## PROJECT SYNDICATE **Globalising the Covid Vaccine**



and approval of safe and effective Covid-19 vaccines less than a year after the start of the pandemic is a truly remarkable achievement, offering hope that the end of this devastating crisis may be in sight. What will follow in the coming months, or even weeks, will

HE development

be equally remarkable: Covid-19 vaccines will be made available to people around the world-not just in the wealthiest countries—at roughly the same time.

Vaccines will reach the majority of rich-country citizens in the first quarter of this year, and citizens of low- and lower-middle-income countries will also begin to access them. The speed and scale at which vaccines are being provided is both extraordinary and necessary to end the pandemic, and is possible only thanks to an unprecedented show of global solidarity and multilateral support for COVAX, the central mechanism in the global Covid-19 vaccination effort, launched last year by the World Health Organization and Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance (which I led).

COVAX will facilitate the rollout of two billion vaccine doses over the next year, reaching people in 190 participating countries and economies, regardless of their ability to pay. In fact, there should be enough doses to protect all healthand social-care workers worldwide by mid-2021 And despite meeting with its share of naysayers, the programme has continued to attract more governments, economic policymakers, and vaccine manufacturers. These participants are signing on because they recognise that COVAX is the only viable global solution to the Covid-19 crisis.

Now that we have reached this critical juncture, speculation about whether COVAX will fail must stop. It is time to start providing the support needed to ensure that it succeeds in doing what



File photo of a man wearing a mask passing by the Coliseum in Rome, on March 7, 2020.

it was designed to do. The development and approval of vaccines is merely the first step. As long as the coronavirus can be transmitted between people, many will continue to be infected, and some will die. The hope of returning to normal trade, commerce, and travel will remain elusive.

To end the cycle, we cannot vaccinate only some people in some countries; we must protect all people everywhere. Yet as vaccines have been rolled out, demand has predictably outpaced the still-limited supply. Under these conditions, even if doses are promised for the rest of the world further down the line, allocating vaccines to the highest bidder will merely prolong the crisis.

Vaccine nationalism is precisely the problem that COVAX was created to solve.

In tackling Covid-19, we must avoid a repeat of 2009, when a small number of rich countries bought up most of the global supply of H1N1 flu vaccine, leaving the rest of the world with none. Because every national government has a first-order duty to protect its own citizens, it is no surprise that some 35 countries have already concluded bilateral deals with pharmaceutical manufacturers for Covid-19 vaccines.

These arrangements are not ideal when it comes to the global vaccination effort. Although COVAX is flexible enough to work around this particular problem, it can do so only as long as

manufacturers provide it with the same access to vaccines as national governments receive. Unfortunately, we are already seeing some governments buy far more doses than they need, adding to the pressure on global supply during this critical initial phase.

Some of these countries have indicated that they will donate their surplus orders, in which case these additional doses will need to be redirected as quickly and as equitably as possible. The best way to ensure that they are is for donor governments to go through the Gavi/COVAX Advance Market Commitment (AMC) mechanism, which was created to ensure that Covid-19 vaccines are made available to people living in the world's 92 low- and middle-income countries.

So far, COVAX has secured around one billion doses for people in these countries, by striking deals with manufacturers of several of the most-promising vaccine candidates. But many more doses are needed. All manufacturers must step up and make their vaccines available and affordable to COVAX, so that there can be a timely global rollout. Some manufacturers have already done this; and international donors have contributed the USD 2 billion that the COVAX AMC needed for 2020. But the programme needed an additional USD 5 billion for 2021, and in December, the United States allocated USD 4 billion for Gavi in its second Covid-19 relief package.

Back in February, few imagined that by year's end we would have more than one approved vaccine and be in a position to deliver doses to high- and lower-income countries simultaneously. But the global community rallied and created a platform for doing precisely that. All COVAX needs now is enough international support to finish the job. 

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the PKK, Iraqi Prime Minister Mustafa

blow to the UAE's anti-Turkey agenda,

Saudi Arabia's King Salman struck a

conciliatory tone with Erdogan after

their November 20 discussion," Mr.

Mr. Ramani was referring to recent

Saudi overtures to Turkey with which it

has been on a collision course since the

2018 killing of Saudi journalist Jamal

Khashoggi, as well as the outlawed

Ramani said

al-Kadhimi has courted Turkey as a

regional partner. In an even greater

## Erdogan positions powerful Turkish military as backbone of regional strategy



Recep

Tayyip

in the new

to employ his country's

military to

secure Turkey's

year pledging

JAMES M DORSEY

place in a rebalanced new world order. Mr. Erdogan spelled out his vision when he inserted himself on December 30 into an address by his defence minister, Hulusi Akar, to several hundred masked Turkish and Azeri military officers in the Azerbaijani canital of Baku Speaking on the loudspeaker of Mr. Akar's handphone that the defence minister held up to the microphone, Mr. Erdogan compared Turkish military interventions, foreign bases and/ or participation in United Nations peacekeeping missions in lands of the former Soviet Union, Kosovo, Syria, Libya, Somalia, and Qatar to the creation during World War I of the Islamic Army of the Caucasus by Enver Pasha, the Ottoman war minister. The Islamic Army captured Baku in the last days of World War I but failed to cement a basis for military support in the century since for pan-Turkist or Turanist ideologies that seek to unite peoples of Turkic origin. Critics, nonetheless, assert that Turkish support for last year's Caucasus war in which Azerbaijan defeated Armenia constituted a step in that direction. Mr. Erdogan, however, appears to define Turkey's place in a new world order as Turkish leadership of a broader Muslim world of which lands populated by Turkic ethnicities are part.

RESIDENT I wish our soldiers success, who fight to preserve peace, calm and stability in many places from Syria to Libva, from Erdogan ushered Somalia to Kosovo, from Afghanistan to Qatar," Mr. Erdogan said.

Mr. Erdogan's broader focus has not stopped his defence minister from stepping up meetings with representatives of Turkic minorities. until recently the preserve of a separate government department.

"Ankara's interest in its ethnic kin abroad has markedly perked since the flare-up of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between Azerbaijan and Armenia in late September," said Turkish military analyst Metin Gurcan, referring to the disputed Armenian enclave that is legally part of Azerbaijan. Mr. Erdogan made his Baku remarks against the backdrop of heightened strains with Iran, efforts by Turkey's Mediterranean detractors backed by the United Arab Emirates to stymie Turkish efforts to expand its access to regional gas deposits, and domestic criticism of his massive expenditure on religious soft power at a time of economic hardship. Mr. Erdogan's emphasis on military power was likely to complicate his overtures to Israel with which he has had tense relations in past years in a bid to ease potentially difficult dealings with the incoming administration of President-elect Joe Biden. Mr. Biden has criticised Turkey's abysmal record on human rights and the rule of law, and is unlikely to look kindly at NATO-member Turkey's acquisition of an advanced Russian anti-missile defence system Israel backed last month's admission of the UAE as an observer to the Cairo-based Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum that groups Egypt, Greece, Cyprus, Italy, Jordan, and Palestine alongside the Jewish state. Turkey has

denounced the forum as an effort to deprive it of its economic rights in the Eastern Mediterranean, and last year it dispatched an exploration vessel to disputed waters.

The move by the UAE—one of Turkey's foremost rivals in a struggle for dominant political and religious influence in a swath of land stretching from the Atlantic coast of Africa into Central Asia-potentially constitutes a change in Emirati strategy.

Middle East scholar Samuel Ramani



Mediterranean and Sub-Saharan Africa," Mr. Ramani said, suggesting that the Emirates may pivot to a soft power approach.

That would likely entail steppedup competition with Turkey in the provision of emergency and development aid to third countries as well as increased rivalry for religious soft power in the Muslim world.

The UAE has cast itself as a paragon of a moderate and tolerant, albeit statist, strand of Islam, as opposed to Turkey's more strident advocacy of a heavily nationalist tinted political interpretation of the faith.

The UAE has been on the warpath painst political Islam for mor than a decade. It has designated the Turkish-backed Muslim Brotherhood as a terrorist organisation and backed French President Emmanuel Macron and Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz in their crackdown on Islamist and Turkish nationalist groups. Mr. Erdogan has for more than a decade rejected notions of more moderate and more radical strands of Islam. "Islam cannot be classified as moderate or not... Animosity (towards Islam), unfortunately, strengthens the scenarios that there is a so-called clash of civilisations in the world. Those who defend such speculations may go further to identify terrorism with Islam, which is based on peace," he asserts Taken by his word, Mr. Erdogan was suggesting with his year-end remarks in Baku that as far as he is concerned, his strategy of hard and soft power, in contrast to the UAE, is working and is likely to continue to shape Turkish policy in the coming year.

The Turkish military, with a past full of glory and honour, will continue to fulfil... the task assigned to them in our country and all over the world...

## File photo of a Turkish soldier walking next to a Turkish PHOTO: REUTERS/RODI SAID military vehicle during a joint US-Turkey patrol near Tel Abyad, Syria, on September 8, 2019.

argued recently that the UAE's hard power and coercive efforts to block Turkish advances had failed. Those efforts included military backing of Libvan rebel leader Khalifa Haftar and threats to sanction Algeria for its stepped-up cooperation with Turkey.

"In recent months, the UAE's efforts to forge an Arab consensus against Erdogan's ambitions have unravelled. Despite Iraq's periodic frustrations with Turkish cross-border strikes on

Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK) that increasingly wages its intermittent 30-year-old guerrilla war against Turkey from bases in the remote mountains of pre-dominantly Kurdish northern Iraq.

"The seemingly collapsing foundations of the UAE's anti-Turkey strategy suggest that Abu Dhabi needs to rethink its approach to containing Erdogan's ambitions... the UAE could devote more resources towards containing Turkey in the eastern

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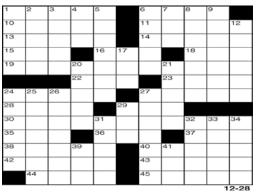
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12 Like some breads 17 Compass dir. 20 Breakfast bread 21 Fight site 24 Fix 25 Airport announcement 26 Volatile liquid element 27 Flying aid with straps 29 Letter before omega 31 German steel city 32 Like Loki 33 Hackneyed 34 Tennis star Monica 39 Sense of self
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## YESTERDAY'S ANSWERS

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