

UTRIKES PERSPEKTIV

The Student Magazine on Foreign Affairs

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Editorial:
ISLAMOPHOBIA

FORTRESS EUROPE
Migration Policies of the EU

INTERVJU:
Henrik Arnstad

PARADISE LOST
IN THE AFTERMATH OF UTØYA

Theme:

NATIONALISM



THE MAN ON THE COVER...

...crossed the Mediterranean Sea in search of a decent life in Europe. Once arrived at the coast of Italy, he was greeted with rigid bureaucracy and an endless amount of documents to sign. Leaving your fingerprints in the first country to which you arrive, means not being able to seek asylum in any other European country. People flee with their lives at risk only to be met by fortress Europe where the right wing populist winds are not blowing. They are creating a full-scale storm.

THIS ISSUE'S THEME is 'Nationalism'. Read about Ali Ahmadi's unbelievable journey from a life in Iran as a second-class citizen to a life filled with passionate commitment to human equality in Sweden. On page 12 Spyros Sofos, an expert on the field, explains where the Islamic State derives from. And in the article about the Zimbabwean identity we learn how Robert Mugabe is creating a national identity as something that is opposed to homosexuality.

KEEPING IN MIND the families shattered over the world, held apart by the consequences of the phenomenon of a nation, we wish you a happy Christmas and wish that 2015 will be known as the year when compassion beat selfishness and when we proved that history does not have to repeat itself.

Yours sincerely

Linnea Sandell & Marcus Bornlid
Editors-in-Chief

UTRIKES
PERSPEKTIV



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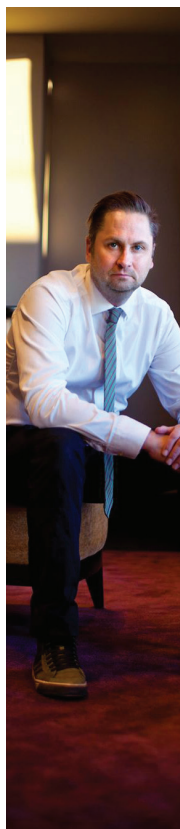
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6.



30.



40.



44.



48.



60.

CONTENT

4. Presidents' Message

5. Member Information

6. Intervju: Henrik Arnstad

10. Intervju: Cecilia Jonsson

12. Interview: Spyros Sofos

16. World Brief

18. Ali - ensam i Europa

22. Theme: Nationalism

24. Editorial: Islamophobia

26. The True Finns

30. Homophobia in Zimbabwe

32. On Top of the Game

34. The Mind of a Nationalist

37. European Migration Policy

40. Las Abejas

44. Shades Of Red

46. Danish People's Party

48. Paradise Lost

52. Made by China

54. Nationalism and Feminism

56. Om vi spelar i bikini, då?

58. Rohingya Community

60. Guldfeber

Utrikesperspektiv is the bilingual member magazine of the Association of Foreign Affairs, published four times per year. The magazine has no affiliations with a political party. Opinions presented are the writers' own.



PRESIDENTS' MESSAGE

ANOTHER YEAR HAS passed and a new one is upon us. This is the time of the year when most of us are finishing up our final exams in school in order to prepare for a couple of weeks of vacation with family and friends. Even though the days are dark and cold, we take this time to just sit back and enjoy some well-deserved rest. It is also now that we take a moment to look back at the past year and look forward to the year to come.

THE YEAR 2014 has been another great year for the Association of Foreign Affairs. It has been a year filled with interesting broadcasts, fascinating publications, wild sittings and countless lectures, mingles, debates and workshops. During the spring we organised Lovefrica, a two-day seminar on Homophobia in Africa. Over the summer break our Travel Committee organised a trip to Mumbai in India. The Association also organised Election Nights for both the election to the European Parliament in May and for the Swedish Parliament in September.

OUR MEDIA COMMITTEES are now offering new formats, innovations and experiences previously unavailable to our members. The Webzine has launched a new website, which is currently being developed to offer a far more user-friendly and aesthetically pleasing news website. Radio UPF is now more digital than ever and thanks to Audioboom, which offers short snippets of radio, there is even an option for those with almost no time at their hands. Finally the Magazine has developed a new format with more room for articles and editorials.

WE EXPECT 2015 to be as good if not even better than 2014. On behalf of the Association, we would like to thank all our members for being a part of UPF during this year, and we hope to see you again after the winter break. We wish you a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year!



On behalf of the board,

Emelie Muñoz & Rikard Brodda
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UPF has been around since 1935, thus we will be celebrating our 80th anniversary next year! In February 2015, we will be having an event full of engaging lectures and workshops discussing foreign affairs and the Millennium Development Goals. Join our Facebook page or email us to keep posted!

facebook.com/UPFLund80
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To culminate this important moment in history, we will have a grand ball on February 20. Save the date – we hope to see you there!

“När demokratin börjar fallera så finns det potentiell framgång för det rasistiska och fascistiska samhällsprojektet.”

Journalisten och historikern Henrik Arnstads *Älskade fascism* är det första verket på svenska som tar ett helhetsgrepp på de fascistiska rörelsernas historia och ideologi. *Utrikesperspektiv* har träffat honom för ett samtal om demokrati, folkhem och om varför dagens vänster är ute och cyklar.

Text: Marcus Bornlid **Foto:** Björn Leijon

Du har hävdat att den europeiska vänstern bär ett stort ansvar för de ultranationalistiska rörelsernas ökade framgångar. Varför?

Jag menar på att fler människor röstar på sådana partier idag än vad man gjorde på trettio-talet, vilket till stor del är en konsekvens av att vänstern sedan slutet av sjuttio-talet har övergett optimismen. ”Från mörkret tågar vi mot ljuset, från intet allt vi vilja bli.” Idén om framåtskridande och framtidsoptimism var en väldigt viktig del av vänsterns politik, framförallt under femtio- och sextio-talet. Men sedan kom sjuttio-talet och man kunde inte längre lösa de sam-

hällsproblemen som uppstod, med oljekrisen och liknande. Och nu när man inte längre lyckas uppamma rörelsens gamla positiva energi så misslyckas man också med att locka till sig Den Missnöjde Unge Mannen. Han som förut skulle bli kommunist, bära röd stjärna. Och då uppstår ett vakuum för andra politiska rörelser - som erbjuder optimism och kollektiva lösningar - att fylla. Och fascismen avfärdar i likhet med socialismen och kommunismen individualismens primat, som är liberalismens kärna.

Men bilden av fascismen som främst en missnöjesrörelse är något du opponerar dig mot?

Ja, men det är en annan sak med populismen, som Fremskrittspartiet i Norge, som framförallt bygger på missnöje. Fascismen bottnar verkligen i en djup ideologi. I idén om nationell återfödelse. Fascister vill skapa en alternativ modernitet. Eller: Man vill ha en modernitet, men inte så som den har blivit. De vill skapa en maskulin, viril, stridbar modernitet och för att göra det anser de att de måste göra sig av med allt som är kopplat till feminitet och ”det judiska”.





Du menar att fascismen har annekterat flera demokratiska koncept, som till exempel yttrandefriheten. På vilket vis yttrar detta sig?

Ta till exempel lagen om hets mot folkgrupp. Den kom till efter Nürnbergrättegångarna efter Andra världskriget. Då dömdes redaktören för Der Stürmer till döden, medan många andra nazikollaboratörer bara dömdes till omkring fem år i fängelse. Och det var eftersom man erkände att hetsen mot judarna i Der Stürmer - trots att tidningsmedarbetarna inte hade begått några krigsförbrytelser - var det bärande elementet i förgiftningen av det tyska folket. Det var så det beskrevs i domen. Vad som var meningen med Nürnbergrättegångarna var att man ansåg att man var tvungna att sätta en gräns för yttrandefriheten. Detta eftersom man hade sett vart det kunde leda, om man inte gjorde det. Men nu har det gått ungefär sjuttio år, och folk har börjat fråga sig om inte nazisterna egentligen ska få tillåtelse att marschera ändå. Ska man inte få lov att hetsa mot muslimer? Eller mot judar?

Och vad anser du att detta beror på?

Att vi har blivit så självsäkra angående demokratin som ideologisk bas i vår existens att vi har tappat vår förståelse för vad demokratin egentligen är för något. Man går efter politiska subjekt som yttrandefriheten – att alla måste få ”säga sitt” och så vidare – och glömmer bort att demokratin, under framförallt det tidiga nittonhundratalet, var behäftad med en tydlig medborgarskapstanke. Och att alla

medborgare är lika mycket värda. Eller som Per Albin Hansson sa 1928 ”det goda hemmet känner icke till några privilegierade eller tillbakasatta, inga kelgrisar och inga styvbarn”.

Du menar folkhemskonceptet?

Ja, som är socialdemokratis moderna kärna. Men vilka är det som använder folkhemsbegreppet i sin retorik i Sverige idag? Inte Socialdemokraterna, utan Sverigedemokraterna. Och man kan se hur ultranationalismen använder sig av organisationsfriheten, yttrandefriheten, tryckfriheten och så vidare som argument mot sina motståndare. Det vill säga, alla som är emot dem är antidemokrater.

“NACKDELEN MED ATT VARA UNIVERTSITETSUTBILDAD ÄR ATT DU LÄR DIG VAD BEGREPP FAKTISKT BETYDER”

Du anser alltså att demokratin alltmör har kommit att enbart ses som en uppsättning institutionella lösningar? Och att dess normativa kärna inte tas i beaktande?

Ja, precis. Idag tror vi att demokrati är detsamma som ett slags låt-gå/laissez-faire-politik. Att alla åsikter är precis lika mycket värda. Vad som måste återuppväckas är just den normati-

va aspekten i den demokratiska debatten. Demokratin har en ideologisk bas, men den tanken verkar vi helt ha tappat bort.

Du vänder dig mot benämningen av Sverigedemokraterna som ett främlingsfientligt eller invandringskritiskt parti. I stället bör vi vara noga med att kalla dem just rasis-ter. Varför är det viktigt?

Nackdelen med att vara universitetsutbildad är ju att du lär dig vad begrepp faktiskt betyder. Och i det här fallet handlar det om idéhistoria. Främlingsfientlighet handlar om psykologi. Det är en sorts stenåldersreflex som påminner om att man ska skydda det egna territoriet. Sedan har det inte alltid behövt

vara så – främlingar har även bemötts med nyfikenhet och vänlighet, etcetera. Rasism däremot, när man inte pekar ut främlingar utan man pekar ut en specifik grupp, är något helt annat. Som exempelvis judar, då man säger att de är grunden till alla problem i samhället. Sedan spelar det ingen roll om man har levt på platsen i fråga i tusentals år eller om de är en självklar del av samhället,

eftersom det handlar om politik. I demokratiska samhällen så fungerar inte det här, men när demokratin börjar fallera så finns det potentiell framgång för det rasistiska och fascistiska samhällsprojektet. Så det är viktigt att skilja mellan rasism och främlingsfientlighet. Sverigedemokraterna pekar inte på "främlingar" eller invandra-re; invandrade tyskar har de exempelvis inga problem med. Problemet är helt enkelt muslimer. Eller romer och judar.

Och du anser att det är vad som händer just nu – att de europeiska samhällena går igenom en demokratisk legitimitetskris?

Absolut. Demokratin är utsatt för en utmaning. Och vi har gått igenom liknande situationer i historien – exempelvis under det tidiga trettio-talet här i Sverige. Men vad som hände då var att man såg utmaningen i det demokratiska systemet och antog den. Man tog strid för demokratin. Bokstavligt talat. Man störde rasistiska möten, organiserade gräsrotter, och så vidare. Och på den tiden hade man också en annan syn på politiskt våld. Idag när demokratin utmanas i Europa, och till och med avskaffas som i Ungern – där man explicit säger att man har lämnat demokratin bakom sig – så finns inte den här stridbarheten hos demokratin. Och det är för att vi inte vet vad vi ska göra. Vad vi saknar i Europa idag är en djupare diskussion om demokratibegreppet, och inte minst en stridbar rörelse som är beredd att kämpa för den.



Hur skulle en sådan rörelse kunna se ut?

Civilsamhället måste organiseras. Detta är också en utmärkande del av demokratin, nämligen att man skapar band mellan exempelvis arbetar- och medelklass, för att de tillsammans ska värna om den. Problemet är att ingen tar på sig att leda ett sådant projekt. Massorna finns där, och folk gillar i regel inte Sverigedemokraterna, men det finns en beröringsskräck gentemot Sverigedemokraterna bland de politiska ledarna.

Så, det som egentligen behövs är att någon tar på sig ledarkappan?

Ja, Stefan Löfven hade behövt säga någonting. Men under valrörelsen gjorde han inte det, utan lämnade det åt Fredrik Reinfeldt. Och jag tror inte heller att Löfven är rätt person att leda den demokratiska kampen. Men det finns personer i arbetarrörelsen som jag tror skulle

kunna göra det. Veronica Palm, till exempel.

Det finns dock en rädsla hos arbetarrörelsen idag att framstå som "stökig". Jobbig och extremistisk. Men - även om jag inte vill utmåla mig själv som en vänstermänniska - så är det vänsterns uppgift att stå för den faktiska kampen när den demokratiska ordningen är hotad. Och högerens uppgift är att inte resonera som så att "Jo, men är inte fascisterna bättre än de där vänstermänniskorna ändå?". Det vill säga att inte liera sig med fascismen. Den svenska konservatismen har hittills gjort rätt, då den har sagt nej till att samarbeta med Sverigedemokraterna. Men liberalismen gör fel i och med att den framställer vänstern som lika dålig som ultranationalisterna. Och vänstern gör fel som inte tar kampen i högre utsträckning än vad den gör. Så följaktligen är det i dagsläget två tredjedelar som gör fel. ●

INTERVJU:

CECILIA JONSSON

“VOLONTÄRTURISM HANDLAR VÄLDIGT LITE OM DE SOM VOLONTÄRERNA FÖRVÄNTAS HJÄLPA”

En volontärresa har blivit ett minst sagt vanligt inslag i den gemene svenska medelklassungdomens liv. Resebyråer erbjuder resor som låter volontären “göra skillnad på ett barnhem” under ibland så kort tid som 2 veckor. Slogans såsom “en resa som förändrar” syftar främst till den inre förändring volontären lockas med att genomgå.

Cecilia Jonsson, som är lektor i socialt arbete på Linnéuniversitetet, berättar för *Utrikesperspektiv* vilka problem som är förenade med att hjälpen går dit volontären vill betala.

Varför är det så många som vill åka och volontärarbeta tror du? Varför har det blivit så trendigt?

Jag tror att många vill åka som volontärer för att få resa bortom de vanliga turiststråken och göra en annorlunda resa som ger mer och för att lära sig om andra människors levnadssätt och livsvillkor. Med en volontärresa bor man ofta i familjer och har en uppgift i landet, vilket gör att man får en typ av vardag till skillnad från den vanliga semesterresan. Kommersiella volontärresebyråer erbjuder ett lätt sätt för den som har råd att betala för att göra detta.

Vad skulle du säga är det största problemet med den så kallade volontärturismen?

De största problemen är för det första att man kommersialiserar människors behov av hjälp, vilket också innebär att hjälpen går dit volontären vill betala för och inte i första hand till där behovet egentligen behövs. För det andra att man låser fast föreställningar om hjälpare och hjälpmottagare. För det tredje så är kollen på projekten sällan särskilt bra hos de kommersiella resebyråerna. Resebyråerna har sällan kunskap om projekten, eventuella behov hos människor projekten riktar sig till eller hur det faktiskt går till på projekten.

Om man är ute efter att hjälpa människor i utsatta situationer, finns det något bättre alternativ än att åka som volontär?

Om man vill hjälpa människor i utsatta situationer kan man göra mycket annat än att åka på en volontärresa. Som volontär kan man inte förvänta sig att direkt göra någon skillnad i livsvillkor för andra människor, om man är ute efter det är det bättre att skänka pengar till professionella organisationer som *Läkare utan gränser*. Man kan också tänka på hur och vad man handlar och se till att köpa rättvisemärkta varor.

Är alla typer av volontärbete dåligt?

Nej, det finns undantag. Men man ska undvika projekt med barn som är den lättaste gruppen att exploatera.

Att åka iväg på volontärresa för sin egen utvecklings skull känns som något som ligger mycket i tiden. Finns det en risk med detta?

Volontärturism handlar om den som gör resan, och väldigt lite om de som volontärerna förväntas att hjälpa. Det som blir för mainstream riskerar alltid att förlora status. ●

Text: Linnea Sandell

Cecilia Jonsson är lektor i socialt arbete och har skrivit sin doktorsavhandling om volontärturism.





LUND UNIVERSITY
Center for Middle Eastern Studies



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Photo: CMES, Finngatan 16, Lund

INTERVIEW:
SPYROS SOFOS



“IS NEEDS THE WAR IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY ITS EXISTENCE”

Utrikesperspektiv sat down with Spyros Sofos, lecturer at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies in Lund, for a conversation about the Islamic State (IS). Spyros Sofos has been interested in the development of jihadi-groups in Iraq since 1999 and started following the activities of IS in detail at the beginning of 2013, when the group started appearing as a distinct element of Islamist forces.

You have been following the jihadi-groups in Iraq since 1999, where did IS come from?

The Islamic State largely came out of Iraq, although it is more known for its activities in Syria. The original group I looked at in 1999 was Jama'at al-Tawhid wa al-Jihad, that consequently became Al-Qaeda in Iraq and then became a member of the Muhajideen Shura Council. Out of this last group emerged the Islamic State in Iraq which eventually became the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant. Although it is an offshoot of Al Qaeda, this doesn't say a lot about the group. It has its own specific identity; it was a mixture of different elements: foreign Mujahideen and disgruntled Baathists. This may also give us an indication as to why they are so well organized: there were Baathist cadres that gave the group its structure,

coherence and strategy. So this experience was crucial for them, because they could draw on experienced personnel, both military and administrative.

You argue that we should look at the Islamic State from a more critical perspective than is generally done. What is your perspective?

They chose the title of Islamic State, but we see that in the West there is a tendency to deny them the title of state in order to avoid legitimizing them. But if we want to understand this organization we need to ask whether the word state is meaningful in this case and, if yes, to what extent and in what sense does it constitute a state?

The group has a specific claim on the ground and is quite well organized. They have a manifesto to which they are fulfilling

faithfully step by step. I would therefore define IS as a group that exercises sovereignty over a specific territory. I use the term 'sovereignty' as defined by Carl Schmitt, who essentially says that sovereign is he who has the ability to decide and proclaim a state of emergency. According to this definition, sovereign is not the one who rules the country through laws, but the one who can bypass laws and decide when there is a state of emergency. The Islamic State clearly has the ability to do so; in fact it defines itself as a state in flux, in a state of emergency. It exercises sovereignty in a place where there is a vacuum of any other sovereignty and it can exercise it because it continually presents itself as dealing with an exceptional situation: a war (or a jihad). It is in a continuous war and it needs the war in order to justify its existence. I don't think that in the current form it can consolidate into a peaceful kind of organization. It is interesting to understand how it is drawing its dynamism from its continual opposition to the 'corrupt regimes and their infidel internal and external supporters'. It has to be in opposition to draw legitimacy and appeal.

Would you say that when the war and the territorial expansion would stop, IS would not be able to survive?

Well, it would have to transform itself into something different. The people who are currently leading it are people who have a strategy of leading a state of emergency. They do try to

“THEY ARE REALLY GOOD AT CONVEYING THE IMAGE THAT THEY ARE EVERYWHERE”

reinstall some daily normality (schooling, trade etc), but the main thrust of their argument and activity is that they are confronting an enemy. They have to continually do so to continue existing as such. Having talked to people who have links with them (especially in Europe) it is clear that this is what is appealing; that it is a dynamic phenomenon. It acts at a time when the Middle East is in a state of either lethargy or crisis like in Israel/Palestine. There is someone who is doing something, who is struggling to change the situation. This is what sounds appealing to the people I talked to from Britain who support the idea of the Caliphate.

This touches on a very interesting topic; namely the relationship between the political realities and religion. How do these two relate to each other in IS?

I will just give an example, although it is very specific to those people who left from Western countries to join IS: the British Anti-Terrorist Services tried to look at the activities of people who left for Syria

and leaked some information about the books some of them had recently bought from Amazon. One of these books was 'Islam for Dummies' and another one, I think, was 'The Qur'an for Dummies'. In my opinion, this means that religion can become a way of expressing some other type of disgruntlement. I don't want to dismiss the religious element, but I am trying to say that joining or supporting the IS is a much more complex phenomenon where religion has an ancillary role.

The conversation returns to the question of how IS actually tries to create the reality of a state and Spyros Sofos explains:

As IS was conquering territory, it was creating an elaborate social media network - they knew that they had an audience both inside and outside of Syria and Iraq and they tailored their messages for these two different audiences. But, overall, each of the 'provinces' they controlled would bring out news and photographic material of daily life, captured enemies, beheadings. By doing this they were



Photo: Wikipedia Commons

showing that the Islamic State is a living organism with many provinces. They tried to represent their often disjointed conquered territories as provinces similar to those of the states they sought to replace to make sure that the reality of a state being born in the region becomes visible and cannot be disputed. We know that they don't control entire provinces, their strategy is to control routes and cities on those routes. Although they don't have control over the entire areas their media claim they hold, they are really good at conveying the image that they are everywhere. This is also what makes them different from Al-Qaeda: they emphasize the territorial aspect of their activities. Al-Qaeda doesn't care so much about territory.

As you already pointed out, IS uses media in a very specific way. Another example is their magazine Dabiq...

The magazine is glossy, it looks almost like it could be Cosmopolitan, except that it features beheadings and stonings and the brutality of dailiness under the IS. This is another extremely elaborate attempt to normalize the state of emergency. It tries to say: this is the Islamic State in its dailiness, by showing for example casually a woman stoned because she was adulterous, the war against the PKK or the burning of alcohol and cigarettes in the cities. This emphasis on the graphic imagery is interesting, because many other similar groups are actually against iconography - depicting

people for example. IS however uses state of the art visual tricks and is very selective and eclectic in its employment of Islamic customs and traditions. Another good example is their use of infographics – for example in the Arabic version of their magazine- to summarize and quantify the very state of emergency: the attacks, car bombs, suicide bombers, etc. They use the magazine to show how brutal they can be, but they do this in a very accessible modern way that glorifies and normalizes their brutality. ●

By: Ester Schoorel

By: Linnea Sandell

1. "EUROPE IS SLOWLY LOSING ITS SOUL"

On a recent visit to Strasbourg, the Argentinian-born pope Francis criticized the European Union in harsh terms. He accused the whole continent of putting a "throwaway-culture" in front of human rights and portrayed it as a "grandmother, no longer fertile and vibrant" with risk of "slowly losing its own soul". Furthermore, he condemned the union's immigration policies, referring to the lives lost of people trying to cross the European border. "We cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a vast graveyard," he said.

Source: *Newsweek*



63.8%

of the parliament in Rwanda consist of women, which is the highest percentage in the world.

2. CHINESE NOT ADMITTED IN BEIJING

A clothes shop in Beijing has attracted attention after posting a rather remarkable sign. The sign reads "Chinese not admitted, except for staff" and has caused tumult because of its discriminatory content. The shop's owner claims that the sign is put up because Chinese customers are "too annoying" and that "Chinese women often try lots of clothes but end up buying nothing". No legal measures can be taken, since China does not have a legal ban on racial discrimination.

Source: *The Official Beijing Youth Daily*



3. “POO BUS” HITS THE ENGLISH STREETS

A new ground-breaking bus running on human sewage and food waste has been introduced in the United Kingdom. One tank lasts for 30 kilometres and consists of 5 people's annual waste. The environment friendly bio-bus shuttles people from Bristol Airport to Bath and there is a slight chance that the passengers themselves have contributed to its fuel. *Source: The Guardian*

YES, THEY KNOW IT'S CHRISTMAS

It's Christmas time, and there is a need to be afraid, at least according to some critical voices. Why? Because Bob Geldof has still not updated his perception of the world. This time his Christmas hit “Do they know it's Christmas?” has been changed to reflect West Africa's Ebola epidemic but the lyrics still tells a story about a suffering and crying Africa, in desperate need of the West's aid. Not criticizing the positive effects in terms of the fund-raising and raised awareness which the song brings with it, Aaron Bady from Al Jazeera still finds the project somewhat problematic:

“Even Jesus was more realistic about the persistence of poverty; the idea that a few songs can solve world hunger expresses a greater messianism than even the Messiah's”

ALI ENSAM I EUROPA

Text: Marcus Bornlid Foto: Sandra Jakobsson

Femton år gammal lämnade Ali Ahmadi Iran i jakt på ett bättre liv. Fem år senare hamnade han i Sverige, efter en vindlande färd som hade fört honom över hela Europa.

V varje år kommer tusentals ensamkommande flyktingbarn till Sverige. Ungdomar som av ett eller annat skäl - vissa frivilligt, andra inte - har lämnat sina familjer och hemländer bakom sig på jakt efter ett skäligt liv. Fritt från diskriminering, krig och förföljelse. Bara förra året sökte tretusenåttahundra två ensamkommande flyktingar under arton år asyl i Sverige. Och som en följd av det accelererande våldet i oroshärdar såsom Syrien och Irak, förutspår Migrationsverket att denna hädanefter siffra kommer att stiga till åttatusen om året.

EN AV ALLA dessa ensamkommande är Ali Ahmadi. För fyra år sedan kom han till Sverige, efter att ha lämnat sin familj och vänner i Teheran i Iran. Där hade de levt som andra klassens medborgare under större delen av Alis uppväxt, alltsedan uppbrottet från deras forna hemland Afghanistan. Idag lever han i Malmö och är aktiv inom föreningen Ensamkommandes förbund, en organisation som till största del består av och verkar till förmån för ensamkommande barn och ungdomars rättigheter i Sverige. Och för fem månader sedan fick han uppehållstillstånd, efter att ha levt som papperslös - i Iran, Italien, Storbritannien, Danmark och Sverige - i närmare tjugo års tid.

DET ÄR EN råkall eftermiddag i slutet av november när vi träffar Ali. Himlen är hög och klar, och vintern ligger i luften. Han har föreslagit att vi ska komma förbi Ensamkommandes förbunds föreningslokal på Södra Parkgatan, som ligger i anslutning till Folkets park på Möllan. Han ler stort när han tar emot oss ute på trottoaren nedanför det gamla tegelstenshuset i vilket de huserar. När han visar oss in i den lilla lokalen, som består av ett litet kök och ett av banderoller utsmyckat mötesrum, presenterar han oss för en vän, som berättar att hon har varit engagerad i Ensamkommandes förbund sedan hon anslöt sig till den första Asylstafetten, 2013.

ASYLSTAFETTEN ÄR ALIS skötebarn, ett projekt som han sjösatte via Ensamkommandes och Asylgruppen för två år sedan. Han var vid den tidpunkten innerligt trött på den tystnad som han upplevde kringgärdade de papperslösas situation i den svenska debatten. På frånan av röster som förde de papperslösas talan.

- SER NI NÅGONSIN några papperslösa som tar plats i samhället? De som kommer hit nås inte av någon information om sina rättigheter, och det är många papperslösa flyktingbarn som inte får ingen undervisning. Jag gick en månad i en svensk skola på prov, men därefter förklarade de att de inte hade någon plats för mig. Det var bara tack och hej. När jag var papperslös var jag helt bakbunden, det fanns ingenting jag kunde göra. Jag hade inte rätt till sjukvård eller någonting, säger Ali.



SOM EN KONSEKVENs av detta beslöt sig Ali för att arrangera en manifestation i syfte att försöka kasta ljus på frågan. Med detta lyckades han också över förväntan. Under den första stafetten vandrade femton papperslösa tvärs över landet, från Malmö till Stockholm, och deras trettiofyra dagar långa resa blev omskriven över hela landet. Och i somras gick turen till Visby, dit de trettiofyra deltagarna anlände under Almedalsveckan, för att lyfta de papperslösas situation inför den församlade politikereliten.

OM VÄGEN FRÅN Malmö till Stockholm/Visby var lång och krokig är den emellertid ingenting i relation till Alis personliga resa till Sverige. När Ali anlände till Sverige 2011 hade han till och från befunnit sig på resande fot i fem år. Han föddes i en liten stad utanför Kabul i Afghanistan - vars namn han inte längre riktigt kan erinra sig - och när han var tre år gammal fattade hans föräldrar beslutet att lämna landet till förmån för Iran. Alis familj är hazerer, en folkgrupp som uppgår till omkring tjugo procent av Afghanistans befolkning, och vars kultur delar stora likheter med den iranska.

- HAZERERNA ÄR I likhet med iranierna shiamuslimer, och vi talar nästan samma språk. Det fanns en massa gemensamma beröringspunkter och likheter mellan vår kultur och den iranska, som gjorde att mina föräldrar ville flytta dit, berättar Ali.

I IRAN HOPADE sig snart problemen för Alis familj. Som afghan, förklarar han, får man inte stanna i landet i mer än ett år i taget. Därefter är man tvungen att förnya sitt tillstånd hos myndigheterna. Under tiden har man inte tillåtelse skaffa sig bil, hus eller SIM-kort på lagligt vis; man är hänvisad till den svarta marknaden. Och så håller det sedan på. Det är ett papperslöst limbotillstånd som för Alis familj varade i mer än tio år.

NÄR ALI HADE fyllt femton år hade han precis börjat skolan igen, efter att ha förvägrats detta av de iranska myndigheterna i närmare ett halvt decennium. Nu hade hans familj hittat en hemlig skola för afghanska elever som var upprättad i en källare, i vilken det var så packat med elever att Ali var tvungen att brotta sig in för att få en plats på lektionerna.

- MER ÄN TVÅHUNDRA personer kunde inrymmas där inne. Och vi var hela tiden tvungna att hålla volymen nere. Annars kunde grannarna höra oss och skicka polisen på oss, säger Ali.

Till slut började hoppet svika Ali. Skolan gav honom ingenting. Och arbetslivet var det inte mycket bevänt med heller. Som invandrad afghan var han tvungen att arbeta dubbelt så långa pass med hälften så mycket i lön, som hans iranska kollegor. Dessutom med noll anställningstrygghet: cheferna kunde göra sig av med honom närsomhelst. Han klarade inte av att leva med diskrimineringen och ovissheten, att aldrig kunna planera för morgondagen. Så när en bekant, som hade gjort upp en deal med smugglare, föreslog att han skulle följa med honom till Europa tackade han följaktligen ja. Hans föräldrar sörjde att han skulle ge sig av. Men de samlade likafullt ihop pengar åt honom för resan att skulle kunna företa resan.

- NÅGRA DAGAR INNAN jag åkte sa min mor till mig att hon inte visste om hon skulle be mig att stanna. För hon visste inte om jag en dag kanske skulle bli besviken på henne för att hon hade sagt det. I Europa skulle jag kunna skapa en framtid för mig själv, sa hon, berättar han.

UNDER SIN RESA till Europa vandrade han över berg; han forslades med smugglares hjälp över gränser, inklämd under lastbilar; och han var nära att skjutas till döds av iranska polismän som trodde att lastbilarna han smugglades

Asyl- stafetten och ensamkommande

- Asylstafetten har gått av stapeln de två senaste somrarna och syftar till att driva fram en generösare asylpolitik och att förändra synen på papperslösa.

- Senaste omgången gick stafetten från Malmö till Almedalsveckan i Visby.

- Ett ensamkommande barn är under 18 år och har kommit till Sverige och sökt asyl utan sina legala vårdnadshavare.

- Det är Sveriges kommuner som har ansvaret för ensamkommande barn och ungdomar, och dessa tecknar överenskommelser med Migrationsverket om mottagandet.



Ali är nu engagerad inom Ensamkommandes förbund.

innehöll opium. Snarare än mänskligt gods. Han hamnade i Storbritannien, där han vistades i några år innan han utvisades till Afghanistan, varifrån han återupptog den mödosamma resan till Europa.

FÖRST STYRDE HAN kosan mot Italien. Men han insåg tämligen omgående att det bara var att dra vidare. Det fanns inga jobb, inga framtidsutsikter, och under den korta tid han vistades där var han tvungen att leva på gatan. Danmark, där Alis moster bodde, blev nästa anhalt. Men efter ett uppslitande gräl bestämde han sig för att lämna henne, för att fortsätta vidare till Sverige. Hennes sextonårige son, Alis kusin, hade en kort tid dessförinnan drunknat, då båten som skulle ta honom till Italien förliste på Medelhavet. Båten hade varit avsedd för omkring sjuttio personer, men hade packats med närmare trehundra.

- NÄR MAN BESTÄMMER sig för att lägga sitt liv i en smugglares händer vet man inte vad som händer en timme framåt i tiden. Det är smugglaren som avgör det. Man kan betala honom pengar för att försöka förmå honom att göra vad han har lovat, men i praktiken har man inga garantier för någonting, säger Ali.

NÅGRA DAGAR EFTER ankomsten till Sverige blev Ali placerad på ett transitboende. Det vill säga, ett tillfälligt boende för ensamkommande flykting-

barn. Han sökte uppehållstillstånd samma år, men fick avslag.

- JAG VAR EN ganska jobbig person för boendet; de hade en hel del problem med mig. Och en gång försökte jag ta mitt liv med tabletter. Jag stannade på transitboendet i sex månader, och jag var helt hopplös. De hade sagt att jag skulle vara tvungen att åka tillbaka till Italien igen, där de hade mina fingeravtryck. Så jag visste inte vad jag skulle göra, säger Ali.

DET KOM DOCK en vändpunkt. Via boendet fick Ali kontakt med en tjej från Asylgruppen. Hon tog sig an Alis fall - samtidigt som hon höll honom gömd från myndigheterna. Han bodde hos henne i fem månader innan han hittade några vänner som han kunde flytta hem till. När så Ali i våras nåddes av beskedet att han hade beviljats uppehållstillstånd var det med en känsla av stor lättnad. Men det kändes också märkligt, förklarar han.

- I HELA SITT liv har jag ju levt som papperslös. Och plötsligt har jag samma rättigheter som alla andra. Jag behöver inte längre vara rädd för polisen. Ingen kan längre deportera mig.

NÄR ALI LÄMNADE Iran visste han inte vad som väntade honom i Europa. Han beskriver det som att han lika gärna kunde ha åkt till månen, lika lite visste han om kontinenten. Men han levde på hoppet att han skulle finna sig en framtid någonstans, även fast han inte visste var. En plats att rota sig. Idag, sex år efter hans avfärd, jobbar Ali som föreläsare för Ensamkommandes förbund, vid sidan om engagemanget i Asylstafetten. Han vill undervisa nyanlända svenskar i feminism, lära dem bemöta sexism och rasism. Och när Ali följer oss ut från lokalen och tar oss i hand i novemberaftermiddagen som har växlat till novemberkväll, framstår det som att han är god väg att finna det han gav sig iväg för att söka efter från allra första början. ●



Theme:

NATIONALISM

The sun sets over Lampedusa, the island where most refugees first step ashore on European soil. Each year, thousands upon thousands of people struggle to seek shelter from the storms of their home countries - war, discrimination and persecution - in Europe. But here, nationalistic tendencies are growing stronger and the refugees are not seldom met with suspicion, aversion and outright hostility.

In the following pages, we are examining the nationalistic policies and how they are manifested in various countries around the globe. And the mechanisms that serve to ignite the nationalistic frenzies.



By: Anahita Nicoobayan

ISLAMOPHOBIA

Is History Repeating Itself?

Racism and xenophobia is not solely something practiced by other people in a different time. If we are not wary of it, it will become so present in our everyday life that we barely acknowledge it with a nod.

“PEOPLE MUST HAVE been incredibly ignorant back then,” my friend exclaimed after a rendition of some of the foul friction in our historical timeline. We had just touched upon the subject of the Holocaust. “I can’t imagine something like that happening today.”

I THOUGHT TO myself that he had, inadvertently, pinpointed the problem with our modern way of thinking. On what grounds do we hold ourselves in such high esteem? What gives us the impression that we understand more, know better, than our predecessors as caretakers of society?

“YOU FORGET THAT people ‘back then’ had the same thinking capacity and average level of intelligence as we do”, I countered. “They weren’t animals or robots or anything else that would pardon their inhumanity. Xenophobia always finds a way.”

ALL HAIL iPods and industrialization, but our ability as humans to love and feel empathy is not a recent construction. I would sooner imagine that the contributions of the modern world, such as social media with global coverage, have made us rather jaded in this respect. For instance, it might be far simpler to distance yourself from anything troubling if it is not troubling to you personally, and if it stays well out of your immediate sight. The same distance might even convince you that you share nothing - least of all anything inherently good - with an entire ethnic group. It has happened countless times throughout history, and it would be foolish to claim that it is not happening today - the current primary target being, of course, the Muslims.

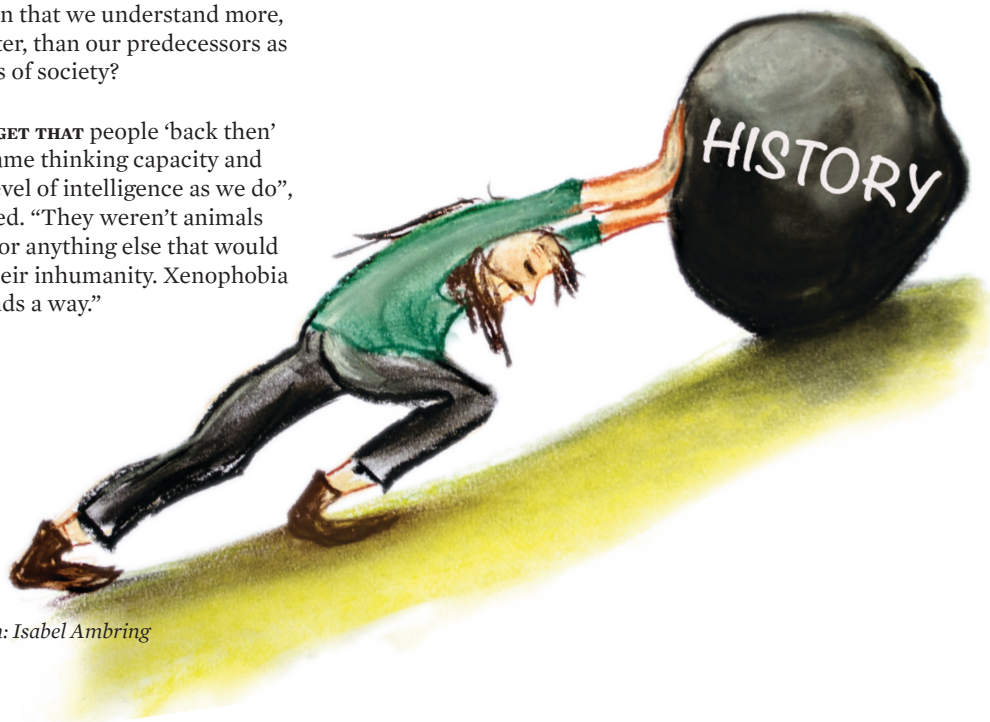


Illustration: Isabel Ambring

WITH THE ENTIRE Muslim community taking the blame for what a fraction of them do – the fraction consisting of the fundamental groups responsible for the terrorist actions devoured and purged by various media -, the xenophobia directed toward Muslims is so common today that it generates little reaction. Depending on where you look, you will find different levels of the same tendency. The evident Islamophobia in American media is, for instance, seemingly pardoned because of the calamity of September 11th. When Bill Maher, one of the most renowned political commentators and comedians in America, feels free to proclaim his view on Islam by stating that "(...) it's the only religion that acts like the mafia; that will fucking kill you if you say the wrong thing, draw the wrong picture or write the wrong book", he sets the tone for what is already an uneven discourse in society. Having completely ignored a vast majority of the people who do not engage in fundamentalist actions and still call themselves Muslims, as is their religious and cultural right, he generalizes matters in a way that seems almost too unsophisticated to be true. Yet his message is clear and simple: We are dealing with an enemy, and that enemy is Islam.


“PEOPLE ‘BACK THEN’ HAD THE SAME THINKING CAPACITY AND AVERAGE LEVEL OF INTELLIGENCE AS WE DO”

IN OTHER PARTS of the world – Sweden, for example – the Muslim community has yet to ruffle feathers in any other way than in sheer quantity, as it

represents a considerable amount of the people immigrating to the country. The Swedish Democrats gather votes by referring to the horrifying image of “a Somali or Arab lady taking care of us when we grow old”, seemingly shuddering at the thought. The party has become successful in selling their crude version of reality to voters who welcome the explicit dichotomy of their arguments, as it creates a comfortable scenario where there is a simple answer to difficult questions. After all, if someone asks you to choose between a tolerable pension plan and a multiculturalist dystopia, you would be a fool to choose the latter. And since none of the other parties wish to seem racist by taking the Swedish Democrats and their questions seriously, it gives voters the impression that the other parties are, in fact, lacking answers. And so another xenophobic party in Europe makes its way to parliament.

SO WHAT DOES this say about our time? Fundamental groups, with the help of governments and social media, manage to act as spokespeople for the entire Muslim community. As the comedian Maz Jobrani once stated, no media attempts to cover the everyday life of a peaceful person living in the Middle East (“Hello, my name is Mohammed and I’m just baking a cookie”). As a result, the picture painted of the people living in Muslim countries offers no nuance, or even any colour other than darkness and impending doom.

THE REALITY OF the present discourse on Muslims shows us that we simply cannot let racism, or even genocide, become something we refer to as a thing of the past. If we have the capacity to love and include, we have the capacity to hate and exclude in equal measure. The mistakes made by our ancestors are ours to learn from. If we fail, my friend will not need to use his imagination to witness a modern day persecution. ●



The True Finns or The Finns Party: **WHICH ONE IS IT?**

With the latest European parliamentary election behind us, Finland's largest nationalist party has come a long way from when they won their first seat in 2009. They have stepped up their public image, tried to rid themselves from their xenophobic labels, and attempted to become a more relatable party. However, have we seen change where it matters?

Photo: Ed Weerdy, Photomontage: Linnea Sandell



In 2009, a rising Finnish national populist party celebrated their first seat in the European parliament. Going by the name The True Finns (Finnish: Perussuomalaiset; Swedish: Sannfinländarna), they identified themselves as an “anti-EU” party and called for a complete re-evaluation of Finland’s relationship with the Union. It was the belief of this party’s chairman, Timo Soini MEP, that Finland’s economic development had been crushed by the currency union and the only way to fix it was to “return power back to Finland”.

NOW, FOUR YEARS later and with another European election behind us, a different party known as The Finns Party stands in their place. Sure this party has the same chairman, representatives, and supporters as The True Finns did, yet they try hard to pretend there is no connection with this 2009 incarnation of Finnish isolationism. Apparently everything changed for the better in 2011 with the adoption of their new official name. Replacing The True Finns, which was a crude translation of their Finnish name, with The Finns Party was meant to turn this ragtag hangout of Eurocritics into a serious contender on the Finnish political landscape. At least looking at the 2009 EU parliamentary election manifesto, one certainly wishes things have been improved upon.

THE TRUE FINNS 2009 EU manifesto looks like a badly photocopied high school newsletter on the verge of being shut down. It reads like one too, with blame being externalized to explain poor attendance, unsatisfactory performance, and staff disengagement. To their credit, The True Finns bring forth issues any sane politically aware person would agree with in principle: the EU has problems with accountability and potentially conflicts with its member states’ political

bodies. Familiar rhetoric of pushing forward follows, yet accompanied with inappropriate amounts of Winter War onanism. In other words: to move forward we should only look backward, and probably crabwalk sideways to dodge the Cultural Marxists out to resurrect Lenin.

WHERE EU CRITICISM is scarce, criticism of domestic issues is abundant. The True Finns blame a lifestyle of “irresponsible individualism” for corroding Finnish society. They feel the adequate countermeasure is promoting traditional family values especially to young people. So both immigrants and emigrants are a danger to Finnish society. Still, they take time to rule that free movement across borders should not be limited. Fortunately, there is only eight pages in the manifesto.

FAMILY VALUES BEING presented at the forefront resonates with their anti-same sex marriage stance; a principle The Finns Party still holds to in the run up to the 2015 Finnish parliamentary elections. Chairman Soini encourages his MPs to vote according to their conscience on every other issue except this one. Strict party discipline has been enforced in Finnish parliamentary votes on same sex marriage among his MPs.

A LOT HAPPENED between the 2009 and 2014 manifestos. The True Finns were ultimately the greatest winner in the 2011 Finnish parliamentary elections (19.05% of the vote, winning 39 seats), prompting the aforementioned name change and a media circus equivalent to any tabloid editor-in-chief’s wet dream. However, heavy public scrutiny of their intentional and accidental bigotry seems to have worked, as the 2014 manifesto looks to be describing an entirely different party.

THE FINNS PARTY of 2014 is according to their own words “EU-critical, yet

constructive". In fact, "anti-EU" is not uttered once to describe their platform. Policies on the other hand have not evolved much. What has evolved is the high school journalism club: they have since graduated and been replaced by professionals with experience in layout. The Finns Party have taken to number crunching, sophisticated analysis, and quotations to support their points. A complete divorce from their 2009 platform of adolescent outbursts.

AMONG THE STRIKING changes, nationalist rhetoric has been discarded completely. What was justified by nationalist sentiment in 2009 is now backed up by economic principles in 2014. The question of the Euro is no longer a plight on Finland's sovereignty, but a slightly lighter load on Finland's economic prosperity. Soini has admitted that exiting the Euro would be too costly, as would the termination of Finland's EU-membership, and has more limited goals to control immigration. "Social justice" and morality is discussed, rather than "Finnish ideals" when referring to the policies they find objectionable.

AS FINLAND'S THIRD largest party, the moderation of The Finns Party -brand EU criticism has become necessary to appeal to a larger electorate. This has not come easy, as high ranking members frequently come out with xenophobic comments along with their unconstructive EU bashing. Since the 2011 election, the party has worked hard to rid itself of its negative image they have been busy creating for themselves.

THE PROBLEMS BEGAN to pile on from day one: an MP from Central Finland called Teuvo Hakkarainen chose to dedicate his first day of work to presenting his islamophobic sentiments on national television. The only time this was probably topped was in 2013, when another MP called James

Hirvisaari invited an infamous Finnish neo-Nazi to Helsinki. A day later, a video surfaced on Youtube where said neo-Nazi was doing fascist salutes in front of the Parliament Building with Hirvisaari taking pride as the cameraman. Hakkarainen received a slap on the wrist while Hirvisaari was kicked out of the party. Speaker of Parliament Eero Heinäluoma allowed him to keep his parliamentary seat, which earned him an invite to the previously unrepresented, still insignificant far-right libertarian M11 party.

THE FINNS PARTY as of September 2014 had 16.6% of the public's support. A figure significantly down from their all-time high of 23%, yet still worryingly high. Without a doubt, the toned down Euro criticism has chewed on their most recent ratings, leaving a higher concentration of social conservatives among their supporters.

CALL THEM WHAT you will, but Soini's troop is a unique one on the European stage. With many anti-EU, immigrant critical, Putin-esque nationalist movements in other EU countries only radicalizing at an alarming rate, the moderate ones like The (True) Finns (Party) are becoming rarer. It is also true that the EU is not the Kingdom of Heaven on Earth by any standard, and healthy political discourse requires constructive criticism. Yet even banal nationalism seems to attract obstructionists and stiff-necked populists who would rather see the "ruling elite" collapse than improve the institutions in place already. That is not to say other ideologies do not want to see their competitors fail spectacularly. At the root of politics is the "us versus them" divide, which must be overcome if an institution like the EU is ever going to achieve its full potential. A goal which seems impossible when Finnish MPs get voted in on an agenda of preventing people from marrying one another... ●

By: Arttu Närhi

Top: Timo Soini has been the leader of the Finns Party since 1997.

Middle: In June 2014 the Finns Party joined the European Conservatives and Reformists Group in the European Parliament.

Bottom: Election posters for the 2012 presidential election. The covered one is Timo Soini's.

Finnish Politics

- On November 28th, the Finnish Parliament voted against rejecting a citizen initiative to legalize same sex marriage, essentially ensuring the required support for enacting the initiative before the New Year.

- The next Finnish parliamentary elections will be held on April 19th 2015.

- The current Finnish government is led by the National Coalition (center-right) with the Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and the Swedish People's party. Initially the Left-Alliance and Greens were a part of the government too but have since left to join the opposition.



Photo: "Soppakunnuu"



Photo: Wikipedia Commons



Photo: Antti T. Nissinen

STRATEGIC HOMOPHOBIA IN ZIMBABWE

The president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, is certainly no stranger to controversy. His vitriolic denunciations of homosexuality is well known internationally. The strategic function of the president's homophobia, however, is perhaps less discussed.

The president of Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe, has managed to gain a reputation as one of the world's most outspoken opponents of homosexuality. The president's animus towards the subject is a dominant political trope, often marked by the denunciation of homosexuals as being both 'unnatural' and 'filth'. In a speech made by the president during a political rally in July 2013, the president said of homosexuality that, should you 'take men and lock them in a house for five years and tell them to come up with two children and they fail to do that, then we will chop off their heads'. Mugabe then continues by forcefully arguing that homosexuality seeks to 'destroy our lineage by saying John and John should wed, Maria and Maria should wed'. The vehement homophobia that underpins Mugabe's speech is unsettling. Whilst disturbing, however, the speech is neither that surprising nor particularly unique.

MUGABE IS KNOWN for his continuous dehumanisation of homosexuality, even referring to homosexuals as 'worse than dogs, pigs, goats and birds'. To relegate his speeches as simply homophobic, however, is to ignore the strategic positioning of homosexuality that underlies his message. For the president, homosexuality threatens Zimbabwe's national legacy, stability, and way of life. Represented in his speeches, moreover, is the overt notion

that homosexuality is something imposed on Zimbabwe by the West.

SPEECHES MADE BY the president over last two decades almost exclusively relegates homosexuality to a Western phenomenon. In a similar speech made almost two decades earlier, the president described homosexuality as a, 'scourge planted by the white man on a pure continent'. Here, Mugabe exploits homophobia and the suggestion that homosexuality is somehow a Western phenomenon, historically imposed on Zimbabwe. Mugabe emphasises this narrative by suggesting that constant international pressure to recognise the rights of the country's LGBT citizens is indicative of the West's intimidation and inability to recognise the country's unabated rejection of homosexuality. During a nationally broadcasted speech celebrating the octogenarian's birthday, the president said, 'You, David Cameron, are you suggesting that you don't know that, or is it some kind of insanity or part of the culture of Europeans?'

IN ANOTHER SPEECH, Mugabe similarly castigates the West's continuous insistence on recognising the rights of sexual minorities in the country. This time, however, his ire was directed at the president of the United States: 'Obama says if you want aid, you should accept the homosexuality practice. We will never do that.' Emphasised in Mugabe's speech, here, is the suggestion that Zimbabwe is pressured to succumb to a Western way of life, anathema to African values.

THE PRESIDENT EXPLICITLY contrasts homosexuality with Zimbabwean norms and values. To a country hungry for certainties, this distinction is

LGBT-rights in Zimbabwe

- Individuals who practice homosexual activities can be sentenced to prison in 34 of the 54 states in Africa.

- In Zimbabwe the Central Intelligence Organisation has reportedly been used to beat and arrest homosexuals.

- The Zimbabwean government has carried out campaigns against homosexuals since 1995.

Source: the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association



Photo: Jesse B Awadi

Above: The list of Mugabe's controversial statements about homosexuality goes on and on. One example is "What we are being persuaded to accept is sub-animal behavior and we will never allow it here."

particularly valuable and attractive. By positioning homosexuality as something foreign and threatening, Mugabe is able to claim a particularly potent collective identity; one that constitutes what is Zimbabwean and what is not. Perhaps more worryingly, however, is that homosexuality is then also politically utilised as a powerful scapegoat for the country's problems.

MONICA MBARU, the head of the Africa programme at International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission, remains concerned about this continuous exploitative positioning of homosexuality. Mbaru, who has extensively monitored the current controversy concerning gay rights in Africa, notes that for opportunistic politicians, like Mugabe, homosexuality is a particularly easy target. Homosexuality provides a useful means of diverting attention from serious problems in Zimbabwe, such as social inequality, corruption, and massive inflation.

IN THIS WAY, homosexuality's presented connotations in Zimbabwe is a powerful, political tool to legitimise Robert

Mugabe's authority. Mugabe presents himself as the crucial means of both enforcing and protecting the nation from potential disharmony and instability. Marking Mugabe's speeches, is the insistence that the president—regardless of international pressure—will not succumb to foreign demands, protect his country from Western values, and reject homosexuality unequivocally. His condemnation of homosexuality could thus be understood as a shrewd political manoeuvre, inasmuch as it legitimizes his authority as protector of Zimbabwe's national identity and values.

TO RELEGATE MUGABE'S denunciation of homosexuality as simply homophobic, belies the important political strategies employed by the president. It should perhaps not be that surprising then, that Robert Mugabe's animus towards homosexuality became particularly pronounced during a period in which the president's popularity dwindled amidst growing economic and social obstacles. Homosexuality became a valuable strategic means of both diverting attention from these problems and legitimize his position as president by presenting himself as protector of the West's attack on Zimbabwean culture.

THE SUCCESS OF these speeches, however, depends on the homophobia of its audience. In light of growing LGBT activism in Zimbabwe, homophobia is progressively being addressed. One can only hope that the homophobia in Zimbabwe—used by the president to strengthen and legitimize his authority—is slowly but surely abating. If so, the president may soon find that his use of homophobia, as a political and strategic tool, is no longer at his disposal. ●

By: Gabriel R du Plessis

ON TOP OF THE GAME

That there are plenty of dubious or eccentric persons in political offices around the world might not come as a surprise to anyone: People with egos as big as their standing armies, and their sincere and understandable wish to silence political opposition. With political schemes as bizarre as the minds of Tom Cruise and Kanye West's. You know, *put together*. We get exposed to their bright and enlightened faces through the media-channels practically every day of the year – they are sort of close, although distant, friends to us all. And - as we in *Utrikesperspektiv* feel obliged to offer our readers some kind of Christmas present - we have chosen four of our favourite hot-shots we would like to share with you.

By: Marcus Bornlid



Commander-in-chief, husband, father and amateur hockey-player – The Last Dictator of Europe, **Aleksandr Lukasjenko**, who has been the head of state of Belarus since 1994, are a man of many dimensions. When he is not busy being accused of human rights abuses by the EU and The United States, or setting up rigged parliamentary elections, or campaigning against the malicious Zionists, the fun-loving sportsman and former KGB-employee Lukasjenko is, for instance, fan of downhill skiing, a sport he often practices with his dear pal Vladimir Putin. Furthermore, he is bald. And he has a little moustache.



Mswati III, the king of Swaziland, has got a taste for the good things in life. This human rights violator was this year allocated 61 million dollars to his household budget by the parliament to keep his luxury show running. For instance, in January 2004, it was reported that the king had requested his government to spend about a fortune to redecorate three main palaces and build others for each of his 11 wives. He is also a lover of expensive cars. Note: 63% of Swazis live on less than 1.25 dollar per day.

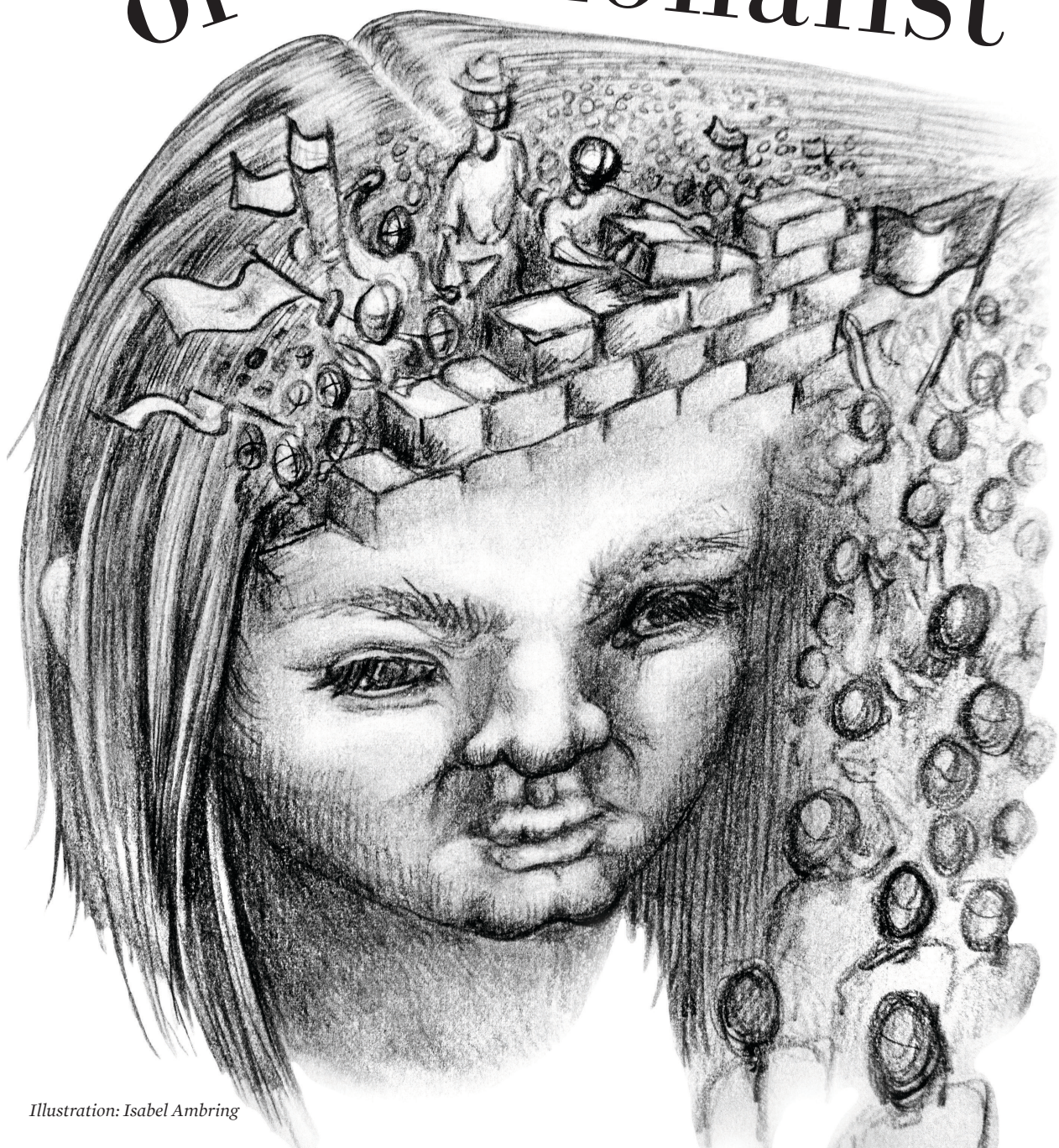


This spring, **Laura Chinchilla**, the first female President of Costa Rica, stepped down from the political throne to the grievance of the extremely small, but loyal, segment of society who did not view her as corrupt and utterly incompetent. A political conservative, her time in office was surrounded by political scandals, but she did however do some good, albeit by accident. Although she opposed increased rights for gay people, she and her party passed a bill, which they had not understood properly, that in fact legalised gay marriages. And that's at least something.



As we all know, referring to oneself in third person is a clear indication of mental stability. And demonstrating his sanity is something the much beloved Turkish President **Recep Tayyip Erdogan** seldom fails to do. He has stated: "If Tayyip Erdogan were a dictator, how could you hang around in squares" during political protests? Legitimate question. And: "They know that Tayyip Erdogan does not walk the path they show, he walks the path shown by the nation." A path the nation has showed him is e.g. was the path to banning all social media in Turkey.

the mind of a nationalist



Europe is currently experiencing a nationalist wave, a fact that has put many journalists and political scientists wondering: Why? But in order to actually fully understand nationalism, we need to understand what mental purpose it serves to individuals and why it evokes so much emotional turmoil, wherever and whenever it springs up.

First of all, we need to acknowledge the fact that most (if not all) humans have a psychological need for belonging. In fact, being ostracized from a community or a social group (or simply a romantic relationship) can evoke painful feelings in anybody – that can cause people to take severe measures in order to mitigate those feelings. Psychological research both abroad and here at Lund University, have shown that when individuals are ostracized, they are significantly more inclined to change their political and moral attitudes in order to fit in better with a new group that they are included in. The implications of this behavior are as frightening as they are human; our political and moral values are for many of us only the mere currency we use to pay for social inclusion – to belong.

HOWEVER, THIS BEHAVIOR has served us well over the years. In fact, evolutionary psychologists believe that this pro-social behavior enabled the human species to survive the dire challenges we have faced throughout history. As the first humans wandered the African savanna, survival was only acquired through the work of the flock. A band of hunters were far more probable to have good hunting fortune, than the lone hunter. Meanwhile, fending off lions and other predators was far easier when you were accompanied by others, a fact which meant that being alone was associated with mortal danger. These early humans understood the security in numbers, as the flock

provided with food, potential mates for procreation and security from predators. Evolution made sure that the individuals who never experienced this need to belong, did not survive in order to pass on their genes to the future.

TODAY, WE NO longer live as hunter/gatherers on the African savanna, but as civilized and well informed people in the modern era. However, our emotional programming is still adapted to the conditions of the African savanna, which is why we still react so heavily to social rejection. The painful emotions and the sensation of decreased self-esteem following a rejection, are simply meant to encourage you to change your social status. In order to make these feeling go away and reestablish your self-esteem, you need to find a new social group that will include you. If inclusion into that new group forces you to alter or change your values and preconceptions – it is an affordable price to pay for relieving you from the pain of rejection.

NOWADAYS, SOCIAL GROUPS and communities no longer need to be concrete or physical to serve that purpose. While the early humans only had their flock to relate to, modern humans can choose from a multitude of abstract communities with people all around the world. However, the idea that all people living in a certain territory and ruled by a specific government, should constitute the most important community, despite the fact that most of them may never even have met, was an idea born as late as during the late 1700's. This idea defined all peoples and the territories they live in as nations, referring to the Latin word for born (natio). It further established the notion that all political power, i.e. all states – should be based on these nations under the concept of “nation states”, where a state was intimately connected to one people, one territory – one nation. This idea was called nationalism, and quickly became the

most influential ideology of all time. Through the 1800's, nationalism fueled political reforms and established new states by creating national consciousness. Between the 1860's and 1870's, Italy and Germany were formed as unified states by the means of massive nationalist movements, who strived to unite all previous micro-states, duchies and independent cities into one nation and one state. Meanwhile these ideas soon led to two world wars, where armies fueled by their own nationalist agenda fought each other on the simple ground that they were from different nations.

“IN SOCIETIES WHERE RESOURCES ARE PLENTIFUL, THE SOCIAL IDENTITIES ARE NOT EMPHASIZED”

IRONICALLY, THE IDEA to create an abstract group identity based on political borders and territory, that in its very core is meant to unite people and create affiliation, has instead become the very factor that divides the world and its inhabitants.

THIS IS SIMPLY because when a social group is created, the members strive to differentiate their group from all others by forming their own group identity – a social identity. In this process, the group acquires specific values, attitudes, behaviors and symbols and internalizes them – making them their own. At the same time they define who is a group member, but perhaps most importantly; who is not. By creating an in-group (us) and an out-group (them), the members in the social group are enabled to feel exclusive and favored – heightening their self-esteem. How-

ever, in order to justify the exclusion of the out-group members, negative stereotypes and prejudices are formed against them, usually attributing them with antisocial behavior such as criminality and egoism.

INTERESTINGLY, RESEARCH HAS shown that the social context – i.e. the situation in the society we live in, mediates the amount of prejudices and hate between groups that is let out. In societies where resources are plentiful and there is no competition between people, the social identities are not emphasized – since they do not currently serve a survival purpose. But as resources become more scarce and competition grows between individuals, the social identities become more salient – due to sudden need to feel protection in a group and security in numbers. In these instances, negative stereotypes and hate towards out-groups flow freely – as a mean to justify your own in-group and its members. So in a way, retreating to social groups is an act of fear, but also of survival.

NATIONALISM HAS THROUGHOUT its existence battled with itself in this perspective. By creating a nation you immediately need to exclude people that simply do not fit in with the national identity. These people who are excluded from the nation, now face the agonies of rejection and therefore embark on a journey to form their own nation in order to feel inclusion. To justify the social exclusivity of their new nations, they create stereotypes and hate between each other that is fueled by the scarcity of resources in a competitive world. So when we now observe our contemporary society, it is clear that we still struggle with handling the psychological effects of the financial crisis of 2008. Through this perspective, nationalism is not the disease but merely a symptom of a society trying to cope with its fears in order to survive these uncertain times. ●

By: Adrian Taleny

FORTRESS EUROPE

Security, Externalization and Development Aid



Photo: climatalk

The outsourcing of migration management has been lauded as the innovative solution towards the EU's growing concern with the influx of migratory flows. Presented as a nexus with development aid, the externalization of migration policy questions the intentions of the regional power.

The successful consolidation of the European Union has come to ossify the supranational identity engendered in the overarching EU Citizenship, which all Member-State nationals are endowed. This redefinition of the border for the broader body of the European Union gives the traditional state instrument to exercise sovereignty to supranational control. While this eliminates the internal borders to grant freedom of mobility to all internal EU flows, it also eliminates a feature that traditionally has defined the existence of the member-state's within. In the absence of this measure of control for states, the national policy on border control has increasingly become an issue of international relations and has gained the distinctive airs of a security issue.

A MAIN COMPONENT OF this that has significantly risen on the list of priorities for member-states is the issue of migration, which has come to be re-conceptualized as a threat to receiving countries. A growing trend among EU member-states is to channel diffuse socioeconomic and cultural concerns into the migration 'problem'. This presents an easy method to exonerate member-states by blaming external agents for arising domestic problems, relating to a wide range of public concerns regarding: crime and internal security, welfare system reform and job security, and the declining relevance of the traditional collective identity. The outcome of this politicization of migration is the widespread criminalization of the migrant which has come to pervade EU migration policy.

IN ORDER TO maintain control over the common Schengen Border, Brussels has developed a new typology of border with the externalization of border control. In essence, it effectively create spaces of filtration of migrants outside the EU. This developed on the logic that by shifting border control out and creating a type of buffer zone, the greater control the EU gains over its own border security through the reduction of the burden of control at the EU's immediate border. In essence, this is an extraterritorial border management strategy that aims to restrict cross-border migrant flows from countries of origin and transit before the migrant reaches the common territory.

ALBEIT BRUSSELS' STRATEGY is multi-dimensional in character, the Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) has provided the underlying framework for the EU external migration and asylum policy since 2005. It has been put in place to define its policy dialogues and cooperation with non-EU countries. This external orientation of EU migration policy has three main instruments of cooperation:



mobility partnerships, readmissions agreements and common agendas on migration and mobility. As a result of the reluctance of member-states to bind themselves to supra-national law and the jurisdiction of the EU Court of Justice, these mechanisms of cooperation typically take the more flexible form of bi-lateral agreements between member-states and third countries. Through these bilateral agreements the EU puts pressure on third countries to tighten their border security, often through operational support and capacity building of third country border control.

IN ORDER TO placate for the heavily one-sided benefit orientation of these cooperatives, agreements are often accompanied by some sort of additional measure to make them attractive to third country partners. A common trend has been to tie agreements to development aid – a strategy that is explicitly incorporated into GAMM, which holds migration policy framework grounded in: ‘clearly defined priorities and embedded in the EU’s overall external action, including development cooperation’ and is also expressed in the Communication ‘Maximising the Development Impact of Migration’.

LORENZO GABRIELLI, an active expert in the area, confesses that the link between development aid and migration agreements is often left ambiguous. The reason for this is because they often progress parallel to each other while never appearing on the same document. To illustrate his point, Gabrielli draws on the bilateral agreements signed between Spain and various sub-Saharan countries, as well as the agreement between Italy and Libya. However, he also asserts that there are some cases where the link becomes more tangible. This can be seen in last round of French agreements with sub-Saharan countries, where co-development was formally tied to the migration issue.

THIS NEXUS BETWEEN EU migration policy and development aid has brought the emergence of a ‘migration conditionality’ on the field of development, where the promise of development assistance becomes a negotiation tool towards the security objective of external migration flow management. Gabrielli explains that the concession of development assistance, as well as material and monetary support, act as an instrument of pressure and incentives towards the delegation of migration control. In other words, development aid becomes a political bargaining tool in order to outsource control of mi-





gratory flows to the countries of origin and transit.

IN TERMS OF development, this political strategy becomes extremely problematic. It effectively redefines development to be allocated on the basis of geographical priorities related to migratory paths rather than on the basis of need. In addition, it conditions development initiatives to be shaped by migratory policy ambitions with intended results that would be favorable to the EU's effort to outsource migration control. In this way the logic of development is altered; where development is not an end in itself, but a means of achieving results.

AN EXAMPLE OF this can be found in the European Commission's agreements with Mali, resulting in a co-development initiative where 10 million euros were channeled towards a 'Centre d'Information et de Gestion des Migrations' in the country. Mali, one of the least developed countries in sub-Saharan Africa fraught with food insecurity, poverty and political instability, was endowed with a development initiative towards the regulation of their migratory flows. One must question what developmental benefits that this provides Mali's impoverished population, in comparison to the resulting migratory control gained on the side of the EU.

ANOTHER CONSEQUENCE OF the migration conditionality of development aid is that it is often allocated to third countries regardless of their political status, which is illustrated in many of the cases of migration emergencies. In these instances the securitization of the migration threat trumps all other considerations. The result is the risk of directly endorsing authoritative regimes that are in known violation of civil and human rights. Not only does this enhance the oppressive regime's ability to exert control over the population and additionally fetter citizens to inimical socio-economic conditions, it becomes counter productive to EU migration policy. Gabrielli emphasizes how this can lead to a further deterioration of the democratic system and protection of human rights in these countries, which in fact increases incentives for citizens to migrate to Europe.

THESE IMPLICATIONS OF EU migration policy make one wonder just how far they will go to 'secure' the Schengen Border. With its external control seeping into the domestic policy of third country's border management, what will stand to limit the EU's supranational power? And how will the logic of development be transformed along the way? ●

By: Malin Elise Rosengren



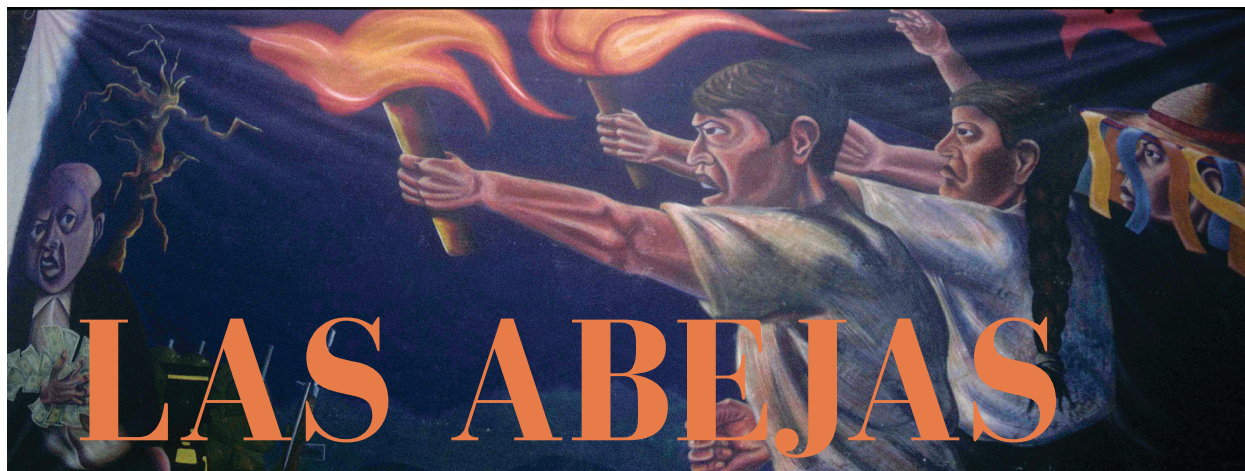


Photo: Julian Stallabrass

and the struggle for freedom

What is nature? Maybe you have thought about this question one time and you found out that finding a final answer is not so easy. Perceptions of nature, namely, differ across spaces and across time. It depends on where you live and in what time, it depends on your values and the culture you live in. Not only our perception of nature, but also our interaction with nature is not static.

The Disney movie Pocahontas illustrates quite nicely two different perceptions of how the world is perceived by people from different cultures. By listening to the song 'Colours of the Wind' you will notice it and this sentence clearly demonstrates it: "You think you own whatever land you land on. The earth is just a dead thing you can claim. But I know every rock and tree and creature has a life, has a spirit has a name." The movie exemplifies the difference between the Western emperors who came to America to dig for gold and build a world based on commodities with a worldview of civilisation and progress versus the Indians who live in harmony with nature, who see the animals as friends and assign a spirit to the trees. This demonstrates how the Westerns see themselves as masters over nature and animals and the Indians identify them as equals.

NOWADAYS, A NEOLIBERAL perspective dominates the Western world. This started as early as the first development of Western civilisations in which the human was no longer seen as 'primitive', 'wild' or 'savage' anymore. Within these terms there exists an underlying value of 'the other' who lives closer to nature and is therefore less 'truly human'. These Western perceptions of development, which spread over the world, has had consequences for the post-colonial development in South America. During this time, theories about the evolutionary state development were widely accepted. This theory outlines how states follow general laws in their development. It starts with a society of hunter-gatherers and evolves into a market-capitalistic society. The West saw a role for themselves to help 'primitive' societies to develop to a 'better' or more 'human' society. However, a critical point remains that such representations of what is human, is merely a product of Western ideas. This has led to a history of state development in which the native people have been ascribed a marginal role and are excluded from their own history. New ideas about development request a rewriting of history, in which different perspectives are taken into account. Among others from critical Westerners, but more importantly, this call comes from the native Indians themselves.

Las Abejas

- Las Abejas, or "The Bees," is a Christian pacifist civil society group formed in Chenalho, Chiapas, Mexico.

- When the Zapatista Army of National Liberation uprising took place in 1994, Las Abejas stood in solidarity with the Zapatists' ends and principles, but not their violent means.

- In 1997, 45 members of Las Abejas were killed by the paramilitary group "Red Mask" in what is now known as the "Acteal Massacre".

ONE OF THESE counter movements is 'las Abejas' (the bees), a Christian pacifist civil society group of the native Tzotzil Maya in Chenalhó, Chiapas, Mexico. They struggle for the liberation of oppression from the state and neoliberalism and strive for peace and justice. Antonio Gutiérrez Pérez is the head of las Abejas and he visited Lund to talk more about their fight for justice.

LAND IS IMPORTANT for the identity of las Abejas. "The land was always free to use and territory of the ones who work on it" explains Pérez. "This changed when the Mexican state decided to alter article 27 of the constitution. The rights of the indigenous people were taken away and given to 'land-owners'". Before that, people lived free and there was no competition over land between the indigenous people and other interest groups, like the government or private companies. It was their land. This has changed. Nowadays, peasants have to ask permission to work on their

formerly owned land, "if they don't do this, they can go to jail for it". However, it is not only the land rights that has changed the freedom of the native inhabitants. Also free trade agreements has led to the advent of foreign investors, the exploitation of mines and the building of infrastructure. When this happened, the community felt suppressed, but they didn't act like victims. They decided to unite and initiated a struggle against the unjust. "I asked them about what right they had to come to our land. They responded that it were the orders of the federal state and that the federal police would come if we wouldn't let them do their work. But we are the ones who do the right thing," Pérez said. He emphasises the importance of their struggle and explains: "if people don't speak up, the neoliberal norm can be put into practice which benefits the free trade assignment between Mexico and the US." These free trade assignments will put even more pressure on the indigenous rights.

Since 1994 the Zapatistas has been in declared war with the Mexican state.

Photo: Julian Stellabrass



IT ARE NOT only treaties like these that threatens las Abejas. A main objective of the State is to let them disappear. Pérez states: "The government creates division between the communities to get the power, so they can exploit the land to make money". An event that illustrates how the state operates against las Abejas is the Acteal massacre in 1997, which made deep imprints in the community. To understand what happened, it is first important to know what the different groups are that where involved in the massacre.

BESIDES LAS ABEJAS there are other groups involved in the conflict. Firstly, it is the Zapatistas, a left-political and militant group that fights for indigenous rights and struggles against neoliberalism and imperialism. These are values they share with las Abejas. However las Abejas distinct themselves from the Zapatistas in the way that they don't use violence. The other group is the paramilitary that is related

to the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). The paramilitary groups have strong bonds with the government and are opposed to the Zapatistas and las Abejas.

IN ORDER TO destroy the communities of las Abejas. The Paramilitaries were the ones that planned the massacre. They surrounded the chapel where las Abejas met to pray, sing, and talk. Forty-five innocent members of las Abejas were killed when they left the chapel. Dialogues that followed on this happening took place between the government, the paramilitaries and the Zapatistas. Las Abejas were promised to get an independent voice in this dialogue. Nonetheless, when it comes to reality, the government still doesn't recognise them as an individual organisation and still sees them as a part of the Zapatistas. By ignoring las Abejas, the government tries to get the power over them and their land to let them slowly dissolve.

Women have been influential in the Zapatista Army of National Liberation, EZLN. On the day of the uprising, the EZLN announced the Women's Revolutionary Law.



THEREFORE THE STRUGGLE of las Abejas goes on. They “fight for mother earth”. To find out what the right thing is to do, they “listen to the mountain and the river”. They use their traditional wisdom, which they learned from nature to defend from oppression and they strive for respect of the earth. They don’t use any violence, they pray and fast and feel protected “by the Holy Spirit and the miracles of God”. They believe that “if we live we live, if we should die we die”.

“WE ARE THE ONES WHO DO THE RIGHT THING”

WHEN I ASKED Pérez how he would like to see the future, he told me: “God will decide, we don’t think about tomorrow. If we speak about the future we

don’t know what happens but the fight intensifies every day.” This made me aware of my own Western perception of life in which thinking of the future is important to do. For them the struggle is about today to defend their tradition, to protect nature and to get a voice about their daily lives. It are the indigenous themselves to be free to live their live and use the land in the way they would like to. This will give them the power to create the present and thereby be part of the history of the future. Then, it are not people from outside anymore who are the ones that create the norms to shape the future. ●

By: Petra van der Kooij

Photo: Julian Stallabrass



SHADES OF RED



“THE STRIKING FEATURE OF THIS DREAM IS THE VISION OF A TYPICAL SWEDISH RED HOUSE ON THE MOON”

What does Falu Rödfärg and American actors have in common? The answer, surprisingly, lies in the need for nationalism.

The Swedish dream is to own a red cottage in the country side, preferably with a scenic view of a lake from the window. It is a sign of a successful career and a promise of a peaceful weekend, far away from the hustle-bustle of expanding Swedish cities. On the other hand, the American dream, which has become all the more difficult to realise since the Financial Crisis of 2008, has always been about the promise of a better life achievable through the means of economic liberation and, in the words of Thomas Jefferson, 'the pursuit of Happiness'. If one yet cannot easily visualize the American dream then several depictions can be found in American Hollywood movies. Let's move one step closer towards each of these dreams.

THE SWEDISH RED cottage has a history. It has been receiving the Falu Rödfärg paint from the Falun Mine in Dalarna County, Sweden. This year it celebrates its 250th anniversary. This paint defines the specific shade of red which is painted to Swedish homes. It is worth noting that while Falun Mine has been shut for over 20 years, the 'red mull' pigment is available in quantities which will last for around 100 years. On a parallel track, while majority of Americans struggle to make ends meet, American actors, in particular four of them, can already see over the rainbow. The commonality between Falu Rödfärg and Angelina Jolie, Brad Pitt, Tom Hanks, Victoria Principal is a visit to outer space. And no, this is not a movie review of a possible 2015 movie leak.

THE ARTIST AND entrepreneur, Mikael Genberg has a dream to send a 'self-constructing' Swedish house to the moon. The one with red mull

paint and white corners. Astrobotic, an American aerospace company, NASA and rest of the world, through crowd-funding, is helping him to realise this dream. The striking feature of this dream is the vision of a typical Swedish red house on the moon. Not too far away from Mr. Genberg, is the dream of Sir Richard Branson, who wishes to make commercial space travel a reality. Among the few passengers who have already bought tickets on this journey are the four American actors who represent the movies, an art form which plays a crucial role in defining the culture and an image of a country.

THE MOONHOUSE ART project and Virgin Galactic, a project within the red coloured Virgin Group logo, are two symbolic projects which also demonstrate the power of a dream. They are based on the values of cooperation and the pushing of 'mental boundaries'. The projects show that having a vision is important, irrespective of its practicality. In the case of Mr. Genberg's project, where nationalistic sentiments boost a house to the moon and where Sir Branson is able to share his dream with travellers of varying nationalities, nationalism could just about be the final piece of a beautiful puzzle.

USUALLY, NATIONALISM IS a shadow figure which divides people across boundaries, seen popularly through sports and in most cases, politics. But in this case, a nationalistic spirit does not hold any value without the support of trans-boundary cooperation. By the end of 2015, when Virgin Galactic aims to launch its maiden flight and when The Moonhouse aims to land on moon, people will perhaps realise the redefined value of nationalism. In reality, the two projects portray similarities which can only be defined beyond the boundary of the Earth. ●

By: Saahil Waslekar

Moonhouse and Virgin Galactic

- 5 million dollars will be used to build the moonhouse and the ticket there is 10 million dollars

- Donors to Moonhouse are known as Friends of The Moonhouse who buy Moon Meters

- SpaceShipTwo, the Virgin spaceplane test flight, failed due to a mid-air catastrophe on Halloween, 2014

- Passengers have been signing up since 2005

The Danish People's Party

Changing the Political Conversation in Denmark

The Danish People's Party has played a key role in influencing immigration politics in Denmark since the '90s. Today nationalistic tendencies are rapidly growing in Sweden. Are we following the same pattern as our neighbor?

ONLY 42 KILOMETER or a 35 minutes train ride from Malmö. Denmark is a short distance away. At a first glance, Sweden and Denmark appears to be two very similar nations. Both are wealthy Nordic countries with well-developed welfare systems and a shared cultural background. Though looking beyond being geographically close and their mutual fascination over soccer, things do separate the countries from each other. The development of the political landscapes over the last twenty years reflects an important area of difference.

Pia Kjærsgaard is one of the founders of the Danish People's Party.

THE RECENT AND fast growing popularity of the Sweden Democrats (SD) in domestic politics has shocked many

Swedes. The advances in both parliament and the EU elections this year has made them the third biggest party in Sweden. With this, a long preceded assumption that it would be impossible for a nationalistic and xenophobic party to gain that much power in our country, has been proved wrong.

IF WE LOOK over to the other side of the Oresund Bridge, the story of nationalistic winds in the parliament are of a different kind. The Danish People's Party (DPP) entered the political scene in Denmark already in 1995. Pia Kjærsgaard founded the party after she left the turbulent Fremskridtspartiet and their front figure Mogens Glistrup. Since established, the DPP has strongly influenced the political discussion of immigration in Denmark. This nationalistic and conservative party claims to feel the obligation to protect Denmark, its citizens and the Danish cultural heritage. Together with a strong desire to hold on to the monarchy and Denmark's independency, the party opposes the development of a multi-ethnic society.

THE DPP SHARES many similarities with the Sweden Democrats Party. They both have a strong nationalistic profile and demand strict immigration politics. However, more interesting is the distinction between the two in their influence on their domestic political scenes. Where the other Swedish parliament parties do their best to isolate the SD and their politics, the DPP has been greatly influential on the immigration discourse in Denmark.

THE DANISH PEOPLE'S Party holds a powerful political role in Denmark. Up until 2011 the DPP was positioned as an influential support party to the

Photo: Johan Wessman





Photo: Johan Wessman

minority government of the liberal Venstre and the conservative Det konservative folkeparti. The DPP has gone from being a marginalized party to being accepted fully as a potential political partner by all the established parties in Denmark. This has provided them a legitimized chance to highly affect Danish politics, which their control over setting the agenda within immigration policy exemplifies. There is no simple answer to why strict immigration politics and harsh opposition against non-Danish people and culture have been able to grow this strong in Denmark. Compared to Sweden, Denmark has had less immigration and the country is one of the wealthiest in Europe.

THE SWEDEN DEMOCRATS collected close to 13% of the Swedish votes in this year's parliamentary election. But when examining how the other political parties are approaching the SD, the message is clear. In contrast to the DPP in Denmark, the SD faces major challenges when it comes to collaborating with the established parties. To decrease the party's influence on immigration politics is an outspoken aim from the other parties, wanting to isolate the SD the best they can.

THE DPP'S USE of nationalistic rhetoric to assert the risks of a multiculturalist society in Denmark has led to increased tensions and divisions in the country. Not only has the party influenced the general political discourse, but also how media covers immigration issues. The media was not late to pick up the topic after the DPP and nowadays immigration represents a large portion of the domestic news.

WHILE THE DPP succeeded to implement a xenophobic discourse in the political room and media in Denmark, the Swedish Democrats are still considered as deviants from the norm. But accepting that this kind of development were possible in Denmark, have we in Sweden been naïve in refusing to believe it could happen in our own country as well? Not so many years ago it seemed impossible for the SD to make it over the 4% threshold for entering the parliament. In this September's election they got over 800 000 people voting for them. It is clear that nationalistic tones are gaining lots of attention from the Swedish society. What remains the question is whether the party will stay isolated or integrated within Swedish politics in the future. ●

By: Linn Hellerström

In the election of the European Parliament the Danish People's Party became the largest party with 26.6 percent of the votes.



PARADISE LOST

Photo: Thierry Ehrmann

By: Kari Helle

Norway has been voted “The best country to live in”, and is the home of The Nobel Peace Prize. The perfect charade that is Norway was shattered on a summer day in 2011. Terror was no longer a phenomenon one could watch on the television from far away; it had now hit this small country up north in the most brutal of ways.

Lisa Irene Johansen Aasbø is a nineteen-year old girl from Stavanger. She was at Utøya Island at the time of the attack, but escaped by swimming away from the island. She was later rescued by a boat. At the time of the attack, Aasbø was fifteen years old.

- WE HAD JUST had a meeting about the bomb that had gone off in Oslo. They told us not to be afraid, that we were most likely on the safest place in the world – no one could get us on an island.

THE TERRORIST ATTACK on 22nd of July 2011 happened in two stages. Both attacks were single-handedly executed by a young Norwegian man named Anders Behring Breivik. First, a homemade bomb detonated at The Government’s Headquarters in Oslo, killing eight people. Approximately 90 minutes later, the same man, dressed in a fake police uniform went to the island Utøya, where The Labour Party’s Youth Organisation (AUF) were having their annual summer camp.

At the island, a massacre took place. Breivik was determined to kill as many teenagers as possible and when the police finally arrived and disarmed him, sixty-nine people had lost their lives and dozens had been wounded. He had left a total of 77 people dead that day.

THE WORLD WAS left in shock. Possible actors were immediately thought to be Al-Qaida or other Islamic extremist groups; no one had ever dreamed it would turn out to be a young, blonde Norwegian man. The right-wing-extremist Breivik claimed that the attack was politically motivated. He stated that he feared the “Jihad”, and the “Islamisation” of Europe. AUF is positive to immigration, inclusion and multiculturalism, which is why the organisation was a target. Many aspiring young politicians were lost that day.

THE HANDLING OF the tragedy by the Norwegian people was praised in the media all over the world. One could see the royal family, the prime minister and other important politicians cry

before their country. The hate was met with love. The streets of Norway had not seen this many people since the peace-day in 1945. There were roses everywhere and one could hear spontaneous singing of the national anthem. There was a sense of solidarity.

AFTER A WHILE, when the shock had worn off, questions were raised: how could this have happened? Breivik had never really found his place in society. He grew up with a mentally unstable single mother and spent a lot of time in part-time foster care. His father cut all contact with him at age 15. He never found the right social environment, he never finished high school, he lacked the charismatic skills to make it in politics and his only relationship was a brief one with a Belarusian girl he had met on the Internet. These factors were all seen as possible triggers. The police got their share of criticism as to why they had not grown suspicious when Breivik bought the chemicals for his bomb, and why they were not at Utøya Island fast enough.

A sea of flowers in Oslo a few days after the attack.



Photo: Henrik Lied

AASBØ WAS ASKED how she thought this could have happened, and if she blamed the police.

- Of course it must be painful to be the parents of the child who was one of the last victims to be killed, but I don't think anyone blames the police. No one could have anticipated this. Norway was neither equipped nor prepared for such an attack. I think the real threat are the political ideas represented.

MODERN IMMIGRATION IS quite a new phenomenon in Norway. Until the late 50s, the country was very isolated.

Aasbø explains that she thinks Breivik is a madman, but that his ideas must be taken seriously, and not swept under the rug. She fears that many Norwegians share some of Breivik's beliefs, and thinks that the attitudes and prejudices are so deeply rooted in the Norwegian mentality, and it will take generations to change them. The immediate collective reaction after the bombing was that the terrorist was a radical islamist quite a few people were violated right after the bombing. These were attacks based solely on racist assumptions.

- **I AM SO** glad the terrorist was a white Norwegian man and not a Muslim man, or else we would still have been talking about this on a daily basis.

AASBØ BELIEVES THE key to change is in the children. If they get exposed to different cultures and different people in school classes or other arenas, they will eventually stop seeing people primarily as "homosexuals", "Muslims" or "Christians", but as people.

MORE THAN THREE years has passed since the tragic attack. A lot has changed, especially when it comes to politics. Like most European countries, Norway has also taken a more conservative turn. The conservative party "Høyre" and the Right-Wing Populist Party "Fremskrittspartiet" are now in office.

AASBØ, HERSELF A social democrat says she understands the change. The Labour Party had sat for two periods (8 years), and a change in seat is quite common. But it is also with sad eyes she looks at the political trend in Europe.

“ **I THINK THE REAL THREAT IS THE POLITICAL IDEAS REPRESENTED** ”

- **SOMETIMES IT FEELS** like people have forgotten. It upsets me to watch Party's like "Sverigedemokraterna" and groups like SIAN (Stop Islamisation of Norway) grow so dramatically.

AASBØ IS HAVING a gap year at the time, but is planning on moving to Oslo next fall to begin her studies. Later on, she wants to go to Berlin for an exchange semester.

- Breivik sits in his cell and awaits for the decision about whether or not he gets to watch Netflix in his room, what kind of a life is that? We get to go out and live life, she says and smiles.

THE 22ND OF July was an attack on the Norwegian society. "The best country to live in", did not seem that great. The home of "The Nobel Peace Prize" was now also the home of a brutal terrorist. Such an incidence is hurtful in so many ways, but can paradoxically also bring out hopes for the future. People are forced out of denial, and decide what kind of a society they want to live in. As the young Utøya- survivor put it:

- I have to believe that the ones who are young now, the "Utøya- generation" will promote democracy, tolerance and acceptance in the future. ●

Top: 8 people lost their lives when a bomb detonated in Oslo city center, 22nd of July, 2011.

Middle: Norway was in national mourning after the attack that has been called the worst since the Second World War II.

Bottom: Irene Johansen Aasbo is still active in AUF, the Labour Party's Youth Organization.



Photo: Henrik Lied



Photo: Henrik Lied



Photo: Irene Johansen Aasbo



China is the world's biggest exporter. But how will China develop its trading goods to achieve better quality?

From *Made in China* to *Made by China*

China is in the middle of an economic transition period. It is transitioning from a cheap and junky “Made in China” to a reliable and innovative “Made by China”.

What is today's most recognized label in the world? It is “Made in China”, of course! According to China's latest trade figures, for all of 2013, its exports hit \$2.21 trillion, which has overtaken the US as the world's biggest exporter. Turning over your iPhone, iPad, or MacBook, the label on the back says “Designed by Apple in California; Assembled in China”. Checking the tags of origin on the well-designed furniture in IKEA, more than 20% of them indicate that they are “Made in China”; the high-end clothes displaying in the luxury shopping malls would probably be made by the garment factories in the small villages in China; the Nike or Adidas you are wearing everyday is likely to be made by a factory in Dongguan, an industry city in China, where reportedly has the largest manufacturer of athletic shoes in the world. Regardless of your status, it is hard to ignore the fact that “Made in China” appears everywhere in your life. In fact, it is extremely hard to go for a few days without having things “Made in China”.

FROM CLOTHING TO electronics, the “Made in China” label can be seen in a wide range of products. Looking at the list of products China exports, the top five in order are electronic equipment,

machinery, clothing and accessories, furniture, prefabricated buildings. It is not difficult to find that most of the stuff China exports is middle, low-level products, which can be categorized into labor-intensive products and High Energy-consuming products. Those products are mainly exported to developed countries, such as the US, Japan, South Korea, Germany, Australia and Russia. For these countries, the reason why they chose China as their trading partner, is not because the “Made in China” products have good quality or own proprietary technology or skills. It is only because they are cheap. For most of the consumers, the first impression of the label “Made in China” is “Cheapness”. China has more than 1.3 billion inhabitants populations, this is equivalent to 19.24% of the total world population. The current labor force is over 800 million. The labor price in China, therefore, becomes comparatively cheap. Although the average wage in Chinese factories is increasing every year, comparing to Sweden's \$3,300 monthly wage; and the US's \$3,700, the monthly average wage of \$500 in China is far cheaper. It is very profitable for China's trading partners to make goods in China and import them back to their countries.

HOWEVER, KEEPING ITS competitively low price, in the mean time, China

could not guarantee its good quality. For most consumers and end users, the image of “Made in China”, that is cheap and junky. Despite the large amount of labor force, not all of them are well-trained labor. In fact, most of the labor forces are coming from rural areas. They were working in agriculture and may not receive much education. They moved to large cities to seek employment. Therefore, the quality and safety of products made by these unskilled labor forces are difficult to guarantee. In recent years, the numbers of product recalls of imports from China are increasing. In the US, for instance, about 40% of product recalls were made in China. Most of those recalls were on consumer goods such as pet food, toys, toothpaste and certain type of seafood. Those products are so close to people’s daily life that the safety of “Made in China” import goods have become an increasing sensitive topic. More and more importing countries are taking measures to tighten their import standard. In the long term, if China does not do anything to improve the quality of its products quality, it will lose its trading partners and eventually be down from the No.1 exporter in the world.



Photo: Parhesistas

CHINA IS NOW in the middle of a special economic transitional period. The increasing living costs, and land prices push up the labor cost continually. The average wage of labor force is now rising by double digital every year. “Made in China” is not that cheap as it used to be. In the mean time, with more cheap labor countries, such as India, Brazil, Mexico, joining to the world market to take a slice of cake, “China Price” is no longer an advantage any more. Trying to continue its status as the manufacturing power in the world, China is now thinking to build up its own brand. The branding of “Made in China” will finally be replaced by “Made by China”. Rationally referring to Japan’s experience, China is now transferring its focus from the quantity of the product to its quality. China is clearly aware that the most competitive advantage it has is not the cheapness of the labor force, but the world largest populations of laborers it possesses. These laborers support China to make sure a reliable supplier of services. By providing general basic education, and reinforcing training and retraining to the laborers, China is getting a better control of the quality and safety of the products. With the improving of the quality, at the same time, more attention is given to the innovation of the products. China is no longer that so-called world factory, which produces the goods only in accordance with customers’ requirement. China is transforming to be an integrated manufacture, which not only can make customized products, but also be able to create design and product innovation.

FROM CHINA JOINING in the World Trade Organization in 2001, to becoming the world’s biggest trading actor in goods in 2013, it took 12 years. How long will it be before China successfully transforms itself from “Made in China” to “Made by China”? We will see it. ●

Text: Elaine Zheng

China

- China is the largest manufacturing economy in the world as well as the largest exporter of goods in the world.

- The country is also the world’s fastest growing consumer market and second largest importer of goods.

- China became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2001 and concluded a trade agreement with the ASEAN nations in 2010.

- China has free trade agreements with several nations, including Switzerland and Pakistan.

FEMINISM AND NATIONALISM

Feminism and nationalism have a difficult history. Whilst these relationships have changed form, they remain problematic in both the Global North and Global South. The article describes possible ways of coexistence of feminist and nationalist agendas in different contexts.

Discussing possible ways of coexistence between feminism and nationalism, one should keep in mind the complexity of the issue. In light of this, it would be more correct to speak of feminisms and nationalisms.

IN HER BOOK *Gender and Nation*, Nira Yuval-Davis points out that nationalisms, as well as projects of nation-states, are very gendered and include rather patriarchal ideas about womanhood and manhood. Thus, while men in these projects occupy roles of leaders and protectors (having monopoly for using violence), who can kill or die for a nation, women are mainly cultural and biological reproducers of the nations. Thus, women's place is mostly in the private sphere -- raising and socializing children and passing on the national culture and traditions. Men, therefore, are supposed to act as the head of the family and should preferably be actively involved in the public sphere.

FOR THIS REASON, including hostile and exclusive attitudes towards different "others" such as ethnic minorities or homosexuals, feminists from various camps, as a rule, tend to not support any nationalistic agenda. However, there are, in fact, different ways of coexistence between the two.

IN PLENTY OF countries in Europe and beyond (for instance Poland, Hungary and Kazakhstan) confrontational and

hostile relations between feminist and nationalist agendas are predominant. Thus, in this case the appeal to "traditional values" that accompanies the moral panic about the threat of the "death of the nation" is the basis of nationalist rhetoric and populism, adopted by many right-wing parties and organizations. In addition, this could go with "clericalization" of public life and strengthening of religious organizations as political institutions that are calling for the need of strengthening moral values and rebirth of spirituality in society. These two actors usually form a core of the so-called anti-gender movements. These are consolidated collective actions of social agents to resist the ideas of gender equality, in favour of "traditional family" values (which have a religious and/or nationalistic grounds) and contribute to the spread of xenophobic (homophobic, racist) attitudes among the population.

HOWEVER, IN SOME European countries (like Germany, France and Denmark), there are also a two-way movement, in which some feminists are using xenophobic or islamophobic rhetoric whilst some right parties and organizations are also co-opting feminist discourses on gender equality. Thus, in his article "Headscarves and homosexuals - feminist ideals in xenophobic politics" Anders Rasmussen is discussing how Danish People's Party (famous for having conservative and nationalistic tendencies) is (ab)using feminist vocabulary. For example, while proposing to ban headscarves in public places in 2006, the party's MP Peter Skaarup motivated such decision in the following way: "We've fought to achieve women's liberation and equality. That's what we want. Therefore, Muslim women must refrain from wearing headscarves and instead get accustomed to our way of life in Denmark".

ONE OF THE examples of feminists adopting discriminatory rhetoric is Alice Schwarzer, a well-known feminist in Germany as well as chief founder of the feminist magazine "EMMA". Her book "The Grand Veiling: For Integration, Against Islamism", she discusses the failures of multiculturalism, discusses honor killings, child marriages and so on. But primarily she focuses on the questions of veiling that is viewed by author as a symbol of oppression and militant Islamism, from which Germany needs to get rid of. Therefore, Schwarzer is advocating a ban of headscarves.

"Some feminists are using xenophobic or islamophobic rhetoric whilst some right parties and organizations are also co-opting feminist discourses on gender equality."

ANOTHER EXAMPLE is post-colonial discourse, when Western women want to "save" the "oppressed" women from the East. A group specifically adopting this discourse is FEMEN, currently working in France. Activists are constantly organizing so-called "topless jihads" in which they are walking topless, calling Muslim women to take

off their headscarves by claiming that "it is better to be naked than to wear paranja". FEMEN is speaking from a discriminatory universalist paradigm in which Third World Women are now at the phase that "advanced" Western women have "already passed" and that is why they should obey and do what their "more advanced sisters" tell them to do.

THIRD WORLD FEMINISTS also encounters nationalism in several other ways. Thus, an important contribution in regards to this is the book "Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World" written by Kumari Jayawardena in 1986. The book criticizes First World feminists for their universalized, anti-nationalist and anti-militarist position, arguing that not everybody has such a privilege, as Third World feminists need not only to advocate women's rights, but also fight for the freedom from imperialist oppression for their societies as a whole, which might sometimes require using arms. Another argument for women to get involved in nationalist struggles is that if they are not included in them, then, consequently, they will be excluded from the state building processes as well. However, enormous examples (such as from Sri Lanka, Kashmir, Sierra Leone and Algeria) show that women's active (and even militant) involvement in nationalist struggles and wars tend to be easily forgotten and women can be kindly asked to lay down arms and go to the kitchen in newly established states.

THUS, AFTER YEARS of hostile relationships, feminisms and nationalisms continue to interact, forming various ways of coexistence in the Global North and Global South. Whether this will be possible, however, remains to be seen. ●

By: Olena Dudko



OM VI SPELAR I BIKINI, DÅ?

Präglat av sexism och nedprioritering kämpar damspelare för att få utöva sin sport på lika villkor som herrarna. Är fotbollen världens mest könsdiskriminerande sport?

Aldrig ser man lika många blågula ansikten som när det vankas världsmästerskap. Att en sport med så enkla regler som att sparka på en boll kan framkalla sådan nationell entusiasm är häpnadsväckande. Inte heller är det i många andra sammanhang som i de sportsliga lika tolererat att fritt ge uttryck för sin nationella extas. Under sommaren 2014 riktades världens ögon mot Brasilien där fotbollens 20:e VM ägde rum. Dock saknades representanter för en åttondel av sporten, som också är en av världens fortast växande sporter: Damfotbollen.

ENLIGT FOTBOLLENS VÄRLDSORGANISATION FIFA (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) finns det i nuläget omkring 29 miljoner aktiva damspelare jorden runt. En till synes stor siffra. I jämförelse med herrfotbollen, som har drygt 240 miljoner spelare, är det dock en obetydlig siffra. Både nationellt som internationellt spelar damfotbollen i minoritet, trots FIFA:s president, Sepp Blatter, uttalande att fotbollens framtid är "feminin". Ändock är det tydligt att en kontinuerlig diskriminering mot damfotboll, ekonomiskt såväl som medialt, äger rum. Det senaste exemplet på detta är förberedelserna inför Dam VM i Kanada 2015, där FIFA har slagit fast att

mästerskapet kommer spelas på konstgräs. Till kontexten hör att VM för herrar alltid spelats på riktigt gräs, något sportens främsta kvinnliga spelare nu lyfter i en stämning av FIFA och Canadian Soccer Association. Vidare består FIFA:s styrelse av 24 platser, och det var så sent som 2013 som en av dessa först intogs av en kvinna. Platsen hade reserverats för damfotbollen och kvinnan i fråga, Lydia Nsekera, ansågs representera de resterande 29 miljoner spelarna. Det är därmed tydligt att världens snabbaste växande sport inte tas på allvar inom idrottens högkvarter, något som alltmer har börjat kritiserats.

DET ÄR INTE bara i internationella sammanhang som damfotbollen nedprioriteras. Ser man till Sverige är vi ofta precis lika diskriminerande, både medialt och ekonomiskt. Användandet av begreppet fotboll i media hänvisas informellt till herrfotboll, medan kvinnlig fotboll alltid benämns som damfotboll. Det var VM för herrfotbollen som firade sitt 20:e år, damerna däremot, spelar endast sitt 6:e. Man kan även se att damspelares



ekonomiska situation är utsatt. Ett belysande exempel på detta är där att FC Rosengård, endast veckor efter att ha vunnit Damallsvenskan, var nära att gå i konkurs. Lönegapet mellan svensk herr- och damfotboll är enorm, och de bäst betalda damspelarna tvingas arbeta deltid med en medellön på drygt 11 000 kronor - en sjättedel av herrarnas. Detta är en situation som ofta anses bero på att damfotbollen inte håller samma standard som herrarnas. Därmed har den också sina lägre attraktionssiffror själv att skylla.

FOTBOLL ÄR EN universell sport men likaså strikt könsuppdelad, vilket resulterar i att halva sporten ofta blir bortglömd. Genom att framställa damfotboll som "det andra" skapas det en uppfattning om att kvinnliga spelare utövar en helt annan sport. Ändå har fotboll har spelats officiellt av både herrar och damer sedan slutet av 1800-talet.

I DETTA ARBETE borde FIFA se som sitt ansvar att ta en ledande roll. En kvinna ensam kan inte på egen hand representera och fungera som talesperson för 29 miljoner; genom att erkänna damfotbollens ljusa framtid måste FIFA likaså tillgodose idrottens behov och ge damspelare samma rättigheter som manliga. Ändå ter sig de föreslagna åtgärderna som ren och skär sexism. Sepp Blatter föreslog bland annat 2004 att damspelare fortsättningsvis skulle spela i tajtare kläder för att locka mer publik: samma man som spår damspelare som fotbollens framtid. Vidare bytte ett damlag i Nederländerna 2008 sin matchklädsel från shorts till korta kjolar och ett ryskt damlag spelade så sent som 2011 en match iförda bikini. I samband med situationer som dessa blir det tydligt vad damfotboll anses vara, det vill säga, en sport på männens villkor där damerna uppmuntras framhäva sin sexualitet i syfte att locka publik och inte för sin spelteknik. Idrottare skall aldrig behöva spela på sin sexualitet för att kunna praktisera

sin sport, det måste alltid vara på individens villkor.

“DAMSPELARE SKULLE SPELA I TAJTARE KLÄDER FÖR ATT LOCKA MER PUBLIK”

FÖLJAKTLIGEN ARGUMENTERAS DET att damfotbollen har mer problem än vad den genererar faktiska fördelar. Att det är "för fysiskt farligt" eller "ekonomiskt ohållbart" för spelarna är faktorer man aldrig skulle få för sig att hålla mot herrfotbollen. Hur kommer det sig då att denna världsligt älskade sport blivit så könsdiskriminerande? Gräver man djupare än faktorer såsom ekonomisk olönsamhet och fysisk förmåga, bottenar problemet förmodligen i gamla värderingar i fråga om uppfattningen om kvinnligt och manligt. Fotbollen har som världens populäraste sport vunnit en nationalistisk status, där det land som vinner VM också klassas som världens bästa land. En vinst som är starkt sammankopplad med fysisk styrka och överlägsenhet, egenskaper som anses vara klassisk manliga. Att i samma sport se kvinnor ta på sig denna roll blir därmed svårt för många med förlegade värderingar att acceptera. Nationens "förkämpe" är enligt dessa en man, medan kvinnan definieras som nationens fostrare. Det kan tolkas som en löjlig slutsats, men hur annars skall man förklara hyllandet av herrfotboll men nedtryckningen av damfotboll? Genom att se till de könsrelaterade normer som kopplas till nation och sport kan ett arbete för lika möjligheter inom idrottsvärlden utvecklas. Ett arbete, som i likhet med mycket jämställdhetsarbete inom samhället, kan bryta ny mark och göra stora framsteg. ●



Damfotboll

- Av världens totalt drygt 120 miljoner registrerade fotbollsspelare är drygt 10 miljoner kvinnor.

- De första dokumenterade fotbollsmatcherna mellan kvinnor ägde rum i Glasgow, Skottland, 1892.

- Det första officiella världsmästerskapet för damer spelades i Folkrepubliken Kina i november 1991 och vanns av USA, 61 år efter första herr-VM i fotboll. 1996 spelades för första gången en damturnering i fotboll vid olympiska spelen.

ROHINGYA, THE MOST PERSECUTED MINORITY IN THE WORLD

WHERE SHOULD WE BE?

As a citizen whom is given particular rights, the state has a responsibility to protect its population from genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and ethnic cleansing. This is the most important role of a state and simultaneously, the reason for being. But when you are part of the Rohingya community of Myanmar, whom have resided in Rakhine state for decades, does this ring true?

According to the United Nations Development Programme, Rohingya, the Muslim population residing in Rakhine state of Myanmar is the most persecuted minority in the world. While the major population in Myanmar belongs to an ethnic group 'Bamar' which believes in Buddhism, the Rohingya is Muslim and speak their own language. However, it is important to know that all the Muslims in Rakhine do not belong to Rohingya. The other Muslim population called Kaman-also resides in Rakhine state- has been given their qualification as a citizen from the government since the early age of independence from the United Kingdom. Therefore, the persecution towards Rohingya does not

result from a religious reason, rather towards a certain ethnic group. In this vein, the existence of a state which has the 'responsibility to protect' their citizens in international law, may not work out right now in Myanmar.

IN THE PRESS, Rohingya is called in diverse ways. The most typical is 'stateless'. Literally, Rohingya have no citizenship in Myanmar. They are required to show the document which can prove the records of their residences for more than three generations. However, in reality, it is almost impossible to verify official documents to support the access to citizenship. The older the migration, the less evidence there is. Rohingya has strongly claimed their long stay in Myanmar in opposition to the continuous denial of their citizenship rights. Besides having no citizenship, the limited access to social and economic services has forced them to live below the subsistence level. For decades, they have been unable to get an access to education and job. In addition to this, they are barred from having more than two children; an example of a flagrant abuse of human rights.

Photo: Steve Gumaer



Photo: European Commission DG ECHO

THE RECENT OUTBREAK of conflict between Rakhine Buddhist and Muslim villagers propelled the Rohingya community back into the media, where they were labelled as Internally Displaced Persons. As a result of this riot, not only more than half of the households lost their nests but also many were wounded and a number of them lost their lives. According to statistics from the United Nations, the population of IDP camps consists of 95% Rohingya and 5% Rakhine Buddhist. This stark difference shows Rohingya's vulnerability severely affected by the conflict. At IDP camps, the only thing they can do is to just wait for assistance from the outside. They have very little freedom of movement and no access to an ordinary livelihood. For this reason, International rights groups have criticised the Myanmar government which does not take any action to solve this harsh situation. Rather, they see this reaction of the Myanmar government as a way to implement the blueprint for segregation of Muslim population in the long run.

THE MYANMAR GOVERNMENT has traditionally showed a strong preference for the major ethnic group Bamar and have tried to make them stand on the center of the political stage. Even though Myanmar have recently proclaimed their democratic transition to escape from the old authoritarian military regime, the country is not expected to change the present situation. What is worse is that the human rights icon of Myanmar, Aung San Suu ky, who recently considered herself as a politician rather than a human rights activist, has not mentioned the Rohingya issue.

PARADOXICALLY, ROHINGYA HAS so far received plenty of attention from the international community rather than their government. The abuse against the Rohingya galvanized their plight and consequently, it led to forced migration to neighboring countries

including Bangladesh, Thailand and Malaysia. On the way to these countries, boats have capsized and many people have died of hunger. This vicious cycle is taking place at this moment and is expected to continue in the near future.

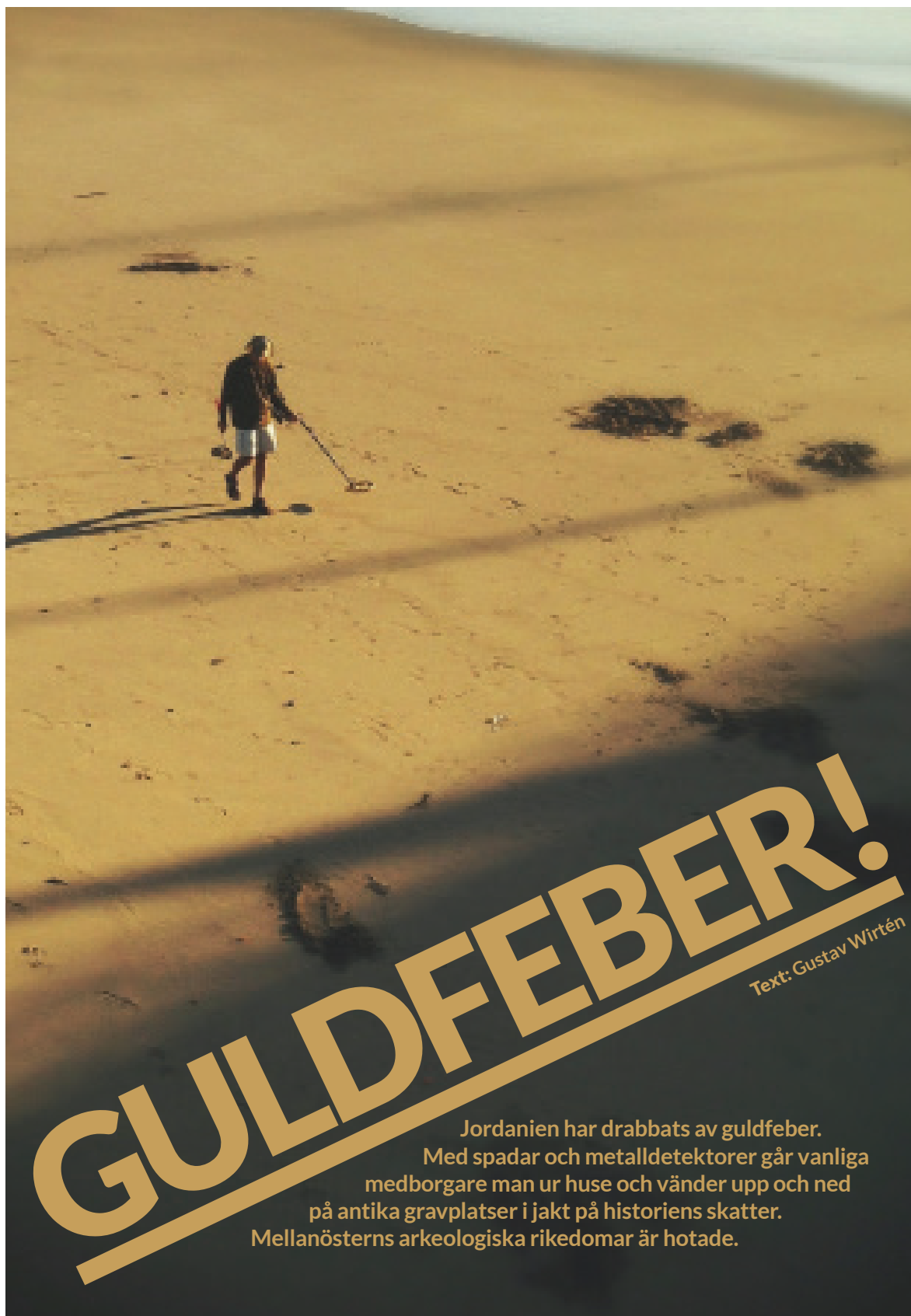
AT DISPERSED REFUGEE camps around the world, the presence of UNHCR and some other international NGOs help ameliorate the current plight of the Rohingya refugee. However, this problem cannot be resolved fundamentally without the Myanmar government's political will. Recently, President Thein Sein claimed that "the only solution" to the troubles in Rakhine State was either to send stateless Rohingya to

“THEY HAVE VERY LITTLE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND NO ACCESS TO AN ORDINARY LIVELIHOOD”

third countries or to contain them in UNHCR-administered camps, causing outrage within the international communities.

IN RESPONSE TO this irresponsible comment, a UN assistant Secretary-General Kang Kyung-wha remarked, "We want to see stronger government leadership from both the local and central level to reconcile inter-communal dispute and to bring a larger goal of development for all." In accordance with political settlement of Myanmar government, it is necessary that humanitarian challenge on minor ethnic groups should be also dealt with. ●

By: Hyeon-Soo Jeon



GULDFEBER!

Text: Gustav Wirtén

Jordanien har drabbats av guldfeber.
Med spadar och metalldetektorer går vanliga
medborgare man ur huse och vänder upp och ned
på antika gravplatser i jakt på historiens skatter.
Mellanösterns arkeologiska rikedomar är hotade.

Den 25:e juli kallar Bagdad Djillali Difallah till presskonferens. Han sätter sig tillrätta, vinklar mikrofonen mot sig.

Harklar sig. Han har något angeläget att berätta.

- Vi är här för ett stort avslöjande.

DIFALLAH HAR FRANSKT-ALGERISKT påbrå och är en av världens mest välrenommerade skattjägare. Han har kallats "2000-talet Indiana Jones". Hans pappa jobbade med underhåll av gamla hus i Paris. Som 10-åring följde Difallah med honom till jobbet. Han pratade med arkeologerna, lärde sig allt om husen. Han har sedan ägnat hela sitt vuxna liv åt att leta efter historiens försvunna skatter.

PÅ PRESSKONFERENSEN HÄVDAR Difallah att han hittat Alexander den stores gravkammare. Han kallar fyndet "det största i historien" och visar bilder på meterhöga statyer i rent guld och kistor fulla med juveler. Av risk för att gravplatsen kommer plundras vägrar Difallah avslöja skattens position, mer än att den finns i "ett kuperat område i Jordanien".

- Jag kan inte avslöja var den ligger, det lämnar jag till Jordaniens kung, säger Difallah kryptiskt.

NÄR DEN JORDANSKA armén ett drygt år senare spärrade av ett stort område i närheten av staden Ajloun, ett kuperat område i norra Jordanien, kopplade hela landet ihop ett och två. Ryktesspridningen exploderade. Markens ägare hävdade att armén spärrat av området utan hans tillstånd och fyllde lastbilar med antikt guld. Videoklipppet från Difallahs presskonferens spreds som en löpeld på Twitter. Under några veckor pratades det knappt om annat än arméns utgrävningar i Ajloun.

SAMTIDIGT SOM DISKUSSIONEN på sociala medier om fyndets storlek och värde i rena pengar gick varm återgav de stora

dagstidningarna enbart arméns officiella förklaring till varför området var avspärrat. Först uppgavs att området var avspärrat på grund av ett jordskred. En vecka senare meddelades att den verkliga anledningen till att området spärrats av var att armén installerade pumpar. För de i grannskapet var det svårt att förstå varför den typen av militär närvaro skulle behövas för att installera några pumpar. Arméns motsägelsefulla och ologiska förklaringar blev bensin på elden.

DENNA INCIDENT KAN ses som kulmen på den guldfeber som spritt sig genom folklagren i Jordanien de senaste åren. Ingen vet riktigt hur den startade, men runtom i landet viskas det förtroligt om romerska, turkiska och bysantinska skattkistor gömda under marken. I jakt på antika rikedomar har privatpersoner gett sig ut med metalldetektorer och spadar och plundrat antika gravar.

“CHANSEN FINNS ALLTID ATT DE HÖR DET DÄR KLINGANDE LJUDET VID NÄSTA SPADTAG”

HIJAZ-JÄRNVÄGEN KOPPLADE en gång i tiden kopplade samman Amman och Damascus. Den byggdes av det Osmaniska imperiet, som styrde Jordanien mellan 1516 och 1918. Enligt legenden hade osmanerna så bråttom att lämna landet efter att ha förlorat första världskriget att de inte hann transportera hem allt sitt guld. Istället grävde de ner det längst järnvägen för att kunna hämta det senare. Den drygt 500 km långa järnvägssträckan är kantad av hundratusentals gropar. Skattjägarernas fotspår.

- **IBLAND HITTAR VI** skatter en meter under marken. Turkarna hade inte tid att gräva djupare än så, de var tvungna att fly fort från britterna, säger Emad Jarur, en av dessa lycksökande privatpersoner till Huffington Post.

- **VI HAR ATT** göra med amatörer med en viss talang för arkeologi. De vet var rikedomarna kan finnas och vad de kan vara värda, säger Monther Dahash Jamhawi, generaldirektör för Jordaniens antikvitetsdepartement till Washington Post.

PLUNDRARNA ARBETAR I regel med mellanhänder som säljer antikviteter till rika jordanska familjer eller vidare utomlands. Ur ett arkeologiskt perspektiv är detta katastrofalt. När en plundrare rotat runt i en antik gravplats är det omöjligt för en arkeolog att få ordning igen.

GRAVPLUNDRINGARNA ÄR OMFATTANDE.

I Feifa, en liten stad bredvid Döda havet, är 10 000 gravar plundrade. På flygbilder ser det ut som att området blivit bombat från luften.
- Vi har stora problem. Varje vecka, varje dag, får vi samtal om att någon gräver någonstans, suckar Jamhawi.

FENOMENET ÄR INTE nytt i regionen. Men den instabila politiska situationen i området kombinerat med en skenande arbetslöshet verkar ha förvärrat situationen. Irak har i praktiken barskrapats på sina antika lämningar sedan den amerikanska invasionen 2003. Under sommaren 2014 kom tidningen The Guardian med en rapport om hur terrorgruppen ISIS finansieras. Rapporten visade att gruppen tjänat 36 miljoner dollar på smuggling av plundrade antikviteter i Syrien och

Irak. Vittnesmål berättar att ISIS låter plundrare härja fritt mot 20 till 50 procent av intäkterna.

BYN UMM EL-JIMAL i norra Jordanien har funnits i tusentals år. Där finns romerska tempel, bysantinska kyrkor och moskéer från det Ummayyadiska kalifatet. Marken under är sprängfylld med arkeologiska rikedomar. Men de senaste årets guldfeber har lämnat tydliga spår. 5000 antika gravar är upp och nedvända. Stadens nya borgmästare står chanslös inför plundringarna. Han konstaterar:

- Om du kombinerar arbetslöshet och okunskap får du det här resultatet.



Foto: woody1778a

EXPERTER OCH ARKEOLOGER

gör klart att de allra flesta historier om hur skattkistor fulla med guld upptäckts inte är sanna.

- Varför fortsätter dessa plundrare att gräva när de vet att chansen att de hittar något värdefullt i princip är lika med noll?, säger Bert de Vries, arkeolog och professor vid Calvin Collage irriterat till Washington Post.

- För att det alltid finns en nästa gång. Chansen finns alltid att de hör det där klingande ljudet vid nästa spadtag. Så de fortsätter.

SA VAD HÄNDE med området armén spärrade av i Ajloun? Pressad av den intensiva rapporteringen på sociala medier kallade arméns stabschef Mashal Mohammad al-Zaben till presskonferens för att avslöja den verkliga anledningen till militärens avspärrningar. Israel hade hört av sig och pekat ut spionutrustning nedgrävd under kriget länderna emellan 1969. Eftersom utrustningen av minerad behövde området spärras av. Det fanns ingen guldskatt, trots allt. Eller? ●



*De rika familjerna i Amman
är en viktig marknad för
Jordaniens gravplundrare.*

Foto: yeowatzup



*Enligt uppskattningar finns
över 100 000 arkeologiska
lämningar i Jordanien, drygt
20 000 har blivit dokumen-
terade och bara ett fåtal är
vaktade.*

Foto: Lawrence OP



*I byn Umm el-Jimal har över
5000 gravar plundrats.*

Foto: Capture The Uncapturable

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