

UTRIKES PERSPEKTIV

The Student Magazine on Foreign Affairs

Nr. 3, October 2015

THE EU'S NON-LETHAL WEAPONS

Refugees &
Razorwire

INTERVIEW: Alyson Bailes



Theme:

ARMS

DRONES: The Mental Impact

Editorial:
Arms &
Masculinity





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EDITORS' NOTE

“ARMS AND THE CAUSE OF SECURITY, AMOUNT TO UNPRECEDENTED EXTERNALITIES”

As the new Editors-in-Chief, we are thrilled to be inaugurating this issue with the Arms theme, a debate that is crucial to the state of Foreign Affairs. Arms and the cause of security, whilst coexisting in disharmony from one another, confirm that they amount to unprecedented externalities. We present to you the idea that Arms is seen as one of the most profitable businesses in the world; a business blind to both the security and the suffering they bring to civilization.

ONE YEAR AGO, Utrikesperspektiv Editors-in-Chief, Linnea Sandell and Marcus Bornlid wrote about the ever escalating situation in the Ukraine in their Editors' note. Since then, we have seen Ukraine move from center stage to the fringes, and the world looks on Syria, where Russian and NATO warplanes circle the skies in support of their allies. To provide a comprehensive update, we have brought you a photo spread from the Turkish-Syrian border directly from our photographer Lukas Herbers on page 12.

IN THIS ISSUE, we have launched the Mind Map – an illustrative overview into article themes covered in the magazine. Our Editorial Team brings to you several perspectives, for example, Arms Trade on page 54, Arms Control on page 31, and that grey area which remains on the periphery of Arms on page 48. We encourage you to read on critically, because as you will discover, there is no single answer to solving the problems arising from arms, a global phenomenon.



*Wishing a Happy Fall Semester to All,
Arttu Närhi & Saahil Waslekar
Editors-in-Chief*

TEAM

Editors-in-Chief:

Arttu Närhi
Saahil Waslekar

Layout:

Elly Aardenburg
Tobias Adolfsson
Sofia Ekhem
Arttu Närhi
Dora Paulik

Foreign Correspondents:

Sandra Jakobsson
Hyeon-Soo Jeon
Lukas Herbers
Linnea Sandell

Reporters:

Elly Aardenburg
Umut Can Adisönmez
Tobias Adolfsson
Christian Barsoum
Sofia Ekhem
Johannes Ernsberger
Kari B. Helle
Petra van der Kooij
Malte Plewa
Thomas Rogerson
Danielle Soskin
Varintorn Thanvichien
Krithi Venkat
Jamie Woodworth
Rickard A. Wählhammar

Legally responsible publisher:

Arttu Närhi

Print:

Trydells Tryckeri AB

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Contact:

Utrikespolitiska
Föreningen
Sandgatan 2
223 50 Lund
magazine@upflund.se

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mckinney75402
/flickr.com &
Kyle May
/flickr.com

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PRESIDENTS' MESSAGE

In your hands you are holding this year's 3rd issue of Utrikesperspektiv Magazine, which also happens to be the very first issue published by our new Editors in Chief, Arttu Närhi and Saahil Waslekar. This greeting comes to you from Anahita and Oscar, President and Vice President of UPF, welcoming you to a new term in Lund.

YOU MIGHT BE a member of old or you might recently have discovered UPF; you might be an active member of any of our committees or you might simply have joined the association to attend our weekly lectures; regardless, we are happy to see that you have found your way to the largest association in Lund for students with an interest in foreign affairs.

FOR 80 YEARS and counting, UPF has worked to promote debate and discussion on global issues among the students in Lund. The many wonderful things we have achieved would not have been possible, however, without our active members, to whom we owe everything we are.

THIS UPCOMING FALL semester, we will give special attention to the theme of "Arms – Security through militarization?" on which we will host lectures – one of which will be given by former Swedish minister of Defence, Karin Enström. The theme will also be touched upon during our radio shows, as well as in the articles on the following pages of this magazine.

ASIDE FROM THE theme, our work will continue to cover a wide range of topics. We therefore look forward to providing you with interesting and intriguing lectures, articles, radio shows, travel destinations, pub nights and everything else making UPF a wonderful forum for you and your interest in international affairs.



On behalf of the board,

Anahita Nicoobayan Shiri & Oscar Waldner
President & Vice President

BOARD 2015-2016

President:

Anahita Nicoobayan Shiri
president@upflund.se

Vice President:

Oscar Waldner
vice.president@upflund.se

Treasurer:

Marta Radinovic Lukic
treasure@upflund.se

Secretary:

Lisa Mehlin
secretary@upflund.se

Lecture Committee:

Sofia Höglund
Carsten Nommels
Stina Hinderson
lecture@upflund.se

PR committee:

Ludwig Bengtson Sonesson
Emelie Wendesten
pr@upflund.se

Activity Committee:

Ossian Olausson
Anna Olsson
activity@upflund.se

Utrikesperspektiv:

Arttu Närhi
Saahil Waslekar
magazine@upflund.se

Utrikesperspektiv.se:

Ebba Coghlan
David Wästlund
webzine@upflund.se

Radio UPF:

Anna Ekholm
Jessica Franzen
radio@upflund.se

Career Committee:

Frida Edström
Camilla Wedenstam
career@upflund.se

Travel Committee:

Martina Berglund
Jonas Asker
travel@upflund.se

UFS Representative:

Kajsa Fernström Nätby
lund@ufsverige.org



@upflund



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As flowers begin to blossom in Sweden, revolutions and social movements continue to bloom across the Middle East and North Africa. The uprising will change the region forever but will also impact life and business in Sweden.

Stay informed by following CMES Reports or by attending our public seminars for comprehensive analysis on the Middle East and North Africa
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Photo: CMES, Finngatan 16, Lund



Photo: curious/pixabay.com

1. Hundreds of Thousands Protest Brazil's President

Last August, Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff faced severe protests in Brazil's largest cities, as hundreds of thousands of protesters took to the streets demanding her resignation. Rousseff's left wing government has been accused of being implicit in a corruption scandal around the state owned oil company Petrobras; a scandal which has already ended political careers in Brazil. The protests also came at a time of the worst economic slump the country has faced in three decades. Most significantly, the Government's own voters seem to be calling for the President's impeachment more than other groups. Rousseff is accused of mismanaging and falsifying budget records as early as 2014. If found guilty, she could be forced to resign. Rousseff is serving her second term as President, and is the first woman to serve in this position.

Source: BBC

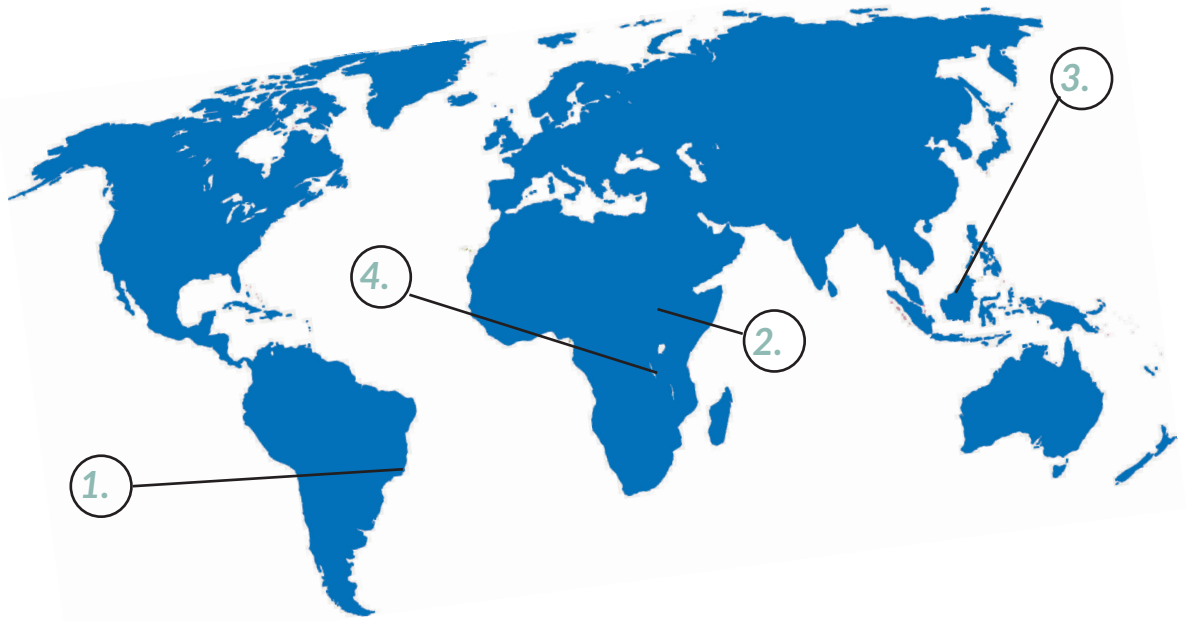
2. Peace Agreement Signed in South Sudan Civil War

The South Sudanese government signed a peace deal with the rebels at the end of August, kindling hope of peace in the world's youngest sovereign state. The deal brokered the sharing of power in the S.Sudan government, giving the opposition key minister positions. According to AL Jazeera, President Salva Kiir was forced to sign the agreement or face UN backed sanctions on his country. Furthermore, some rebel leaders have denounced the treaty, vowing to continue fighting. South Sudan declared independence from Sudan in 2011 with US backing. The country has been in a civil war since 2013, and the region has been engulfed in conflict for 42 years out of the past 60. More than 2 million citizens are displaced within the country and half a million have fled entirely.

Source: BBC, Al Jazeera



Photo: Caio Bruno



3. Brunei-Malaysian Joint Oil Drilling Venture

In stark opposition to land claims being made in other parts of the South China Sea, Malaysia and Brunei entered into a joint venture this summer to share two oil fields in their territorial waters.

Malaysian Prime Minister Datuk Seri Mohd Najib Tun Razak and Brunei's Head of State Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah Muiz'zaddin Wad'daulah met last August in Brunei to discuss sharing the oil profits, along with other key matters. The two countries have a close relationship, and are building closer ties on cross border travel, other areas of trade, and regional security. The two South East Asian nations have had territorial disputes in the region before, but no longer have claims on each other's territories. The 2009 Exchange of Letters, a bilateral agreement between Brunei and Malaysia, resolved all previous territorial disputes and allowing marine vessels to pass through both nations' waters.

Source: *The Star*

4. Burundi Post-Election Crisis

Last July, Burundi re-elected its President Pierre Nkurunziza for a third term in office. Burundi's constitution however, limits a president to two terms in office. Throughout the re-election campaign, opposition forces and the government clashed violently. The UN issued warnings of the country's security deteriorating in August, urging both parties to resume diplomacy and curb the violence. Now almost two months on, progress has been limited and the EU has issued economic sanctions against the small African nation. The sanctions have been condemned by Nkurunziza's government as neo-colonialist and part of an imperialist agenda.

Nkurunziza has been president of Burundi since 2005. The constitutional court ruled him eligible to run for a third term, as he had previously been appointed to the office and not campaigned for it. The ruling was followed by an attempted coup last May, and the most recent wave of violence has continued since.

Source: VOA, BBC, Vice News 7.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

STORIES FROM ABROAD



EDINBURGH

The UK nuclear system is up for discussion and Sandra tells us more about it.

PARIS

Linnea gives us a glimpse of the hectic (and fun) times at UNESCO.

BANGKOK

Hyeon-soo on the situation after the bomb detonated this summer.

EDIRNE

Lukas is on sight at a refugee reception center in Turkey with a photo report.



Linnea Sandell, intern at UNESCO, Paris:

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING SILLY

The corridors are bustling with people at UNESCO. Delegates from member states all over the world are shuttling between their offices and the headquarter building while gossiping about the latest news and up-coming draft resolutions. The atmosphere is friendly as the sun warms up the wide Parisian streets lined with trees from which the first autumn leaves have fallen. A glimpse of the overlooking Eiffel tower can be caught over the rooftops. The Executive Board, which ensures the overall management of UNESCO, has just inaugurated one of its two annual meetings and it is clear these are busy times

A LOT IS currently going on within the organization, consisting of 195 member states and a secretariat of about 2 000 employees, yet few people are really aware of what kind of work the UN specialised agency UNESCO actually does. Most people probably associate it with the World Heritage List rather than with its educational, scientific, cultural and communicative work. Admittedly I was one of them before I started my internship here, and admittedly I still find the organisation rather hard to grasp with its many committees, commissions and programmes.

AS AN ORGANISATION characterized by

“THERE IS A CONSTANT SEARCH OF THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR”

consensus decisions it is cumbersome. What could 195 member states possibly agree on? There is a constant search of the lowest common denominator and every once in a while it is found. One thing that is shared is the belief that progress is possible, even though the decisions and agreements are more or less vague to ensure that everyone stays on board. To observe the organisation move in slow motion is extremely frustrating, however, to observe the events happening in the process is actually inspiring. Relationships are established and sometimes collaboration is happening between member states you would not assume shared opinions. But the work is focused on the alliances that are possible and not on the ones that are not, which means that even if two member states are in opposing positions in one area, they might very well collaborate in another.

THE DELIBERATIONS ARE sometimes very lengthy and the topics are serious; everyone's right to education, the destruction of cultural heritage or freedom of press are all issues that require sincerity. However, when appropriate, there is a certain degree of silliness happening too. Maybe this should not be surprising, but to me it was. I definitely did not expect to see an ambassador dancing in his office while I was waiting for the elevator to take me to the ground floor. Nor to see shoulders shake with laughter in unison as the interpreter forgot to turn off her microphone and let a slightly inappropriate comment slip through. The humour is relieving. After hours of debating financial structures the humorous comment “Let's all go and think consensual thoughts over something delicious!” and the following scattered giggle offer some welcomed comic relief. It is encouraging to find unity in the silliness. ●

Hyeon-soo Jeon, intern , Bangkok:

BOMB ATTACK IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT IN BANGKOK

In August 2015, the tourism sector in Thailand faced unexpected difficulties leaving people in fear and shock. The biggest loss was the death of 20 innocent people passing by the area, which also included 130 injured people. Tourists from Singapore and China were also included in this number, as well as Thai citizens. The fear was attributable to bomb explosions that happened at the Erawan shrine.

THE SHRINE IS located in the middle of downtown, which is considered as the most populous and accessible meeting point in Bangkok. It has thus been the strategic point of a number of social or political movements and demonstrations in the country. One could assume that the suspect might target foreign tourists.

ORIGINALLY THIS SHRINE earned fame for its miraculous aura, which has attracted a number of celebrities who pray for success in their performances. However, the continuous nightmare now makes us think that the shrine is too weary to be inspiring as before. It was only in October that the main suspect was revealed. His name is Adem Karadag, an ethnic Uighur. The Uighur are a Turkic ethnic group living in Eastern and Central Asia. He is believed to be born in Xinjiang province where the majority of ethnic Uighur reside in China.

FOR SEVERAL DECADES, the ethnic Uighur has been persecuted by the Chinese government due to its distinguished identity. According to his lawyer, Karadag wished to go to Turkey via Thailand as Chinese authorities prohibit the direct flying to Turkey from China.

IN JUNE, 2015, Thailand repatriated more than 100 Uighurs forcibly to China in spite of international outcry and criticisms among United Nations and human rights advocates. This is considered as the most convincing motive behind this incident, although a precise explanation has not been identified yet. Also, in September, Thai police reiterated their statements

“ **THE CONTINUOUS NIGHTMARE NOW MAKES US THINK THAT THE SHRINE IS TOO WEARY**”

through media and this made people loose trust not only from media but also authority.

THE COUNTRIES IN the Southeast Asia are ethnically and culturally diverse. Due to its easy access to neighboring countries, Thailand has become the most popular destination for many tourists and migrants in the region.

BEING CALLED THE worst peacetime bombings in the country's history, this incident brought disgrace to the Erawan shrine. Up until September, 2015, alone, Thailand has already experienced four bomb blasts. ●

Sandra Jakobsson, exchange student, Edinburgh:

TRIDENT AND SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE

The renewal of the UK's nuclear system, Trident, is up for discussion next year. Based on Scottish soil, the issue was a major

topic within the yes-movement for the referendum. Whilst the renewal is most likely to go through, it is without any real support from the Scottish people and its future might therefore exasperate the relations between the countries even more.

IT IS A sunny afternoon in Glasgow. I am walking towards the office of the Scottish Campaigns for Nuclear Disarmament (SCND) to gain insight into the Scottish anti-trident movement. On my way over, I heard the news regarding Jeremy Corbyn (the leader of the Labour Party) continued struggle to unite his party against Trident. The system is estimated to expire around 2030 and its renewal is therefore up for discussion next year. Based in Faslane, a town half an hour west of Glasgow, Trident replaced the first system in 1994 and consists of four nuclear submarines with one on constant patrol. In the light of the whistle-blower William McNeilly's exposé this summer, showing a number of startling lapses taking place at the base, the issue is now more urgent than ever.

I GOT TO meet Veronika Tudhope, joint vice-chairman of SCND, who described how the anti-trident movement was brought to the forefront last year by the Refendum. She asserts, "we are in a unique position in Scotland. Both our Parliament and people are against Trident. If the Scottish people would have voted yes, we would have been in a position to say, 'No, we don't

want nuclear weapons'. Then they would be taken away completely, because there is nowhere in England that could take them."

WHILE CAMERON SUPPORTS a renewal, Corbyn persists in holding his ground to rid the UK of nuclear weapons once and for all. However, the situation is more complex and personal in Scotland: not only is it a question of renewal but is also within the frame of a larger debate surrounding English authority. Tudhope exemplified this frustration by quoting one Scottish first minister at a recent rally where he exclaimed, "This is ridiculous, I am the first minister in this country and I have to go on a demonstration to get rid of it!".

TUDHOPE EXPLAINS, "SCOTS feel threatened, from terrorist attack and from the moral argument that we don't want people to get killed in our name. There is also a really strong feeling about, 'why are we spending money on this thing that we don't want when we're not supporting people in our own land?' and you got on top of this thing that's being imposed on us from England."

THE FUTURE OF Trident is still uncertain. I asked Tudhope whether she thinks there will be renewed next year. She laughs and exclaims that I will never get her recorded saying yes, even though it does not look good for the anti-trident movement. She pauses and says with determination "I'm gonna do my damnest, what is the expression? Over my dead body". ●

photo opportunity

The “Refugee Crisis” of 2015 began to create media attention in August, as construction of Hungary’s border fence started nearing completion. Hundreds of thousands of people from Africa and the Middle East have taken to the road to escape war, slavery and death. These photos are from this September, taken in Edirne, Turkey. Through them, we can see the scope of the misery and suffering Europeans have not experienced first hand.





Nepal - The Aftermath of the Earthquake

Photo: Chris Gladis

Nepal – majestic mountains, ancient temples and exotic forests, these are a few things that come to mind when people think of the country. But in reality, the country is one of the poorest in the world, the government is corrupt and the living situation for most people could be described as basic at best.

By Kari Bjørgaas Helle

Nepal is a country often struck by earthquakes and other natural disasters due to its geographical position. Nepal sits on the boundary of The Indo-Australian plate and The Asian plate. It was a collision between these two massive tectonic plates that built The Himalayas. As the two plates across the segment of The Himalayas are converging at a rate of about 2cm each year, the slip of this earthquake released the equivalent of about a century of built up strain.

THE RECENT EARTHQUAKE that hit on 25th of April and with after shakes that lasted for about a month, also called “The Gorkha Earthquake” was the worst natural disaster to strike Nepal since 1934. And it is discussed whether or not this 7.8 magnitude quake was “The Big One”. With 8686 people killed, 16808 injured, and about half a million fully destroyed houses, famous temples and other buildings on the UNESCO World Heritage list, this natural disaster was truly a tragedy.

BIMALA RAI IS a Nepalese woman who was in Kathmandu at the time of the earthquake. She describes the situation as very frightening and chaotic.

SHE EXPLAINS THAT she was at her local church at the time the first earthquake hit. They were sitting on the floor listening to the minister’s sermon when the first quake hit expectantly. Bimala sat next to her friend during the service. Her friend’s daughter was in Sunday school, which took place in the neighbouring building. The sermon ran longer than expected. They were all shocked when the ground suddenly started shaking, but she remained calm until she came outside and saw that the building where the Sunday school had taken place had collapsed.

“I WAS VERY scared when I saw the building with 350 children had collapsed. We were all certain that they had all died and expected the worst.” Luckily, the children had finished early and had left the building, and they were all safe in the main house.

RAI DECIDED TO head home, she was scared for her younger sister. The roads were impassable by car, so she had to walk for 30 minutes. During the walk, she saw collapsed buildings and people holding each other and crying. She was very happy to see her apartment complex still standing and her sister alive. They stayed outside in safety during the after quakes, which came regularly.



The Nepal Earthquake

- Hit Nepal on April 25th 2015

- Killed 9,000 people and left 23,000 injured

- Recorded 8.1 surface wave magnitude, making it the largest quake in Nepal since 1934

- Total damages estimated at 5 billion USD

SHE DESCRIBES THE time after this as chaotic. One of the bigger after quakes, which took place on the next day, hit a magnitude of 6.5. “I was outside and saw everything. I saw the building swing from side to side and the ground. I was very scared and feared for my life”. Later on, rumours started surfacing that “The Big One” was yet to come. If this was true, Rai was convinced that they were going to die. “I called my brother. If we were going to die, then at least we would die together”. A bigger earthquake did not hit, but the after shakes lasted for almost a month.

LUCKILY, THE EARTHQUAKE’S epicentre was located about 70km outside the Nepalese capital. If the epicentre had been inside of Kathmandu, it would be a whole different story. But the death tolls were still very high, and one might wonder why this is. If you take Chile for instance; the country is also located on the boarder of the two colliding tectonic plates, The Nazca plate and The South American Plate, is therefore one of the most seismically active places on the planet. The 7.8 magnitude quake to hit Nepal killed nearly 9000 people. In comparison, the earthquake to hit Chile on the 16th of September 2015, hit a magnitude of 8.8 and killed 13 people.

“IT IS THE buildings that kill you, not the earthquakes” is a familiar saying among structural engineers. You might say that the housing situation was the biggest difference between the two countries. After the major shake that hit Chile in 2010 that killed over 500 people, the country has poured millions into upgrading building codes, earthquake sensors and national warning systems. Nepal on the other hand, installed an earthquake warning system just last June. Very few of the country’s population have earthquake proof houses.

BIMALA RAI TELLS me that most people who had been killed in Kathmandu were in areas where the buildings were old and massive. The newer houses that were up-to-date are still standing. She was asked whether or not she thought the Nepalese people would learn from this tragedy. “Sadly, I know my people well enough to know that they will forget about this. The Nepali culture is very much about saving and making quick money.”

THERE IS A lack of housing in Kathmandu, and people would live pretty much anywhere. The average person rents rooms or small apartments in buildings. People are often more about building houses fast to rent out, rather than being very concerned about the safety of the building. ●

Temples in Bhaktapur from 2012. The building on the right hand side collapsed completely during the 2015 earthquake



ASEAN



WHAT IS IT ALL ABOUT?

The Asia-Pacific region is currently sweeping a restless atmosphere. It is being seen through the assertiveness of China, pacifist turned revisionist Japan, North and South Korea counterparts and US-Asia relations, determining peace and stability in the region in a wider global context. Amid this strained circumstance, a more neutral actor is in need and ASEAN with their middle power's diplomacy is indeed to balance out this situation in the 21st century.

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, is made up of ten small and medium states in the Southeast Asia region. These include, the five founding members, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and are enlarged to include Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia to form a regional organization. ASEAN emerged under the Cold War context where ideological competition among great powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, was rife. With intent to escape becoming the pawn of major power rivalry, ASEAN united as one entity and echoed one neutral voice strengthening their bargaining and negotiating power in the international arena.

ASEAN is renowned as “the most successful regional cooperation in the developing world”. It has become a “security enterprise” of the 21st century through several security cooperation alignments that evolve around the prescription of “ASEAN centrality”. These include, ASEAN + Three to include

China, Japan and South Korea, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), East Asian Summit (EAS) known as ASEAN + Six and ASEAN Defense Ministerial Meeting (ADMM). By providing a ‘fora’ for a wide range of actors in world affairs to articulate and defend their interests, this simple role makes a big step for ASEAN. Never before have global actors including the US, China, Russia, Japan and even North Korea sat on the same table and discussed security issues. This does take place in ARF. It is remarkable that 10 small and medium states are able to set agenda, determine ways to cooperate and engage a wide range of actors in international relations.

BUT WHY AND how could ASEAN do this? The success of ASEAN lies in its neutrality to welcome all players and provide a stable environment “accommodating all and threatening none”. This constitutes what is called leadership of minor powers. As Hilary Clinton simply puts it, “ASEAN is the fulcrum of East Asia’s regional architecture”..

ASEAN AND THE European Union (EU):

Left: The emblem of ASEAN, with a center of rice stalks representing the ten member nations.

Below: The ASEAN countries.

What to compare? Generally people might try to compare ASEAN with EU but that should not be the comparison! As Dr. Surin Pitsuwan the former Secretary General of ASEAN once articulated, "EU is our aspiration but not our role model given ASEAN has different background from EU".

WHAT DISTINGUISHES ASEAN from other regional organizations including EU is the so called ASEAN Way, the diplomatic practices of ASEAN, based on, consultation (musyawarah) and consensus (mufakat). These norms have been influenced by the Southeast Asian folks and their tradition. Hence, quite diplomacy is what ASEAN is longing for. At the core of ASEAN Way is the principle of non-interference in domestic affairs. Here, the ASEAN region consists of the full spectrum of highly diverse political forms ranging from absolute monarchy, socialist states, authoritarianist, and illiberal to consolidating democracy. This results in the organization as being loosely organized, a contrast from the EU, where states trade off state sovereignty for a supra national and institutional centralized organ.

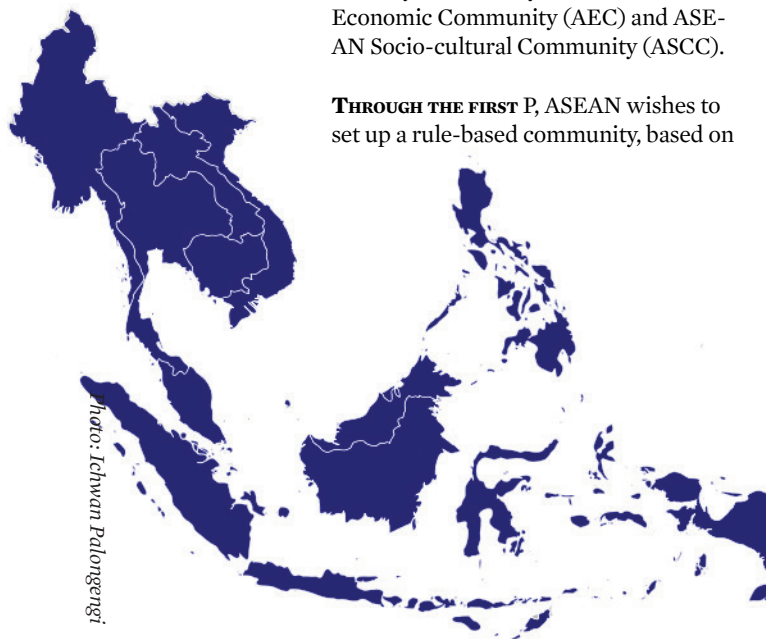
THE END OF 2015 marks a new era of ASEAN. It sets to transform from an Association to a Community. Peace, prosperity and people are the triple P that define what ASEAN Community is all about. ASEAN Community (AC) consists of 3 pillars; ASEAN Political and Security Community (APSC), ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) and ASEAN Socio-cultural Community (ASCC).

THROUGH THE FIRST P, ASEAN wishes to set up a rule-based community, based on

shared values of noninterference, and rule of law. What is important is that ASEAN strongly intends to maintain their centrality being in the Asia-Pacific region. Economically speaking, ASEAN is an economic powerhouse, constituting of one of the largest economic zones in the world. It is the seven largest economy for now by combined GDP. Comprising over 600 million people and the World's manufacturing base, ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) would neatly integrate ASEAN into a single market through free flow of trade, services, skilled labour and free flow of capital. Therefore the second P, stands for economic prosperity among the nations. ASCC would achieve the last P, people, by improving the standard of living of the people. All in all, ASEAN transformation to Community, is to move forward a new label through the strong integration process.

CHALLENGES ARE STILL ahead to test if this new label will work out and yield results. Unity in Diversity as ASEAN has proclaimed will be experienced in the South China Sea where the four ASEAN members; Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei are in conflict with powerful China. ASEAN way, the strong adherence on the principle of noninterference and sovereignty, though keep the region in peace has long been criticized as the main obstacle for ASEAN to solve both internal and external conflicts. How will they adjust their diplomacy? In economic terms, the development gap among member states is huge having Singapore the first world developed country with the GDP per Capita more than 30 times higher than Laos and even worst 50 times higher than Cambodia and Myanmar. Lastly, ASEAN has been criticized as a state-led organization where decision making process and policy formulation are based on a top-up involved only high-ranked government officials. In this regard, bottom-up approach where people and civil society involve is imperative to add to strengthen ASCC need to be strengthened. To this end, keeping up the ability to balance out the uncertainty in this Asia-Pacific Century seems to hinge upon ASEAN in-house management? ●

By Varintorn Thanvichien





A Feeble Vote for the

The new Finnish government in their five months in office have lost a large amount of support. The coalition's biggest loser, The True Finns Party, lost 3.9% of their support last month. However, their tough times might only be beginning.

The current Finnish government under Prime Minister Juha Sipilä has been on a rocky ride since their inauguration this spring. The latest poll figures show all coalition parties losing support. In fact, September 2015 showed the most dramatic shifts in the Finnish political landscape in 25 years. Most strikingly, the nationalist populists in The Finns Party saw their support drop by 3.9 percent. They have been overtaken by the steadily rising Green Party and the resurging Social Democratic Party in the opposition, placing them at fifth most supported party in the nation.

THE SIPILÄ GOVERNMENT was formed with the top three of the latest parliamentary election: The Center Party, the center-right wing National Coalition, and The Finns Party. On Election Day, their tallied total was 57% of the popular vote, and 124 parliamentary seats out of 200. At the end of September, their combined support had shrunk down to 50.4%. Analysts in the national media attributed this to the hard line of austerity enacted by the government. The measures have been criticized for disproportionately affecting the poorest in Finnish society.

BOTH THE FIGURES and the policies have had The Finns Party staff in uproar. Municipal authorities have resigned or defected to other parties, MP's have threatened with resignations, and party chairman Foreign Minister Timo Soini has been absent from party functions.

FOREIGN MINISTER SOINI was quick to dismiss the poll as unrepresentative. According to him, the government's revision of overtime and Sunday pay cuts, outlined in the austerity plan was enough to satisfy disgruntled voters. In an interview with Helsingin Sanomat, the largest newspaper in the country, Soini boasted that they had in fact taken the place of the largest working class party from the Social Democrats with the strong mandate they received last spring. Even with the Social Democrats sitting comfortably as second largest with 18.3% of the nation's support, Soini seems to be sleeping easy.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS have made a big comeback after losing eight parliamentary seats in this spring's election. Perhaps people opposing austerity supported The Finns Party in hope that they would weigh against a conservative government's austerity policy. Unfortunately for them, the party is extremely divided on austerity. Many support defunding arts and culture, others want certain social welfare programs to be defunded, and certain few even dislike the welfare state entirely.



Finnish Government

BEYOND AUSTERITY, THE unprecedented influx of refugees into Finland has eaten away at The Finns' support. Before entering the government, the party was a vocal critic of refugee quotas and immigration in general. Now it seems the party's leadership have taken a departure from this line completely. Among the lower ranks, party supporters have demanded closing the Swedish border; a policy spearheaded by one of the deputy chairmen Sebastian Tynkkynen (a former contestant on Finnish Big Brother). The party 'elite' have refused an extra meeting of party members, a move bound to upset the electorate further.

YET, THE GOVERNMENT'S immigration policy is not popular with anybody at the moment. On one hand, the government's official line is to comply with the European Union's regulations and future quotas of refugee intake. On the other, this is not materializing; Sipilä continuously talks of carrying the country's global responsibility, yet in silence introduces new measures resulting in refugee applications being processed more slowly than ever. Along with random border checks and cutting aid to refugees, the government is setting itself up to perpetuate the crisis.

Photos

Top Left: OSCE Parliamentary Assembly / flickr.com

Top Right: Estonian Foreign Ministry /flickr.com

Below: Miguel Virkkunen Carvalho

THUS, BOTH LIBERAL and conservative voters are flocking away from the government. Since this summer, protests have become a common occurrence in Helsinki. We have seen mass gatherings against child support cuts, education defunding, for and against refugee intake, and a general strike organized by Finnish trade unions. No matter who you side with in each matter, the political atmosphere is absolutely toxic in the country now.

WITH SUCH A fragile majority, a government crisis could be triggered overnight by the Finns Party retreating to the opposition. It is never too late for chairman Soini to make good on his election promises and start a fight against The Center Party and The National Coalition. This is unlikely though, as he has been more than diplomatic in front of the press, talking of keeping the nation's best interest at heart rather than orchestrate a government collapse. Though if the government's popularity continues to sink, we might start to see more people defect from not just The True Finns but the other parties as well.

THE NEXT SCHEDULED parliamentary election is not until 2019. No-one can predict the future, but one thing is for sure: the Finnish people have already shown their disdain for the government's actions. Sipilä will have to work overtime and Sundays to win them back now. ●

By Arttu Närhi



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ETHICS

TREND IN INTERNATIONAL TRANSFERS OF MAJOR WEAPONS 1950 TO 2010



TRADE

The Mind Map is an info-graphic providing an overview to the theme by bifurcating Arms under Trade and Control. In doing so, it also guides you to the respective articles. As we discovered, the Trade and Control categories lend themselves to surprising topics, and most topics do not even fit into them discretely. Read on and explore what the phenomenon of Global Arms encompasses and affects.

Illustration by Jamie Woodworth

DEAL
RACE IM/EX
TRAFFICKING
MILITARY BROKERING
SOFEX
WMD SALW

INTERVIEW

Alyson Bailes

“ THE COMMISSION IS EITHER OUT OF THE PICTURE OR IT IS FOLLOWING WITH A KIND OF TUNNEL VISION THE ROAD OF THE INDUSTRY ”

Alyson Bailes is a heavy-weight in the defense and security field, having been Director of the globally renowned Stockholm International Peace Research Institute and is currently a professor at the University of Iceland. In a dense conversation during her visit to Lund we talked about the current and future state of EU arms trade and arms control.

By Tobias Adolfsson

What are the key challenges before us, in the area of arms control and arms trade?

If I start from the top down there is added tension now between Russia and the West, relations between Russia and China are actually not that great either, although they would like to pretend they are. The big spenders, the advanced countries, are all looking for advanced technologies because the numbers of their armies have gone down, in fact the numbers of their equipment have gone down, so they want more killing power per item of equipment.

At the top you have new pressures for high tech development, just at the time when I think the industry would be delighted to spend more money

and get an edge in that kind of research. But then most of the conflicts today are killing people with the most primitive weapons and there is hardly any distinction now between a weapon of war and a knife. Low-tech is also popular and is also spreading in these kind of chaotic conflicts that we're seeing now in the Middle East but have gone on for a long time in Africa. And it is almost impossible to control these kinds of weapons because they are sort of household weapons.

So there is kind of an escalation going on at both levels. This really challenges control, because if you are dealing with new high tech solutions, they are only just being developed now, who knows what harm they could do? It is very tempting to rush them into action, just as drones have been rushed into action by

all kinds of people without stopping for a moment to think. It is very, very hard to stop a new technology. Peoples mindsets are not there, and indeed the technical solutions of old arms control agreements cannot be applied because these are completely new kinds of products, with different characteristics. But we can be fairly sure that they will be of less use for conventional armies and state controlled operations than they will be for bad guys. Because the bad guys are very inventive, very flexible and they don't have to follow any rules.

What is the European Union's stance on arms control policy and on balancing trade and development with firm, responsible export regulations?

The EU is really pointing in two different directions at the same



Photo: Heinrich Böll Stiftung

time, which by the way is not at all unusual in its external policies, but this is an area where the moral stakes of the issue are so strong that you really would think that they would try not to be contradictory. Of course the secret here is that the EU as such has very little power. The only thing that the commission can really work on is helping industry and technological development. Because they are not responsible for the foreign and military policies they tend to have a kind of tunnel vision which says "if we can find an area where European industry can find an edge and sell things we should support that, that is our job. It is not our job to ask "will this then be stolen; will this then be used by evil rulers?"".

SO THE COMMISSION is either out of the picture or it is following with a kind of tunnel vision the road of the industry and technological development. Which is an okay and respectable priority because we must remember that we are still in a post-crisis mode. Europe's competitive position in the world is badly damaged, it is not unnatural to look for an edge. But this is being pursued with a kind of blinkered approach, not being tied up with strategic analysis.

To improve this, would it be possible to increase the authority the EU and the commission have in these matters?

I THINK THIS is a line that should certainly be investigated. There are already two areas where

community regulations have been adopted to much more power in the hands of the commission. This regards the export of things which all the countries dislike and where the strong, sort of, emotional response has gone in the right direction. These two things are the community regulation on components of weapons of mass destruction and instruments of torture. So in terms of establishing legal authority, giving more powers to the commission, it can be done.

Last year the UN Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) entered into force. Do you believe that it will have any effect on the EU weapon exports and on regulating arms trade in general?

IT IS A QUESTION in the right place, because not many people know the details of the ATT, but it is in fact a treaty about export controls. It can not stop anybody producing arms, or indeed selling them or buying

a revolution and it would not be realistic to expect that. The first point though is that many countries have signed up to this who are not covered by the EU, and developing countries and smaller countries that were not involved in the volunteer export control groups either, because those tended to be the richer, high-tech nations. So these nations have now signed the treaty, they have undertaken obligations which are there in the record and if their own NGO's or other investigative journalists come up with cases where they have broken the rules at the very least you have a basis for making it public and challenging those governments.

NOW, IF YOU come back to EU practice, I guess at least some of the EU countries with some sales could argue that "if we weren't doing it somebody else would do it". The number of irresponsible guys is still there but the majority of the world have signed the treaty. So it's

“ YOU NEED TO GO BACK TO THE ORIGINAL ARGUMENTS ”

them, but it does say that you have to stop and apply certain principles before you sell them and that there should be much more transparency about the sales and transfers that actually go on. Now, the principles that are there in the treaty are very similar to the EU principles. It is not a step change, it is not

much harder for the EU to say "we have got to do something because everybody else is bad". It certainly gives the EU a further very strong motive to examine its own behavior more carefully and to discuss the global implications in the relevant committees much more than it has done so far. And it

pushes the EU into a kind of teacher role and normally when you push the EU into that role it does actually change peoples behavior. I think we should not be too cynical about this, I think there are real changes of the dynamics here which could be very helpful.

What do you believe would be the best step to take next for the EU to improve it's export control policies?

AT THE TOP level I still think there are huge areas of misunderstanding. It's not even disagreement, it's misunderstanding among EU countries because their instinctive

approaches, their historical policies, the attitudes of their industry are so different and I think it would be great if you could find some forum where you could go back to first principles. And so that when you have an issue like Libya or Syria, should you sell arms to the opposition? What does that actually mean? In practice every country has done something different. And it's no good the commission or somebody else just slamming down and saying "you shouldn't do it!". That wont have any effect. I think you need to go back to the original arguments and say "what are the implications if you do;

what are the implications if you don't?". Not just for this situation, not just for your knee-jerk reaction, but for Europe's image, Europe's own security, the long term economic survivability of our arms companies, which could be affected if their reputation is ruined, and then the impact on migration and so on. Everything. I think we really need a debate from first principles. And this is where students, academics, researchers, media can help a lot, because i think they would find it natural and easy to debate those kinds of things. These are things young people sit up at night drinking and debating anyway. ●

With the ATT the UN is really trying to take a stand against illegitimate weapon exports.



MASCULINITY AND ARMS

The concept of weapons and arms - having them, using them - has always been associated with manliness and masculinity. The idea that problems can be solved with violence and that security can be created with guns is called militarism and is strongly connected with ideas about masculinity.

The Israeli war material company Rafael made a promotion video trying to sell missiles to India at a weapons fair in Bangalore.

The video shows a tall, handsome and well-dressed Israeli man singing and dancing with traditionally dressed Indian women. The setting is a room with missiles hanging from the ceiling, and the man is singing that he wants to and can protect the women. The man symbolises Israel, the women symbolise India, and the Israeli missiles will protect the Indian women from all that is bad in the world.

THE CONCEPT of weapons and arms - having them, using them - has always been associated with manliness and masculinity. The idea that problems can be solved with violence and that security can be created with guns is called militarism and is strongly connected with ideas about masculin-

ity. This is something that affects the international community and has done so since the nation state, as we know it first was developed. The international society is dominated by men making decisions and men formulating problems. It is men who own and use weapons, but still half of the people dying from armed violence are women.

THE FEMINIST APPROACH to the political norm that security is dependent on weapons and arms, is that it has to do with constructed ideas about gender. These ideas contribute to values and

“MEN ARE VIEWED UPON AS PROTECTORS AND DEFENDERS, AND WOMEN AS SOMETHING THAT NEEDS TO BE PROTECTED AND DEFENDED”

MEN OF BRITAIN! WILL YOU STAND THIS?



Nº 2 Wykeham Street, SCARBOROUGH, after the German bombardment on Dec. 16th. It was the Home of a Working Man. Four People were killed in this House including the Wife, aged 58, and Two Children, the youngest aged 5.

78 Women & Children were killed and 228 Women & Children were wounded by the German Raiders
ENLIST NOW

Above: British Propaganda poster from 1915

prioritization in the international security sphere. Men are viewed upon as protectors and defenders, and women as something that needs to be protected and defended. The nation is coded as feminine, the motherland, and symbolizes something fragile in need of protection.

IN A CONTEXT of armed conflict, the established gender roles are enhanced. Men are given an active role, of the ones who go out to protect what is theirs. Women being made to be passive, get a reproductive role and are expected to take care of the private

sphere while the men are out in the public. Since women are responsible for the reproductive part of the nation, attacking women is an attack of the nation. Women's bodies are symbols of the nation in this way, and therefore using sexual violence as a warfare technique is a very effective way to hurt and violate not only woman but also men, societies and the nation.

ISN'T IT TIME to leave old fashioned ideas about the nation state and its security, and the tradition of men formulating what and who needs protection and how this will be done? ●

Rafah (Gaza)

Rafah (Egypt)



Photos: Mortus Arnesen, map: United Nations Cartographic Section



EGYPT-GAZA ARMS SMUGGLING OR SCAPEGOATING?

Upper right: As a result of international agreements, the town of Rafah has been divided between Gaza and Egypt in 1979.

Middle right: Egyptian military bulldozers appear along the Rafah border, digging and transporting Mediterranean seawater to 'finish off the tunnels for good'.

Lower: Egypt's aim to destroy the smuggling tunnels is not combined with legitimate alternatives. Trade restrictions at the controlled Rafah border crossing remain in place.

Media blackout

- Human Rights Watch is unsure about the military contribution of the tunnels because of the media blackout in North Sinai.

- Communication networks have been cut off to prevent terrorists from contacting each other.

- Meanwhile, violations by security forces against civilians unaffiliated with IS go unreported. Egyptian officials justify the actions as part of a war in which 'errors' may occur.

The Egyptian military began transporting Mediterranean seawater to its Rafah border last month, thereby destroying the tunnels that connect the heavily blockaded Gaza Strip to the Sinai Peninsula. The aim, according to Egypt, is to end the illicit movement of weapons and armed militants between the two regions. The Gazan population however uses the tunnels for their supplying of food and other necessary resources. Does Egypt violate human rights by flooding these underground constructions?


After Hamas took control of the Gaza Strip in June 2007, Israel and Egypt imposed land and sea blockades on the region. In order to maintain access to the outside world, Gazan residents began to dig tens of meters deep, kilometres long tunnels. Although no exact numbers exist, in 2011 an estimated 1,000 tunnels were connecting the Gazan town of Rafah to its Egyptian counterpart. These were used to smuggle food, medicines, clothes, building materials, cigarettes, animals and vehicles. Weapons were most likely brought into Gaza as well. According to Israeli sources, Hamas earned millions of dollars in tax revenues from these goods. For many years, Egypt made little effort to end the smuggling industry. Especially under President Mohammed Morsi (2012-13)—who maintained strong relations with Hamas—the industry flourished.

THE SITUATION CHANGED in 2013 when Morsi was overthrown by Egypt's current leader Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. El-Sisi adopts a much harder approach for two reasons. First, he aims to crush Hamas by taking away its underground source of power and income. Hamas is, as per definition, an enemy because of its support to ousted President Morsi. Second, the new military regime believes the tunnels are being used by the Sinai Province (formerly 'Ansar Beit

al-Maqdis'). This group used to launch attacks against Israel (Ansar Beit al-Maqdis means 'Supporters of Jerusalem') and the Egyptian army, but after Morsi's removal its attention shifted entirely to the latter. Moreover, in November 2014, the group pledged loyalty to the Islamic State (IS). The Sinai Province appears to be both powerful and aggressive: it uses sophisticated artillery to target Egyptian tanks, helicopters and navy vessels. Attempting to end the attacks, Egyptian military bulldozers moved into Sinai in August 2013 to break down the tunnel system. Within months 80% had been destroyed. The violence, however, persisted.

AFTER ONE OF the region's bloodiest battles last August, Egyptian officials began to directly accuse Hamas of supplying weapons and armed fighters to the Sinai Province. Once again the Egyptian army appeared along Gazan borders, starting to dig and transport seawater in order to 'finish off the tunnels for good'.

WHAT IS MOST remarkable about Egypt's statements and ensuing action is the changed rationale. Egyptian, Israeli and US officials have continuously expressed concern about smuggling from Sinai to Gaza—but never the other way around. Due to a [media blackout](#), it is difficult to assess the reasons behind Egypt's shifted position. However, it seems likely that Sisi's regime is trying to kill two birds with one stone. By pointing fingers at Hamas for causing terrorist violence in Sinai, the government has—especially in the context of the global fight against IS—a carte blanche for its actions in the region. With the international community turning a blind eye, Sisi is able to tackle the two main challengers to its power at once. Meanwhile, [Human Rights Watch](#) finds it "unclear to what extent the tunnels make an effective contribution to the Sinai Province group's military capability" instead "most of the heavy weapons in use in the Sinai, including heavy machine guns,



Dangerous but profitable

- The tunnels are dug by hand, taking easily three to six months.

- Many Gazans get injured or die during construction.

- Thousands (including children) are forced underground due to the high unemployment rate (34.5% in 2013) and the large demand for goods.

- Economic growth is for 80% dependent on the building sector with materials solely provided by the tunnel industry.

shoulder-fired anti-aircraft missiles, and anti-tank missiles, have likely been smuggled from Libya.” Sharif Nashashibi, a journalist specializing in Arab Affairs, confirms this view by arguing that “Gaza is the least practical place to get weapons and fighters: Egypt is surrounded by countries that are washed with weapons.”

NASHASHIBI MOREOVER NOTES that 95% of the tunnels had been destroyed by the summer of 2014. He concludes that the last estimated ten tunnels are “hardly conducive to a flow of arms and fighters from Gaza.” Instead, he argues, the relatively small ones left are used “to bring in basic supplies for an impoverished population of some 1.7 million people.” Egypt’s current actions are having a detrimental effect on Gaza’s economy, which is fully dependent on the smuggling industry. Prices of whole ranges of goods have gone up. One example includes a dealer who used to buy motorbike parts for \$6,000. Now, he pays \$10,000. While Egypt is shutting down illegal trading channels, no legitimate alternatives are being offered. Subhi Radwan, the mayor of Gaza’s Rafah, comments that “we wanted the relationship between us Gazans and Egyptians to be normal, above-ground exchanges.” But this is not viable. Although Cairo relaxed restrictions on peoples’ movement for a short period of time in 2011, it would never allow a loosening of the trade blockade. This would suggest Egypt’s recognition of the Hamas government and hence the split between Gaza and Fatah-controlled West Bank. Meanwhile, the goods that are provided by Israeli and Egyptian authorities are unaffordable for Gazan families. For example, before Egypt’s intervention, fuel from Israel was twice

the price of the smuggled variant. The tunnels therefore offered quite literally the only way out—until now.

EGYPT’S ACTIVITIES in the border area also cause other problems. Access to clean water was already limited in Gaza’s Rafah. Now, contaminated sea water is leaking into the damaged supply system. Mayor Radwan fears that drinking water will be unavailable soon, forcing people to move to less habitable areas. Such movements are also taking place within Egypt. In order to extend the buffer zone, the government has demolished 3,255 Sinai homes and buildings. While Egyptian officials claim that ‘all measures were taken in consultation and co-ordination with the local residents, who are aware and convinced of the importance of their participation in the protection of Egypt’s national security and contribution to eliminating transnational terrorism’; Human Rights Watch argues that ‘those evicted are given little or no warning, no temporary housing and inadequate compensation.’

ALTHOUGH THE POSSIBLE existence of linkages between Hamas and the Sinai Province cannot be denied, Egypt’s allegation that underground military cooperation between the two is the cause of recent violence in Sinai is wrong. Under the cover of the global fight against terrorism, Egypt is scapegoating Gaza—even at the expense of its own population. People are suffering for reasons beyond their power, rooted in politics. Hence, mayor Radwan calls to ‘his brothers in Egypt to stop the work that endangers the people of Gaza’. After all, ‘Gaza has enough problems: war, siege and a difficult economic situation’ ●

By Elly Aardenburg

A man with short dark hair and a mustache is looking directly at the camera. He is wearing a white shirt with thin blue and red vertical stripes and a dark brown bulletproof vest. A piece of blue tape is stuck over his mouth, preventing him from speaking. The background is a blurred indoor setting with other people and bright lights.

The Arms Trade Treaty:

Our Brittle, Glass Shield against the Arms Trade

Protect Lives

A bullet proof Arms Trade Treaty Now!

The United Nations Arms Trade Treaty entered into force in December 2014. It signals a new era of global arms trade awareness. However, critics are quick to dismiss it as ineffective, like many other United Nations resolutions...

By Danielle Soskin

Photos by Control Arms/flickr.com

Although there are valid debates as to the legitimacy of an arms trade, a topic covered by a colleague in this edition, what is not debatable is the negative effect of a poorly regulated international arms trade on innocent civilians within conflict zones. Those victims at the receiving end of arms trade misuse are subjected to death, torture, rape and the violation of their human rights as weapons and ammunition are placed into the hands of the wrong parties. Further, inappropriate access to arms, contributes to the prolonging of regional instability and conflicts. That is not to say that providing weapons indiscriminately is the singular cause of abuse within these regions, however, it is certainly a key factor that can be targeted by the international community. Contrary to other areas of world trade, there is no universal agreement, barring a United Nations Security Council Arms Embargo, regulating the trade in weapons and ammunition which allows for unilateral decisions by countries who have personal interests in continuing to sell arms and a lack of regulatory consequences for those who purchase them.

THUS, THE UN formulated the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), which was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2013 and entered into force 2014, to regulate the international sale of arms ranging from small conventional weapons to tanks, aircrafts and warships. The high oversight standards for arms and ammunition transfer would increase the ability to trace weapon transfers, increasing the difficult of circumventing arms embargos. Secondly, the criteria would ensure arms were traded only to those countries that were deemed safe and reliable to receive weapons.

DESPITE THE TREATY coming into effect December 2014, the first official meeting was held in Cancun, Mexico August 24th - 27th 2015 where those

countries to the treaty voted on several important implementation aspects of the ATT. Importantly, they agreed on a majority vote system that rejected the veto power suggestion. This appears to be a positive move, giving the ATT greater power and preventing a handful of countries from blocking progress. However, rules regarding full transparency as to arms import and export, pushed for by arms lobbyists, was not voted for. The negative implications of this decision will be discussed below.

“UNILATERAL EMBARGOS CAN EASILY BE BYPASSED BY COUNTRIES”

AT ITS MOST obvious, trade in arms is a direct cause of human suffering causing death and injury on a global scale. An overlooked effect of the trade in arms is the diversion of domestic funding from social development programs, which directly aid citizens within those nations, towards obtaining greater military power. More subversive is the external influence of the arms trade that allows exporting countries to exercise political and economic influence through the extension of armed conflict in importing countries.



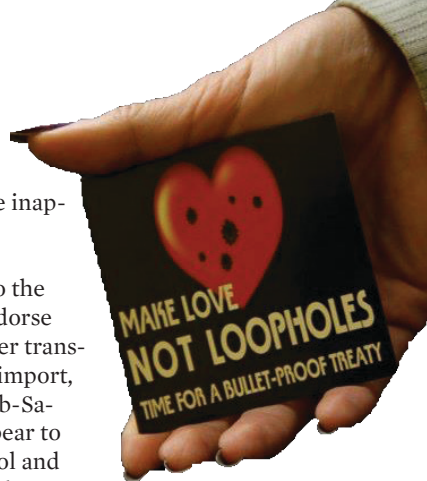
FOR EXAMPLE, in the run up to the 2008 Zimbabwean elections there was global concern that the government would use imported arms as a means to suppress political opposition within the country. As a result the EU and the USA input unilateral policies banning the sale of arms to Zimbabwe, citing a desire to end human rights violations as the main motivation. However, major exporters China and Russia refused to support a UN wide arms embargo and continued to supply weapons to the government. Part of the reasoning cited was the respect for Article 2 of the UN Charter which prevents interference with the internal matters of a sovereign nation. The trouble surrounding the Zimbabwean 2008 elections demonstrates the need for a united ATT as an effective means of curbing violence related to the arms trade. Had there been an effective universal UN treaty that required Russia and China to halt their arms supply, political violence in Zimbabwe in 2008 could have been reduced. Importantly, China has a variety of economic interest in Zimbabwe and thus has an economic interest in continuing trade. A key benefit of an UN ATT would be the universality of the Treaty, as the Zimbabwe case study demonstrates unilateral embargos can easily be bypassed by countries with less qualms with regards to the end destination of their weapons.

HOWEVER, ALTHOUGH ON the surface a universal treaty appears effective, the ATT requires export control systems and oversight processes to be completely national and there is no system of international enforcement, monitoring or verification. This leaves states in charge of their own implementation and running process. As is the nature of international trade, conditions vary between countries and relying on the good faith of a country that actually benefits from the trade in arms to make objective decisions does not appear to

be an effective way to stem the inappropriate flow of weapons.

AS MENTIONED ABOVE, parties to the ATT appeared reluctant to endorse rules that would require greater transparency with regards to arms import, export and expenditure. In Sub-Saharan Africa governments appear to be supportive of greater control and monitoring of the international arms trade. However, they continuously fail to manifest their commitment when it comes to transparency about their own arms procurement. For example, Kenya was one of the six original co-authors of the resolution of ATT and yet has not provided information on their military spending or their provisions to the South Sudan arms acquisition. There is a lack of public transparency, but more importantly there is a lack of transparency between countries themselves which stifles the effectiveness of the treaty.

HOWEVER, CUNCUN WAS only the first of many meetings to combat the practical implications of the ATT. Although it is currently not the magic cure to end all the ills of the arms trade, the inclusion of anti-arms interest groups in the debate gives hope to the idea that countries will be pressured to take a more active role in the monitoring of their trade. As one commentator put it 'It's a beginning towards codifying, in international law, policies and mechanisms to afford some level of transparency and accountability to the peoples of the world. ... [H]opefully the Arms Trade Treaty will cause some governments to pause, even a little, before putting profit and political interests first – above the lives of countless children, women and men'. ●



The ATT in the UN

- 153 UN members voted for the treaty

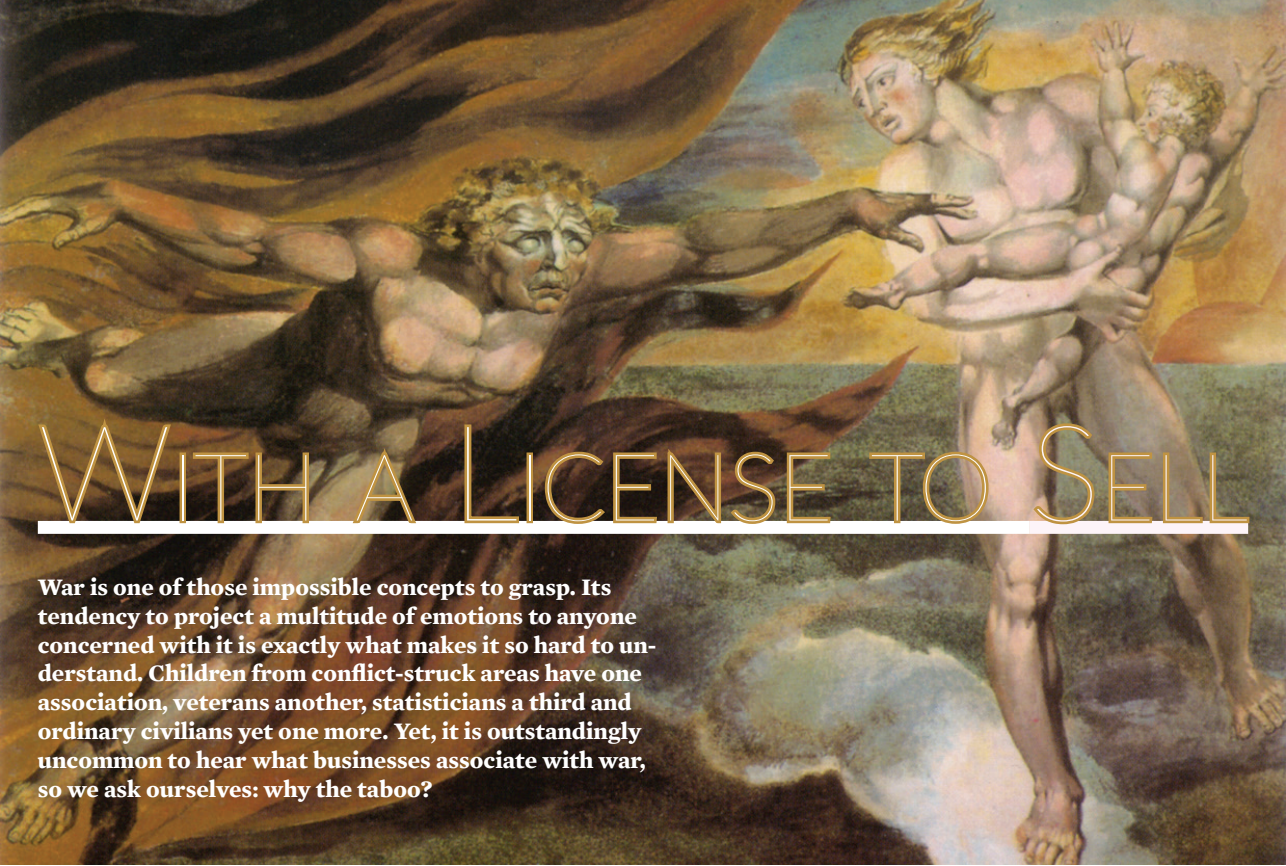
- Votes against came from Syria, Iran and N.Korea

- Russia and China abstained in the UN vote

- USA has signed but not ratified treaty

- 77 UN member states have signed and ratified the treaty





War is one of those impossible concepts to grasp. Its tendency to project a multitude of emotions to anyone concerned with it is exactly what makes it so hard to understand. Children from conflict-struck areas have one association, veterans another, statisticians a third and ordinary civilians yet one more. Yet, it is outstandingly uncommon to hear what businesses associate with war, so we ask ourselves: why the taboo?

Photo: William Blake

There are innumerable non-governmental organizations that devote their resources to aid those in need around war-torn areas, and establish diplomatic relations between opposing parties. Some will argue that it is out of a natural compassion towards one another that we do this. Humanity's advancement lies not in territorial conquering or monetary gains, but in the surge of goodness that we are offered when aiding our fellows. This might be reason enough for untangling international, and for some events existential, crises.

THERE IS HOWEVER a lingering resistance to all this. How is it that, if we by nature tend to care for our kin, we find a continuance of war and conflicts and seldom do we witness the triumphs of peace? Human nature is indeed a multispectral creature, and it might as well answer our question too. Wars are, if not directly, indirectly funded and supported through political, monetary and most questionably, material means such as the trade of arms. From here,

we need to ask ourselves who is it that profits from the armament of rebels, the military trade between nations and the supply of lethal instruments of war.

ONE CAN BE inclined to see a correlation between the numerous wars the U.S. is conducting in the Middle East, with the discouraging fact that four out of the five top suppliers of military service and arms-production in the world are American; with Lockheed Martin roaring at the top. Political encouragement of war and diplomatic disputes can raise a whole range of ideological debates, however the study of human nature itself might gain more with a broader insight in the minds of the war-profiteering businesses. How could such a system have been created to begin with?

MARKET-BASED ECONOMIES HAVE their ways of assessing a need in demand and respond with an appropriate supply. In the case of the U.S. market, the military is in high need to supply arms, artillery and various other equipment. Its operations in various areas of the

world, such as the Middle East, the Korean Demilitarized Zone and NATO stations scattered across the world, require a steady supply and update of both military services and weaponry. Arms traded officially with U.S. allies, countries that support U.S. strongholds and political projects in line with U.S. interest, are likewise supplied by the arms-businesses. As with the case of the market-based structure, profits are made on behalf of the businesses that take part in these trades. Lockheed Martin alone had an estimated sales revenue at around 35.5\$ billion (293 billion SEK) in 2013. During the short span of over a couple of years, Lockheed Martin's stock-value shot up after the U.S. initiated its military operations in Iraq during the Saddam regime in the early years of the 2000s. Only in

“WHETHER OR NOT WAR PROFITEERING IS UNETHICAL REFLECTS OUR OWN CHARACTER AS MUCH AS IT AFFECTS IT.”

the same month of the ‘nine-eleven’ catastrophe, the stock market price rose close to 11%, an increase unprecedented in any earlier accounting of its value. The death toll in Iraq, alone, reached 109,032 deaths in 2009, whereof around 66,000 were civilian deaths and a mere 24,000 accounted for hostile enemies, such as terrorist organizations. Despite the political agenda behind military operations, and whether they surmounted to a positive outcome in favor of the U.S., is of

course debatable. On the other hand, it stands clear that during the war, those businesses hired by the U.S. government made remarkable profits.

SO WHAT MIGHT possibly drive these producers to make profit in money tainted with innocent blood, enforced by the powers of fear and control? One might argue for the case of a broken economic system, one that sacrifices human values for monetary gains and makes no party accountable, except for the user of the product. Is the market-based system in such a deficiency that business executives, such as those of Lockheed Martin, can feel no remorse over the inhuman circumstances in which their products are being used; or is there a more deep-rooted issue here?

AN ANSWER TO this dilemma that is the very nature of mankind itself. We almost have an allergic tendency to blame the institutional problems or political issues of society as the cause of all the suffering in this world. Is war profiteering really an economic issue as much as it is a darker color of the human spectrum? Whether we consider the issue of arms trade unethical or not, it will in the end only reflect on our own character as much as it affects it. The very fact that there are groups out there willing to sacrifice all they have to help those struck by war, in contrast with those who will go their way to supply them with arms, only goes to show the depth of human emotions and the significant factor of human relations. It might very well be that we come across why the taboo you ask? Because sometimes self-reflections are best seen in the dark. It might very well be the case that we come across entirely new systems of society, and eras of war, before we even get close to unravelling the mystery of the beautiful beast behind it all. ●

By Christian Barsoum



Less Than **Lethal** Weapons: The EU's Silver Bullet?

At the sight of Hungary's 177 km new border fence, one might be forgiven for thinking that Hungary was preparing for an imminent Serbian invasion. Instead, it is attempting to deflect the recent influx of refugees from using Hungary as a thoroughfare to the west.

When 9,340 migrants were received into Hungary on 14th September, border authorities launched a three-day campaign to halt the numbers – it failed, with 7,852 received the first day after. This campaign encapsulates the controversy surrounding the escalation of borders to militaristic proportions.

IN ATTEMPTING TO dissuade crossing attempts by refugees, Hungary has invested 95 million in the building of a 177 km, 4 metre fence between its bor-

der with Serbia. Of course, Hungary is not alone in the building of a fence to control refugee movements, Calais, Lesbos and Melilla all use fences. However, Hungary has sought to go beyond standard barbed wire, and instead approached German manufacturers to install military grade razor wire along its border. One such company, Muta-nox refused the half a million euros contract, with its director Talat Deger certain that Hungary would “misuse” the wire to actively harm refugees.

IN TANDEM WITH the building of the fence, Hungary has rapidly deployed water cannons, tear gas, as well as net guns and baton-yielding riot police. Scenes at Hurgos, along the Hungarian-Serbian border, on the 16th September provide a glimpse into how easily violence can escalate when borders adopt a militaristic approach. Some 2500 refugees attempted to cross the border from Serbia, with the 200-300 breaching the border beaten back.

BORDER ESCALATIONS DO not merely include the physicality of a fence or equipment, but includes the staff and individuals employed to guard it. The remit of those guarding the border raises ambiguity in professional practice. For instance, the job of the police is widely seen to aid de-escalation of a situation through the minimal use

**“ HUNGARY'S
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Photo: Freedom House

of violence, indeed this is why such police presence has been encouraged between Germany and Austria, and France and Britain. Instead, Hungary has deployed its army and employed hundreds of border guards (alongside riot police), along with it embodying a military ethos of shoot first ask later. Such ethos may be permitted on the battlefield against a known enemy, but is perhaps out of place against malnourished and exhausted refugees. Indeed, there have been no such reports of wholesale weapon smuggling operations at the EU border under the pretext of refugees, and furthermore along the Hungarian border we see no armed battalions of refugees.

INSTEAD, WHAT IS evident in the Hungarian approach is an intention to escalate, its army and border guards has been authorised to use net-guns, rubber bullets and gas canisters with little consequence of its over

indulgence. Such indulgence is seen regularly against indiscriminate groups of people, gas canisters fired at women and children, as well as the elderly. If similar practices happened domestically those affected would receive health-care both from the police at the scene and hospital treatment. However due to poor detainment facilities, as well as the reluctance of guards to assist those injured, recipients over the border face the true suffering inflicted by less than lethal weapons.

THIS INCREASINGLY MILITARISTIC approach serves to contribute to the escalation of violence at the EU's border. In its desperate drive to recruit more border guards the EU's border agency FRONTEX saw its 2016 budget rise 54%, accompanied with an emergency extra of 27 million, in addition to its annual 114 million. With such desperation it has been said that the professional standards and the character of

Above: Hungarian soldiers are installing razor wire near the town of Kelebia to prevent refugees from entering the country.

such applicants may not be its primary focus.

HUNGARY'S APPROACH TO its refugee crisis is symptomatic of the ideology of its political establishment, with Prime Minister Orbán calling for the prospect of "Refugee internment camps" as well as instating standby 45 judges to prosecute illegal migrants. Furthermore, as Hungary seeks to deflect refugees into neighbouring Croatia, Medecins Sans Frontieres note the threat of unexploded land mines left over from the Balkan troubles, further making refugee journeys perilous.

HOW MIGHT OTHER EU nations learn from Hungary's approach, and prevent the escalation of borders tantamount to military zones? Firstly, in considering the 95 million cost of the fence, stronger efforts could be focused on adequate detainment facilities in order to reduce grievances amongst

refugees. Secondly, improve dialogue between neighbouring countries. For instance Serbia has remained eager to keep refugees from settling in its own country by encouraging transit to Hungary and Croatia, much to the distaste of Hungary. Finally, it falls to border contractors, such as razor wire manufacturers, to act with healthy suspicion in rejecting orders that may be misused for escalation purposes.

WHILST THESE ESCALATIONS at the EU border increase, as well as the deployment of tactics that would be suspect on domestic grounds, it is a reminder that for us, we will remain forever on the safe side of the fence. ●

By Tom Rogerson



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A BLURRED BUSINESS

ARMS SELLING IN A CHANGING WORLD

Currently, armies equipped with Cold War-era armaments are regarded as obsolete. Cutting-edge weapons have become preferable in conflict zones like Caucasus and Middle East. Nevertheless, countries wishing to obtain these munitions often encounter two problems: the codification of weapons and changing political dynamics.

Arms trade is a very interesting area since it is where foreign policy concerns such as security and human rights interact with economic concerns such as trade, employment and profit. In this process, arms companies do not interfere with the economic activities of countries where they operate or merchandise their products. Their main objective and enthusiasm is to sell their products and earn money. In this way, private companies increase their revenue and the state enhances its Gross Domestic Products. However, nations that are on the forefront of weapons technology and production wield a great deal of political power and influence in international politics. Such nations have the power to set the terms and conditions of any arms deal that they participate in, and in doing so leveraging the buyer's weaknesses to avoid potential conflicts and strengthen their own positions.

THE STORY BEGAN in 2007 when Iran and Russia agreed upon an \$800 million contract on purchasing surface-to-air (S-300) missile systems. Obtaining such a proficient system was Iran's

top priority. This move would permit Tehran to protect and regulate the air space over its nuclear reactors and other areas that they deemed to be strategically significant points. Additionally, Israel had always been doubtful about Iran's nuclear program and had been making plans to eliminate possible nuclear aggression in the region. Indeed, one of the successful operations was carried out in 1981 when Israeli jets ended up bringing down an Iraqi nuclear reactor close to Baghdad. It would not be an understatement to say that the purchase of these, new generation S-300 missiles would potentially alter the balances of power in the Gulf Region in Iran's favour. While Israeli army was trying to prevent destructive outcomes of S-300s through three years, they found something worth bargaining.

ACCORDING TO DOCUMENTS released by WikiLeaks, Moscow and Tel Aviv reached a profitable deal in 2008. The document claims that not only Israel request the control codes of all S-300s deployed in Iran, they wanted Russia to immediately cease future missile deals with Iran. In exchange, Moscow demanded that Israel cut off its military aid to Georgia. It meant that Israel had to volunteer the codes of its own arms, such as Spyders and Light Artillery Rocket (LAR-160) air defence systems positioned in South Ossetia operating under Georgian command. The leaked documents also revealed that Israel had given Russia the control codes of Hermes-450 drones which were sold to Georgia. That explains how three drones suddenly dropped off during

Abkhazian conflict in 2008. However, when the engagement was over, Russia's then-President Dmitry Medvedev shifted his attitude regarding arms deal with Iran and opened up the possibility of selling more S-300s. In fact, the UN Security Council had sanctions over Iran on selling offensive arms. Nevertheless, S-300s are classified as defensive materials. Thus, Israeli attempts to regain its aerial superiority over Iran failed. Quite the reverse, Russia succeeded in obtaining codes of cutting-edge technologies, gained a strong position in South Ossetia and made huge amount of money out of S-300 missiles. To compound Israeli woes, Russia will continue to make profit and exacerbate the region by selling more S-300s. Since 20th August of this year a new agreement was reached by Tehran and Moscow.

IN THE MIDDLE of 2015, a diplomatically sensitive deal was agreed between the Russian and Azerbaijani governments, where Azerbaijan paid \$3 billion for S-300 missiles. These systems were also purchased by Armenia which upset the delicate political equilibrium in the Nagorno Karabakh region in Azerbaijan where tensions have been high for 20 years. Both countries were trying to promote their legitimacy in front of the United Nations. Taking advantage of the muddy political waters of the region, Russia has been spreading its influence by military and economic agreements reinforcing its dominant position in Caucasus. To put it differently, Moscow exploits the Karabakh conflict to sell weapons to both countries. However, Russia also

has its own difficulties to cope with hostile attitudes between the two countries.

CAUCASUS EXPERT in Ankara University, Orhan Gafarli says, "The first thing that Russia wants to guarantee is the balance in Caucasus. Due to this, Russia has been militarily assisting Armenia against Azerbaijan's rising power." Russia has been ensuring that the current condition should not be shifted for Azerbaijan's favour against Armenia's loss. Another, Russian concern is that EU may offer a membership to Armenia which would lead to an extension of EU-NATO pact which Russia would seize every alternative to block the process.

IN THE EVER-SHIFTING and complex global arena of arms deals, interests and realities are clashing persistently. On one hand, Russia is searching for ways to control the area by using regional instabilities and weaknesses because they do not want Erivan to be influenced by EU and NATO. On the other, it seeks to maintain close relations with Azerbaijan since independently acting Baku would create imbalance over Caucasus. In the middle of this eclipse, selling such capable weapons to these countries literally fighting for twenty years would pull the pin out of the grenade. At this time, selling codes may not end up with another bargain but simply create an Armageddon for Caucasus. ●

By Umut Can Adisönmez



INTERVIEW

Annika Bergman Rosamond

The Moral and Normative Aspects of State Behaviour: An Interview with Annika Bergman Rosamond

By Petra van der Kooij

The Nobel Peace Prize for 2015 has been awarded to The Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet comprised of the general labour union, employers from industry, trade and handicraft, lawyers and human rights activists in Tunisia. The Nobel Peace Prize is awarded to anyone who, via dialogue, contribute to a pluralistic democracy to promote peace and counter the spread of violence.

War is often regarded as the opposite of peace. Ironically, it is often said that, War needs to be fought to bring peace. After reading the article on the Nobel Peace Prize in the newspaper I was confronted by another strategic way to achieve peace; the intervention of Russia to combat the Islamic State. Striving for peace is not so easy and is far away from a neutral process. To get more insight on intervention strategies and the normative dimension of international peace, I interviewed Annika Bergman Rosamond, lecturer at the Political Sciences department, here at Lund University.

BERGMAN ROSAMOND SPECIALISES in International Relations and is interested in the moral and normative aspects of states' behaviour. She finds that her field of research is extremely important to get a better understanding of what is happening around the world in the aspects of war, displacement, human suffering and the associated miseries. According to Bergman Rosamond, geopolitical explanations alone are not enough to deal with these issues. "If we want to discuss what we can do to transform international politics we need to agree on a set up for global values that can inform the way in which governments, for example, respond to war, intervention,

displacement and refugee issues." Geopolitical explanations are not enough as they tend to focus on explanations based on national interests that underpin global politics, those interests are realist in their expression. What is needed, is to establish how you can combine national interest with the ethical and moral dimensions of normative commitment

"EACH INDIVIDUAL HAS a responsibility to the other and we cannot confine our responsibility only to the members of our own political community" continues Bergman Rosamond and thereby dismisses the communitarian standpoint. To deal with such issues, she rather takes a cosmo-

politan position. She assumes that there is a set of normative universal values, but also, cultural differences and values that underpin national societies that need to be respected.

THE PROBLEM FOR example with humanitarian intervention is that there are strong cosmopolitan undertones driving such processes. However, there isn't enough respect for local knowledge and local solutions to pressing problems. Afghanistan is a good example of this, where the intervening power could have used Afghan knowledge much more productively. To think of guiding or training police officers, ensuring that more women and girls attend school, working with local NGOs or organisations grounded at the local level. Such embedded strategies surface from the assumption that solutions to local problems cannot be imposed upon populations, but they

need to be rooted in the local decision making structures. Simultaneously, we should be able to assume that each one of us is entitled to certain human rights, according to Bergman Rosamond; Meaning that being respectful to a society does not necessarily mean that we have to do away with universalism. However, she also acknowledges that this is easier said than done.

mentioned by Rosamond this does not come without hurdles, considering the efforts that are needed to empower local societies. In order to empower, a certain level of development is needed. "If you cannot afford to feed your children, the most basic of human values, the right not to starve if you like; if you cannot even do that, you may not be concerned with local trade union rights."

“STRIVING FOR PEACE IS NOT EASY AND FAR AWAY FROM A NEUTRAL PROCESS”

A VISION THAT is in line with the motivation to grant the Nobel Peace Prize to civil society organisations. However, as

WHAT THEN ABOUT the peace strategy of military intervention as discussed on the other page of the newspaper? Military



intervention is not a simple issue either. We talk about the legitimacy of intervention and the responsibility to protect other people. At the same time we have to deal with underlying commitments of sovereignty that underpin international politics. Not to mention the former partially failed attempts of military intervention among Western societies or historical legacies that make intervention even more complicated.

WHEN CONSIDERING WHETHER it is actually a good thing to intervene in war areas or not, the issue becomes even more complicated. An intervention doesn't stop at ending a war. Deep rooted scars in post-conflict societies are what remain. "I think there are not policies enough to take care of the situation in post-conflictual societies to legitimise intervention." However, Bergman Rosamund is not entirely opposed to

the use of force in order to secure peoples' entitlements. But, she emphasises that prior to going to war governments should engage with the philosophical accounts and need to make sure that they meet the requirements of just war and intervention. Indicating that only geopolitical explanations are not enough but "there are so many other things that need to be considered." ●

Photo: Capt. David Tomiyama



Khwost Provincial Peace council at the Khwost Regional Governor's residence, 2011

THE COSMOPOLITAN-COMMUNITARIAN DIALOGUE

The cosmopolitan-communitarian dialogue is a philosophical one in which the cosmopolitan assumes that we have an obligation to assist and to enable all other citizens striving for the 'good life'. We, thus, have to secure their well-being, rights and entitlements to livelihood. We have to think about aspects such as human security, rather than the security of the sovereign State. Communitarianism on the other hand, is very much centred around one's own bounded space and their own political community. That space is the space of moral obligation to one's own people, the members of our own political community. If we have any resources to spare then possibly we could enable other members of other political communities. Both traditions, however, are not necessarily pure.

So, very few cosmopolitans would argue that we should do away with the national states and many communitarians would hold that we have some responsibility to members of other communities.

Weapons of National Interest

After 20 years in use, it turned out that the main assault rifle of the German forces, the G-36, could actually not shoot very straight. Attempts to explain this have uncovered a web of personal and political bonds between Germany's most renowned gun maker, Heckler & Koch, and the Ministry of Defence.

“This weapon (...) has no future in the German armed forces”, Ursula von der Leyen, Germany's Minister of Defence, explained on the issue of the G36 assault rifle, after it had been revealed that the gun's accuracy drops considerably in warm environments.

It's a plausible point, a no-brainer: A weapon with accuracy problems has no future. Much more interesting is the question why the gun, provided by manufacturer Heckler & Koch (H&K), ever came to play a part in the German forces. Can it go unnoticed that a gun does not shoot straight?

SINCE THE BEGINNING of the German Military in the 1950's H&K has been the supplier of choice. Every German soldier has been trained with a H&K weapon and most seemed to appreciate their products. It was a company you could trust. Still much of this trust remains. Customer feedback, highlighted on the H&K homepage, ranges from statements of “proudness and gratitude” to be carrying these weapons to testimonies of the G36's accuracy. Over time, an almost intimate relationship appears to have

grown between soldiers and their weapons, and the Ministry of Defence and their personal weapons producer. It was just like buying from your local baker around the corner. You always do it because you know the guy.



As GERMAN MAGAZINE Der SPIE-

GEL highlights this trust, the routine of buying from your long-term arms supplier, has led to a culture of favouring. Although the standard procurement procedure is an open-market bidding. In many cases it seems that even before the actual competition,

H&K was already the preferred option. At several occasions, competitions were skewed to enable H&K to win biddings. Consequently, a critical assessment of the G36 was never demanded.

BUT IS IT just a case of “brothers in arms”, as Der SPIEGEL's title claims? There is more to it. For security strategic reasons, the German government has since long had an interest in strengthening its own defence sector, putting an emphasis on “medium-sized producers of key technologies”. H&K is such a strategic medium-sized producer.

“H&K COULD NOT BE ABANDONED, EVEN THOUGH THEIR GUNS WERE OF QUESTIONABLE QUALITY

Certainly, H&K Company has benefitted from its cordial relationship with the German military which helped it grow to a well-renown international arms manufacturer. The predecessor of the G36, the G3, which is today the second most used assault rifle worldwide after the AK-47 Kalashnikov, owes its great popularity to the praise it received from the German military for which it was originally designed. Even the G36 was eagerly adopted internationally, amongst others, the British Army. It is doubtful that this would have happened if the German Military had deemed the weapon to be inferior. Of course, this does not mean that the Ministry of Defence purposely and consciously signed a deal for equipping their troops with a low-quality gun. It's the other way round: They did not critically assess the gun, because it was clear from the beginning that they would buy it in support of the company.

WHAT IS LEFT is a kind of interdependency, where the German Government for strategic reasons depends on H&K staying in business, and H&K depends on sales to its prime customer, the German Government. This in turn provided the company with a sort of political immunity. As a strategic defence actor, H&K was so important politically that the company could not be abandoned, even if their prices might have been fixed or their products might have been of questionable quality.

IT'S AN UNSETTLING thought, leading to a number of further questions. The accuracy issue is just the latest example of a number of negative headlines produced by H&K. In the past years the G36 that turned up in Mexican drug wars, was involved in the shooting of Mexican students in 2014. The deal between H&K and Mexico, which was pushed for by the German Ministry of Defence, was meant to exclude deliveries to conflict-ridden regions of Mexico. But in the end there was no enforcement of this regulation. Did German Ministries turn a blind eye on such involvements to support their pet producer?

THERE ARE THOSE who claim the accuracy accusation is an excuse to get rid of H&K. Admittedly, the timing of the accusation, after 20 years, just before the potential renewal of the contract is a suspicious coincident. In their eyes, the Ministry of Defence started a political campaign to drop H&K. If you look for it, there are a number of reasons in favour of this argumentation, like bad publicity, created by amongst others the Mexico deal, or the currently weak economic performance of H&K.

ABOVE ALL, THIS only strengthens the point that the relationship between H&K and the Ministry of Defence has always been a political such. It was a political statement to buy from your domestic producer H&K and now it is a political statement to opt out of any further collaboration. Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen aims to cut the bonds to H&K and has chosen to have an open competition for a new assault rifle, starting in 2016. It smells like a fresh start. But still the interest of strengthening domestic suppliers remains and threatens to evolve into new structures of interdependencies between arms producers and the Ministry of Defence. ●

By Johannes Ernstberger





Photo: Daughter#3/flickr.com



Photo: Javier Ábalos Alvarez



Photo: Torrey Wiley

CONSERVATION DOWN THE BARREL OF A GUN

Big game hunting has been both attacked by conservationists and run as a banner for conservation. “Regulated trophy hunting” is being discussed as a way to harness the market in order to fund the protection of endangered species. Will capitalising on gun violence be mainstreamed into conservation, and to what ethical consequences?

The market for weapons and violence conduits a widespread of discourses across the world, and these discussions only intensify as we step deeper into globalisation. In addition to the peace and conflict dimensions of the arms market, we also see emerging discussions on how guns can be harnessed to change and engineer our relationship with the natural world. One such narrative in development is located in the politics of trophy hunting, and how the economy of conservation exemplifies an outgrowth of a dominant political rhetoric that privileges violence as the most marketable solution based pathway.

THE KILLING OF Cecil the lion catalysed an insurgence of discussions about how hunting is managed as a method of environmental conservation. Although conservation through market means is by no means a new or emerging aspect of environmental policy, the politics of Cecil’s death launched trophy hunting into an unprecedentedly heated dialectic between several actors including the American populous, legislators, conservationists, hunters, and indigenous peoples, among many more.

CECIL, AN OLDER male lion, belonged to Hwange National Park, and was considered to be a “national treasure” of Zimbabwe. Many such National Parks and “wildlife farms” fund their anti-poaching and wildlife protection endeavours through the sale of hunting

tags, sold at a high premium, often to hunters overseas. Cecil was shot by Walter James Palmer, an American dentist from Minneapolis, who allegedly bought a tag to kill Cecil for \$55,000 US dollars. Palmer and his team tied a dead animal to the top of their vehicle to lure Cecil out of the park’s parameters. He shot Cecil with a bow, which did not kill him immediately. An investigation was undertaken by the Zimbabwean government following the hunt, fuelled widespread speculation on the legality of the kill. According to the Zimbabwe Conservation Task Force, the hunt was unlawful, and their claims were bolstered by Palmer’s criminal history. In 2006, he was put on probation for lying to authorities about a black bear he had shot in Wyoming.

AFTER THE INCIDENT hit the media, Palmer faced a harrowing storm of outrage, encompassing both personal aspersion (often in the form of death threats) and diatribes against the larger schema of regulated trophy hunting in general. Whether Palmer was motivated by conservationist ethics or not was never clarified, but this is inevitably the discourse that was exhumed. Let’s investigate the nuances of his story because it’s not as black and white as it may seem.

COREY KNOWLTON, a businessman from Texas, has entered the foray as the new “poster child of hunter conservationists.” His purchase of a tag to hunt a rare African black rhino has positioned him in a similar position to Palmer, being on the receiving end of harsh public condemnation and death threats. However, he holds up a banner of environmentalism against all of the defaming remarks thrown at him. The black rhino is classified by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature as “critically endangered.” There are only 5,000 left in the world, and 2,000 of those are located in

Namibia, where the tag licensed him to hunt. Many of the male rhinos are auctioned off for hunting, because they often threaten the lives of young and female rhinos. The money raised by selling tags is funnelled into protection from poachers. Knowlton, in his interview with Chicago's Radio Lab, stressed people to consider the context in which he bought the hunting tag, "it was never about killing the rhino itself, and achievement. Wildlife doesn't exist by accident anymore." Many hunting enthusiasts from the Western Hunting and Conservation Expo echo this sentiment, "if it weren't for us hunters, [these species] would go extinct!"

MOST GOVERNMENTS, NGOs, and "mainstream scientists" support the tag system as a lucrative and swift way to engineer market protections for nature. In economical terms, this strategy makes a lot of sense. When you put a price on something, you assign value to it, and this fortifies entities that had otherwise existed outside of the marketplace, like lions and rhinos. Regulated trophy hunting creates a cash incentive to keep our endangered species safe. When you look at the numbers, it's easy to understand why this methodology has engendered so much bureaucratic and institutional support—hunters will pay a sum of \$20,000 US dollars to kill a single male lion.

HOWEVER, OPPOSING CONSERVATIONISTS argue against this strategy for a multitude of reasons. First, even though there has been an 80% increase in specific endangered species populations since the legalisation of tag sales, the hunting market is actually contributing dramatically to the extinction of wild endangered species. A century ago, 200,000 wild lions lived in South Africa, now there are less than 30,000. The commodification of endangered species has inevitably concentrated their populations within controlled, human environments that are, in es-

sence, lion "farms," created specifically so that Western hunters can enter, kill, and then depart with their carcasses. Which also brings up a discourse of strong neo-colonial unrest: are Westerners just continuing a legacy of environmental imperialism, farming foreign wildlife that would otherwise be a part of naturally functioning ecosystems, and a part of indigenous communities? And what is the price for a naturally functioning ecosystem itself? We may have created an economic incentive to protect the hard numbers of certain species, but not their habitat and livelihood as a whole.

SECONDLY, KNOWLTON'S SENTIMENT of conservation hinges on a large assumption: that opening up a market for exotic animals is a better tool of conservation than closing down or restricting the market. For example, Chris Mercer of The Campaign to End Canned Hunting, has argued that trophy hunting has fuelled the legalised trade of bones from captive bred lions, which are a prized commodity in China and Vietnam for making faux "tiger bone cake." The legal circulation of lion bones has only augmented demand in Asia—in essence, there's no satiating the market's appetite for cake once the ingredients become fair game. This perpetuates not only legal lion farming, but also intensified the black market trade and poaching, which the hunting industry was intended to stem.

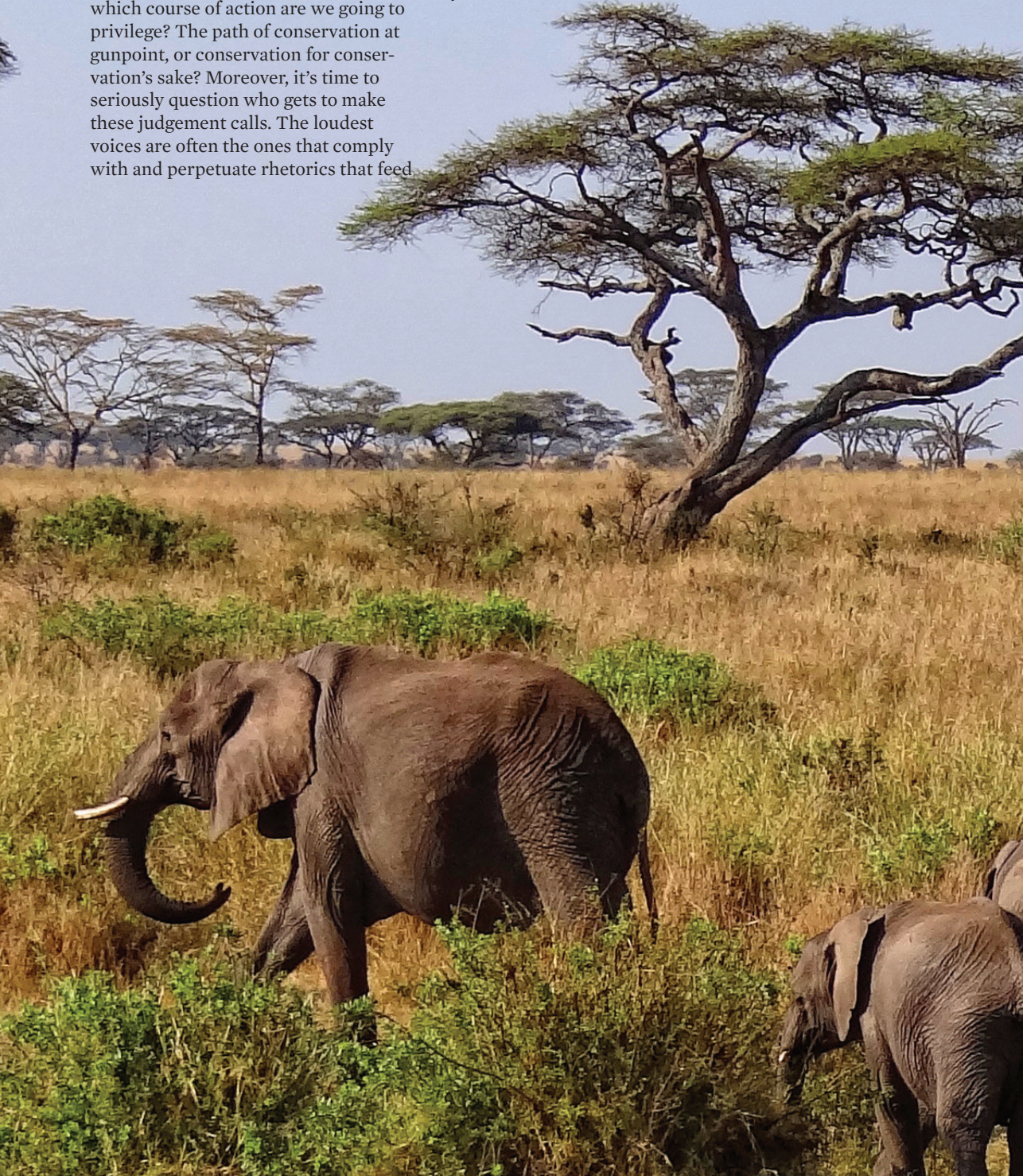
AN INVERSE STRATEGY CAN be observed in ivory trade. Richard Leeky, a Kenyan anthropologist, has been fostering a long term PR campaign to popularise conservation in the name of the intrinsic value, instead of economic value. After exposing the devastation that the ivory trade has wreaked on elephant populations, "the public woke up, and the ivory market crashed." Instead of hinging conservation on the growth of demand, he chose to negate it. One year after the start of his campaign, the survivorship of wildlife elephants

in Kenya had significantly grown. “We need a public that supports the conservation of wildlife, and we can’t afford to send the wrong messages.”

IT’S A SERIOUS QUESTION we have to ask, which course of action are we going to privilege? The path of conservation at gunpoint, or conservation for conservation’s sake? Moreover, it’s time to seriously question who gets to make these judgement calls. The loudest voices are often the ones that comply with and perpetuate rhetorics that feed

the interests of the world’s most powerful stakeholders, like the gun lobby. We have many solutions at hand, it’s only a matter of choosing which one looks the most palatable. ●

By Jamie Woodworth



The Impact of Drone Warfare

Drone warfare results in more consequences than the eye can see. While casualties might be the most eye-catching way to measure the impact of US drones, the most long lasting damage is in the minds of the ones who witness them.

“Now I prefer cloudy days when the drones don't fly. When the sky brightens and becomes blue, the drones return and so does the fear. Children don't play so often now, and have stopped going to school. Education isn't possible as long as the drones circle overhead.” This quote is from 13 year old Zubair ur Rehman, from Pakistan, who testified in front of the US-congress about the death of his mother in an aerial drone strike, a strike that left him with shrapnel in his leg. His story is not an uncommon one and the impacts of living under constant fear of drone attacks is ubiquitous amongst his generation.

BUT BEFORE WE dive into the details, some background is needed. ‘Drone’ is the most commonly used term for unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV), a piece of technology that was initially used for surveillance and intelligence gathering during the Gulf and Kosovo wars. After 9/11 and the following war on terror, the United States started to use the so called “predator drones”, drones used for “target killing” of enemy combatants. Under the Bush presidency around 50, depending on the source, drone strikes were carried out in Pakistan alone, which increased to 292 by the end of Obama's first term.

THESE ATTACKS CAN be divided into two types; personality strikes - where the identities of the targets are known, and signature strikes - where they are not. In these strikes the targets are instead matched to certain predefined signature behaviours and “defining characteristics” associated with terrorist activity. Exactly what is meant by this has never been made public, but according to some officials, mentioned in an article in The New York times, it can be seen as enough to “be in an area of known terrorist activity”.

THIS LACK OF publicly released information about drone strikes extends to other factors as well, including the number of civilians casualties caused by drones. According to the Obama administration civilian casualties in Pakistan have been “exceedingly rare”. However, under closer scrutiny these figures are inconsistent with what media sources estimate, as well as Anonymous leaks and what independent databases suggest. These numbers are also problematic as they adhere to a strict divide between civilians and combatants killed in the strikes. This divide is significant. If one looks at data from “Bureau of Investigative Journalism” or “New America Foundation”, where the definition of military status ambiguously includes persons of unknown status as well as unconfirmed kills, both civilian and military, the rise of possible civilian casualties increases significantly.

GIVEN THIS INFORMATION, the view that the media and the general public is given on drone strikes can be misleading. The image that the public has, can also be skewed because of media reports focusing on “fresh” news, where the precise confirmation of a target’s identity is rarely mentioned. Moreover, as there is no definition of who a militant is, when not all targets considered as such are confirmed, the precision of drone strikes can be seen to be highly problematic. In a report from Stanford University it is mentioned that the reporting of drone strikes due to the reason mentioned are often conflicting and it is difficult to get a clear picture of the reality of the situation.

AS A RESULT, information regarding drone strikes is lacking consistent data, as well as impartiality. The consequence of this is that the effects on the civilian population are often underreported and not given enough account. As mentioned in the introduction, living in an area where drones strikes are common, causes serious psychological harm. People in these areas live in a constant fear of being targeted in strikes, causing anxieties to the level that the people affected develop insomnia, Posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), with some children too afraid

to even go to school. These attacks, on the other hand, cause not only direct economic and physical harm, but also harm the social fabric of communities, and result in some activities like funerals being considered dangerous. Some studies indicate that this can have a huge impact on the areas affected and their future, to the level that they might even become breeding grounds for future terrorism.

SO WHAT CAN be concluded from all of this? It can be understood that the lack of information about drone strikes causes a lack of knowledge about its negative effects and its impacts in general. This absence of insight into the US drone program has the effect that only a few solutions, from outside the government, can be given on how to improve the process of decision making for when and how to use drone strikes. ●

By Rickard Allreke Wählhammar

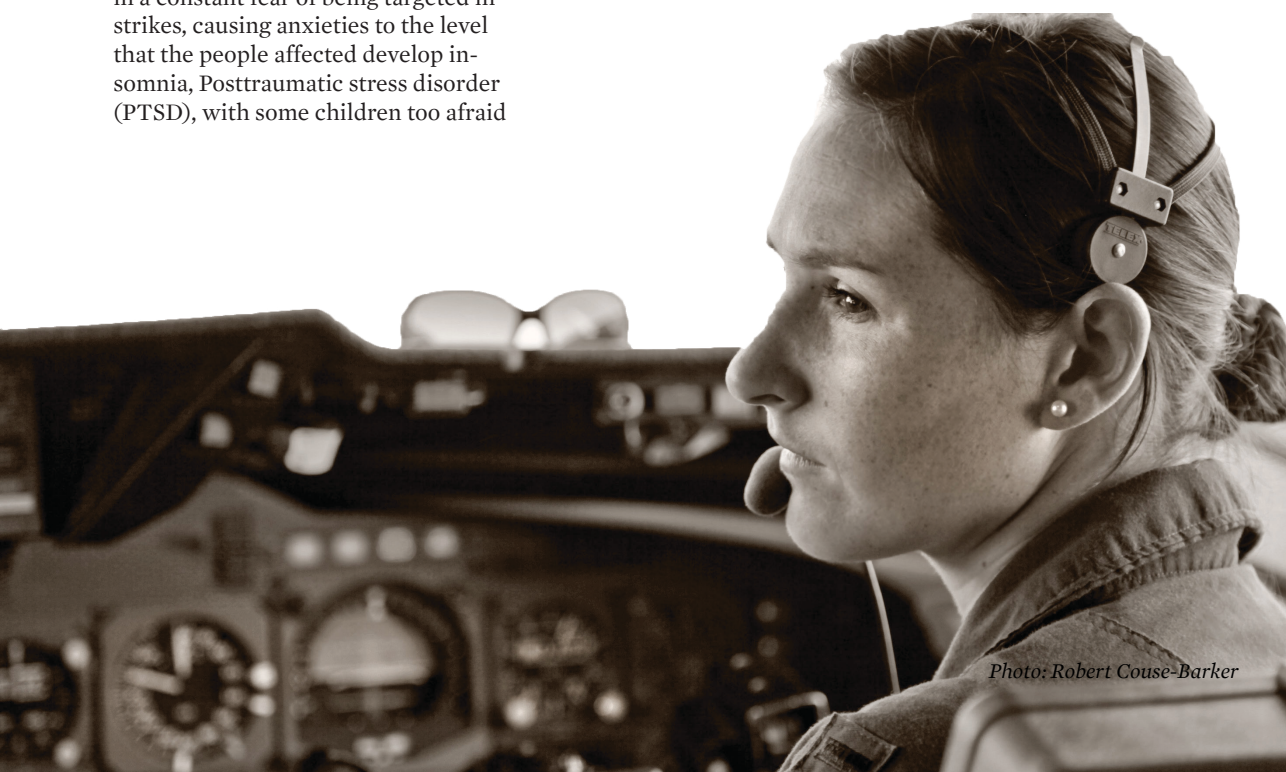


Photo: Robert Couse-Barker

Arms Exports

Where do Western Weapons Wind Up?

Is it possible to effectively follow up legally exported arms to ensure that they will not end up in the wrong hands? In the past, cases have been discovered where legally sold Western arms have ended up in criminal hands.

By Malte Plewa

US Arms Exports

- US arms exports account for 31% of all global exports (2010-2014)

- The US's main customers are South Korea (9%), UAE and Australia (both 8%)

- US arms exports have grown by almost 30% in 2010-14 from 2005-09 figures

Source: SIPRI

September 2014: the German government decides to supply the Kurds in Iraq with weapons to enable them to fight the quickly approaching Islamic State. Being asked how to ensure that the weapons will not end up in the wrong hands, the foreign ministry admits that this is simply not possible. It demands solely a declaration that the weapons will not be sold to third parties.

IN THE MEXICAN state of Guerrero, which lies in the middle of the drug war, German G36 machine guns have been confiscated from members of the police force who have participated in the killing of 43 students in September 2014. Due to the critical human rights situation in the state, there was no permit to export arms to the region. After having tracked the arms, it became clear that they have been legally exported to other Mexican states and then illegally been brought to Guerrero. Again, somehow, European arms have ended up in a conflict zone. Also, in this case, a declaration of final destination had been signed, stating that these weapons will not leave the state they were meant for – which obviously did not work as planned. According to the legally binding European Union

(EU) Code of Conduct for Arms Export “Member States will not allow exports that would provoke or prolong armed conflicts or aggravate existing tensions or conflicts in the country of final destination”. The basic question is: where and how do all the weapons reach conflict zones, when the producers and exporting governments strongly deny selling weapons to conflict zones? Furthermore: what are weapons used for, if not for conflicts?

ACCORDING TO THE Center for Research on Globalization, the supply lines of the Islamic State reach into Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. These countries are all allies of the West – and its customers in arms trade. Especially, NATO member Turkey seems to play a crucial role in supplying IS with arms. Recently, video footage has come up showing hun-trucks dreds of cross- the Turk-



ish-Syrian border every day. The government is at best ignoring the issue and at worst actively supporting it. Experts assume that the same is true for Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Already in 2013, the New York Times found evidence that weapons purchased legally by Saudi Arabia have been sent to Jordan and from there into Syria – at this time to support rebels fighting Assad. These weapons are today in the hands of the Islamic State. Similarly, Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria is terrorizing the region with French weapons which have been sold to Libya.

WHAT WE CAN see from all these cases is that there is always a huge risk that arms exports backfire. Even if it is unknown, how Western weapons reach different conflict zones, the question remains: how can this be prevented? How can it be controlled that legally sold arms do no end in the hands of terrorists? If the West wants to continue doing business with arms exports, it also needs to face the responsibilities which come with it. which today is not a zone, can turn into quickly. The arms then have to back, but unlikely to

An area conflict one would be taken this is happen.

IT IS THE responsibility of those who sell arms to other countries or supply foreign armies, to control where the weapons end up. A declaration of final destination seems to be an ineffective assurance, compared to the horrible effects the arms can have when reaching conflict zones. There has not been a single legal case filed worldwide where it was found that weapons have been sold or forwarded to third parties. Mostly, arms trade just continues as usual.

“IF THE WEST WANTS TO CONTINUE DOING BUSINESS WITH ARMS EXPORTS, IT ALSO NEEDS TO FACE THE RESPONSIBILITIES

BASICALLY, THE EXPORTING governments have to send officials to control at the place where the arms end up. Selling arms to countries outside the European Union always means taking the risk of them ending up in the wrong hands. When this happens, it is the responsibility of the exporter to bring the weapons back. This step is however not being taken. The West makes the profits by selling arms, however, shies away from accepting the consequential responsibilities. The so-called ‘refugee-crisis’ is also being caused by conflicts which are fought with European weapons. Therefore, as long as this is the case, we have a moral obligation to take care of those seeking refuge at our doorstep. ●

Photo: USASAC/flickr.com

Making Arms Control 'Smarter'? The Importance of Intelligence

Intelligence is central to arms control. Together with other closely associated intelligence functions, such as cooperative 'liaison' activities, key intelligence work often occurs more secretly behind-the-scenes of arms control activities, acting as the 'hidden hand' helping to preserve many different facets.

Some greater insights into intelligence, better answering the question: 'what is "intelligence"?', first emerges as useful. As argued previously in my book, *Understanding the Globalization of Intelligence* (2012), today 'intelligence' can be essentially defined as: "[T]he collection and processing (analysis) of information that is particularly of military and/or political value, and which especially (and purposefully) relates to international relations, defence and national (extending to global, via regional) security (threats [also read here, to encompass at their most broad, the full-spectrum of 'issues-problems-hazards-to-risks' confronted]). It is also usually secret (covert and/or clandestine), [(and frequently, although not exclusively - as private and non-state actor contributions are also included)] state activity conducted by specialized 'intelligence' institutions to understand or influence entities."

THE RELATIONSHIP of intelligence to more specific arms control areas of defence and security business starts to become more obvious. The relevance of core intelligence functions, such as most notably intelligence cooperation or liaison tasks, also emerges more clearly, particularly when that work is defined as consisting of: 'relevant communication, cooperation and linkage between a range of actors, usually at (but not limited to) the official intelligence agency level, on intelligence matters – essentially exchanging or sharing information, particularly of military and/or political value...' (continuing most fully as already outlined above).

FURTHERMORE, WHEN THAT last avenue of work is extended more broadly, then, as security analyst Glen Segell has valuably underlined (2012): 'information exchange is M4IS2: multiagency, multinational, multidisciplinary, multidomain information sharing and sense making; and the eight entities that do M4IS2 are commerce, academic, government, civil society, media, law enforcement, military and non-government/non-profit.' Effectively demonstrating that many different actors can be involved in intelligence-related arms control work, and that many diverse aspects are covered in all of its complexity.

About the Author

- Adam D.M. Svendsen, PhD (Warwick, UK) is an intelligence and defence strategist, educator, researcher, and consultant

- Full references are omitted, but they can be made available on request

- For more, see via: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-0684-9967> and @intstrategist

INSIGHTS FROM PARTICULAR historical case studies of arms control are especially helpful for demonstrating where and how the different intelligence aspects figure and fuse. For some in-depth examples of intelligence gathering, analysis and usage in arms control-related environments, see the cases of the 'run-up to the 2003 war in Iraq' and the tackling of the 'A.Q. Khan nuclear network' as detailed in and across my three books: *Intelligence Cooperation and the War on Terror: Anglo-American Security Relations after 9/11* (2010), *Understanding the Globalization of Intelligence and The Professionalization of Intelligence Cooperation* (both 2012).

“MANY DIFFERENT ACTORS CAN BE INVOLVED IN INTELLIGENCE-RELATED ARMS CONTROL WORK

INTELLIGENCE AND ITS supporting functions, such as liaison, enable the ability for assessing whether essential arms control 'pillars' are being upheld. Those pillars, including verification, are frequently found embedded or enshrined in international arms control agreements and treaties. Intelligence also allows for detecting whether those pillars are instead being more violated, for example, if parties or any actors relating to the agreements are reneging on treaties, and it answers other noteworthy interrogative questions.

AFTER SEVERAL YEARS of - at times high-profile - negotiating, in July 2015 international agreement was finally reached on the Iranian nuclear programme. Without doubt, intelligence work performed both direct and more indirect roles in helping to realise that agreement, as well as in helping bring the different parties to the table. As countries and international organisations, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), now conduct their business of verifying that the agreement is implemented fully - with all of its features being adequately upheld over time - we can readily anticipate that intelligence and its associated functions will again continue to perform a central role in this case going forward into the future. This is even if 'intelligence' figures more in its less intense 'information' form.

THE IMPORTANCE OF intelligence to arms control has been briefly introduced. Intelligence does indeed help make arms control enterprises 'smarter'. While there might be more controversial worries relating to 'classical spying', perhaps requiring some counter-intelligence efforts, intelligence work in the arms control context can help provide insights into many different areas. This is both at: (i) the higher-level strategically, offering insights into areas such as event directions and actor intentions; and into (ii) more lower-level operational concerns, relating to what is actually going on in relation to areas such as missile and other weapon and warhead development. There is no doubt that intelligence has already performed a hugely valuable role in the past, and that intelligence will again play a demonstrably significant role in future arms control enterprises. Consistency is maintained inline with the age-long adage that 'knowledge is power'. ●

By Adam D.M. Svendsen, PhD

INDONESIA MATTERS: ASIA'S EMERGING DEMOCRATIC POWER

Author: Amitav Acharya

Year: 2014

Earlier work: Rethinking Power, Institutions and Ideas in World Politics: Whose IR? (2013), The Making of Southeast Asia: International Relations of a Region (2012), Whose Ideas Matter? Agency and Power in Asian Regionalism (2009)



Photo: Sphilbrick/wikipedia.org

Power in world politics has been predominantly characterized by material conditions, such as, military capabilities or economic might. Against this backdrop, Amitav Acharya, an Indian born distinguished professor from American University based in the US suggests a unique case where democracy could potentially enhance power for Indonesia to emerge in the international fora.

Why Indonesia matters? Without military clouts or economic capabilities, Indonesia

rises with a surprise in an unconventional manner where the virtuous correlation; democracy, stability and development have laid a strong foundation for a country's ascendance to a global status. The correlation is simple. Democratization and its components of decentralization, autonomy and increased civil liberty strengthen stability and this in turn paves a smooth path for the country's economic development. The country thus turns prosperous transforming herself to becoming the world's 10th largest economy.

“WITH DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS AND ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY, INDONESIA PLAYS A GREATER ROLE IN THE WORLD SUMMIT OF G20

Photo: Republic of Korea/flickr.com



The G20 Heads of State at the 2009 conference in Pittsburg. Indonesia's former President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono is standing on the bottom row, fourth from the left.

THE NONTRADITIONAL RISE of Indonesia is based on what Acharya calls “regionalist approach” to global position. Indonesia recognizes the importance of forging good align with neighbors. It is the key in global standing. “Concentric circles” depicts this strategic move on Indonesia’s foreign policy. At region level, Indonesia places the regional organization ASEAN at the centrality of her foreign policy focus. Indonesia gains trust through mediator role in regional conflicts and is recognized as a regional elder. Indonesia pushes democracy and human rights as part of ASEAN lexicon. This is the case of Indonesia’s contribution to the establishment of ASEAN Intergovernmental Human Right Commission (AIHRC) in 2009. Next step is the relations with major powers. Indonesia applies dynamic equilibrium approach by bonding with China to balance the US power. At the highest level, multilateral diplomacy and “globalist orientation” is the way Indonesia chooses to enhance her global account.

WITH DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS and economic diplomacy, Indonesia plays a greater role in the world summit of G20. Echoing the voice of global South, Indonesia could also be recognized as a leader of the developing world. The Bali Democracy Forum established in 2008 is also a showcase of Indonesia as a democratic promoter in the global stage. It is her effort, in 2013, to estab-

lish the first Annual intergovernmental forum on democracy, which was successfully embraced by 83 countries from around the globe.

CHALLENGES LIE AHEAD. Acharya critically addresses potential challenges encountering Indonesia’s ascendance. The quality of democracy needs to be enriched and the issue of corruption also needs remedy. In development terms, Indonesia needs to advance skilled labour, education, health care and infrastructure to sustain economic growth. Acharya does not neglect the point that Indonesia does have conflict with her neighbours, including Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines on various issues.

WHAT IS ABSENT? Being the world’s fourth populous country, third largest democratic state, after India and the US and most importantly the world’s ‘largest’ Muslim country, Acharya falls short to mention the role of Islam in driving this rising democratic star. Moderate Islam could be seen as an essential component facilitating democracy to work in the case of Indonesia.

OVERALL, DEMOCRATIC CREDENTIALS become a major shift for a country in order to play a greater role in the world stage. It helps the country in becoming a respected voice and an acceptable player in the international arena. Indonesia proves the case. ●

By Varintorn Thanvichien

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