressure

The Telegraph

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Boris Johnson refuses to say he has 'full confidence' in WHO head
Prime Minister wants organisation to reform in order for it to respond 'effectively' to emergencies

Evening Standard

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Mike Pompeo claims WHO chief was ‘bought' by China leading to ‘dead Britons'
It is the latest in a string of attacks on the WHO by the Trump administration as tension mounts between Beijing and the West

The Guardian

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UK records 110 new deaths

The Sydney Morning Herald

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Australia hits out at Chinese hackers, as Pompeo urges global coalition against China

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Mike Pompeo: WHO chief ‘killed British coronavirus victims’

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27th July 2020

China lockdown almost MONTH too late - earlier shut could have reduced COVID cases by 95%

The Telegraph

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Five Eyes alliance looks to expand reach to counteract China’s influence
Intelligence bloc may ask Japan to join in an effort to end West’s dependency on China and curb its domination of national infrastructures

The Guardian

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Five Eyes alliance could expand in scope to counteract China

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Britain is in 'panicked' discussions with Five Eyes allies to revive a 2012 initiative to combat the West’s reliance on China for its critical infrastructure

The Sun

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EYEING UP CHINA UK in talks to ‘resurrect’ Five Eyes spy alliance group and recruit Japan to stop growing influence of superpower China
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Chinese nuclear power plant near Battle of Britain tribute ‘insensitive to war dead’
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Copying UK defamation laws will fix Australia’s ‘plaintiff bonanza’: Spycatcher silk
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Integration could reduce tensions between Muslim and Jewish communities, study
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Muslim antisemitism – It’s time to face reality
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Survey of British Muslims claims almost half hold antisemitic views
5th August 2020

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It’s time to call out the antisemitism within Britain’s Muslim communities
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Personal interactions key to breaking down barriers
14th August 2020

The Sun
COLD SNUB Britain may boycott 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing as diplomatic relations with China head for a freeze
18th August 2020

EXPRESS
Brits demand BOYCOTT of China’s Winter Olympics in poll – ‘Whole world should pull out’
24th August 2020

The Sun
TERROR LOOSENHOLE Young terrorists who murder can get shorter jail sentence than those caught just plotting an attack
24th August 2020

The Times
More diplomats needed with Mandarin, say MPs
24th August 2020

Conservative Home
If you back CANZUK, you should also support the D10 – an alliance of democracies
28th August 2020

The Times
China attempts to extend influence by sending more diplomats
28th August 2020

Mail Online
Government plans to roll out lie detector tests for terrorists before they can be paroled but Nicola Sturgeon’s SNP is blocking them in Scotland
3rd September 2020
EXCLUSIVE: Hundreds of extremists who pose a terror threat will be kept behind bars for longer as ministers plan to close early release ‘loophole’

THE TIMES
Dominic Raab urged to extend legal protection for Hongkongers

The Sydney Morning Herald
Australia’s allies ready to sanction Belarus officials

EXPRESS
China genocide horror: Beijing could face ruling over human rights abuse claims in the UK

Evening Standard.
Foreign students ‘face ban on studying sensitive subjects at British universities’ amid security fears

THE TIMES
Chinese students face ban amid security fears

The Telegraph
Royal Navy diving contract with Chinese-linked firm is ‘maritime version of our 5G’

The Sydney Morning Herald
Britain may boycott Beijing Winter Olympics over Xinjiang abuses, says Raab

Iain Duncan Smith calls for review of Chinese investment in UK

KEEP OUT OF BRITAIN MPs say terror pal of Osama Bin Laden should lose his British citizenship

GRIN AND BENEFIT Grinning Bin Laden pal Abdel Bary ‘to get taxpayer-funded house’ when he returns to UK after early US jail release

Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai, 23, is trolled on social media for supporting Conservative friend who is running to be Oxford University president

PRITI’S PLAN Priti Patel wants to give Britain’s ‘FBI’ new powers to tackle Russian and Chinese spies in UK

Priti Patel ‘wants to increase counter-espionage powers’ of ‘Britain’s FBI’ to tackle threat of Russian and Chinese spies in Britain
MEDIA – PRESS COVERAGE (continued)

**Mirror**
8th November 2020
UK spent £1 billion of taxpayers’ money to buy PPE and ventilators from China

**EXPRESS**
23rd November 2020
Two convicted terrorists released early onto Britain’s streets with three more to follow

**China’s secret takeover of Britain exposed: Beijing’s stealth plot to control 115 UK firms**
12th November 2020

**THE TIMES**
23rd November 2020
Chinese have swooped on 115 UK firms in a decade, Henry Jackson Society think tank finds

**The Telegraph**
14th November 2020
Dozens of foreign-born terrorists avoided deportation on release from prison, study finds

**The Sydney Morning Herald**
19th November 2020
’Situation more perilous’: Britain boosts defence spending

**Sun**
20th November 2020
‘BE READY’ Inside the far-right American ‘militia networks’ arming themselves for ‘Civil War’ as Joe Biden becomes president

**Mail Online**
27th November 2020
Number of far-Right fanatics sent on Government deradicalisation scheme surges

**The Telegraph**
5th December 2020
Exclusive: Peers ‘will be able to drive coach and horses through crackdown on outside earnings’

Campaigners say rules offer enough opportunities for peers to challenge whether some payments need to be disclosed
EVENTS IN 2020

NORWAY-UK NAVAL COOPERATION AND SHARED INTERESTS IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC AND POLAR REGIONS

20th January 2020 | House of Commons

Speaker: Rear Admiral Sverre Nordahl Engeness | Chair: James Gray MP

Rear Admiral Engeness addressed some of the issues affecting dynamics in the Arctic from a Norwegian perspective and discussed the international trends. Mr Engeness stressed that the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea is central to Norway's maritime operations, and the UK has a similar mind-set. Since Norway is a small nation, it needs this system so it can work internationally and be assured that it is not being taken advantage of. The Rear Admiral considers Russia to be a significant uncertainty, hence Norway's approach to it consists of both reassurance and deterrence. The NATO link between North America and Europe is crucial to the deterrence of Russia, therefore the Rear Admiral recommends moving the UK-Iceland-Greenland gap towards the 'Bear Gap' so weapons cannot threaten the sea lines of communications across the Atlantic, and greater cooperation between US, UK and Norwegian marines. The development of this cooperation is critical to the monitoring of issues that the UK and Norway have shared interests in.

WOMEN'S VOICES IN PUBLIC SPACE: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

21st January 2020 | House of Lords

Speakers: Lilja Alfredsdottir, Professor Rosie Campbell, Nikita Malik | Chair: Baroness Prosser

Nikita Malik argued that the lack of women in leadership is due to several factors, including poor implementation of equality policy and lack of affordable childcare services. Women still mainly gravitate towards “caring” professions – such as nursing and teaching. Ms Alfredsdottir pointed out that Iceland's success in increasing women's participation in the labour force to 86%, and its achievement of becoming the top country in terms of gender equality, is due to a number of women-friendly policies. Professor Campbell highlighted that female MPs and candidates are more exposed to harassment, intimidation and threats than their male counterparts, both in Parliament and on social media. The panel concluded that although the proportion of women in politics in the UK has increased over the years, there is still much that can and should be improved.

JONATHAN HALL QC: UK TERRORISM LEGISLATION

22nd January 2020 | House of Commons

Speakers: Jonathan Hall QC, Alexander John Gervase Chalk | Chair: Nikita Malik

Jonathan Hall QC began the panel by discussing his role as an Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation. He explained how the authorities should operate the powers that are given to them by the law in the context of terrorism. He advised that technology and the management of known sources of risk needed to be considered for future legislation. Encrypted metadata and auto destruction of communications mean that a terrorism investigation can be defeated by a suspect withholding their password, with nothing deterring individuals from refusing access to information on their devices. Advances in biometrics, with the right safeguards, could be used to enhance terrorist watch listing at ports and borders. There are also problems with the concepts of terrorism as an act and terrorism as an offence. The more successful the police are at detecting a precursor offence before an act of terrorism has been carried out, the less chance there is of prosecuting for a serious offence. It must be recognised that these terrorists will be released back into society even after serving the full length of their sentence. Furthermore, prison does not affect individuals equally, and for some, it may increase their status in a network and prolong their activism. These consequences must be addressed.

FREE TO BE EXTREME

23rd January 2020 | Portcullis House, Westminster

Speaker: Nikita Malik

Nikita Malik discussed the main findings of her report 'Free to Be Extreme', which addresses the issue of Islamist and far-right extremist content online and what social media companies could do to tackle it. In the opening remarks, Rt Hon Jeremy Wright QC MP underlined the importance of the fight against extremism online. Nikita then presented her study and explained that, after analysing the cases of 107 individuals convicted by British courts for extremism-related crimes online, including terrorism, she built a framework which can be used by social media companies to map and assess violent extremist profiles online. This framework allows the grading of extremist harm based on 20 indicators which include an individual's history of criminality or extremism intent, their level of influence over others, membership of a proscribed group, and whether they have shared extremist content online. Technology companies and the police must improve their mutual collaboration in identifying extremism online and assessing the level of harm that extremists can cause, thus potentially developing different approaches - rather than the simple “ban or no ban” option - to react to extremism.
“AMERICA FIRST”: A NEW POLITICAL MOVEMENT OR SIMPLY A POLITICAL SLOGAN?
27th January 2020 | House of Commons
Speaker: US Senator Heidi Heitkamp | Chair: Baroness Emma Samantha Pidding

US Senator Heidi Heitkamp noted that the UK and the US will have to “revalue” their relationship. Baroness Pidding mentioned that it is essential for the UK to forge new relations with both European countries and the US. The public no longer trusts the political and governmental leadership. It is important to remind people why organisations like NATO exist. Since the election of Donald Trump, many changes have been made affecting different American policies including foreign policy. However, what has not changed but has remained stable is the American political structure, where the common ground for both Democrats and Republicans lies in the crucial role that America’s allies play. Regarding the policy that President Trump implemented, the US Senator stated that “America First” is not a political slogan, but an idea, which represents the potential for permanent directional change in American foreign policy. In the same vein, America alone is less secure and less prosperous, and thus “America First” should never be America alone, as America’s most valuable assets in national security include its allies. Thus, for the remaining presidential term, America’s allies should not expect a shift regarding the “America First” policy. This will apply for the second term, if President Trump is elected again.

THE CHINESE MODEL OF RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PERSECUTION
28th January 2020 | Millbank Tower
Speakers: Rod Wye, Matthew Henderson | Chair: Dr Rakib Ehsan

Matthew Henderson noted the significance of the way in which we perceive and understand China for the manner in which post-Brexit Britain will continue to assert its role on the global stage. As far back as our records go, it is clear that China is a deeply religious society. Religion, in China, has been a driver of the dynastic cycle and change, and can be a force against order which the ruling group will do everything within its power to try and restrict. We are seeing a return to “sinicising” religion. Buddhism is accepted if it is Chinese, not Tibetan Buddhism. Other religious activity is accepted if authorised by the CCP. There is now a reintroduction of fairly aggressive anti-Christian activity, including the destruction or closure of churches. A group called the China Human Rights Lawyers Group suggests that the Cultural Revolution is returning in a covert form. The repression of religion in China is as old as the nation state itself. Roderic Wye continued that the developed West has moved on in its thinking and has almost forgotten about the challenges religion can pose to the state. In responding to China, the UK takes it very much as a challenging human rights issue.

IS WAR DECLINING: WHY AND WHERE?
31st January 2020 | Millbank Tower
Speaker: Professor Azar Gat | Chair: James Rogers

Professor Gat asked: is this the most peaceful period in our history? He brought attention to the end of the Cold War as a starting point, but the answer is far more complicated than it first seems. We are now in the third “long peace”. There was a decline in belligerency from 1815, rather than the commonly noted year of 1945 (with the exception of the two World Wars). Conflict is an unattractive economic prospect for states. Modern technological warfare could inflict more casualties than in the past, but also provides deterrence and protection. This includes nuclear weapons. War has lost legitimacy in the modern world, especially after the abhorrence of World War II and the liberation movements in the 1960s, with slogans such as “make love not war”. He referred to the future of China and Russia, as well as the current situation regarding weapons of mass destruction (WMDs).

ONLINE COURTS – A CASE STUDY IN THE DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SERVICES
4th February 2020 | Millbank Tower
Speaker: Professor Richard Susskind OBE | Chair: Dr Rakib Ehsan

Professor Richard Susskind OBE discussed the ideas summarised in his book Online Courts and the Future of Justice. As Susskind argues, “People don’t want courts; they want the outcomes courts bring”, thus it is possible to technologically transform public services and introduce state-based online dispute resolution, especially for low-value disputes. The UK system is fundamentally broken, and it is even worse in other parts of the world, therefore a universal, accessible solution brought forward by technology is needed. Automation is what people have on their minds when they are talking about technology, while transformation is concerning, the technology allows the achievement of goals that were impossible before. This system benefits from easy access and lower cost, while in the name of justice some critics and lawyers will try to reduce injustice. However, there are some objections, and having this kind of system may encourage people to be more litigious.
CHINA AND THE WEST: WHERE THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE TWO WORLDVIEWS MAY TAKE US
6th February 2020 | House of Commons

Speaker: Anastasia Lin | Chair: Bob Seely MP

Anastasia Lin gave a personal insight into the true nature of the Communist Party and how it operates in China. Traditional Chinese culture has been eradicated by the CCP and replaced with their ideology. The indoctrination experienced by schoolchildren led to the reaction that the 9/11 attacks were something that Americans deserved. After she opened up on human rights abuses in China on international forums, Anastasia’s parents were targeted, and she is now unable to return home. In 2016 the Chinese Government banned conversations about democracy and universal human rights in schools. Confucius Institutes embedded in Western universities have their staff and curriculum controlled directly by the CCP. These institutes play a key role in the overseas propaganda effort. The Chinese Student Union in Durham mobilised to try to prevent her from debating. In concluding her remarks on the reality of Communist China and set its implications for the UK, she expressed her deep concern at the UK’s recent deal with Huawei, which is acting on behalf of the Chinese Government. She warned that the UK would now be reliant on the Chinese economy and their technology, and would isolate themselves from their allies.

HONG KONG FILE: A YEAR IN REVIEW, AND WHERE NEXT?
11th February 2020 | Millbank Tower

Speakers: Dr Brian C H Fong, Evan Fowler | Chair: Matthew Henderson

Dr Fong argued that the state of autonomy in Hong Kong is at stake, and is a matter of international responsibility. Hong Kong’s autonomy is built upon the “Sino–British Joint Declaration” (SBJD), an international treaty registered with the United Nations that does not have an enforcement mechanism. As an international financial centre, Hong Kong is significant to China due to the investment opportunities it provides. However, the Chinese Government is stepping up its control towards Hong Kong. China’s policy has two contradicting agendas: it wants to impose a centralised authoritarian policy of control to different regions of the Chinese periphery, yet it also wants Hong Kong to be recognised as autonomous by the international community – maximising its benefit for the regime’s interests. There should be a strong local and international “checks and balances” system that will stop or slow down Hong Kong’s further erosion of autonomy. The UK could potentially introduce its own version of a “Hong Kong Human Rights and Democracy Act” and empower the civil society in Hong Kong by providing visas for students and workers, internships, and scholarships.

REVOLUTION FRANÇAISE: EMMANUEL MACRON AND THE QUEST TO REINVENT A NATION
13th February 2020 | Millbank Tower

Speaker: Sophie Pedder | Chair: James Rogers

Sophie Pedder explored the themes of her book, Revolution Française: Emmanuel Macron and the Quest to Reinvent a Nation, starting with Macron’s unfamiliar background and rise to the presidency, emphasising how his “En Marche” party represents a new strand of politics, one that isn’t easily categorised within traditional left/right concepts. This led onto an assessment of the 2017 Presidential Election itself. Ms Pedder explained how Macron won just 24% of the popular vote, highlighting that his clear majority in the second round was not necessarily because of his popularity, but the widespread fear and distrust of his opponent, Marine Le Pen. Historically, France has struggled to create jobs, yet for all the criticism his government has received economically, unemployment is at its lowest level since 2008. The wider impact of the “En Marche” success was discussed, as to many it has shown that centrist parties can remain successful in the face of rising far-left and far-right movements in Europe. To end her talk, Mrs Pedder looked forward to the 2022 Presidential Election, and how although another Macron–Le Pen run-off looks likely at present, a new candidate like Macron could easily emerge within the next two years.

2020: PRESIDENT TRUMP CONFRONTS IRAN AND IMPEACHMENT
19th February 2020 | Millbank Tower

Speaker: John B Bellinger III | Chair: Dr Andrew Foxall

John B Bellinger III discussed the drone strike killing of Qasem Soleimani and impeachment of President Trump by the US House of Representatives from a legal perspective. Regarding Soleimani, there was a lack of consistency and coherence in the White House justification of the strike. US officials oscillated between arguing that it was in response to an imminent attack and arguing that it was to prevent an unexplained future attack. The US failure to explain what that imminent threat was, which otherwise would be legally justified in Chapter VII: Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations as self-defence, was a flagrant disrespect for international law. The Trump administration did not handle it any better. A field report into the legality of the strike was not made public, and the attempt to justify the attack was wholly rejected by Congress. Bellinger provided a crisp legal insight into the Trump impeachment and the tumultuous nature of the process. He claimed that Nancy Pelosi pushed the impeachment quickly through the House to try and prevent it from being a distraction and ultimately a win for Trump, which in the end turned out to be the case.
CORE ASSUMPTIONS AND BRITISH STRATEGIC POLICY
24th February 2020 | Portcullis House, Westminster

Speakers: James Rogers, Sir Malcolm Rifkind KCMG QC | Chair: Julian Lewis MP

James Rogers, the author of the ‘Core Assumptions and British Strategic Policy’ report, presented the policies that could be included in the UK’s foreign and defence system. After analysing security and defence reviews and listening to ministerial speeches, a number of trends became evident. These assumptions could be divided into three groups: global and conceptual level, geographic area of interest to the British State, and the UK as a power in the international system. Many of these were becoming obsolete due to geopolitics, Russian revisionist tensions and China’s building of artificial islands in the South China Sea, which could be seen as a threat. Globalisation led to the rise of authoritarian powers like Russia and China, while Britain is becoming more open to foreign interference. Globalisation and the rise of the authoritarian regimes are interconnected. Sir Malcolm Rifkind argued that what we have seen until now is a new equilibrium. It is enabled not by the issue of “Western decline”, but other countries’ expansion of economic growth with China’s overtaking of the UK in terms of power and influence and Britain is punching above its weight. When it comes to the UK’s foreign and defence policy, the single most important objective has to be its security, in other words, Europe’s security. As an island-nation dependent on trade (e.g. with Asia Pacific), Britain’s destiny is among others to prioritise its maritime capability.

PRIORITIES FOR A RED TORY ADMINISTRATION
25th February 2020 | House of Commons

Speakers: Brendan Clarke-Smith MP, Dr Rakib Ehsan, Sherelle Jacobs, Phillip Bond

What is meant by the concept “Red Tory”? It is the product of a response to over 60 years of economic and social liberalism that continued to benefit the economic and socially liberal, but in which the large majority have increasingly felt only endless flux, endless instability. This top-down liberal consensus has produced cultural and economic insecurity, resulting in a populist backlash across Western democracies. Red Tory is a politics of “post-liberalism” and is an attempt to create a new economic and social settlement. There is a sense that a huge overhaul is needed, a “total structural change”, one which Red Toryism has to meet. A Red Tory addresses regional and economic inequality. An exciting array of stimulating ideas exist such as the breaking up of monopolies, tax incentives for companies to move from the South-East to the North-West, and training schemes for citizens across the economic and social spectrum. Previous governments failed to implement policies for families to flourish. It is by addressing these sorts of issues that a Red Tory government can provide more security for all.

HAS INDIA’S INTERNATIONAL STANDING HIT A ROADBLOCK?
27th February 2020 | Millbank Tower

Speakers: Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, Pratik Dattani, Dr Shruti Kapila, Dr Paul Stott

Chair: Matthew Henderson

The event welcomed Shruti Kapila (Director of Studies, Corpus Christi College), Pratik Dattani (Managing Director, EPG) and Rahul Roy-Chaudhury (Senior Researcher, International Institute for Strategic Studies). The discussion addressed several important issues currently facing India, notably the recent violence with Pakistan in Kashmir and the subsequent amendment to Article 370 to the Indian Constitution, as well as the introduction of the controversial citizenship law. India’s international standing has been derailed by these controversies. A stalling economy was also explored, and there was a look forward to the future as India seeks to develop a strategy in the Indo-Pacific.

HOW TO ARGUE WITH A RACIST: HISTORY, SCIENCE, RACE AND REALITY
2nd March 2020 | House of Commons

Speakers: Dr Adam Rutherford, Dr Rakib Ehsan | Chair: Janet Daby MP

We were delighted to host geneticist and author of How to Argue with a Racist Dr Adam Rutherford for an informative discussion at the House of Commons. The discussion aimed to explain the origins of racial constructs and how contemporary understandings of race are deeply and falsely rooted in Eurocentric social taxonomies. Dr Rutherford described sport and intelligence as important domains through which we can study race as an ultimately social construct and cultural phenomenon. In light of advances in human genetics, it is the case that we cannot effectively separate race from its pseudo-scientific history. Both Dr Rakib Ehsan and Dr Rutherford agreed that the conversation around race needs to invoke science, because while race can have powerful social value, genetics cannot support conceptions of racism or prejudice.
HOW TO FIGHT ANTI-SEMITISM
4th March 2020 | Millbank Tower
Speaker: Bari Weiss | Chair: Dr Alan Mendoza
We were delighted to host writer, editor and candid Zionist Bari Weiss, to discuss her new book How to Fight Anti-Semitism. Bari Weiss herself experienced anti-Semitism since her childhood and now more than ever is a very controversial personality due to her public statements. She divides the alarming rise of anti-Semitism in the United States and Europe into left, right and Muslim Jew-hatred, which all has different causes and therefore needs to be fought accordingly. According to Weiss, anti-Semitism is not just a problem of the Jewish people but in fact the evidence of a dead or dying society, in which conspiracy theories and dissatisfaction are spreading.

THE DRAGON AND THE SNAKES
5th March 2020 | Millbank Tower
Speaker: Dr David Kilcullen | Chair: Dr Paul Stott
Dr Kilcullen was previously a Lieutenant Colonel in the Australian Army, serving in peacekeeping operations in East Timor, Papua New Guinea and the Middle East. Since then, he has published several books on military strategy, and has advised the US Department of Defense on a number of issues. The event addressed several key themes in his latest book, The Dragon and the Snakes: How the Rest learned to fight the West such as drones, the changing nature of warfare since the Iraq War, and the significance of China developing its naval capabilities. The event concluded by exploring complex issues surrounding levels of special forces troops and naval strategy, as well as looking ahead to the future of warfare in an age of Western decline.

UNDER THE INFLUENCE: PUTTING PEER PRESSURE TO WORK
9th March 2020 | Millbank Tower
Speaker: Professor Robert Frank | Chair: Dr Rakib Ehsan
Professor Frank explained how peer pressure functions prevalently in our society, and how we all naturally fall victim to it in one way or another. He presented the argument that one can use the basis of peer pressure to encourage healthy and beneficial practices, particularly concerning saving and preserving our environment. Behavioural contagion can be used to perpetuate not only harmful actions such as smoking, and bullying, but contrarily, positive ones such as walking instead of driving, installing solar panels, etc. He specifically explored the argument for raising taxes on the wealthy, as purchasing power is based on relative income and would not inhibit the spending on high-end consumption goods in an asymmetric way. Further, taxing harmful activities such as smoking and sugar would translate into reducing taxes on more beneficial endeavours. Ultimately, he argued that the contagion effect itself has more of an impact on changing societal behaviour as a whole than the impact of the one action itself, and we should use peer pressure as a tool to promote beneficial practices.

MH17 AND THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL: PUTTING THE TRUTH ON RECORD
10th March 2020 | Portcullis House, Westminster
Speakers: Michael Bociurkiw, Eliot Higgins, Roland Oliphant | Chair: Dr Andrew Foxall
Michael Bociurkiw, Eliot Higgins, Roland Oliphant and Dr Andrew Foxall of the Henry Jackson Society raised the question of who holds the responsibility for the tragedy of MH17 flight in 2014. Providing evidence, and sharing their thoughts and personal experience from the “crime scene”, the speakers discussed the hopeless situation at that time, the anger of the people, and the importance of accurate handling of the “dead bodies” and the black box. They also underlined the crucial role that journalism and fake news play during such situations as well as the clichés that can lead to misperceptions.

THE ART OF DECEIT: HOW CHINA AND RUSSIA USE SHARP POWER TO SUBVERT THE WEST
11th March 2020 | House of Commons
Speakers: Neil Barnet, Dr Andrew Foxall, Matthew Henderson, Felix Dane | Chair: Rt Hon Bob Seely MP
We were delighted to host this in conjunction with the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, where their joint paper, ‘The Art of Deceit: How China and Russia Use Sharp Power to Subvert the West’ was launched. Dr Andrew Foxall and Matthew Henderson from the Henry Jackson Society were joined by Felix Dane from the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, and by intelligence consultant and former journalist Neil Barnet. The event was chaired by the Conservative MP Bob Seely. Together, the panel discussed the threats facing the West from Chinese and Russian political warfare, and the ways in which the UK in particular must adapt in order to face these challenges.
THE GREAT COMING APART? CORONAVIRUS AND ITS IMPACT ON OUR INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

14th April 2020 | Online

**Speakers:** Nick Timothy CBE, The Rt Hon Gisela Stuart | **Chair:** Dr Alan Mendoza

This event was based on ideas posited in British political advisor Nick Timothy’s *New Statesman* essay, entitled ‘The Great Coming Apart,’ in which he took aim at the international scene, suggesting that the UK’s international outlook would have to change in response to the centrifugal forces driving the West apart, and that liberal ideology would need to be cast aside to be replaced by a conservative and pragmatic approach to international affairs and governance. Discussing this notion was the author himself, the Rt Hon Gisela Stuart, and HJS’s Executive Director, Dr Alan Mendoza.

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE DURING A NEW AGE OF GREAT POWER COMPETITION

20th April 2020 | Online

**Speakers:** Theresa Fallon, Dr John Hemmings, Jakub Janda | **Moderator:** James Rogers

This online panel discussion looked at China’s revisionist expansion, the United States’ response, and the way in which European countries were positioning themselves vis-à-vis this. The discussion focused on Covid-19, but also explored an array of other matters, such as the struggle over next generation telecommunications technologies, geopolitics, trade, and narrative projection. The discussion also looked at how the United States, United Kingdom, countries of the European Union and Canada could work together to uphold the rules-based international system as it comes under sustained pressure.

“DON’T MENTION THE WAR”: RECONCILING WW2 NARRATIVES TO ENSURE A SAFER EUROPEAN FUTURE

4th May 2020 | Online

**Speakers:** Professor Krzysztof Czyżewski, Professor Serhii Plokhy, Natalia Popovych, Brendan Simms

**Chair:** Adrian Karatnycky

Adrian Karatnycky of the Ukraine in Europe Program chaired a panel consisting of Krzysztof Czyżewski from the Borderland Foundation, Natalia Popovych from One Philosophy group, Harvard historian Serhii Plokhy, and Cambridge historian and President of the Henry Jackson Society, Brendan Simms. The panel discussed the concept of a shared narrative surrounding World War Two and the need for Europe to come together and integrate individual national narratives into a comprehensive discourse.

HAS CHINA WON? THE CHINESE CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN PRIMACY

11th May 2020 | Online

**Speakers:** Edward Lucas, Kishore Mahbubani, Didi Kirsten Tatlow | **Moderator:** Dr Alan Mendoza

Dr Alan Mendoza chaired a panel of professor, author, and former diplomat, Kishore Mahbubani; journalist and Senior Vice President of the Center for European Policy Analysis, Edward Lucas; and journalist and senior fellow of German Council of Foreign Relations Asia Program, Didi Kirsten Tatlow. The panellists discussed the role of China in the international system and the potential for a geopolitical clash. Professor Kishore Mahbubani began the panel by outlining the main arguments in his new book *Has China Won?*, including that the US made a geopolitical blunder by choosing to contest China without a long-term strategy.

WHEN THE WORLD WASN’T LOOKING: HOW AUTHORITARIAN STATES HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE COVID-19 CRISIS

14th May 2020 | Online

**Speakers:** Bill Browder, Laura Rosenberger, Dr Daniel Twining | **Moderator:** Dr Alan Mendoza

Dr Alan Mendoza chaired a panel of Bill Browder, founder and CEO of Hermitage Capital Management, Laura Rosenberger, director of the Alliance for Securing Democracy, and Dr Daniel Twining, president of the International Republican Institute, in a discussion of opportunistic authoritarianism. First and foremost, the panellists agreed that the pandemic has facilitated a deepening of trends around democracy and authoritarianism domestically and internationally.
PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE UK GOVERNMENT’S RESPONSE TO THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC
18th May 2020 | Online

Speakers: Professor Matthew Goodwin, Madeline Grant, Freddie Sayers | Moderator: Dr Rakib Ehsan

Dr Rakib Ehsan chaired a panel of Professor Matthew Goodwin from the University of Kent, Madeline Grant from The Daily Telegraph, and Freddie Sayers from UnHerd to discuss the nuances in the UK public’s reactions towards the measures introduced by the Government in response to Covid-19, including the national lockdown. All three panellists agreed that the UK Government has a steep challenge ahead of them when it came to relaxing the lockdown.

COVID-19 AND THE FUTURE OF GEOPOLITICAL FAULT LINES IN EUROPE
26th May 2020 | Online

Speaker: Justyna Gotkowska, Hans Kundnani, Luis Simón | Moderator: James Rogers

James Rogers chaired a panel of Hans Kundnani from Chatham House’s Europe Programme, Justyna Gotkowska from the Centre for Eastern Studies, and Luis Simón from the Elcano Royal Institute’s Brussels office. The panel discussed the accelerating effects of Covid-19 upon geopolitical fault lines in Europe and the future of multilateralism in a post-Covid-19 world.

UKRAINE: CORONAVIRUS, CONFLICT, AND CORRUPTION
28th May 2020 | Online

Speakers: Adrian Karatnycky, Vladislav Davidzon, Orysia Lutsevych | Moderator: Dr Andrew Foxall

This event debated the way in which Ukraine had dealt with the Covid-19 pandemic, Russia’s continuing war in the Donbas, and efforts to combat corruption. HJS’s Dr Andrew Foxall chaired a panel of Adrian Karatnycky from the Ukrainian Jewish Encounter, Orysia Lutsevych from Chatham House’s Russia and Eurasia Programme, and Vladislav Davidzon from The Odessa Review and Tablet Magazine. The panel discussed the state of President Zelensky’s Government after a turbulent first year in international affairs.

COVID-19 AND SOCIAL MEDIA – MEETING CHALLENGES USING LESSONS LEARNED FROM COUNTERING TERRORISM
3rd June 2020 | Online

Speaker: Dr Erin Saltman, Jessica Zucker | Moderator: Nikita Malik

HJS’s Nikita Malik chaired a panel of Dr Erin Saltman, Facebook’s former Head of Counterterrorism and Dangerous Organisations Policy for Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, and Jessica Zucker, Facebook’s Product Policy Manager leading misinformation policy in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. The panellists discussed the challenges Facebook has faced in misinformation and extremism, particularly during the Covid-19 period, and how the company has innovated to ensure Facebook is a safe and secure platform.

BRIAN H HOOK AND THE RT HON JEREMY HUNT MP: IN TRANSATLANTIC CONVERSATION ON IRAN
4th June 2020 | Online

Speakers: Brian Hook, Jeremy Hunt | Moderator: Dr Alan Mendoza

HJS’s Dr Alan Mendoza hosted a discussion between the Rt Hon Jeremy Hunt MP and Brian Hook, the US Special Representative for Iran and Senior Policy Advisor to the Secretary of State. Hunt began by interviewing Hook on US foreign policy towards Iran, given the many changes since the US withdrawal from the Iran nuclear deal. Hook detailed Iran’s status following the Covid-19 pandemic and argued that, due to several government decisions such as maintaining flights between Iran and China, Iran not only faced a serious challenge from Covid-19 within its own country but exported the disease to several other countries in the region.

HONG KONG AND CHINA: LESSONS FOR THE FREE WORLD
5th June 2020 | Online

Speakers: Sir Malcolm Rifkind KCMG QC, Martin Lee Chu-Ming SC, JP | Moderator: Matthew Henderson

This event welcomed the Rt Hon Sir Malcolm Rifkind KCMG QC, former Foreign Secretary, and Martin Lee Chu-Ming SC JP, founding Chairman of the United Democrats of Hong Kong and its Democratic Party successor, to share their extensive knowledge and understanding of China, particularly in light of Beijing’s draconian interventions, which left Hong Kong potentially facing economic, cultural and psychological ruin.
EVENTS IN 2020 (continued)

RUSSIA AND THE HIGH NORTH: HOW SHOULD THE WEST ENGAGE THE NEXT CHAIR OF THE ARCTIC COUNCIL (2021-23)?
11th June 2020 | Online
Speakers: Dr Andrew Foxall, Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, Katarina Kertysova, Dmitriy Tulupov
Moderators: Mathieu Boulegue, Duncan Depledge
This event was organised by Chatham House in partnership with HJS and Loughborough University. Chaired by Chatham House's Mathieu Boulegue, the panel discussion included HJS's Dr Andrew Foxall, Loughborough's Professor Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, European Leadership Network’s Katarina Kertysova, and St Petersburg State University's Professor Dmitriy Tulupov. The panellists discussed how the West might engage with Russia during its forthcoming chair-ship of the Arctic Council.

WEAPONISING COVID-19: FAR-RIGHT ANTISEMITISM IN THE UK AND US
11th June 2020 | Online
Speakers: Dr Sharon Nazarian, Gideon Falter, Dr Rakib Ehsan | Moderator: Dr Alan Mendoza
Chaired by Dr Alan Mendoza, this event was a panel discussion involving Dr Sharon Nazarian, the Senior Vice President of International Affairs at ADL, and Gideon Falter, Chief Executive for the Campaign Against Antisemitism, a body working to expose and counter antisemitism through education and zero-tolerance enforcement of the law. This event followed the launch of Dr Ehsan's publication 'Weaponising Covid-19: Far-Right Anti-Semitism in the United Kingdom and United States'. The speakers debated what could be done from a policy perspective in the UK and the USA - and beyond - to combat far-right antisemitism.

PROF NIALL FERGUSON: IN CONVERSATION – HOW CORONAVIRUS WILL CHANGE THE WORLD OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
12th June 2020 | Online
Speaker: Niall Ferguson, MA, D.Phil. | Interviewer: Dr Alan Mendoza
This event was chaired by Dr Alan Mendoza, and welcomed Professor Niall Ferguson – author of 15 best-selling books and renowned authority on global transformations – to share his thoughts on the changes to world affairs, as well as what people could expect going forwards into the future. They discussed the impact of international relations and global politics, as well as changes in the international order, the future of globalisation, China's global role, the relative strengths of the free versus unfree world or possibilities of political upheaval.

IS EUROPE STILL “POST-MODERN”?
23rd June 2020 | Online
Speakers: Sir Robert Cooper, Prof Francois Heisbourg, Hans Kundnani, Stefani Weiss
Moderator: James Rogers
James Rogers chaired this panel discussion, discussing whether Europe was still “post-modern”, or whether it was experiencing “re-modernisation”, as well as whether the Euro-Atlantic institutions would hold, or fade, and whether the countries still trusted one another. The speakers consisted of Sir Robert Cooper, former Counsellor to Baroness Catherine Ashton, the High Representative of the European Union for Foreign and Security Policy, Prof Francois Heisbourg, Special Advisor of the Fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique in Paris and Senior Advisor for Europe of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Hans Kundnani, Senior Research Fellow in the Europe Programme at Chatham House, and Stefani Weiss, a Senior Expert on the Europe’s Future Programme at the Bertelsmann Foundation.

AFTER COVID-19: WHERE IS BRITAIN’S FOREIGN POLICY GOING?
1st July 2020 | Online
Speakers: Sarah Champion MP, The Rt Hon Tobias Ellwood MP, Tom Tugendhat MP
Moderator: James Rogers
Moderated by James Rogers, this panel discussion featured the Chairs of the House of Commons’ Foreign Affairs, Defence and International Development Select Committees: Tom Tugendhat MP, Tobias Ellwood MP, and Sarah Champion MP. They discussed how British policy toward China should change if Beijing adopted a more revisionist international approach, as well as Britain’s strategic posture as the United States – its closest and most powerful ally – repositions itself in the Indo-Pacific, and how Britain could reposition itself in its own neighbourhood, the European continent.
BLACK LIVES MATTER UK: WHERE DOES THE MESSAGE END AND THE MOVEMENT BEGIN?
14th July 2020 | Online
Speakers: Trevor Phillips, Dr Remi Adekoya, Mercy Muroki
Moderator: Dr Rakib Ehsan
Chaired by Dr Rakib Ehsan, this event featured Trevor Phillips, writer and television producer and the co-founder of the data analytics consultancy Webber Phillips, and Chairman of Green Park Interim and Executive Search; Dr Remi Adekoya, a writer and political scientist at Sheffield University; and Mercy Muroki, a senior researcher at the Centre for Social Justice and conservative commentator. They explored public attitudes towards the British political system and the police within the UK’s diverse black communities.

THE CCP’S INFLUENCE AND INFORMATION OPERATIONS IN THE FREE WORLD
15th July 2020 | Online
Speakers: David O Shullman, Mareike Ohlberg
Moderator: Matthew Henderson
Jointly organised by HJS and the US Embassy, London, this panel discussion saw IRI’s David Shullman, German Marshall Fund’s Mareike Ohlberg, and HJS’s Matthew Henderson – three people with personal experience of calling out CCP influence operations in the West – discuss how the Chinese Communist Party’s network of operations worked in real life. Together they offered a potted history of operations, clarity on how to identify CCP influence and information operations, and a guide on how to tackle them.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN CHINA: A SPOTLIGHT ON REPRESSION
16th July 2020 | Online
Speakers: Mr Sonam Tsering Frasi, Dolkun Isa
Moderators: Matthew Henderson, Benedict Rogers
This event was jointly hosted by Benedict Rogers, East Asia Team Leader of the international human rights organisation CSW, and HJS’s Matthew Henderson. They welcomed Sonam Tsering Frasi, Representative of HH the Dalai Lama at the Office of Tibet in London, and Dolkun Isa, President and co-founder of the World Uyghur Congress to this event. Matthew Henderson briefly commented on the Chinese regime’s underlying attitude to religion and reasons for repressing it, followed by Benedict Rogers who reported on the repression of Christianity, and on issues regarding Hong Kong. Sonam Tsering Frasi and Dolkun Isa then provided updates and insights into religious repression in their communities under China’s control.

COUNTERING RUSSIA’S DISINFORMATION AND MALIGN INFLUENCE
24th July 2020 | Online
Speakers: Nina Jankowicz, Brian Whitmore | Moderator: Dr Andrew Foxall
In this panel discussion, chaired by Dr Andrew Foxall, author Nina Jankowicz shared findings from her new book, How To Lose The Information War, which surveyed how Central and Eastern European countries combatted Russian disinformation and compared this with the approach of the United States. Brian Whitmore, from the Center for European Policy Analysis, put this into a much broader context, describing the role of disinformation in Russia’s broader malign influence tool-kit and drawing out lessons for how the West and individual countries could respond.

DECOUPLING FROM CHINA: THE FUTURE OF TRADE?
28th July 2020 | Online
Speakers: Andrew Hastie MP, Pascal Lamy, Bob Seely MP | Moderator: Samuel Armstrong
In May, Bob Seely MP and Andrew Hastie MP wrote – alongside other Parliamentarians – for HJS on how to decouple from strategic dependency on China. In this event, they discussed whether the West should begin to decouple from strategic economic ties with China and how it might be done. Joining them was Pascal Lamy – two-time WTO Director General – with unrivalled expertise in global trade. Together, they explored security concerns, the global trade landscape, and the limitations on how the West might respond.
BELARUS ON THE BRINK?
20th August 2020 | Online

Speakers: Bill Browder, Nigel Gould-Davies, Natalia Kaliada, representative of the Belarus-based International Strategic Action Network for Security | Moderator: Dr Alan Mendoza

This event welcomed Nigel Gould-Davies, from the International Institute of Strategic Studies, and former UK Ambassador to Belarus; Natalia Kaliada, of the Belarus Free Theatre; Bill Browder, leader of the Global Magnitsky Justice Campaign; and a representative of the Belarus-based International Strategic Action Network for Security. The panellists discussed the likely outcome of the protests in Belarus, whether the protests could bring about a democratic transition, and what the West could (and should) do to both support the protestors and hold Lukashenka’s regime to account for its actions.

BLACK LIVES MATTER UK – A NATIONAL FORCE FOR GOOD
9th September 2020 | Online

Speakers: Inaya Folarin Iman, Esther Krakue, Calvin Robinson | Moderator: Dr Rakib Ehsan

An online discussion in connection with the release of HJS’s report ‘Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology’. HJS hosted three of the seven external report writers: Inaya Folarin Iman, Esther Krakue, and Calvin Robinson. The event was moderated by Dr Rakib Ehsan, who edited as well as contributed to the Anthology.

Following the police homicide of African-American George Floyd in the US state of Minnesota on 25 May 2020, a wave of civil unrest involving Black Lives Matter activists had gripped America’s major cities. However, the death of George Floyd had thrust issues of racial inequality and institutional discrimination into the national spotlight in other countries too – including the UK. As well as large-scale demonstrations in London, there were protests in other British cities, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Bristol. The protests, which were organised by the Black Lives Matter UK (BLM UK) movement, have divided opinion in British society.

WHAT DO CHINA’S ACTIONS IN HONG KONG SPELL FOR TAIWAN?
29th September 2020 | Online

Speakers: Alexander Görlach, Dr I-Chung Lai | Moderator: Sam Armstrong

HJS was delighted to welcome three eminent speakers to discuss the pressing concerns over what lies in store for Taiwan following China’s actions in Hong Kong. Chaired by HJS Director of Communications Sam Armstrong, the conversations touched upon international law, the Pratas Islands, the Taiwan US defence treaty, and China’s ambitions and understanding of itself. Particularly valuable were contributions from Dr I-Chung Lai of Taiwan’s Prospect Foundation who provided valuable insight into the thinking of Taiwan’s foreign policy thinkers.

THE INDO-PACIFIC: BRITISH AND VIETNAMESE PERSPECTIVES
7th October 2020 | Online

Speakers: Dr Son Hung Nguyen, Dr Philip Shetler-Jones, Dr Tuan Anh To

Moderator: James Rogers

An online discussion where a new edited collection of essays – ‘The Indo-Pacific: British and Vietnamese perspectives’ – was released. The session looked at how both countries are positioning themselves in light of geopolitical changes in the region, with a particular focus on Vietnam’s potential role as a linchpin of security in the Indo-Pacific, Britain’s growing focus on the region, and the importance of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations as a mechanism for upholding a rules-based order in the Indo-Pacific.

IS THE LEFT LOSING BRITISH INDIANS?
5th November 2020 | Online

Speakers: Sundip Meghani, Sunny Hundal, Sadia Hameed | Moderator: Dr Rakib Ehsan

Moderated by Dr Rakib Ehsan, this was an online discussion between Sundip Meghani, Sunny Hundal and Sadia Hameed. Figures suggest that there has been a notable fraying of ties between Labour and British voters of Indian origin. The speakers discussed whether the British Left are losing British Indians, who traditionally provided high levels of electoral support for Labour. What are the kind of social values which run deep in British Indian communities? And is there now an opportunity for the Conservatives to establish themselves as the natural party of British Indians?
AN UPDATE ON UKRAINE AND ON UK–UKRAINE RELATIONS
7th December 2020 | Online
Speakers: Lt Col (Ret) Glen Grant | Moderator: Dr Alan Mendoza
HJS was delighted to host the British-Ukrainian Aid’s Annual Lecture: ‘An Update on Ukraine and on UK–Ukraine Relations’. Ukraine security and defence reform expert Lt Col (Ret) Glen Grant put the current Ukraine environment into context. On Russia, he explained the latest developments in the conflict, the President’s initiatives for Donbas and how Russia is influencing internal politics. He also touched upon political and legal reform, future social and financial uncertainties, outlined the value and challenges for UK defence relations, and explored new developments after the visit to the UK of President Zelensky.

THE OUTCOME OF THE 2020 US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
8th December 2020 | Online
Speakers: Professor Eric Kaufmann, Dr Richard Johnson, Mica Soellner | Moderator: Craig Tiedman
HJS was delighted to host an event on the 2020 US Presidential Election. This election will go down as one of the most fascinating elections in American political history. While the former President Donald Trump was soundly defeated in terms of both the popular and the Electoral College vote, initial voting data suggested that he unexpectedly managed to build on his 2016 support among both Hispanic-Americans and African-Americans, as well as boosting his appeal among Muslim-Americans. Meanwhile, the one group which appeared to have shifted away from Trump and towards President Joe Biden were white men. The speakers discussed how Trump secured the highest share of non-white voters for a Republican presidential candidate in 60 years, how Biden helped the Democrats to not only gain back lost ground in the Rust Belt, but to also make notable inroads in traditionally Republican southern states, and what kind of impact these developments had on US politics.

IN DISCUSSION WITH JOHN BOLTON
16th December 2020 | Online
Speakers: Former Ambassador John Bolton | Moderator: Craig Tiedman
An online discussion with President Trump’s former National Security Advisor, Ambassador John Bolton, about US foreign policy options in 2021 and beyond. In this one-hour long event, Ambassador Bolton shared his thoughts as we looked back on the foreign policy legacy of the Trump Administration and looked forward to future options for American leadership in world affairs. In the course of the conversation, we discussed Bolton’s perspectives on best practices in managing a US national security team and any lessons to be learned from the Covid-19 pandemic. He explored foreign policy options in response to China’s relative gains on the liberal democratic rules-based order; withdrawal from Afghanistan; containing Iran and North Korea; reacting to Russia’s behaviour on the world stage; and the opportunities and challenges ahead for America’s relationships with Britain and the European Union.

XI JINPING AND CHINA’S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES IN 2021
21st December 2020 | Online
Speakers: Arthur Shuhfan Ding, Dr Jagannath P Panda, Atmaja Gohain Baruah | Moderator: Gray Sergeant
HJS was delighted to host an event with co-editors Dr Jagannath P Panda and Professor Arthur Shuhfan Ding, and chapter contributor Atmaja Gohain Baruah of the book Chinese Politics and Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping. They discussed this pertinent topic as well as China’s foreign policy priorities for 2021 under the leadership of Xi Jinping.

PRESIDENT MACRON’S RESPONSE TO ISLAMISM AND JIHADIST TERROR: LESSONS FOR OTHER NATIONS
22nd December 2020 | Online
Speakers: Liam Duffy, Dr Tommaso Virgili, Simone Rodan-Benzaquen | Moderator: Dr Paul Stott
This event with Liam Duffy, Dr Tommaso Virgili and Simone Rodan-Benzaquen examined the course taken by the French President, and asked whether it is one that could be adopted in other European countries as no European country has suffered as grievously from jihadist terrorism as France. Nearly three hundred people have been killed in a succession of outrages since 2015. President Macron responded to the horrific murder of schoolteacher Samuel Paty, and the deadly knife attack committed at the Notre Dame Basilica in Nice, with robust reaffirmation of the French values of liberté, égalité, fraternité and in particular the concept of state laïcité (secularism). Macron has sought to oppose not just the violence of the jihadists, but to stress that the goals of Islamist actors, including those who do not openly propagate violence, present a challenge to French sovereignty.
DESPISED: WHY THE MODERN LEFT LOATHES THE WORKING CLASS – IN CONVERSATION WITH PAUL EMBERY

6th January 2021 | Online
Speaker: Paul Embery | Chair: Dr Rakib Ehsan

A discussion between Dr Rakib Ehsan and Paul Embery in which they tackled the main themes in Paul's new book Despised: Why the Modern Left Loathes the Working Class, published by Polity, and considered what the future holds for centre-left patriotic thinking in the UK.

WHAT NEXT FOR HONGKONGER ACTIVISM?

7th January 2021 | Online
Speakers: Joey Siu, Finn Lau, Ray Wong | Chair: Gray Sergeant

Three vocal voices, in exile in Washington D.C., London, and Berlin, shared their thoughts on these questions: What does the future hold for activism and advocacy in the years to come? How will opposition to the Hong Kong Government and the Communist Party of China manifest itself? Will the world ever witness millions on the streets of the city again? Moreover, what next for those now in exile – how can they sustain their struggle from afar?

RUSSIAN ‘BLACK PR’: THE PRACTICE OF RUINING REPUTATIONS

14th January 2021 | Online
Speakers: Bob Seely MP, David Satter, Dr Jade McGlynn | Chair: Sam Armstrong

Three excellent speakers and sources of knowledge joined the panel to discuss the dark Russian practice of “Black PR”, its historical role in Russian foreign policy and its implications for the UK. The panelists discussed “Black PR”, its evolution across Russian history and its development over the Putin era, as well as the implications of its existence in British media discourse, and what more can be done to increase institutional resilience to a pervasive security threat in the aftermath of Brexit.

TOWARDS AN IMPROVED SCHOOL SYSTEM IN ENGLAND: FACING THE CHALLENGES OF INEQUALITY AND WOKE CULTURE

21st January 2021 | Online
Speakers: Katharine Birbalsingh, Tarjinder Gill, Mark Lehain | Chair: Dr Rakib Ehsan

Three passionate and brilliant leaders in the education sector discussed the wide range of challenges posed to the education system and the teaching profession by inequality and the rapid rise of Woke Culture. Chaired by HJS Research Fellow Dr Rakib Ehsan, the conversation analysed the purpose of schools, the growing political polarisation in teacher training and its increasing impact on students, as well as the growing prevalence of Critical Race Theory and the desperate need for a knowledge-based curriculum that teaches children to “work hard, be kind”.

MH17: CAN JUSTICE BE SERVED?

4th February 2021 | Online
Speakers: Vsevolod Chentsov, Eliot Higgins, Piet Ploeg | Chair: Dr Jade McGlynn

HJS was delighted to welcome four leading voices in the drive for justice for the victims of the tragic downing of flight MH17 over eastern Ukraine. The speakers all approached the key question of how do you gain justice for civilians when a major international power refuses to follow international conventions and regulations? Chaired by HJS Research Fellow Jade McGlynn, the conversation touched on the importance of the rule of law, the Russian authorities’ use of disinformation, and the importance of international cooperation to hold those culpable to account for their actions.

FOREIGN LOBBYING LAWS: OPTIONS FOR PROGRESS

10th February 2021 | Online
Speakers: Bob Seely MP, George Brandis QC, Ed Lucas, Clive Hamilton | Chair: Dr Jade McGlynn

George Brandis, who drafted Australia’s foreign interference laws, joined Bob Seely to discuss both the need and options for such laws. Alongside them were two of the Western world’s most prominent writers on the subject of foreign interference, Ed Lucas and Clive Hamilton.
UK MARITIME POLICY: THE ROLE OF THE CARRIER STRIKE GROUP
11th February 2021 I Online

Speakers: Dr Alessio Patalano, Dr Sidharth Kaushal, Tom Sharpe OBE | Chair: Rob Clark

A timely and informative debate between three UK maritime and naval experts who discussed the return to the global stage for the Royal Navy, and what challenges and opportunities this will bring for a forward-deployed “Global Britain” foreign and defence posture.

PUTIN VERSUS NAVALNY: HOW SHOULD THE UK RESPOND?
16th February 2021 I Online

Speaker: Vladimir Ashurkov | Chair: Dr Jade McGlynn

To answer this question, HJS was delighted to host Vladimir Ashurkov, the Executive Director of the Anti-Corruption Foundation. Shortly after Navalny’s arrest, Mr Ashurkov released a pre-agreed list of eight super-rich Russians to be targeted by Western governments for sanctions. At least three of these individuals had very close ties to the UK. In this one-to-one discussion, Mr Ashurkov talked over these sanctions and what else the UK Government – and the West more broadly – should and can be doing to support Navalny’s cause.

INDIA: A PARTNER FOR GLOBAL BRITAIN?
17th February 2021 I Online

Speakers: Dr David Scott, Jyotsna Mehra, Pratik Dattani | Chair: Gray Sergeant

A timely discussion on UK-India ties which covered both the challenges and opportunities for cooperation between both countries. While the UK Government wants to boost trade and investment ties outside of the European Union, its vision for a “Global Britain” is about more than economics. Whatever the motivations, New Delhi appears to be an ideal partner for Britain in the years ahead.

VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS OF TERROR: PERSPECTIVES ON PREVENTION AND BEYOND
22 February 2021 I Online

Speakers: Figen Murray, Travis Frain | Chair: Matt Dryden

Matt Dryden spoke with those directly affected by acts of terrorism in the UK in an attempt to better understand their experiences, how it has affected their perceptions of terrorism and those who perpetrate it, and how we should move forward with our work to prevent future terrorist atrocities.

THAILAND’S STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY: WAS 2020 A TURNING POINT?
23rd February 2021 I Online

Speakers: Duncan McCargo, Netiwit Chotiphatphaisal | Chair: Gray Sergeant

HJS was pleased to host this event which discussed the struggle for democracy in Thailand. Today, discontent with the military and the king endures. As too does the regime’s crackdown against its critics. Many commentators regard the events of 2020 as unprecedented. The question is, how will the discontent unleashed last year manifest itself in 2021? Did Thailand reach a turning point?

DIRECTIONS FOR THE NEXT NATIONAL CYBER SECURITY STRATEGY
24th February 2021 I Online

Speakers: Erika Lewis, Dr Hugo Rosemont, Dr Joe Devanny | Chair: Dr Danny Steed

A timely discussion with Erika Lewis, Dr Hugo Rosemont and Dr Joe Devanny on the end of the current NCSS and what directions are open for the UK as it builds its new cyber security strategy.

BLM: A VOICE FOR BLACK BRITONS?
25th February 2021 I Online

Speakers: Dr Remi Adekoya, Calvin Robinson, Esther Krakue | Chair: Dr Rakib Ehsan

An online report launch for “BLM: A Voice for Black Britons?” during which Dr Rakib Ehsan, Dr Remi Adekoya, Calvin Robinson and Esther Krakue discussed to what extent the central claims and objectives of UK BLM are supported by the Black British public. Questions discussed included: how differently do Black Britons view British society and its public institutions when compared with the wider general population? What are the key social and political differences between Black British Africans and Black British Caribbeans? And crucially, how do we create a more socially cohesive and democratically satisfied Britain?
INCARCERATED AND INDOCTRINATED: HOW TO TACKLE EXTREMISM IN PRISONS
1st March 2021 | Online

Speakers: Ian Acheson, Phil Gurski | Chair: Eilish O’Gara

A timely and informative debate in which two experts discussed the need for meaningful change within the prison system to prevent any further violent attacks against both the public and prison staff. What changes now need to be made within the prison system to prevent the spread of radicalisation amongst inmates? What challenges may we face in making such changes? Does de-radicalisation in prisons actually work? How can we predict which offenders will go on to perpetrate acts of violence, and what can be done to stop them?

RUSSIAN SPIES AND THE DIASPORA: THE COMPATRIOTS WITH IRINA BOROGAN AND ANDREI SOLDATOV
2nd March 2021 | Online

Speakers: Andrei Soldatov, Irina Borogan | Chair: Dr Jade McGlynn

HJS was delighted to host celebrated investigative journalists Andrei Soldatov and Irina Borogan as they discussed their timely and fascinating book *The Compatriots: The Brutal and Chaotic History of Russia’s Exiles, Émigrés, and Agents Abroad*. Building on their extensive expertise on Russian intelligence, this event explored the complex and changeable role of Russian émigrés from the October Revolution up until the present day.

DOES MYANMAR HAVE A DEMOCRATIC FUTURE?
3rd March 2021 | Online

Speakers: Wai Hnin Pwint Thon, Benedict Rogers | Chair: Gray Sergeant

Wai Hnin Pwint Thon and Benedict Rogers discussed the rising tensions between the military and protestors and explored the situation in Myanmar and the international community’s response. In particular, they examined how the situation changed and how it will develop in the weeks and months to come.

DISINFORMATION DURING COVID-19: THE US-UK EXPERIENCE
4th March 2021 | Online

Speakers: Damian Collins MP, Nina Jankowicz | Chair: Dr Danny Steed

It is almost five years since the Oxford English Dictionary named “post-truth” its word of the year. Since then, the onslaught of fake news, disinformation, and conspiracy theorising have not only remained unrelenting, but the problem has also grown worse. With the COVID-19 pandemic, a maturing environment and practice of disinformation has found its ideal host, a virus within a virus. The practice of disinformation during the pandemic has added to existing political divisions in numerous nations and become as much about politics as it is about science. While vaccines are in the pipeline for COVID-19 itself, Damian Collins MP and Nina Jankowicz discussed the disinformation trends seen on both sides of the Atlantic.

AUTHORITARIAN CHALLENGES TO THE LIBERAL WORLD ORDER
8th March 2021 | Online

Speakers: Bob Seely MP, Theresa Fallon, Alexander Lanoszka | Chair: Rob Clark

A timely and informative debate between three internationally renowned speakers who discussed the threats posed to liberal democracies by authoritarian states seeking to circumnavigate the rules-based system. As the UK begins to chart its “Global Britain” foreign policy agenda, they explored how the UK might best deal with these threats to its national security.

CHAMPIONING TIBET IN 2021: WHAT CAN BE DONE?
9th March 2021 | Online

Speakers: Tim Loughton MP, Ellen Bork | Chair: Gray Sergeant

HJS was thrilled to host an in-conversation event with two leading advocates for the Tibetan cause. Over the past few years, advances in promoting action on Tibet have been made in the United States, some of which, notably the Reciprocal Access to Tibet Act, UK advocates seek to emulate. What more can Washington do and how can others follow?
RUSSIAN INFLUENCE AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE WESTERN BALKANS
10th March 2021 I Online
Speakers: Dr Dimitar Bechev, Professor Vesko Garčević, Dr Mira Milošević-Juaristi
Chair: Dr Jade McGlynn
A panel discussion with Dr Dimitar Bechev, Dr Mira Milošević-Juaristi and Professor Vesko Garčević to discuss and gauge the impact of Russian influence operations in the Western Balkans.

FOREIGN POLICY UNDER THE KENNEDYS: LESSONS FOR PRESIDENT BIDEN
16th March 2021 I Online
Speakers: Lawrence Haas, Richard Aldous, Nancy Soderberg
Chair: Dr Alan Mendoza
A timely discussion where we explored how President Biden could apply the lessons that the Kennedys learned as he seeks to restore America's global leadership role.

CYBER SECURITY INSURANCE: IS REGULATION THE ANSWER?
18th March 2021 I Online
Speakers: Jan Lemnitzer, Dr Asaf Lubin
Chair: Dr Danny Steed
HJS was thrilled to host Dr Jan Lemnitzer, who presented his latest research, and was joined by Dr Asaf Lubin to bring criticism and insight from the market developments in the United States. Jan Lemnitzer argued that a well-regulated insurance market could provide protection to companies and solve the big issue in cybersecurity that years of awareness campaigns could not tackle as the IT security standards in many smaller companies remain shockingly low.

ABANDONING THE FAR-RIGHT
23rd March 2021 I Online
Speakers: Tony McAleer, Caolan Robertson | Chair: Eilish O’Gara
A timely and informative debate where we were joined by two men previously involved in far-right and neo-Nazi movements. They discussed how they became involved in the far-right movement, what they witnessed inside it, and how they escaped it.

DISENGAGEMENT AND DERADICALISATION: A CRITICAL DISCUSSION
24th March 2021 I Online
Speakers: John Horgan, Kurt Braddock, Julie Chernov Hwang
Chair: Matt Dryden
An event which addressed the definitional ambiguity surrounding the terms “disengagement” and “deradicalisation”, and made a number of tangible recommendations for practitioners and policy-makers based on years of industry-leading research and analysis. We then turned to the counter-narrative, discussing the role of persuasion employed by terrorist recruiters, and how this can be modified to help draw people away from terrorism.

SUNSET TO SUNRISE: FROM THE AGE OF ARMOUR TO THE DIGITAL AGE
30th March 2021 I Online
Speakers: Dr Simon Anglim, Tobias Ellwood MP, Dr Jack Watling | Chair: Rob Clark
A timely and informative debate where we were joined by three renowned expert speakers to discuss the recently unveiled Integrated Review and Defence Command Paper. We discovered what challenges and opportunities this brings to both the UK Armed Forces and to the British defence strategy going forward.
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Henry M. Jackson, 1912-1983
US Congressman and Senator for Washington State 1941 - 1983