

POLITICS AND ECONOMY

The march to world disorder



Secretary of State John Kerry speaks during a news conference at the State Department in Washington earlier this year

By Martin Wolf

It is not true that humanity cannot learn from history. It can and, in the case of the lessons of the dark period between 1914 and 1945, the west did. But it seems to have forgotten those lessons. We are living, once again, in an era of strident nationalism and xenophobia. The hopes of a brave new world of progress, harmony and democracy, raised by the market opening of the 1980s and the collapse of Soviet communism between 1989 and 1991, have turned into ashes.

What lies ahead for the US, creator and guarantor of the postwar liberal order, soon to be governed by a president who repudiates permanent alliances, embraces protectionism and admires despots? What lies ahead for a battered EU, contemplating the rise of “illiberal democracy” in the east, Brexit and the possibility of Marine Le Pen’s election to the French presidency?

What lies ahead now that

Vladimir Putin’s irredentist Russia exerts increasing influence on the world and China has announced that Xi Jinping is not first among equals but a “core leader”?

The contemporary global economic and political system originated as a reaction against the disasters of the first half of the 20th century. The latter, in turn, were caused by the unprecedented, but highly uneven, economic progress of the 19th century.

The transformational forces unleashed by industrialisation stimulated class conflict, nationalism and imperialism. Between 1914 and 1918, industrialised warfare and the Bolshevik revolution ensued. The attempted restoration of the pre-First World War liberal order in the 1920s ended with the Great Depression, the triumph of Adolf Hitler and the Japanese militarism of the 1930s. This then created the conditions for the catastrophic slaughter of the Second World War, to be followed by the com-

munist revolution in China.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, the world was divided between two camps: liberal democracy and communism. The US, the world’s dominant economic power, led the former and the Soviet Union the latter. With US encouragement, the empires controlled by enfeebled European states disintegrated, creating a host of new countries in what was called the “third world”.

Contemplating the ruins of European civilisation and the threat from communist totalitarianism, the US, the world’s most prosperous economy and militarily powerful country, used not only its wealth but also its example of democratic self-government, to create, inspire and underpin a transatlantic west. In so doing, its leaders consciously learnt from the disastrous political and economic mistakes their predecessors made after its entry into the First World War in 1917.

Domestically, the countries of

this new west emerged from the Second World War with a commitment to full employment and some form of welfare state. Internationally, a new set of institutions - the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (ancestor of today’s World Trade Organisation) and the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (the instrument of the Marshall Plan, later renamed the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) - oversaw the reconstruction of Europe and promoted global economic development. NATO, the core of the western security system, was founded in 1949. The Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Community, forerunner of the EU, was signed in 1957.

This creative activity came partly in response to immediate pressures, notably the postwar European economic misery and the threat from Stalin’s Sovi-

et Union. But it also reflected a vision of a more co-operative world.

FROM EUPHORIA TO DISAPPOINTMENT

Economically, the postwar era can be divided in two: the Keynesian period of European and Japanese economic catch-up and the subsequent period of market-oriented globalisation, which began with Deng Xiaoping’s reforms in China from 1978 and the elections in the UK and the US of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan in 1979 and 1980, respectively.

This latter period was characterised by completion of the Uruguay Round of trade negotiations in 1994, establishment of the WTO in 1995, China’s entry into the WTO in 2001 and the enlargement of the EU, to include former members of the Warsaw Pact, in 2004.

The first economic period ended in the great inflation of the 1970s. The second period ended



The march to world disorder (continued)



Russian President Vladimir Putin (center) and Chinese President Xi Jinping (right) observe a parade commemorating the 70th anniversary of Japan's surrender during World War II, in Beijing on September 3, 2015

with the western financial crisis of 2007-09. Between these two periods lay a time of economic turmoil and uncertainty, as is true again now. The main economic threat in the first period of transition was inflation. This time, it has been disinflation.

Geopolitically, the postwar era can also be divided into two periods: the cold war, which ended with the Soviet Union's fall in 1991, and the post-cold war era. The US fought significant wars in both periods: the Korean (1950-53) and Vietnam (1963-1975) wars during the first, and the two Gulf wars (1990-91 and 2003) during the second. But no war was fought among economically advanced great powers, though that came very close during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

The first geopolitical period of the postwar era ended in disappointment for the Soviets and euphoria in the west. Today, it is the west that confronts geopolitical and economic disappointment.

The Middle East is in turmoil. Mass migration has become a threat to European stability. Mr Putin's Russia is on the march. Mr Xi's China is increasingly assertive. The west seems impotent.

These geopolitical shifts are, in part, the result of desirable changes, notably the spread of rapid economic development beyond the west, particularly to the Asian giants, China and India. Some are also the result of choices made elsewhere, not least Russia's decision to reject liberal democracy in favour of

The succession of geopolitical and economic blunders has undermined western states' reputation for competence, while raising that of Russia and China

nationalism and autocracy as the core of its post-communist identity and China's to combine a market economy with communist control.

RISING ANGER

Yet the west also made big mistakes, notably the decision in the aftermath of 9/11 to overthrow Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein and spread democracy in the Middle East at gunpoint. In both the US and UK, the Iraq war is now seen as having illegitimate origins, incompetent management and disastrous outcomes.

Western economies have also been affected, to varying degrees, by slowing growth, rising inequality, high unemployment (especially in southern Europe), falling labour force participation and deindustrialisation. These shifts have had particularly adverse effects on relatively unskilled men. Anger over mass immigration has grown, particularly in parts of the population also adversely affected by other changes.

Some of these shifts were the result of economic changes that were either inevitable or the downside of desirable develop-

ments. The threat to unskilled workers posed by technology could not be plausibly halted, nor could the rising competitiveness of emerging economies. Yet, in economic policy, too, big mistakes were made, notably the failure to ensure the gains from economic growth were more widely shared. The financial crisis of 2007-09 and subsequent eurozone crisis were, however, the decisive events.

These had devastating economic effects: a sudden jump in unemployment followed by relatively weak recoveries. The economies of the advanced countries are roughly a sixth smaller today than they would have been if pre-crisis trends had continued.

The response to the crisis also undermined belief in the system's fairness. While ordinary people lost their jobs or their houses, the government bailed out the financial system. In the US, where the free market is a secular faith, this looked particularly immoral.

Finally, these crises destroyed confidence in the competence and probity of financial, economic and policymaking elites,

notably over the management of the financial system and the wisdom of creating the euro.

All this together destroyed the bargain on which complex democracies rest, which held that elites could earn vast sums of money or enjoy great influence and power as long as they delivered the goods. Instead, a long period of poor income growth for most of the population, especially in the US, culminated, to almost everyone's surprise, in the biggest financial and economic crisis since the 1930s. Now, the shock has given way to fear and rage.

The succession of geopolitical and economic blunders has also undermined western states' reputation for competence, while raising that of Russia and, still more, China. It has also, with the election of Donald Trump, torn a hole in the threadbare claims of US moral leadership.

We are, in short, at the end of both an economic period - that of western-led globalisation - and a geopolitical one: The post-cold war "unipolar moment" of a US-led global order.

The question is whether what follows will be an unravelling of the post-second world war era into deglobalisation and conflict, as happened in the first half of the 20th century, or a new period in which non-western powers, especially China and India, play a bigger role in sustaining a co-operative global order.

FREE TRADE AND PROSPERITY

A big part of the answer will be provided by western countries. Even now, after a generation of relative economic decline, the US, the EU and Japan produce just over half of world output measured at market prices and 36 percent of it measured at purchasing power parity.

They also remain homes to the world's most important and innovative companies, dominant financial markets, leading institutions of higher education and most influential cultures. The US should also remain the world's most powerful country, particularly militarily, for decades. But its ability to influence the world is greatly enhanced by its network of alliances, the product of the creative US statecraft during the early postwar era. Yet alliances also need to be maintained.

The essential ingredient in western success must, however, be domestic. Slow growth and ageing populations have put pressure on public spending. With weak growth, particularly of productivity, and structural upheaval in labour markets, politics has taken on zero-sum characteristics: instead of being able to promise more for everybody, it becomes more about taking from some to give to oth-

ers. The winners in this struggle have been those who are already highly successful. That makes those in the middle and bottom of the income distribution more anxious and so more susceptible to racist and xenophobic demagoguery.

In assessing responses, two factors must be remembered.

First, the post-Second World War era of US hegemony has been a huge overall success. Global average real incomes per head rose by 460 percent between 1950 and 2015. The proportion of the world's population in extreme poverty has fallen from 72 percent in 1950 to 10 percent in 2015.

Globally, life expectancy at birth has risen from 48 years in 1950 to 71 in 2015. The proportion of the world's people living in democracies has risen from 31 percent in 1950 to 56 percent in 2015.

Second, trade has been far from the leading cause of the long-term decline in the proportion of US jobs in manufacturing, though the rise in the trade deficit had a significant effect on employment in manufacturing after 2000. Technologically driven productivity growth has been far more powerful.

Similarly, trade has also not been the main cause of rising inequality: after all, high-income economies have all been buffeted by the big shifts in international competitiveness, but the consequences of those shifts for the distribution of income have varied hugely.

US and western leaders have to find better ways to satisfy their people's demands. It looks, however, as though the UK still lacks a clear idea of how it is going to function after Brexit, the eurozone remains fragile, and some of the people Mr Trump plans to appoint, as well as Republicans in Congress, seem determined to slash the frayed cords of the US social safety net.

A divided, inward-looking and mismanaged west is likely to become highly destabilising. China might then find greatness thrust upon it. Whether it will be able to rise to a new global role, given its huge domestic challenges, is an open question. It seems quite unlikely.

By succumbing to the lure of false solutions, born of disillusion and rage, the west might even destroy the intellectual and institutional pillars on which the postwar global economic and political order has rested. It is easy to understand those emotions, while rejecting such simplistic responses. The west will not heal itself by ignoring the lessons of its history. But it could well create havoc in the attempt.

Golf club shows pitfalls of Trump presidency

By Jon Gambrell in Dubai

THE decorative clock bearing the name of America's incoming 45th president has yet to start at the Trump International Golf Club in Dubai, but the developers behind the project already are counting the money they've made.

The 18-hole course is likely to be the first Trump-connected property to open after his Jan. 20 inauguration as president, joining his organization's projects stretching from Bali to Panama.

It also encapsulates the host of worries of possible conflicts of interest circulating around a president who is very different from America's past leaders. While the Oval Office has always been home to the wealthy, Donald Trump represents the first franchise president.

Could foreign governments pressure or please Trump through his international businesses? Should projects bearing his name receive additional security? And how close should his ties remain to business executives operating in areas with far different opinions about human rights and justice?

"There has never been anything remotely like this — not even close," said Robert W. Gordon, a legal historian and ethics expert who teaches at Stanford University. "Trump himself tends to treat his businesses and his public policy as sort of extensions of himself. He seems to be completely unembarrassed about scrambling up and conflating his business enterprise and the actions and policies of the U.S. government."

The Trump International Golf Club in Dubai — the sheikhdom home to a futuristic skyline crowned by the world's tallest building — is due to open in February and be managed by Trump Organization employees.

The course sits along a road that begins near the sail-shaped Burj al-Arab luxury hotel and passes by a mall with its own artificial ski slope. The luxury continues onto the par-71 Trump course, designed by American golf architect Gil Hanse, where wrinkled fairways lead to putting greens made smooth with silica sand brushed in between microblades of grass.

It is set inside Akoya, a massive housing development of 2,600 villas and 7,000 apartments developed by Dubai-based luxury real estate DAMAC Properties. Another Trump-managed golf course is planned for another even larger DAMAC project under development further down the road.

Billionaire Hussain Sajwani, who founded DAMAC Properties in 2002, met Trump some 10

years ago and the two men hit it off over their real estate experiences, said Niall McLoughlin, a senior vice president for communications and marketing at the firm.

"When we approached them in 2013 about the golf course, he of course knew who DAMAC was," McLoughlin told The Associated Press on a recent trip to the golf course. "They subsequently cemented the family relationship as well. [...] A lot of our dealings have been with Eric, a lot of our dealings have been with Ivanka. They have traveled here — and Donald Jr."

Sajwani and his family also attended a New Year's Eve party at Trump's Mar-a-Lago club in Florida, with the incoming president describing them from on stage as "the most beautiful people from Dubai."

Trump received between USD1 million to \$5 million from DAMAC, according to a Federal Election Committee report submitted in May. It's unclear how much the contract will be worth once the golf course opens and starts operating. McLoughlin declined to offer specific figures.

He has so many properties that his business interests become an obvious target for both bribes and threats.

ROBERT W. GORDON
LEGAL HISTORIAN AND ETHICS
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It is the first Trump venture in the Arab world. His first proposed project in Dubai, a 62-story tower with state-backed developer Nakheel, became a victim of the sheikhdom's 2009 financial crisis.

By 2014, Trump knocked a golf ball down the fairway of what would become the golf course at Akoya. Sajwani called Trump a "great man" during the tour, and DAMAC later designed some 100 Trump-branded villas at the property, selling from 5 million dirhams (\$1.3 million) to over 15 million dirhams (\$4 million).

With Trump set to be sworn in as president, security analysts have suggested properties bearing his name could be targets. His campaign pledge calling for a "total and complete shutdown" of Muslims entering the U.S., followed by his proposal to conduct "ex-

AP PHOTO



An employee mows the grass in front of the clubhouse at the Trump International Golf Club in Dubai

treme vetting" of immigrants, also sparked regional anger. The Trump logos on the golf course even came down for a short time.

Still, the United Arab Emirates, a staunch U.S. ally in the war against the Islamic State group and host to some 5,000 American military personnel, remains a peaceful corner of the Middle East.

"Dubai is one of the safest cities in the world," McLoughlin said. "Dubai has proved itself to be safe. We have no extra concerns about this golf course."

Dubai police did not respond to a request for comment about security at the property.

Financial matters raise other questions.

DAMAC, a private company, purchased the property for Akoya from Dubai's government in 2012 for around \$350 million. Dubai's government ultimately answers to the emirate's hereditary ruler, Sheikh Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum, who also is the UAE's vice president and prime minister.

All services to the property — electricity, water, roads — come at the discretion of the government. The club's bar will need government approvals to serve alcohol, not to mention other regulatory issues.

That could raise concerns about the so-called "emoluments clause" of the U.S. constitution, which bars public officials from accepting gifts or payments from foreign governments and companies controlled by them without the consent of Congress.

Any negotiations involving the Trump brand at the least could create the appearance of impropriety, legal experts warn.

"He has so many properties that his business interests become an obvious target for both bribes and threats," said Gordon, the Stanford law professor. "The dangers really come in two directions: One

is that foreign powers will try to use Trump's interests as a way of bribing him into public policies in a way that are friendly to them or use them put pressure on him."

Trump has said he will step away from managing his business empire while in office, but has offered few details other than to say his executives "will run it with my children."

Erik Jensen, a law professor emeritus at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, said that alone could pose problems.

"Turning over control to the kids just doesn't do it. They clearly are going to be having holiday meals together, talking on the telephone," Jensen said. "There's going to be a lot of contact there."

Even putting assets in a blind trust, like other presidents have, likely wouldn't work since, for example, he would know the trust holds a golf course in Dubai. "You can put it in the trust, but the adjective 'blind' wouldn't apply in that situation," Jensen said.

Also, DAMAC's Sajwani has had dealings with the U.S. government. He credits some of his fortune to contracting work his companies did in supplying U.S. forces during the 1991 Gulf War that expelled Iraqi forces from Kuwait. Over the past decade, his companies have been awarded at least \$1 million in contracting work, according to U.S. government records reviewed by the AP.

McLoughlin did not respond to a query regarding whether DAMAC would continue to seek U.S. government contracts.

DAMAC stock traded after the election at near a yearlong low of 2.02 dirhams (55 cents) a share, in part due to the company announcing an 11.7 percent fall in third-quarter profits as Dubai's housing market has slowed in 2016.

Stock then rebounded, reaching 2.53 dirhams (69 cents) just be-

fore New Year's Eve, as the company began handing over properties at Akoya.

Sajwani's business dealings have drawn international scrutiny in the past. After Egypt's 2011 Arab Spring protests, a local court sentenced him to five years in prison and a \$40.5 million fine over a 2006 land deal. Egypt and DAMAC later reached an undisclosed settlement in international arbitration and Sajwani never served prison time.

DAMAC, which competes against largely state-backed developers in Dubai, focuses on flashy projects, like offering homes built around luxury Bugatti sports cars. But when it comes to building the projects, it like other companies relies heavily on subcontractors who largely employ low-paid laborers from Asian countries like India and Pakistan.

There have been no formal complaints by workers alleging the Trump golf course or the larger DAMAC project mistreats laborers.

However, that alone shouldn't be taken as a sign that everything is fine, said James Lynch, who focuses on Gulf labor issues for Amnesty International.

The Emirati government and local businesses remain sensitive about their image in regards to the millions of workers employed in the country, something Lynch knows all too well as he was barred from entering the UAE in 2015 to discuss laborers' rights.

"Under international standards, construction companies in the Gulf are not only responsible for how they treat their direct employees," Lynch said. "They have a responsibility to put in place measures to ensure that their subcontractors do not abuse the rights of people working for them."

The Trump Organization and his transition team did not respond to AP requests for comment. McLoughlin of DAMAC did not respond to a request for comment regarding labor issues.

For now, workers manicure the golf course's empty greens. Others put the finishing touches on a clubhouse that will feature a bar, a water-pipe tobacco lounge and restaurants for those paying the course's dues, which start at around \$10,000 a year.

While DAMAC's contract with Trump allows them to use his image in advertising the course, McLoughlin said the company would be "tasteful" in its promotions. However, he said at least some of Trump's children likely would be on hand for the opening of the course.

"It's their baby," McLoughlin said. **AP**

Israel harnessing sunshine with world's tallest solar tower



50,000 mirrors, known as heliostats, encircle the solar tower in the Negev desert,

By Isaac Scharf, Alon Bernstein

IN sunny Israel, solar energy supplies only a small percentage of the nation's power needs, leaving it far behind countries with cloudier and colder climates.

Now the fledgling solar industry is trying to make a leap forward with a large-scale project boasting the world's tallest solar tower, as a symbol of Israel's renewal energy ambitions.

With Israel traditionally running its economy on fossil fuels, renewable energy has long been hobbled by bureaucracy and a lack of incentives. But the country is

starting to make an effort, setting a goal of generating 10 percent of its energy from renewable sources by 2020, up from the current 2.5 percent.

The Ashalim project, deep in the Negev desert, is made up of three plots, with a fourth planned for the future, each with a different solar technology. Together, the fields will be Israel's largest renewable energy project when completed by 2018. They are set to generate some 310 megawatts of power, about 1.6 percent of the country's energy needs — enough for about 130,000 households, or roughly 5 percent of Israel's population, ac-

ording to Israel's Electricity Authority.

"It's the most significant single building block in Israel's commitment to CO₂ reduction and renewable energy," said Eran Gartner, chief executive of Megalim Solar Power Ltd., which is building one part of the project.

The centerpiece is a solar tower that will be the world's tallest at 250 meters.

Solar towers use a method differing from the more common photovoltaic solar panels, which convert sunlight directly into electricity. Instead, towers use a solar-thermal method: Thousands of mirrors focus the sun's rays onto the tower, heating a boiler that creates steam to spin a turbine and generate electricity.

Encircling the Ashalim tower are 50,000 mirrors, known as heliostats, in a shimmering blanket of glass over the desert. The tower is so tall because the panels were squeezed together to maximize use of the land — and the closer the panels are the taller the tower must be, Gartner explained.

Another solar-thermal plot at Ashalim will be able to store energy even when the sun goes down. A third plot will use photovoltaic

solar technology to produce energy.

Yaron Szilas, CEO of Shikun & Binui Renewable Energy, the lead developer of the second solar-thermal plot, said combining the three technologies was a wise move because each has its own advantage. The amount of electricity it produces will be comparable to large-scale solar fields in California and Chile.

There are around a dozen solar tower fields around the world, the largest being the Ivanpah plant in California with some 170,000 heliostats around three 140-meter-tall towers.

Israel has developed some of the world's most advanced solar energy equipment and enjoys a nearly endless supply of sunshine. But Israeli solar companies, frustrated by government bureaucracy, have mostly taken their expertise abroad.

Countries with cooler climates have outpaced Israel. Germany, for example, gets nearly 30 percent of its energy from renewable sources.

"Israel has a potential to be a sunshine superpower," said Leehee Goldenberg, director of the department of economy and environment at the Israel Union for

Environmental Defense, a non-governmental organization. Despite some steps in the right direction, "Israel's government hasn't really been pushing to reach its small goals regarding solar energy."

Israel has often been reluctant to hand out huge parcels of land, a necessity for large-scale solar power production, Gartner said. Large projects also demand access to state-owned infrastructure like gas, water and electricity, and connecting to those utilities out in remote plants in the Negev desert often takes time.

Israel's Finance Ministry said the price of generating solar power in Israel has come down, and the ministry has pushed new laws to promote the industry. Recent legislation has also provided incentives and cut down some of the bureaucracy for Israelis wanting to install solar panels on their roofs.

The ministry said if Ashalim is successful, it will aim for more such facilities.

After the discovery of major natural gas deposits offshore, Israel now gets 70 percent of its energy from cleaner-burning gas. That discovery was welcome, Szilas said, but it has also delayed the impetus for promoting renewable energy.

The developers in the Ashalim project say they want Israel to step up its renewable energy goals.

"With all the sun that we have and how progressed we are in technology, these goals are very, very, very modest," Szilas said. "But these are the goals that were set, and we are working toward it." AP

ASK THE VET

by Dr Ruan Du Toit Bester



8 CAUSES OF SUDDEN WEIGHT LOSS IN DOGS

SUDDEN weight loss in dogs may signal serious medical conditions and should be reported to the vet. This weight loss in dogs may be caused by:

- Diabetes
- Tapeworm
- Liver Disease
- Addison's Disease
- Thyroid Problems
- Mouth Lesions
- Dental Problems
- Pregnancy

When a dog is losing weight, he burns more calories than he consumes. If your dog loses more than 10 percent of his total weight, this should be a reason for worry.

1. DIABETES

Diabetes is caused by insulin deficit or the incapacity of the body to absorb the sugar from the blood.

Diabetes will cause the dog to have increased appetite, but despite this, he will still lose a lot of weight.

Senior and obese dogs are more prone to developing diabetes; however diabetes may be a genetic disease.

2. TAPEWORM

A dog with parasites may lose weight. Dogs with tapeworms are particularly ex-

posed to weight loss. The tapeworm resides in the dog's intestine and feeds on the food consumed by the dog; consequently, the dog is deprived by essential nutrients and will get thinner.

3. LIVER DISEASE

The liver processes sugars and carbs needed by the body; if the dog has liver disease, the liver will not be able to provide these essential nutrients. The body will consume the fat deposits or muscle tissues.

The dog will also display symptoms such as frequent urination, abdominal pain, jaundice, pale feces and orange urine.

A change in diet is important in managing liver disease. If the disease is caused by toxins, these must be removed from the dog's environment. The vet may also prescribe additional medication.

4. ADDISON'S DISEASE

Addison's disease is an adrenal insufficiency. The dog has a steroid hormone deficit and will be signaled by vomiting, diarrhea, fatigue, low blood pressure or fever. The pet will also lose weight.

5. THYROID PROBLEMS

Thyroid problems may lead to hormo-



nal imbalance and to a speeding up of the metabolism. In this case, the dog will lose weight. Thyroid problems may be managed, but need to be detected first. If you suspect any of these come over to RVC and we will run a thyroid test, diagnose the problem and correct the deficiency.

6. MOUTH LESIONS

If a dog has mouth lesions, eating will be painful, so he will refrain from eating. Go to the vet to detect any injuries or lesions that are present in the mouth of the throat of the dog.

7. DENTAL PROBLEMS

If your pet has a dental abscess he will avoid eating. The vet will administer antibiotics and will determine if the tooth should be removed.

8. PREGNANCY

A pregnant dog may lose weight in the first stage of the pregnancy as she lacks

appetite due to nausea. This is not a cause for worry, as the dog will soon gain back the weight.

Sudden weight loss is often accompanied by other symptoms such as poor muscle function, dull coat, dry skin, diarrhea, vomiting, lethargy or depression.

Weight loss may be due to a lack of appetite which may be caused by anxiety.

Other causes of weight loss may include neuromuscular diseases, poor digestion, cancer or heart disease.

The treatment depends on the cause of the weight loss. In some cases, prescription diet will be recommended.

Hope this info helps
Till next week
Dr Ruan

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