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## ADDENDUM

### INTRODUCTION TO ADDITIONAL CHAPTERS

IN OCTOBER 2021, the Institute of Strategic Research at the French Defence Ministry's École militaire published a comprehensive report on Beijing's worldwide campaign of influence and intimidation. It is a hefty and exhaustive work of 654 pages, containing all there was to know at the time about Beijing's influence operations. Among the national case studies in the second half of the report is a section on Canada of nearly 50 pages. The report credits the Huawei Affair, stemming from the detention of the company's chief financial officer, Meng Wanzhou, at Vancouver International Airport on December 1, 2018, with waking Canadians up to Beijing's true disdain for Canada. Beijing's kidnapping, torturing, and holding for ransom for nearly three years of two Canadians, Michael Kovrig and Michael Spavor, sounded the alarm loud and clear. Then, the French report continues, "Likewise, the publication of Jonathan Manthorpe's book, *Claws of the Panda: Beijing's Campaign of Influence and Intimidation in Canada*, in 2019, provoked a debate and contributed to a growing mistrust of Beijing among Canadian politicians and citizens." The two events were not of equal moment. For the general public and, ultimately, the Canadian decision-making establishment, the Huawei Affair and the resulting crisis in Ottawa-Beijing relations were shocking in the extreme. What *Claws of the Panda* did and continues to do is provide context, pointing to why this crisis came about.

So the coincidence of the Huawei Affair and the publication of *Claws of the Panda* set off a chain of events that has changed Canada's relations with Beijing for the foreseeable future. For the first time in at least seventy years, they are now on a more realistic footing. The illusion — prevalent among Canadian political, business, and academic leaders — that Canadian

civic values would be a model for reforms by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has been swept away. So has the delusion that China would be a major economic partner for Canada. What has emerged in the place of these illusions, at least on the Canadian side, is a properly cautious approach to Beijing. In trade and in all other aspects of the relationship with the People's Republic of China (PRC), there is now the realization in Canada that we should adopt a cool transactional posture.

The continuing animosity between Ottawa and Beijing, however, is no longer just because of the detention of Meng and the legal process to extradite her to the U.S., where she faced charges of fraud and attempting to circumvent sanctions on Iran. It is also because of the PRC's determination to be a world power and an imperialist one at that. Beijing's relationships with the U.S. and also the European Union have become more abrasive; antipathy toward the PRC is growing. Canada is now part of a large club of countries, including democracies of the Indo-Pacific region, that are apprehensive of the CCP's intentions with its growing power and influence.

The crisis also demanded a reassessment of how Canada picks its foreign friends. The saga of Canada's passion for a close relationship with Beijing, set out in the first edition of *Claws of the Panda*, smacked of gross naïveté. Is Canada being naïve in other international relationships and entanglements as well? How does a relatively small, middle-power democracy survive in a multipolar world where its old alliances are not as dependable as in the past?

Not surprisingly, the people in politics, business, and academia who remained dedicated to engagement with Beijing fought back against the exposure of their self-delusion. They continued to argue that there is and needs to be a special relationship between the two countries, despite all the evidence to the contrary. But the Huawei Affair, which began in November 2018, was compounded in late 2019 by Beijing's refusal to admit to the outbreak of COVID-19 in the central Chinese city of Wuhan and the dangers of this highly infectious and lethal virus. This forced even the most avid of Beijing's agents of interest to accept that there is little common ground and no shared values between Canada and the PRC. The

Canadian people understood that very quickly. Canadians of Chinese, Tibetan, Uyghur, and Kazakh heritage gained confidence to talk publicly about the pressure the CCP puts on their communities. The activities of the CCP in Canada caught the attention of Parliament when there were renewed allegations of attempts by Beijing to influence the outcome of Canadian elections.

This chain of events has led the Canadian government of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau to produce a new trade, diplomacy, and security policy toward the Indo-Pacific that focuses on relations with like-minded countries in the region and which relegates the PRC to footnotes. More broadly, Canadians are beginning, finally, to examine their approach to their national and security interests. The starting point for all these radical changes is when Cathay Pacific flight CX838 from Hong Kong landed in Vancouver at 11:30 a.m. on December 1, 2018.