

# THE PERSPECTIVE

MAGAZINE No2 2017



THEME.  
**CRIME**



ASSOCIATION OF  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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## EDITORS' NOTE

“WE ARE HONORED TO HAVE BEEN GRANTED THIS OPPORTUNITY; WE ARE PRIVILEGED TO HAVE GOTTEN TO DO IT TOGETHER WITH THIS AMAZING TEAM

**T**ime has come for our last issue as Editors of The Perspective. It is a bitter-sweet moment. On the one hand, the quality of the magazine have, thanks to our dedicated and creative team, been higher than we could ever had imagined, and it has been a year of great fun and much learning. On the other, every parent is sad to its kid move out of home. We feel, though, that we have raised it well, and that it will be able to take care of itself from now on. We are honored to have been granted this opportunity; we are privileged to have gotten to do it together with this amazing team. To them, and to all the other committed members of UPF, we wish to express our deepest gratitude.

**TO CELEBRATE,** to go out with a bang, we give you our sexiest theme so far: crime. But not only does it sell; it is of grave importance. We do this theme as a part of UPF's year-long project to help reaching the 16th UN Sustainable Development Goal: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions. You can read about the connection between crime and development on page 22. Learn of carbon market criminals, such as the one on the cover, on page 34. Make acquaintance with the horrid ways of the Italian Mafia on page 24. On page 43, read about the problems with punishing financial criminals, or on page 28, follow a day in the life of a Ghanaian drug addict. As always, these are just some exam-

ples of the width with which our writers have covered the theme, and whatever your tastes you will be able to find something of value.

**TO OUR READERS,** we hope that you find and have found value in our work. To the Editors succeeding us, we feel about you as parents do about the person dating their child. If you do well, we will love you. If not...

**JOKES ASIDE,** we are confident that you will have an amazing time, that you will learn a lot and that you will do great. Be creative, think big and try your wings. Last but not least, enjoy.

**FILLED WITH THAT** bittersweetness of departure, we are signing off. For the last time: have a great read.



VILHELM FRITZTON & TOBIAS ADOLFSSON

EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

## TEAM

### EDITORS-IN-CHIEF:

VILHELM FRITZTON  
TOBIAS ADOLFSSON

### LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE PUBLISHERS:

VILHELM FRITZTON  
TOBIAS ADOLFSSON

### LAYOUT:

TOBIAS ADOLFSSON  
VILHELM FRITZTON  
ZIGNE EDSTRÖM  
ALICE ROBERTS  
ERLEND MALMER  
ISABELLE KARLSSON  
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### REPORTERS:

KRISZTINA ORBÁN  
MÅNS ARVIDSSON  
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IEVA SRIEBALIUTĖ  
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RONJA DE BOER  
ALICE ROBERTS  
VIDE WASSBERG  
RITIKA JAIN  
ROZENN MASSÉ  
SWAANTJE MARTEN  
ALVIN CHEN

### ILLUSTRATIONS:

SOFIE VON SCHENCK

### PRINT:

TRYDELLS TRYCKERI AB

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### CONTACT:

UTRIKESPOLITISKA  
FÖRENINGEN  
SANDGATAN 2  
223 50 LUND

MAGAZINE@UPFLUND.SE

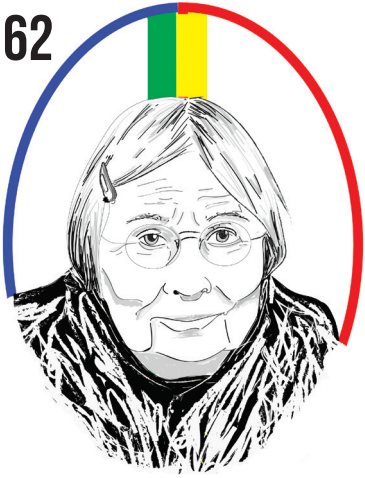
GOT FEEDBACK?

LET US KNOW WHAT YOU THINK!

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62



40



11



50



72



66

## CONTENTS

4. PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS

6. WORLD BRIEF

8. DANGERS OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS

11. INTERVIEW: ISABELLA LÖVIN

16. THE CASE FOR TAX HAVENS

20-57. THEME: CRIME

22. WHY CRIME DOESN'T PAY

24. CHALLENGING THE MAFIA

28. FICTION: TROUBLE IN PARADISE

32. BOYCOTTING QATAR 2022

34. GREEN-COLLAR CRIME

38. USELESS LAWS

40. IS CRIME BEING AIDED BY 'AID'?

43. JUSTICE FOR THE HIGH AND MIGHTY

46. ON RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

50. FROM REHABILITATION TO PUNISHMENT

54. IS EVIL BORN OR MADE?

58. UPF GOES TO RABAT

60. BULLYING IN KOREA

62. SAMI: A STORY OF RACISM

66. GREECE, EUROPE & THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PUNISHMENT

70. HOW TRUMP WILL SAVE THE EU

72. FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE: SINGAPORE'S SCHOOLS

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## PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS

**I**t is remarkable that yet another year in Lund has soon come to an end. Time has literally flown by, and it is with gratitude and pride that we look back at our year as President and Vice President.

**EXACTLY ONE YEAR** ago, we gathered the newly elected board of 2016/2017 in a small room in AF in order to get to know each other a little bit before our handover meeting with the current board. What we did not know then was that this year would exceed all our expectations!

**THROUGHOUT THE YEAR**, we have discussed Grass rooted peace and started our new theme of SDG goal number 16 – Peace, justice and strong institutions. We have also continued to promote our important values, in example inclusiveness, sustainability and equality.

**OUR MEDIA COMMITTEES** have done a remarkable improvement in regards to working closer together, and changed the name to The Perspective! Our Activity committee has blossomed and arranged a beautiful ball and an eventful American Election Week. The Lecture committee has arranged a record amount of panels and many fruitful lectures. Our Career committee saw opportunities beyond their usual activities and arranged workshops and seminars. Last but not least has our Travel committee had two great trips to Washington, D.C. and Rabat!

**WE COULD NOT** be prouder of the years that has gone by and are truly amazed by the work all of our active members have contributed with. Knowing that a record amount of applicants are interested in becoming board members next year is beyond words. Best of luck to the board of 2017/2018! You all have a wonderful time ahead of you.

**WE WISH YOU** a great summer and hope that you will continue to be a part of UPF in the future.



ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD,

**KAJSA FERNSTRÖM NÅTBY & SOFIA HÖGLUND**  
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## BOARD 2016-2017

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KAJSA FERNSTRÖM NÅTBY  
PRESIDENT@UPFLUND.SE

**VICE PRESIDENT:**  
SOFIA HÖGLUND  
VICE.PRESIDENT@UPFLUND.SE

**TREASURER:**  
FRIDA JOHANNÉ LUND  
TREASURE@UPFLUND.SE

**SECRETARY:**  
BENJAMIN HEMCHE  
SECRETARY@UPFLUND.SE

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MAGNUS SIGURDSSON  
LECTURE@UPFLUND.SE

**PR COMMITTEE:**  
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HANNA LINDQVIST  
PR@UPFLUND.SE

**ACTIVITY COMMITTEE:**  
SEVERINE RENARD  
MARKUS HELLSTRÖM  
ACTIVITY@UPFLUND.SE

**THE PERSPECTIVE MAGAZINE:**  
VILHELM FRITZON  
TOBIAS ADOLFSSON  
MAGAZINE@UPFLUND.SE

**THE PERSPECTIVE WEBZINE:**  
MICHAL GIEDA  
KLARA FREDRIKSSON  
WEBZINE@UPFLUND.SE

**THE PERSPECTIVE RADIO:**  
ANNA SVEDERUS  
EBBA BERGSTRÖM  
RADIO@UPFLUND.SE

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JULIA BERGSTRÖM  
CAREER@UPFLUND.SE

**TRAVEL COMMITTEE:**  
FREDRIK BLIX  
CAROLINE ASKER  
TRAVEL@UPFLUND.SE

**UFS REPRESENTATIVE:**  
FREJA RAHM  
LUND@UFSVERIGE.ORG

**HEAD OF IT:**  
FELIX KAYSERS  
IT@UPFLUND.SE

# THE PERSPECTIVE RADIO

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**LIVE SHOWS:**

THURSDAYS, UNEVEN WEEKS, 17.00-18.00

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EVEN WEEKS, PUBLISHED ON SUNDAYS



THE PERSPECTIVE RADIO



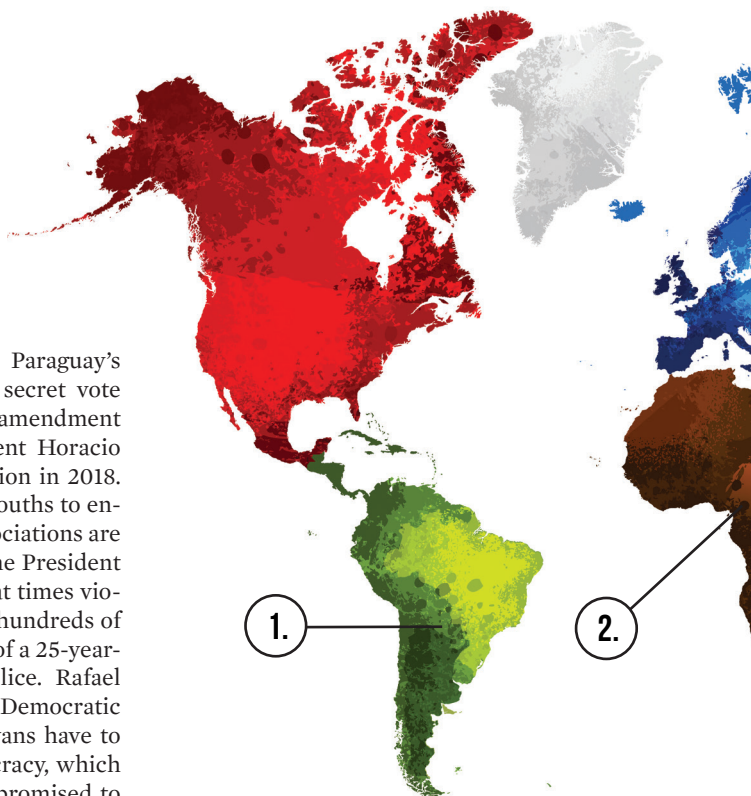
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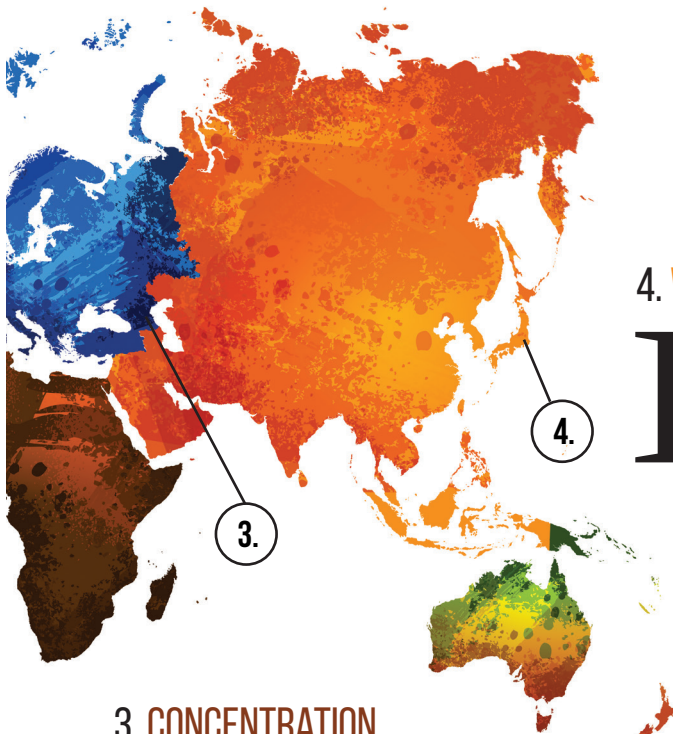
## 1. FOR THE PEOPLE!

**E**arly April, protesters set Paraguay's Congress on fire after a secret vote for a constitutional amendment that would allow President Horacio Cartes to run for re-election in 2018. The event has sparked students and youths to engage in political activism. Student associations are joining in demonstrations, accusing the President of eroding democracy. The large and at times violent protests have already resulted in hundreds of arrests, several injured and the death of a 25-year-old activist in clashes with riot police. Rafael Filizzola, a senator with the leftwing Democratic Progressive Party said that "Paraguayans have to go out on the streets to defend democracy, which is under attack." The opposition has promised to resist any steps towards a re-election, criticising the imposition of a "dictatorship". The crisis risks wounding Paraguay's democracy further, as it has already faced challenges after the removal of former president Fernando Lugo in 2012. ●



## 2. #BRINGBACKOURINTERNET

**F**irst came text messages: "Dear subscriber, you incur 6 months to 2 years imprisonment, and 5 to 10 million fine if you publish or spread on the social media information that you can't prove". The next day, internet was shut down in the English speaking regions of Cameroon. The Anglophones, making up about 20% of the Cameroonian population, feel discriminated against and excluded from top jobs. Last November, protests broke out over the imposing of French in schools and courts in the West part of the country, where the majority of the English speakers live. At least one person was shot to death in the uprisings. The internet block has had major consequences – the country's tech hub, called "Silicon Mountain", is located in the English speaking town of Buea. Some companies were able to relocate to areas with functioning internet, calling themselves "digital refugees". However, many others were forced to shut. During the internet shutdown, Cameroonians still online started pressuring the government by using the hashtag #bringbackourinternet. Digital life was revived on April 20th. The tensions between the two language groups still persist though – leaders of the peaceful Anglophone protests are detained, potentially facing the death penalty. ●



### 3. CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN CHECHNYA

In recent months alarming reports have been emerging of brutal anti-gay campaigns in the Russian republic of Chechnya. Victims and human right organizations claim that gay men are being sent to special prisons where regular beatings and murders occur. It is estimated that around one hundred men have been taken and three are confirmed dead, but the real numbers are feared to be much higher. Males with non-hetero sexual orientation are captured by a disguised militia and taken prisoners in old military compounds or ex-governmental buildings. Reports say that victims are violently forced to reveal their “gay network”, while their phones are being searched. Witnesses say they could get released only to be hunted down and captured once again. Many fear violence from their families if their sexual preferences are revealed. Ramzan Kadyrov, The Chechen leader who is also known as the “Lord”, denies any existence of these prisons, as “there are no gay men in Chechnya”. Human rights organizations are currently trying to get gay men out of Chechnya, as the situation is escalating. As it is, conservative Chechen society stand idly by as horrific crimes against humanity takes place. ●

### 4. WORKED TO DEATH

How does getting paid to leave work early on a Friday sound? A distant fantasy to most – but actual reality in Japan. The country has had long struggles with systematic overwork, an issue recently drawn to light by the tragic suicide of a 24-year old who had been doing more than 100 hours of overtime in the months leading up to her death. There’s even a word for “overwork death” in Japanese, *karoshi*. Usually it is caused by stress related heart attacks, strokes or starvation. Another milder example is that workers only use less than half of their allowed annual leave, compared to a 100% usage in Hong Kong, a place also infamous for a tough work culture. The Japanese often stay at work, even if there is nothing to do, as it’s seen as a breach of loyalty to leave before senior employees. A new government initiative called “Premium Fridays” is encouraging Japanese employees to leave work at 15:00, once a month, to make time for family, leisure and relaxation. Yet, Japanese corporations are having a hard time to live up to the government’s will. It might be hard to believe – but employees insist to stay anyway and some companies actually pay bonuses to the people that actually ditch work – a bittersweet topping of Japanese work culture. ●

**DANGER  
OUSLY**      **COR  
RECT**





Definitions of political correctness range from “conforming to a belief that language and practices which could offend political sensibilities should be eliminated” to “a way that we speak in America so we don’t offend whining pussies.” As the definitions of political correctness are pluralistic, so are the consequences when it is implemented in people’s minds.

**R**eading a scene in the *Idiot* by Dostoyevsky, I found in it a symbolic value for the present age. The main character, the Prince, is settled in a summer cottage and have received several guests. Suddenly a few unexpected visitors arrive. One of them claims to be the son of Pavlishchev. Pavlishchev was the benefactor of the Prince from whom he received a heritage after his death. “The son of Pavlishchev” have brought with him three supporters of his case, stating that he has the right to a part of the heritage. An article written about the Prince gets recited as all the guests are listening. The article reveals that the Prince is the bad guy, part of the evil bourgeoisie, while “The son of Pavlishchev” is the noble and poor young man who has the right to his money. After this event, it is time for the Prince to explain himself. The Prince is convinced that the lawyer is a rogue and corrects some of the false facts that are described in the article. Now, the investigator of the case, Ganya, enters to reveal his research. Ganya declares that “The son of Pavlishchev” isn’t the son of Pavlishchev and he denies the Prince’s suspicion of the lawyer. A discussion follows until one of the guests witnessing the whole affair reacts. It is Lizavjeta Prokofjevna blowing up: “Enough!” she cries out. “Bah! Everything is upside down,

everyone walks head downwards. Why did you come here so insolently? ‘Give us our rights, but don’t dare to speak in our presence. Show us every mark of deepest respect, while we treat you like the scum of earth.’”

**IN MY INTERPRETATION** “The son of Pavlishchev” and his comrades represent populism and their article turns out to be “fake news”. The Prince, controlled by emotion, tells his version of the story but his knowledge has limitations as well. “The populists”, sure about their right, constantly interrupt the Prince because of his use of words instead of listening to his message. Ganya shows up and announces his research based on objective facts. He rebukes both The Prince and “The son of Pavlishchev”. Finally the audience reacts in the form of Lizavjeta Prokofjevna, having opinions about what she heard. She discards the attitude of “the populists”, sorrows the situation of the world and sees through the paradoxes. In this fictional scene, both parts meet each other, listen to each other’s opinions and finally accept the revealed truth. In our reality it seems like the public debate is characterized by unilateralism, disinterest in hearing the other part’s opinion and uncompromising political correctness, making people frightened to speak.

**A RECENT ARTICLE** in Swedish magazine Fokus entitled 'Academic Populism' describes the type of university student movements that want to regulate the system in place in order to prevent the promotion of racial discrimination, economic inequity, and the elitism of American culture. In practice this means, for example, stopping controversial lecturers who present ideas they disagree with. So called safe spaces, trigger warnings and speech codes are implemented to prevent any confrontation with hideous or unwanted parts of reality. Legal and gender scholar Jenny Westerstrand have made a comparison between the, as she calls them, "over-sensible students" and populists. Just like populists, these students have a story about themselves as underdogs in a battle where they are right and the others are wrong; therefore it is not necessary to listen to anyone else. Further, she argues that identity politics is a welfare disease. It is fragile to base your politics on who and what people are, because what will happen when the powers that be adapts that model? Westerstrand means that Trump's election victory have shown the academy populists and the identity politicians that strict right-and-wrong thinking is damaging when it falls into the wrong hands.

**POLITICAL CORRECTNESS CAN** be good when it tries to protect vulnerable groups in society, and when preconceptions and malevolence are antagonized. Political correctness is not good when it prevents an open debate and simplifies the complexity of problems. Political correctness can make people fearful of using the wrong word, a word denounced as offensive or insensitive, or racist, sexist, or homophobic, in effect forcing them into

silence. To prevent people from insulting others is something we might consider as good. But fear is counterproductive if the goal of political correctness is to create more tolerance, since to prohibit people from speaking will not prohibit people from having politically incorrect opinions. The phenomenon has its origin in Marxism. The term was used by Stalin to control every aspect of life, including people's opinions. As in classical economic Marxism, cultural Marxism in the form of political correctness divides society into different groups. Instead of economic classes, division is made according categories such as sex and ethnicity. As the proletariat in economic Marxism always is good and the bourgeoisie always evil, the cultural Marxism determines that certain groups with lower positions of power automatically are good, while white males automatically are evil. This creates a tendency of simplification which is harmful.

**THE SIMILARITY BETWEEN** populism and political correctness is that both divide the world in two, us and them, those who are right and those who are wrong, those who are good and those who are evil. While political correctness might be representing 'the good cause', its violent and unilateral procedure causes polarisation rather than tolerance and challenges freedom of speech. Although I am thankful for the insights it has given me and western society, the structure of political correctness is damaging and hazardous. In practice, it has become the opponent to one of the foundational democratic principles: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." ●



WHILE POLITICAL CORRECTNESS MIGHT BE  
REPRESENTING 'THE GOOD CAUSE', ITS VIOLENT  
AND UNILATERAL PROCEDURE CAUSES  
POLARISATION RATHER THAN TOLERANCE  
AND CHALLENGES FREEDOM OF SPEECH



A close-up portrait of Isabella Lövin, a woman with shoulder-length brown hair, looking slightly to the right with a gentle smile. She is wearing a black turtleneck sweater under a brown jacket. The background is a textured, light-colored wall.

# ISABELLA LÖVIN

## HOW TO TACKLE THE FUTURE



Over lunch The Perspective discussed climate change and policy, political involvement, international aid, refugees and conflict with Sweden's Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of International Development Cooperation, Minister of Climate and Speaker of the Green Party, Isabella Lövin.

**A**t the press conference for the recently signed climate law, you mentioned that it now "will become illegal to de-prioritize the climate". What does that mean? Does breaking this law come with sanctions?

**SANCTIONS WILL COME** in the form of a political cost. In the first instance you can get summoned to the Committee on the Constitution and questioned there, if a government does not have a credible plan for lowering the country's emissions. By extension there can also be a vote of no confidence against a government which does not live up to the climate law. The other parties that are in on this law have invested a political capital and put their honor on the line. They will have to argue if they would want to repeal this law. For the citizens it becomes a lot more transparent. So this is a very progressive kind of legislation. Willingly we place ourselves under a whip forcing us to deliver on the climate goals, and to put in equal esteem climate and fiscal policy, so that being economical with emission becomes as important as being economical with the government's finances.

**The law has received critique for being mostly symbolical, without affecting much. What's your view?**

**WELL, I DO** not share that view. This is the critique from the Council on Legislation, and they argue that this might be an unnecessary law. That we could just as well have a political agreement and reach the same goals. But we have a deal around Sweden's environmental targets, and we have basically missed all of them even though we have had this agreement across partisan lines for fifteen years. The whip does not hurt enough. It is too easy to break a deal. A law is much harder to break, and it comes at a much higher political cost.

**1990 Sweden adopted a steep tax on carbon dioxide. Since, Swedish emissions have been reduced by almost 25%. Yet, our economy have kept performing well. In the light of this, how do you view the common allegation that taxes always come at an economic cost?**

**THAT IS REALLY** an error of thinking, a myth, that the industries use every time you want to tighten environmental legislation or make it harder to be wasteful with natural resources or emit. Every time this comes up, the counter-argument that we are threatening employment, rural areas, business, the economy. Yet look at Sweden today. We have among the toughest environmental legislations in the world, especially the carbon tax is among the steepest in the world. And the effect is clear.

When you make emissions expensive it becomes profitable for all actors to invest in reducing energy usage and using smarter manufacturing processes, and they make money on this very quickly. It is really a win-win situation. On the other hand Swedish exports are doing very well using environmental sustainability as an argument. Energy efficient solutions, bioeconomy, green tech, these things serve as a brand for Sweden.

**In discussions on how to fix the climate, there often seems to be a conflict between political and private action. Where do you think people should seek solutions to the problem of a changing climate—in politics or consumer power?**

**I BELIEVE** a combination of both is necessary, but I think that there has been too large a focus on giving individual citizens an enormous backpack of climate-anxiety. I mean that it is the task of pol-

“YOU CANNOT  
HAVE CARROT ONLY,  
AND NO STICK

iticians, in the highest degree, to make sure it is possible to live environmentally friendly. I am the first to claim it is more important to get politically involved than to stop eating meat. Actually, there is nothing more important right now. Looking at political developments in western countries, there is some delusion that politicians are crooks 'up there', that are not to be trusted. But democracy depends on participation. We have a responsibility; it is not something we consume. Functioning politicians are no societal service, and I am very worried about the contempt of them that is breeding. As soon as you find something bad in a politician, that confirms your dark view. But it is not as if a less talented politician in Sweden is as bad as a human rights-violating dictator. There is a differ-

ence of proportion, and the one you can actually do something about. We all have to take part to do that. That said, you can probably amass enough energy to check what is fairly sustainable food when you go shopping. But you don't have to be a monk to be environmentally dedicated.

**In many poorer countries there is as big a supply of coal as there is a need of energy. Do you see in this a conflict between your roles as Minister of Climate and Minister of Development?**

**No I do** not believe there is. For development sustainable, small scale, off-grid energy is a fantastic possibility today, in order to reach the poorest of people, and do so quickly. My task as Minister of Development and Climate is to contribute to these countries not taking the detour around dirty technology, such as we have. Then of course there is a peace and stability perspective to this. These large natural resources usually do not come to benefit the people, but tend to benefit corruption and conflict. So small scale, decentralized and self-owned energy production can become an absolute key to development. 1.3 billion people across the globe do not have any electricity at all. The solution for them is not to build large nuclear, oil or coal power plants. The solution for them is to quickly get a solar panel on their roof or a wind turbine in their village. Sustainable energy gives much more opportunities than the traditional, old and dirty. The future is clean energy.

**How do you view China's entry on the global development market, seeing as they build a lot of those large scale power plants and infrastructure projects. Has it caused a problem for this transition?**

**BOTH, I WOULD** say. It is not as simple as coming in and building something; bringing Chinese workers, building a hospital and leaving. You need educated personnel, health regulations, and a functioning system of government. I have seen more than one of these shiny, show-off buildings in Africa practically collecting dust. They have not really covered the needs. But of course, they do build many roads and ports and the like. Which they do in exchange for contracts of natural resources. That is where I see the value of Sweden and Europe. We work to strengthen civil society, we work with human rights, and for people to get included in these processes and projects. And that is much harder, but absolutely necessary if there is to be any sustainable development.

**What are the key factors when deciding what countries to cooperate with? As an example, the development cooperation with Mozambique amounted to 568 million SEK in 2015, while Malawi, with similar circumstances, got 31 million.**

**WE HAVE GOT** strong ties with certain countries, and we do not interrupt projects that has been initiated. It is also important to look at where other donor countries are, to see where Sweden has something to offer. Otherwise, there is a risk that some countries become crowded with donors while others are forgotten. Sweden has been working in Mozambique for a long time, due to this we have created functioning networks and we see that our cooperation is working.

**THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT** has an increased focus on weak states in conflict. We do not enter these countries because we believe that it will be smooth and easy – instead we see that there is a need for our help. In these states the methods are different: we focus on political presence and continuous dialogue with the government, opposition and civil society. We use all the tools we have to prevent conflict – or even better – to help form a peaceful future. Somalia is an example of such a state where we invest huge amounts of resources in political development. It is an extremely dangerous country and thus we are unable to have an Embassy. Our Ambassador and Chief of Aid flies to Somalia on a weekly basis under risky circumstances, but we have slowly contributed to state building process. Just recently, successful elections were held to elect a new president and a new parliament –

simultaneously the country is battling famine and misery.

**What is your opinion on the fact that a big part of the Swedish development budget is reserved for asylum seekers in Sweden? Is this an inconvenient truth, or is it in fact a prioritization?**

**THIS METHOD IS** a common practise in Swedish politics, but I wish that we had additional funds so this system would not be needed. At the same time, we are still one of the largest donors in the world, relative to GDP. The UN goal is that every country should donate 0.7% of their GDP – we donate 1%. The average number among OECD DAC (Development Assistant Committee) countries is 0.40%. If we retract the money that is being used for refugees in Sweden, our number amounts to about 0.82% of the Swedish GDP. We are still very large donors.

**Would Sweden be able to help more people if a larger share of money was invested in helping refugees abroad in contrast to welcoming people to Sweden? And if so, has this become a political impossibility due to it being a policy perceived as nationalism?**

**IT IS IMPORTANT** to do both; I do not think that it is relevant to see it as a question of either or. We welcomed more refugees per capita than any other European country in 2015. Meanwhile, Sweden is still in the top five when it comes to funding organisations working with refugees in conflict areas. Thus, I am very proud when I represent Sweden. I understand and appreciate the fact that there is



I THINK THAT THERE HAS BEEN TOO LARGE A  
FOCUS ON GIVING INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS AN ENORMOUS  
BACKPACK OF CLIMATE-ANXIETY





## MOST OF THE PEOPLE THAT ARE ABLE TO ESCAPE TO SWEDEN ARE THOSE WHO HAVE THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES TO DO SO. NEVERTHELESS, WELCOMING REFUGEES IN SWEDEN IS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE

a debate whether it is a good idea that money reserved for development aid is used to fund refugee reception in Sweden. Unfortunately, this is due to financial restraints.

**We are always discussing Syrians and Afghans, but rarely speak about other conflict zones, where the people affected do not reach the Swedish border. Consequently, some people have the opportunity to make use of the resources provided to refugees in Sweden, while others have to rely on organisations such as UNHCR. What is your take on this?**

**WE DO A** lot regarding “forgotten” conflicts and countries. I have myself visited South Sudan, Liberia, Somalia and as well as other countries. I can honestly say that I have a clean conscience regarding this issue. Most of the people that are able to flee to Sweden are those who have the economic resources to do so, while others do not have this possibility. Nevertheless, welcoming refugees in Sweden is a matter of principle. If you are a refugee, you have the right to apply for asylum – this cannot be stretched. We must respect this right.

**New research indicate that economic aid is useless unless there is rule of law and an effective law enforcement. How come such a small share of aid is directed toward the strengthening of such areas?**

**I DO NOT** believe in singling out one sole factor. You have to look at a number of components. But I agree that rule of law, anti-corruption and the judicial system is essential in solving several issues that undermine development and anti-poverty programmes. Sweden has for example financed an anti-corruption body in Guatemala that basi-

cally managed to bring down the whole government. This project, that we have supported from the start, has been vital for the development of Guatemala. I also consider the establishment of strong tax agencies as crucial. Sweden has aided South Africa and Mozambique when it comes to taxation. To help countries generate an income by themselves is what is sustainable in the long run. Sure, we can fund small projects that support women and education etc., but the goal is to assist countries in reaching the point where they can provide for themselves.

**“There is no relationship between aid and development, every study that shows this collapses when it is reproduced. Everyone working with aid knows this, and the most embarrassing part is that poverty reduction comes from globalisation and capitalism – China and India gets no notable aid”. This was said by Danish professor Martin Paldam. How do you view this?**

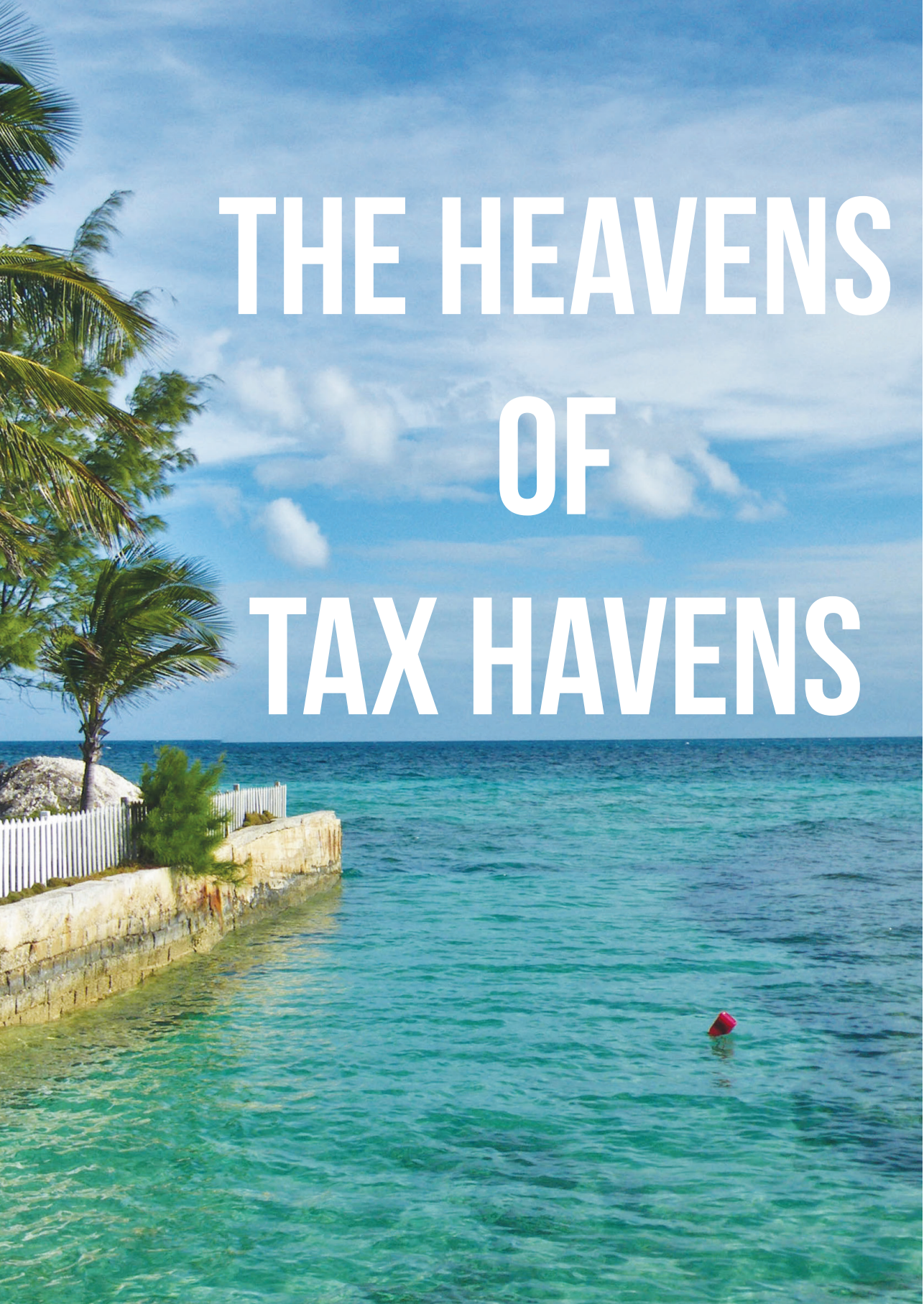
**IT IS PROBABLY** true to some degree. Many believe that everything solves itself if the economy gets up and running. However, I do not think that it is enough. If there is no democracy or rule of law, investors will flee, and the economic revenues will not reach the common people. Sweden’s role is to be present and stress inconvenient matters, such as human rights. This method is not a magic wand for development, certainly not. Still, we witness that countries where we have been involved are heading towards a brighter future – use Bangladesh as an example. Sweden has supported Bangladesh for a long time and they claim that our cooperation has been benefitting. Now they are heading towards becoming a middle income-country. ●







# THE HEAVENS OF TAX HAVENS





In today's ever more connected economies, shell companies and subsequently tax havens play a critical role in lubricating the global financial system. Understanding their significance should be the first step towards restoring their dreadful reputation.

**F**irst of all, it should be established what a tax haven means. The word is often thrown around carelessly, so precisising its definition is of interest. Although the word lacks a universal interpretation, most agree that it's a jurisdiction with low tax rates and generally uncooperative with foreign tax authorities. Despite its portrayal in the media, owning a company in such havens is perfectly legal. Legitimate reasons for doing so range from corporations provisionally moving assets during mergers and acquisitions to multinational joint ventures looking for tax neutrality. So why are they portrayed so negatively in the media? Most people think of it as structures only used by dishonest corporations and wealthy elites to avoid paying taxes. Yet the overall comprehension for tax havens and their benefits are systematically overlooked.

**SETTING THE ECONOMIC** aspect aside for a moment, there's a strong moral argument for tax havens.

Namely that they provide high quality financial services as well as rule of law to citizens around the world who otherwise wouldn't have access to them. These include the countless number of people persecuted on religious, racial, political, sexual and economic grounds. It includes residents of failed states, where crime, corruption and extortion are regular occurrences. For this group of people, having the ability to safely allocate their capital abroad is a key aspect in protecting their safety and general wellbeing. To deny them this is to deny them the ability to flee from violations of their human rights. Upholding the human rights of an individual should always come before tax compliance. In the end, countries with stable institutions and efficient taxation frameworks are less likely to have wealth parked internationally. The percentage of the total wealth parked abroad in the U.S. is around 10%, in Russia it's 50%.

**FROM A PURELY** economic standpoint, tax havens play a key role in promoting tax competition. Tax







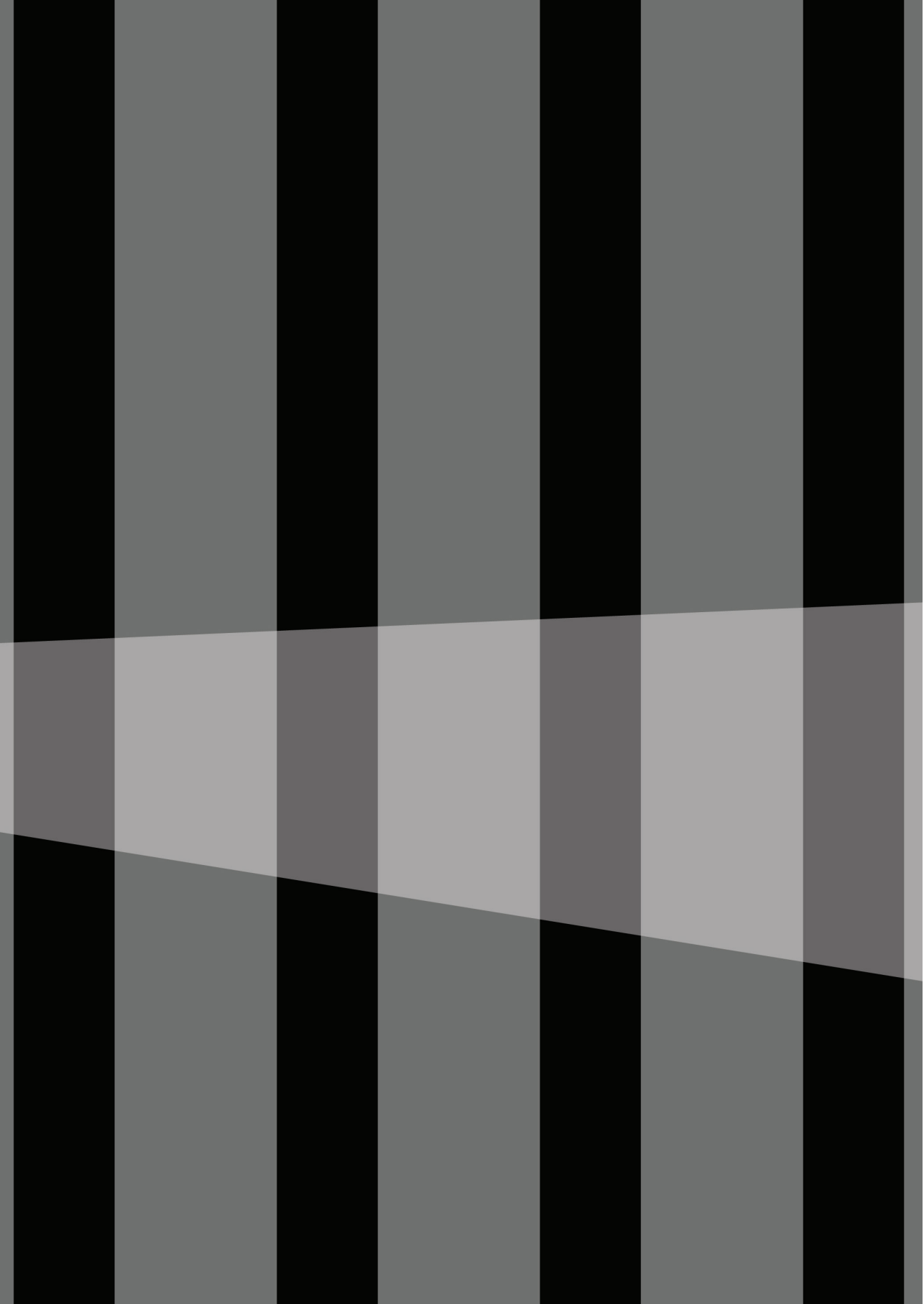
## SETTING THE ECONOMIC ASPECT ASIDE FOR A MOMENT, THERE'S A STRONG MORAL ARGUMENT FOR TAX HAVENS

competition means that governments around the world compete for investment and jobs through tax rates. Havens allow for capital to be reallocated with relative ease. When governments impose confiscatory and overly complex tax codes, investors and entrepreneurs can shift resources abroad to nations with better structures. This has several benefits. On the one hand it forces effective governance. With the presence of havens, governments cannot tariff their way of our problems. Fiscal irresponsibility is properly punished. Instead governments must provide value to the taxpayer in the form of a mix of public services and efficient policies, or risk eroding the tax base.

**FURTHERMORE, THERE IS** a perception that tax havens are used as an instrument for money laundering and financing criminals – basically somewhere to park dirty money. This is simply not true. The most comprehensive research on the matter is done by the Basel Institute on Governance, which provides a risk rating for countries' money laundering and terrorist financing. In its 2015 report, the institute concludes that the ones at the top of the list aren't tax havens. Instead they tend to be low-income countries with high rates of corruption, inefficient judicial systems and lacking in resources to oversee the financial system. Nations such as Iran, Guinea-Bissau and Swaziland. Not Luxembourg, The Cayman Islands or the Baha-

mas. The latter's characteristics are quite the opposite, offering stable public institutions and rule of law.

**ULTIMATELY SYSTEMS ARE** always going to be exploited in various ways, tax havens are no different. They lubricate the global financial system, provide the oppressed with an escape route, force effective governance on almost all states and do in fact harbour very little dirty money. The ultimate trade off that we as citizens must make are these benefits versus a small number of individuals and corporations using them to successfully avoid taxes. It's the opinion of the author that such tax evasion isn't the result of individuals exploiting a flawed system, but rather a consequence of taxation frameworks in the formal economies in which the benefits of participation are trumped by those standing outside it. Going forward, these are the structures which need improvement, not tax havens. ●



# THEME: **CRIME**

Nothing gets the juices of the populace flowing as a good crime story. At the same time it is a scourge affecting every single person, community and nation. Violence, greed and secrecy fill great books, but ruins the lives of countless. The Perspective invites you to a world as exciting as horrible.





## WHY CRIME DOESN'T PAY

Morally wrong? Sure. Negative social effects? Absolutely. But how does crime, and more specifically violence, relate to long term economic growth?

**P**overty has long been thought of as a result of “poverty traps”. Many believe that development is hampered when poor countries lack sufficient infrastructure and education, wherefore the state of poverty becomes self-reinforcing. Even though many of today’s theories regarding economic growth includes factors such as education and infrastructure, research suggests that the main constraint on development these days is not a poverty trap, but a violence trap.

**IN THE 2011** World Development Report from the World Bank, economists claim that violence isn’t just one cause of poverty – it is becoming the primary cause. Countries fall victim to crime and become trapped. Violence and bad governance prevent countries from fleeing. And on the opposite, peaceful countries break out and escape poverty.

Being poor today is more or less the same thing as being riven by civil war, ethnic conflict or organised crime.

**THE REPORT STATES** that 1.5 billion people live in countries affected by political violence, organised crime, markedly high murder rates or low-intensity conflicts. Many countries seem to be trapped in negative cycles. For example, all but a few of the 39 countries whom suffered civil wars between 2000-2011 also had one between 1970-2000.

**THIS BECOMES A** burden on the entire economy, discouraging domestic and foreign direct investments, reducing competitiveness and reallocation of resources, creating inefficiency and uncertainty. Examples are everywhere to be found. South Sudan, Ukraine, Syria, Afghanistan, Somalia, Yemen and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are all



countries where poverty has followed, or been cemented by, violence.

**ONE SHOULD KEEP** causality in mind though, as always when talking about economic growth. Are countries violent because they are poor, or poor because they are violent? It seems to go both ways. As a South Sudanese rebel leader said, life is cheap “so it pays to be a rebel”. Needless to say, when poverty is all over the place and jobs nowhere to find, incentives to fight increase. This is also a perspective that the World Bank report takes into account. To examine the importance of wealth, the authors interviewed young people in half a dozen countries and asked why they joined rebel groups and gangs. And sure enough, about four-tenths alleged unemployment as the main motivation. Also interesting was that only a tenth cited belief in the cause as their main reason. There are exceptions though; half of the members of militant Islamist groups in Mali and the West Bank said belief in the cause was the main reason.

**THE RESULT OF** the report gives, either way, profound implications – both for poor countries fighting poverty, and the rich ones who want to give a hand. Firstly, it suggests that preventing violence should be top priority. During the last decade, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the UN in 2000 worked as a guideline regard-

ing development. Regrettably, none of them even mentioned areas such as justice and security. However, priorities seem to have changed, since the new Sustainable Development Goals includes a goal called “Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions” which addresses these issues.

**INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES CAN** benefit from the hefty amount of research that deals with reducing and preventing violence. Studies have stressed the importance of rapidly restoring people’s confidence in government. The World Bank report highlights the procedure which led to a number of conflict-ing parties signing a peace deal in Ghana in 2003, which helped strengthen trust in government. To signal good intentions by making credible appointments has also been mentioned as crucial. Before public confidence in collective actions are restored, rudimentary institutions cannot be transformed.

**THE PROCESS TO** reduce crime and violence takes time, often decades. Unfortunately, few involved in post-conflict settlements are willing to pay that price. Being so, we have to be patient and realize that current transitions in Arab and African countries might take a long time, since effective government can’t be created overnight. Still, this needs to do be done. The alternative is far too costly. ●



ECONOMISTS CLAIM THAT VIOLENCE ISN'T  
JUST ONE CAUSE OF POVERTY – IT IS  
BECOMING THE PRIMARY CAUSE

# THE PRICE OF BEING A HERO



“Whoever appeals to the law against his fellow man is either a fool or a coward. Whoever cannot take care of himself without police protection is both. A wounded man shall say to his assailant: If I live, I will kill you - If I die you are forgiven.” That’s the compendium of an Italian Mafioso’s attitude: take care of your own business, don’t betray your brothers, and most importantly, don’t speak.

**T**he oldest and most powerful mafia groups are ‘Ndrangheta in Calabria, Cosa Nostra in Sicily, and Camorra in Naples. It is a paradox phenomenon that in a country seemingly without any disciplines, criminal groups are extremely disciplined. They have a strict hierarchy and even stricter rules to which they adhere. The mafia groups are not clubs anybody can enter. Rather, one is called to join an initiation rite, resembling a baptism, to be made a member of “the family”. ‘Ndrangheta’s baptism conventicle apparently plays out like this: after reading the clan’s codes and rules, an old member of honor cuts the to-be affiliate’s finger, lets a drop of blood fall on a prayer-card image of the clan’s patron, and burns the edges of the card. Being “baptized” makes affiliates blood brothers, owing each other even more loyalty than biological brothers. Roberto Saviano, a celebrated Italian journalist and book author, dared to reveal some of these secret initiation rites of ‘Ndrangheta in his TV show *Vieni via con me* (Come away with me), hosted by RAI, a big Italian broadcasting service. The series boomed, but RAI decided to drop the second season, reasoning that the viewing ratings were too low. This is an example of how deep the mafia is involved in any part of society: maybe the TV hosts were afraid of ‘Ndrangheta’s rage, maybe they were corrupted. For sure is that nobody has seen or heard anything.

**CELEBRATING HONOR** AS the highest virtue and reinforcing it through mysterious rites, mafia “families” keep their affiliates in line. The golden rule of omertà, the code of silence, seals the deal: if one leaks family issues to externals, he deserves nothing but death. The attitude of omertà goes back to the 17th century when Sicilians were ruled by the Spanish and forced to live in slavery-like circumstances. The mafia emerged and offered the oppressed Sicilians protection, stability and a kind of “pride” in exchange for unconditional loyalty. In contemporary Italy with its high unemployment rates (especially among young adults in the Southern parts of the country) and several other societal and economic struggles, it’s not surprising that the mafia’s offer still appears attractive. Often, people don’t have any other choice than bowing down to them: if they oppose, they will be punished.

**IN THE ITALIAN** policymaking squad, organized crime is not considered an emergency but rather a stable factor. The country’s government is accustomed to losing part of their GDP to organized crime and factors it in to their economic planning. In Calabria, it’s seen as impossible to avoid paying extortion or to collaborate with the ‘Ndrangheta. Through drug trafficking, extortion and usury (exploitation of small merchants and craftsmen by lending them money with unreasonably high interest rates), the ‘Ndrangheta syndicate controls





“

AN OLD MEMBER OF  
HONOR CUTS THE TO-  
BE AFFILIATE'S FINGER,  
LETS A DROP OF BLOOD  
FALL ON A PRAYER-  
CARD IMAGE OF THE  
CLAN'S PATRON, AND  
BURNS THE EDGES OF  
THE CARD



vast portions of the region's territory and economy, and accounts for at least three percent of Italy's GDP. Given that this calculation doesn't even count in Camorra's or Cosa Nostra's activities, nor all the stuff we don't know about, the mafia families' stake is probably much higher. They snatch public construction contracts and make huge profits by using low quality concrete or leaving out the static check – at the expense of other peoples' security. Further, the mafia controls central market halls, gas stations and influences municipalities: by placing their people in the administration and through blackmailing and corrupting politicians, the mafia syndicates ensure that their criminal interests are advocated for by supreme authority. Yet, though probably everybody in for example Calabria knows about the wheelings and dealings of 'Ndrangheta, nobody would speak about it: omertà keeps peoples' mouths shut. Fear, combined with mistrust in legal entities and a no-way-out situation makes the mafia's power reiterate itself. The syndicates have loads of money and societal influence. Yet, their true power lies in being secret and having a reputation, in using of symbols and engaging in an aura of mystery. Aren't we always scared most of what we don't know?

**ROBERTO SAVIANO HAS** given the public insights on organized crime in Italy in his many articles and several books, TV shows and speeches. Owing to

these revelations, he has been sentenced to death by various mafia groups. He has been living underground under constant police protection for almost nine years now. He never stays at one place more than two nights, and several airlines refuse to take him onboard. The reason mafia syndicates want to have people like Saviano dead is that he reveals their secrets. They cannot risk that somebody attacks their shield of silence, because they know very well that every little crack could be a step towards its destruction.

**ON OCTOBER 20TH** in 2008, six international Nobel Prize winners (Dario Fo, Mikhail Gorbachev, Günter Grass, Rita Levi-Montalcini, Orhan Pamuk, and Desmond Tutu) convened to write an open letter to the Italian government asking for better protection of Saviano and defeat of the Camorra. They emphasized that organized crime is a problem for democracy, concerning all free citizens. It is unacceptable that a person like Roberto Saviano is the one who loses in the fight against crime. It is unacceptable that for being a hero, he had to pay with his freedom. ●



THE REASON MAFIA SYNDICATES WANT TO HAVE  
PEOPLE LIKE SAVIANO DEAD IS THAT HE REVEALS  
THEIR SECRETS

**CRIME: FICTION**  
ABDALLAH SMITH



# TROUBLE IN PARADISE



Life in a day of a man troubled and lost  
In search of salvation on the path to satisfaction  
A sip from the grail that puts restless minds at ease  
Anything, let that itch ease.

**I**ts not hard getting lost. Sometimes you could be staring right at it. As I was, this dawn of dawns. The sun glistening out the window and her dark moons like black matter glaring into me.

**THESE WERE THE** tortuous eyes I laid my sight on each morning for the last five months - in front of me now, I, swimming in the dense pool of her soul. Getting her wasn't easy. I had to transform my essence for the task. I knew what she was from afar, and I knew the qualities she was looking for. By observing people you can begin to understand the codes and subsets of intimacy. Begin to see patterns in the work. Try hard enough and you can learn to vibe to the different waves.

**WE ALL DO** it sometimes. To get places, to meet people, to find friends. I don't always do it. It can be consuming. But I did it for her. And all that it had entailed consumed me, and I had become what I was now for better or for worse. But I was with her.

**I AM PROBABLY** exaggerating a bit, and that may be due to the subsiding effects of the Molly pill. Things to do with lust and sex tend to be amplified when drugs get involved. And not only that, the last lines of coke were now sliding down the back ends of my nostril and I felt that cold numb-

ing feeling I longed for every time I picked up my phone to contact my dealer.

**"YOU GONNA CALL** him again babes?"

"I don't know - i'm feeling good."

"Can you go get me water, my mouth is mad dry."

"You want water? Then after that, would you want me? Again?"

"Shut up." She squirms and turns under the covers in a way that makes me feel animal-like.

**I TILTED MY** head back and shut my eyes to let the bitter drip sting my mind. But it didn't come. And I didn't like that. Didn't like knowing the high was peaking. Neglecting the inner animal, my fingers pick and pull the blanket and clothes over to see if the nugget coke bag was hiding somewhere, but no. Was it finished? Jesus. Edgy feeling.

**THE GLOW OF** the high, dulling. I didn't like that. I checked underneath the bed, then brushed aside the paraphernalia on my bedside-table, pressing my forefinger on the white smudges of coke then fingering my gum to feel some slight taste of bitter. That was not going to do. I dragged myself off the bed, and kissed my damsel before heading to the kitchen for some water.

**"OK, PASS ME** my phone. You have my phone?"

"Nah, you have it."



"I gave it to you—you were using it for your game. No?"

"Oh! Ha ha ha ha, yeh ha, its here... ha ha ha. Oh gosh, so silly."

**I PICKED UP** the phone and called my dealer. Same price. Same location, just about 10 minutes drive from my place. I hated driving, especially at this awkward time after dawn, high like this.

**"YOU COME WITH me?"**

"Hah! Im here."

Of course, I want to say. But I can't. Not to that face.

**I CHECKED UNDER** the bed, the table and in between the creases of the covers around the shape of my damsel one more time before placing my Aviator shades on then heading out to the blisteringly sunny streets of Accra.

**I HAD PARKED** my car at the bus stop just a few meters away from a small roundabout that act as a minor intersection for a major road coming in from Central Accra and a side road round the Ac-

cra Mall. I was facing the direction of home so in any case the dealer would drop the white envelope from my side of the car and I would immediately take off. I hated this. But the ends justified the means, however wrought with anxiety, fear and danger the means were.

**I ROLLED UP** the windows of the car and blasted my AC since I could feel myself sweating profusely, but then felt too cold so decided to turn it off and sit in the still environ of my car. After a few seconds of discomfort I rolled the windows down a little to allow some air to come in.

**EYES TRANSFIXED ON** the rear-view mirror. Where is he? Always late, always like this. I didn't like this. Finally, I hear the roaring noise of his motorbike and see a slim black shape become a big one, then a helmet tilting toward me with an envelope in his battered biker gloves. He tosses it inside and before veering off shouts "POLICE BEHIND ME!!"

**JESUS! MY EYES** turn to the rear-view mirror and a distant blur of red and blue is fast approaching.





FUCK! I jam on the acceleration with all my will, but the car won't move—SHIT-SHIT-FUCK—I was on park.

**THEY PROP ME** against their vehicle. My hands shackled by this plastic thing I wasn't too concerned about since I was busy shouting, screaming and wildly resisting.

**"THIS IS FUCKING UNFAIR. PEOPLE ARE COMMITTING REAL CRIMES IN THE WORLD, GETTING AWAY WITH MURDER, AND YOU ARE HERE TAKING ME? BECAUSE OF WHAT? BECAUSE I HAVE MONEY AND BECAUSE I AM VULNERABLE? I CAN'T GO IN! MY PARENTS, MY LIFE - GOD MAN - I JUST WANTED TO... OH GOD. I AM SORRY. I am sorry."**

**HOT TEARS STREAMING** down my dilated eyes now. My resistance failing. "I am sorry. I won't do it again. I - I - I... god. I mean if you think about it, people all around are taking drugs, why is this one illegal. See what doctor's are prescribing people nowadays for the smallest thing. Anyone can get drugs, just from not being able to pay atten-

tion. You know? And then they get hooked on it, dependent, and that is legal? I am not dependent. And you know who wins, the real criminals—the pharmaceuticals. They steal from the forests and patent everything from the plant which produces the drug to the fucking air we breathe. Then they cut it with all types of fucked shit—horse tranquilizer or some shit—and BAM! It's on the shelf at the pharmacy available for purchase for nothing. You know, it is unfair, this is unfair. I am sorry for this..."

**IN THE BACK** of the police car, my head down, my brain tired, my will defeated—I knew it would be fine. The police would get me to call someone and they would arrange the necessary bribe (a hefty one, believe me) and it would be done. But it didn't stop my heart's hammering; it didn't stop my tears pouring. I was a good guy—on the right path, all in all. How did it come to this? I looked up at the blue sky and saw the moon. Three-quarters of it at least. ●





# SICK SPORT

Sport is the world's largest cultural movement. Recently it has been befouled by death and misery. It is evident that football fans need to boycott the 2022 World Cup hosted by Qatar.

**W**henever a big event in sports is awarded to a non-western country, proposals of a boycott are heard. Before the Beijing Olympics in 2008 journalists reported that over 1.5 million people had been evicted from their homes to make way for new stadiums. Similar allegations were made for the 2010 Brazil World Cup and the Olympics in Rio de Janeiro last year, with corruption and police brutality thrown into the mix. As athletes prepared for the Winter Olympics in Russia three years ago, the LGBT movement initiated large scale protests and called for sports fans to boycott the games because of Russia's controversial laws regarding homosexuality.

**DESPITE ALL OF** this, I must confess, the debate didn't affect me much. Maybe, just maybe, I had a touch of bad conscience while sitting on my sofa, having the TV on full volume. Nevertheless, I enjoyed Usain Bolt's 9,69 second 100 meter World Record run in Beijing. I cheered when Siphwe Thsabalala scored the opening goal of the 2010 World Cup for South Africa against Mexico. My national pride was brought to life when Charlotte Kalla won the gold medal with her sprint in the ski-relay in Sochi and when the Swedish national football team beat USA and Brazil and brought home the silver medal in Rio last year. But even for a sports nerd like me, there is a point where I need to compromise with my passion and support a boycott. It's obvious that the red line has been

crossed by the Qatari preparations for hosting the 2022 World Cup.

**THE MOST STRIKING** reason is death. Large numbers of migrant workers, mainly from Nepal, Bangladesh, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, coming to Qatar to construct infrastructure ahead of the World Championship, have died. The exact number is disputed - some claim it is a few hundred, others, like the Washington Post, published an article in 2015 that put the number as high as 1200. The Post later backed off from their claim and reposted the article, clarifying the facts. Whatever the real number might be, though, it's clear that something isn't right in Qatar.

**INDEPENDENT OF THE** number of deaths, there is evident proof that foreign workers in Qatar are treated inhumanely. Their poor labour conditions are a symptom of the "kafala" system. A foreign worker needs a sponsor, usually an employer, to work in the country. Practically, the kafala is a system of modern slavery which makes the workers the property of the employers. Workers cannot change working place unless the original employer approves - in some cases, they can't even leave the country but are subjects to forced labour, as passports are confiscated when arriving in Qatar.

**AS IF DEATHS** and inhumane working conditions were not bad enough, reports and interviews with migrant workers have shown that, although illegal, workers often have to pay administration costs and sometimes even money upfront to initially get the kafala sponsorship. A method used is to award workers an incorrect salary, and to use the margin to pay government fees. Add bad housing, limited work leaves and unpaid overtime and you might get a feel of what some of the migrants are going through while constructing the stadiums that will welcome football superstars in 5 years. Standing up against the employers as a migrant worker is nearly impossible, as the companies are so powerful they can threaten their employees with lowered wages, not renewing contracts or even deport workers from the country. Qatar has officially banned the kafala in theory, but human rights lobbyists like Amnesty International claim that in practice, nothing has changed. It is important to note that only a minority of Qatari companies exploit the system. However, Qatar has welcomed hundreds of thousands of migrants ahead of the

World Cup, so a minority still means that tens of thousands of workers are affected.

**ONE COULD COUNTER-**argue now that workers know what they are getting into when traveling to Qatar since witness-reports about the horrible conditions have circulated in the media for a long time. I argue however, that this is too much to ask for from poor migrants, desperately trying to make a living for themselves and their families back home. Most of us would have made the same choice. What's going on in Qatar is an obvious exploitation of the poor. We cannot let this escape.

“WE WILL SEND A STRONG SIGNAL TO THE ONES GOVERNING OUR SPORT

**FIFA, AS CORRUPT** as it is, has already refused to move the World Cup to a different country. Consequently, only the fans have the power to create change and shape the future of football. Sport is supposed to be about passion, friendship, national pride and happiness; notions that the Qatari World Cup seems completely detached from. We evidently need a worldwide boycott. The World Cup feeds on our dedication. If we retract that, we will send a strong signal to the ones governing our sport: we demand that in the future, basic human rights are respected. No matter how beautiful a perfect free kick, how exciting a star-studded Brazilian side or how breath-taking a World Cup Final is, anybody who knows the grim story behind Qatar 2022 cannot enjoy the games with a clean conscience. If we boycott, we can bring about a change. Let's unite and make football what it should be all about - let's really make it "the beautiful game". ●





# CARBON MARKET: GREEN-COLLAR CRIME PARADISE

Everywhere you find a market, you will find fraud and corruption. Even in a system shaped to reduce pollution, some actors still find a way to cheat.

**D**uring the COP21, putting a price tag on carbon dioxide emissions was all the rage. The concept is quite simple: the more CO2 a company emits, the more it pays. Surprisingly, major polluters agreed to this mitigation effort. Are they becoming sensible or did they see a profitable loophole in the carbon market system?

**INITIALLY, IT WAS** a great idea. In 1997, the Kyoto Protocol introduced two main types of emission markets: cap-and-trade systems and offsetting mechanisms. Great initiative, but mostly designed by and for traders. A limit (“cap”) of greenhouse gas emissions is set for countries or companies. If they exceed the limit, they are required to buy credits from others who succeed to produce less emissions (“trade”). One credit is equivalent to one tonne of CO2. First and foremost, carbon is an intangible commodity. In that way, it only represent a digit in a database. The trade is thus obscure for sellers and buyers. This lack of understanding makes carbon trading particularly vulnerable to criminal activity.

**THE EU CREATED** the first and largest multi-national Emission Trading Scheme in 2005. To launch it, the EU distributed free carbon allowances to companies. Thanks to lobbying effort, it was an over-allocation which allowed polluters to, first, cover their current CO2 emissions and, second, make profit by selling extra credit. This resulted in no emissions cuts and a slump of carbon price from 30 euros per tonne to less than 0.30 cents. The approach is ineffective for the climate but fruitful for companies. One concrete example is French company Lafarge, world leader in building materials. It gained 11 billion euros in 2014 by simply selling carbon credit it had been granted by the EU commission. According to Jos Delbeke, EU Climate Action Director-General, the upside is that companies use the profit to invest in greener technologies. However, the commission have no warrant to investigate where the jackpot goes.

“ IF YOU WANT TO DO CRIMES AND IF YOU WANT TO BE FAST AND UNTRACEABLE, CARBON IS ONE OF THE PERFECT CANDIDATES

CARBON CROOKS DOCUMENTARY

**ANOTHER WOBBLY ASPECT** of the carbon market is its blurry management. Indeed, the fact that all data about the procedures is digital-only facilitate the development of security fraud, tax evasion, money laundering and cyber-attacks. As a complement to Interpol and Transparency International reports, a Danish documentary named The Carbon Crooks provide a rich and concise investigation of these issues. The filmmaker, Tom Heinemann, provides new insights into the opaque machinations of carbon trades. For instance, we learn that 97% of carbon traders’ personal information at the Danish registry were fake in 2009. Authorities didn’t check, so anyone could enter the market easily.

**A MAJOR TAX** fraud called carousel fraud had been used by criminals to ship money across jurisdictions by the mean of Value Added Tax (VAT). In the UK, three VAT fraudsters managed to transfer 40 billion euros to an offshore bank accounts in the United Arab Emirates. Once out of the market, the money is gone forever, non-recoverable. The weak security systems also facilitate hackers to steal carbon credits. By the mean of a fake bomb attack, a hacker benefited the general evacuation of the Czech Republic carbon credit registry. In just a few minutes, he stole a huge amount of money by transferring carbon credits. Even if each credit have unique serial numbers, the speed of online transactions makes it very hard to track them.

# “ THE OLD FORM OF CRIMINALITY HAS BEEN QUICKLY OVERTAKEN BY A NEW —VIRTUAL UNDERGROUND ECONOMY CARBON CROOKS DOCUMENTARY

**RUN IN PARALLEL** of the “cap-and-trade” system, the offset scheme called Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) is another green-collar crime opportunity. It aims to promote renewable energy by connecting industrialized companies to developing countries’ projects. If a Northern company cannot meet its carbon cap, it can purchase credits of reductions made in another country (mainly in the South). Once again, the idea is honorable but economic giants have perverted the process on a large scale.

**THIS FLEXIBLE SCHEME** allows business to buy their way out of reducing their own emissions. To begin with, offsets are an imaginary carbon commodity, as we just assume the amount of CO2 emissions saved by a developing sustainable project. A good storytelling can make you win carbon credit easily. A company can promise on paper they will invest in renewable energy, grip offsets credits for that, and then vanish without doing anything.

**KNOWING ALL OF** those possibilities for profit-making, it become clearer why big business do not begrudge the “constraining” carbon market solution to reduce greenhouse gas productions. The polluter—payer system is rather a polluter-paying one. According to the World Bank, more than 100 countries and regions have adopted carbon pricing schemes today. The global carbon market is now estimated to be worth approximately 165 billion euros. Its complexity and its immaturity makes it particularly difficult to regulate. Carbon credit, as an intangible commodity, can pass through many countries in a minute. In that sense, law enforcement are limited with their domestic jurisdiction.

**FORTUNATELY, HOPE IS** still in the picture. In 2012 the first VAT fraudsters were judged and sentenced to 35 years in prison. NGOs such as Carbon Market Watch provide an independent control of carbon market evolution. UN is working closely with Interpol and other legislators to redirect this unfair financial mindset. Also, independent citizens’s initiatives as well as media’s such as The Carbon Crooks documentary, point to the problem and attempt to raise awareness of this silent crime organization. ●





“IT DOESN'T CONTRIBUTE TO PROTECTING THE CLIMATE, BUT IT ALLOWS POLITICIANS AND OTHERS TO SAY THAT THEY'VE DONE SOMETHING

CARBON CROOKS DOCUMENTARY





CRIME: EDITORIAL  
SWAANTJE MARTEN

# USELESS LAWS



THE GLOBALIZATION OF POLITICS

The world we live in is, without a doubt, truly globalized. The T-shirt you're wearing has probably seen more of the world than you on its journey into your closet. Technology can overcome hundreds of kilometres of distance in the blink of an eye. Yes, globalization has made our lives comfortable and easy in many ways. But problems cross borders now, too.

**P**roblems in the form of guns that are produced in Europe, shipped overseas and used in the Middle East. Or the big fat problem of environmental degradation, travelling from the big industrial nations all the way to small islands, threatening to drown them. This raises the question: If problems as big as these overcome country borders easily, can the nation state still be the main actor in the global order? Or, more to the point: Are legislature, executive and judiciary still state matters?

## “THE TREATIES THEY SIGN HAVE MORE LOOPHOLES THAN A PASTA SIEVE

**THE UNITED NATIONS**, the International Criminal Court and NATO exemplify the attempts of up-scaling responsibilities to a global level. We see criminals getting charged by the ICC and NATO troops interfering worldwide. Setting aside the many issues these institutions have, we could say that the executive and the legislature are being taken care of internationally. The judiciary, on the other hand, doesn't really seem convincing: Let's look at the Human Rights Declaration, probably the most fundamental document there is. It is not legally binding and violations happen on a daily basis in most signatory countries. A peek into the Human Rights watch report for 2017 uncovers how even the “free Western world” is threatened in its fundamentals by the rise of populism.

**BUT EVEN THE** international treaties that are in fact legally binding are in many cases not actually im-

plemented. Take the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Signatories are allowed to make reservations and practically pick and choose the part of the treaty they want to comply with. While some countries make rather mild alterations, others are straight forward disrespecting the basic thought of the so-called treaty. Saudi Arabia, for instance, reserves itself the right to put Islamic law before the laws the treaty imposes: “In case of contradiction between any term of the Convention and the norms of Islamic law, the Kingdom is not under obligation to observe the contradictory terms of the Convention.”

**I WAS GOING** to write this article on the question whether we need a world police in order to get countries to comply with the international treaties they sign. But as the legal situation is right now, this fictional world police would have no ground to operate on. In order to upscale responsibilities and adapt our political world order to increasing globalization and interconnectedness, we need to establish international laws that are binding. We cannot even start to think about how to get countries to comply with rules if the treaties they sign have more loopholes than a pasta sieve. Signatories should have, and clearly need, more motivation to comply with the treaties they sign than the threat of landing on Human Rights Watch's blacklist. Even though NGOs can apply a certain amount of pressure on the UN to impose sanctions on “misbehaving” countries, lobbyism shouldn't be the basis for the treatment of people, but solid laws. ●



# IS CRIME BEING AIDED BY 'AID'?

## DEAD DONKEYS FEAR NO HYENAS

A daring group of journalists embark on a risky journey to uncover the horrors of land grabbing and forced evictions in Ethiopia. Agricultural land is latest scarce 'hot' commodity up for grabs on the international market.

**A**t the International Human Rights Film Festival recently held in Lund, I had the opportunity to have a conversation with Joakim Demmer, who undertook a risk filled journey in Ethiopia to bring the issue of land grabbing to light. In his very interestingly titled documentary 'Dead Donkeys Fear No Hyenas', he takes us through the current situation in Ethiopia, questioning the role of bodies like the EU, the World Bank the British International Development Department. While investing billions of dollars in development funds and food aid in countries like Ethiopia, where democracy is weak and institutions are corruption ridden, they may be unknowingly contributing to the issue of land grabbing at the expense of the poor and the defenceless people.

**THE SIGHT OF** a famine hit country, that exports food on one hand while food aid is flowing in simultaneously, didn't seem right to Joakim. He got more and more involved as he found the support of Ethiopian environmental journalists, exploring how foreign land investment had exploded in the Western Ethiopian region of Gambela. The government had planned to give away 2.5 million hectares of land without involving the local people and seeking their proper consent. Overall food production in the world is based on just 750 million peasants or farmers, and they are threatened group, no matter where they are in the world. It's not only about losing their livelihood but also a

threat to their culture as land is the basis of their entire identity.

**DURING THE MAKING** of the film, they followed the conditions in the region over a long term of six years. From the time the filmmakers started following this case, only three million people were entirely dependent on food aid. However, after merely six years, the number had gone up to ten million people solely dependent on food aid. In some regions like Gambela, the government was misusing the World Bank powered PBS (Provision of Basic Services) program. The aid money was being used to provide the salaries for the same officials who were executing the forced evictions. In a way, this program was acting as an alibi for the Ethiopian government to evict people from their land. The struggle of evicted farmers under the so called "villagization" program is substantially more pronounced than its promised benefits of healthcare, education and clean water.

**IN ETHIOPIA,** LAND grabbing is further contributing to the spiral of violence and some anger has flooded into the terrorism realm. The response of the government has been more repression by stationing soldiers in the regions, who are now committing crimes against humanity, under the cover of security. There are lots of documented cases of rape, beating and abduction that have contributed to destabilising the whole country. Last year there was a huge uprising as several testimonials about





rape, murder and forced eviction came to light. This, however, never became a part of the reports by the British International Development Department and the World Bank refused to listen to the protests.

**A QUOTE THAT** stands out from the film is “He who waits for help has no place on Earth”. Indeed, this is an issue that needs the collective voice of the citizens themselves. However, when asked if the filmmakers come across civil societies or youth groups trying to fight this injustice, Joakim tells us that “there is no space for civil societies. If there are any, they are turned into lame ducks.” In a country with no free media it was difficult to find news. Being a person from a different nation made it a bit easier for Joakim to dig deeper and break through this wall of silence. Fearing the government and their network of spies aiming to catch any “anti-development” elements, the few people who are willing to share their experiences, were asking the same question – “How can they say we have no right over this land?”.

**SURE, THERE ARE** winners and losers in any development program. But as Joakim rightly asks “who decides who is the winner or the loser? Furthermore, until what limit can we go before we decide to stop?”. Transnational companies are laying their hands on land without local people being included in the process – often they aren’t even given economic compensation. Is the solution just fuelling in more aid without finding the roots of

## “HE WHO WAITS FOR HELP HAS NO PLACE ON EARTH

the issue? The World Bank’s key mission is to end poverty, support prosperity and benefit the society at large. However, when development aid gets involved in geostrategic interests, the fine line between the good and bad, gets blurred. There is no denying that there are many people with good intentions in all development organisations. But when engaged with nations suffering from inherent institutional weaknesses, they must tread with extreme caution not to get entangled within the chaos. Although the film is based in Ethiopia, identical struggles are being fought across several countries in Latin America, as well as in Cambodia and India. Now it’s up to the international societies to reassess their impact and propel aid in the “right” direction of development. ●

*Ethiopian farmers harvesting*





# JUSTICE FOR THE HIGH AND MIGHTY



“White collar’ not only describes the deceivers but the deceived.” How should a criminal justice system treat offenders who betray people’s trust and rob them of their money?

**T**he term “white collar crime” was first coined in 1939 by American sociologist Edwin Sutherland. He defined it as “crimes committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.” This offender-based definition, especially due to its sociological nature, has been insufficient for the purposes of criminal justice system. An extensive definition of white collar crime can be found on the website of the FBI: “These crimes are characterized by deceit, concealment, or violation of trust and are not dependent on the application or threat of physical force or violence. The motivation behind these crimes is financial—to obtain or avoid losing mon-

ey, property, or services or to secure a personal or business advantage.” The legal definitions vary between countries but they essentially contain these elements.

**AT THE TURN** of the century, the FBI conducted one of the largest and most complex white-collar investigation in its’ history, the Enron Corp. scandal. Enron, a giant energy corporation, employed irregular accountancy practices to hide its debts and losses while painting a flourishing picture of the company’s financials. As it became difficult to hide the mass-scale fraud, especially due to the US Securities and Exchange Commission launching an investigation and the global recession, it filed for bankruptcy in December 2001. As a result, over 4500 employees lost their jobs, health care and savings/retirement funds while investors lost over \$60 billion. Kenneth L. Lay, the former chairman and chief executive of Enron, died before the announcement of his sentence at the age of 64. The chief executive, Jeffrey K. Skilling, was sentenced to 24 years in prison, which was reduced to 14 years after he made a deal to forfeit \$45 million.

“The Banker’s Fate”



**THIS IS NOT** a stand-alone professional catastrophe: the WorldCom fraud, the Tyco fraud and the recent Wells Fargo phony accounts scandal are just some on an exhaustive list of other scandals. The role of white collar crime in the bursting of the housing bubble in the US in 2007, which caused the financial crisis, is still being assessed. 35 bankers including one “top banker” have been imprisoned, with state departments making multi-billion dollar civil settlements with banks like Bank of America, Citigroup, JPMorgan Chase and Gold-

man Sachs for their part in the financial fraud. An interesting case that transpired during this crisis was Madoff's Ponzi scheme. A scheme of "robbing Peter to pay Paul", Bernard L. Madoff defrauded \$65 billion, including \$17.5 billion principal amount, from his investors. At the age of 71, he was sentenced to 150 years in prison: a symbolic sentence that claims to administer retribution, establish deterrence and assure victims that justice has been served. But does this symbolism really achieve what it proclaims?

## “ A PUNISHMENT THAT CANNOT MATERIALIZE RAISES FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF JUSTICE

**A PUNISHMENT THAT** cannot materialize raises fundamental questions about the concept of justice behind such symbolism. How does this catharsis serve to benefit the victims and society in general? The act of punishment reinforces societal norms, reaffirms the self-image of the victim, and asserts power over the offender. However, the individuals' economic loss, the psychological effect of such crimes on victims and the idea that they require and deserve reparation are often lost in an attempt to idealize a societal belief system while painting the state as the 'victim'. Therefore, the inclination towards retributive justice is not surprising. Retributive justice, perhaps the oldest form of justice, which can also be seen in all major religions, in its most basic sense provides that the wrongdoer be punished proportionally to the crime he/she has committed. Its primary objective is not to achieve social purposes like deterrence or restoration but rather to impose, retrospectively, the principle of "just deserts".

**RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE IS** an age-old theory, and academics favor and argue for a 'progressive' restorative justice theory. Professor Howard Zehr, widely known as "the grandfather of restorative justice", defines it as a framework that is based on

identifying and addressing harms and needs by highlighting the obligations collectively through engagement of victims, offenders and communities. The aim is to let the most affected take key decisions and make the process more ideal, transformative and rehabilitative. It is also contended that restorative justice reduces the likelihood of future offenses.

**IF RESTORATIVE JUSTICE** was to be applied to Madoff's case, would the situation have been different for the victims? As of March 2017, Irving Picard, the court-appointed trustee since December 2008, has recovered \$11.59 billion of the \$17.5 billion in principal lost in the Ponzi scheme. Would the restorative justice have sped up the recovery process? This may be a mental exercise now, but an answer to this question will be extremely helpful in future cases. Any measure of justice to be achieved must necessarily have restoration of victims, economical and psychological, as a key component. The symbolic action of 150 years' sentence

## “ HOW DOES THIS CATHARSIS SERVE TO BENEFIT THE VICTIMS AND SOCIETY IN GENERAL?

achieves little, for Madoff, now 78, or otherwise in terms of deterrence, which is apparent from recent Wells Fargo scandal and Panama Papers. However, it would be naïve to give up retribution as the philosophical basis for punishment. It attempts to restore the social balance and punishes the guilty on behalf of the innocent. But social balance might not always be restored, as in the case of Enron's Kenneth L. Lay. That said, the balance between restoration and retribution may be the answer to serving justice in white collar crimes. ●



**CRIME: FEATURE**  
VIDE WASSBERG

**AN EYE FOR AN EYE**

**MAKES THE WHOLE  
WORLD BLIND**

Justice is one of the most powerful concepts within human society. Everyone has their own interpretation of what it is. Unsurprisingly, justice sometimes falls short of our own ideals and expectations.

**I**t is april 2016, late evening in the palestinian city of Bethlehem. The warm wind from the open windows fill the room where I sit. Me and some other students are listening to two older men. What brought these two men to our hotel this evening, is the horrible fact that both have lost their daughters. One of them is from Israel, who lost his daughter in a suicide bombing. The other man is from Palestine, whose daughter's skull cracked when she was hit by a rubber bullet. They paid the highest price any parent could pay, in a conflict they inherited. But their loss and grief unites them in more than one way. Both of them are members of the Parents Circle, a dialogue group between Israeli and Palestinian parents who have lost children to the conflict. They know that revenge could not bring their daughters justice, only forgiveness. For them, building bridges and destroying barriers between the two peoples is the key to break the vicious circle of violence their societies are involved in. However, the question remains: how could someone forgive the murderer of their child?


**IN PROTRACTED CONFLICTS**, especially between different ethnic groups, one crucial element is to maintain the image of 'the enemy'. The enemy is someone who is wrong, evil and acts irrationally. Altogether different from you and I. But when faced with the humanity of your enemy, it is hard to keep the fight going. Forgiving someone who did you wrong or were your enemy can be a powerful tool for peace. However hurtful the process of forgiveness may be, it should not be overlooked by society. The Gacaca courts installed after the Rwandan genocide is one example of how forgive-

ness could be incorporated in a judicial process as a path toward sustainable peace.

**APPROXIMATELY 700.000 PEOPLE** participated in the genocide in Rwanda. Eight years after it was over, only 6000 cases were solved by the official Rwandan courts. The tremendous amount of atrocities that needed to be dealt with by society were socially and financially crippling. When Rwanda needed to be rebuilt, the Gacaca courts became the solution. The courts re-instituted the traditional Rwandan justice process. Both Hutu and Tutsi community leaders were elected as judges. The accused confessed or pleaded not guilty and victims and witnesses testified for or against the accused. If the guilty were truthful and sincere in their remorse and regret, they were set free or got their sentence reduced. Large numbers served their sentences in different types of community services, where prisoners made roads, bricks and built homes for the survivors and victims. Occasionally victims and perpetrators constructed homes side by side, first for the victim and afterwards for the offender. Human rights organizations have questioned the fairness of the Gacaca courts. But they gave the community the opportunity to participate in their own process of justice. Thus, for the community, to be involved in the prosecution became vital to help process the atrocities. Gacaca not only restored the society but also trust in it.

**THE WESTERN TRADITIONAL** doctrine of justice approaches crime in a punitive manner. Laws protect the citizens of the state, and those who break the law has to answer to the state. Potential vic-





tims are part of a process in which justice is served through satisfying legal principles. The conflict is thereby taken away from the participating parties and is dealt with by prosecutors, lawyers, judges and juries. Subsequently, victims lose their case to the state, which decides the outcome of what may have been the most important day of their life. The accused lose the chance to redeem themselves to the victim or the community and perpetrators may never face the full scope of what harm their actions have made to other human beings. A sentence is carried out, and both the victim and the accused could feel betrayed by the judicial system if demands are not met. While punishment may have been dealt, psychological wounds could still remain unaddressed.

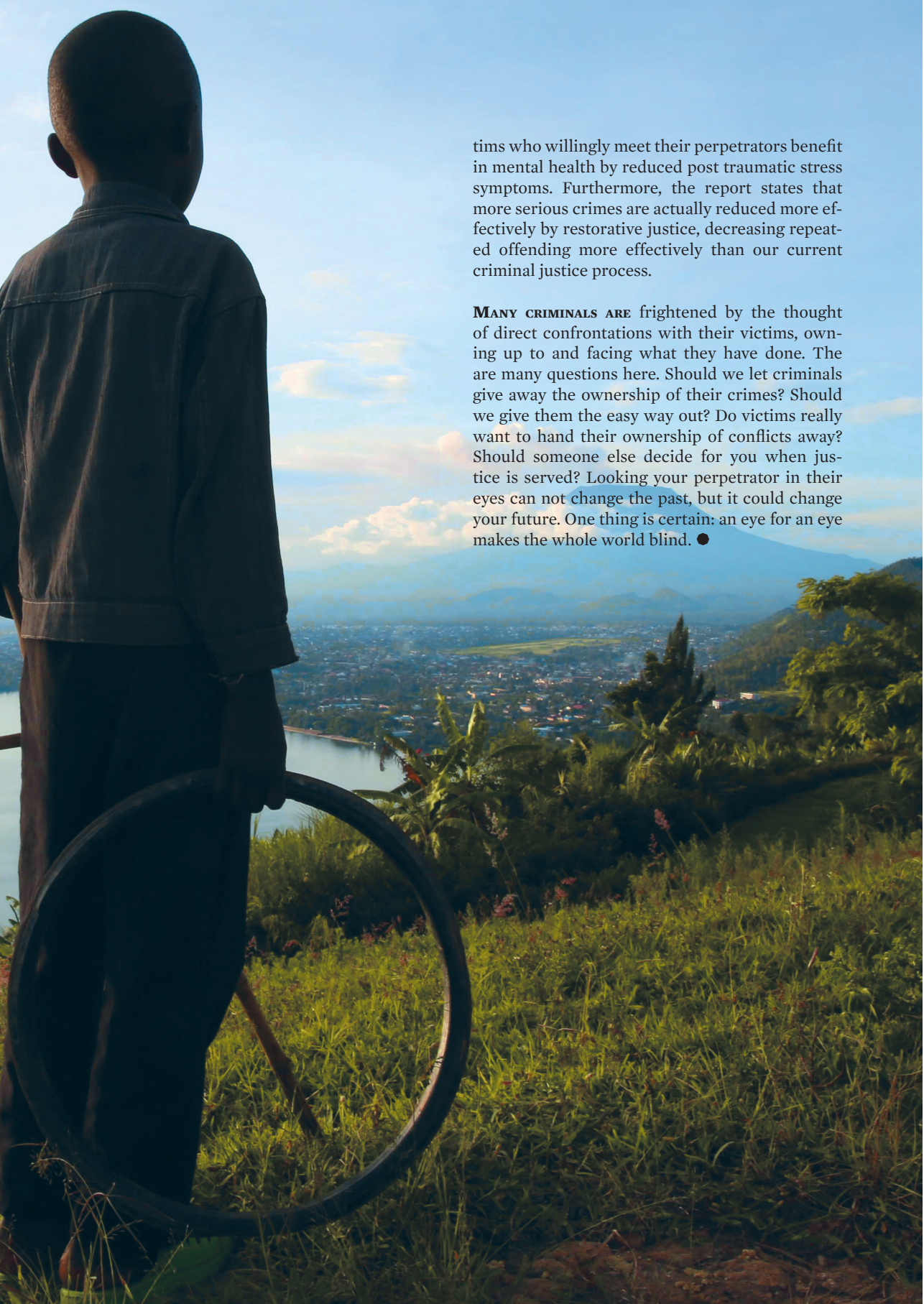
**NILS CHRISTIE HIGHLIGHTED** this phenomenon in his groundbreaking article *Conflict As Property*. What he calls the “ownership” of conflicts, is taken away from the involved parties, making individuals unable to affect the outcome of their own conflicts. He proposes a victim orientated court system deriving from restorative justice, where the direct involved parties decide what is relevant in each case.

**IN CONTRAST TO** traditional justice, restorative justice is based on the theory of justice that views crime as an offense against the individual or the community, rather between the state and one of the parties. Restorative justice works through victim-offender mediation, indirect communication via third parties, and restitution or reparation payments ordered by courts. Victims take a more

active role in their justice process and the offender can actively take responsibility for their actions and their redemption in the eyes of the victims or community. The late Nils Christie called for the systematic application of compensation beyond the legal system in addition to any potential punishment dealt by a judge. After establishing that the law had been broken and that the perpetrator was the one that did it, the victim comes in and explain their situation: what the crime have meant for their day to day life, explaining the effects of the wrongdoing, and especially suggesting what could be done to them to compensate any physical or psychological damage. This is also a way for victims to rebuild their integrity, in a situation where they are in control. As the victims get their say so does the perpetrators. His or her situation is explained, not to justify criminal actions but to explain the reasons behind their actions. Given the right circumstances, who knows what you and I are capable of? When they know nothing about them, what other choice does the victim have than to dehumanize, demonize and fear their perpetrator?

**IN THE REPORT** *Restorative Justice: The Evidence*, authors Lawrence W. Sherman and Heather Strang conclude that victims generally benefit from face-to-face restorative justice interaction with their offenders. Although restorative justice works differently on different kinds of people, vic-





tims who willingly meet their perpetrators benefit in mental health by reduced post traumatic stress symptoms. Furthermore, the report states that more serious crimes are actually reduced more effectively by restorative justice, decreasing repeated offending more effectively than our current criminal justice process.

**MANY CRIMINALS ARE** frightened by the thought of direct confrontations with their victims, owning up to and facing what they have done. There are many questions here. Should we let criminals give away the ownership of their crimes? Should we give them the easy way out? Do victims really want to hand their ownership of conflicts away? Should someone else decide for you when justice is served? Looking your perpetrator in their eyes can not change the past, but it could change your future. One thing is certain: an eye for an eye makes the whole world blind. ●









# AMERICAN PRISON SYSTEM: FROM REHABILITATION TO PUNISHMENT

In 1980 the United States of America held half a million citizens behind bars. Today that number is 2.2 million. The reason is that, during the 1970's, America got tough on crime. Before the 1970, the US prison system focused on the rehabilitation of inmates, rather than punishment. Today it is all about the punishment.



**I**n the last 40 years, the growth of inmates in American prisons have increased by 500%, despite crime declining nationally. In the 1980s half of the US inmates were violent criminals. In the 1990s the number was less than one third. In other parts of the world, people who are not violent offenders are usually given a fine, some community service or drug rehabilitation. In the US most of these criminals go directly to jail, and seeing the statistics below, they will probably return. Given the extremely high percentage of the US population that are serving time, it is a strong indicator that getting “tough” on crime is not right way to go about stopping crime. Shockingly, 76% of all former prisoners are within 5 years after release back in prison again. Often when people are arrested for less serious crime, they get rearrested for much serious crime.

**DURING THE SPIKE** of crime in the 1960s and 1970s the US government were led by two principles, incapacitation and deterrence. Incapacitation is that by putting people in jail they cannot create any new crime, since they are incapacitated. Deterrence is that people will refrain from crime fearing the harsh prisons sentences. This is however, misguided principles. Deterrence are the weakest principle, and as we see, people won’t refrain from crime even with the possibility of getting harsh punishment.

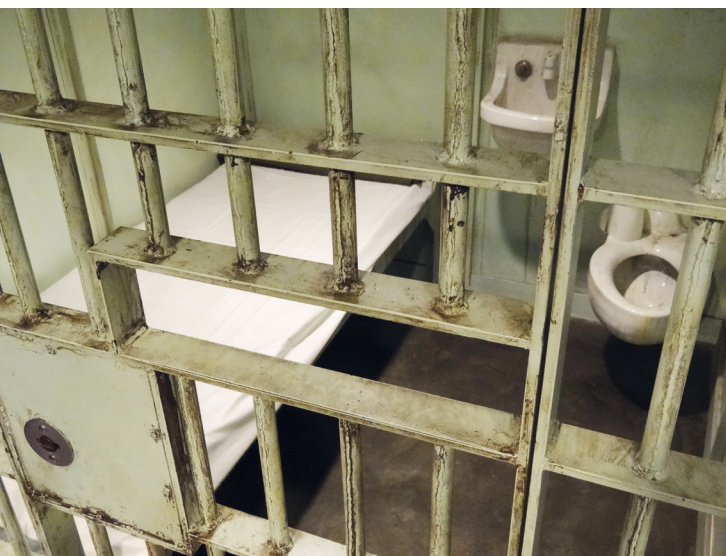
**SO WHAT HAPPENED?** Before 1970, US prisons encouraged inmates to gain occupational skills and to resolve psychological problems. In mid 1970s

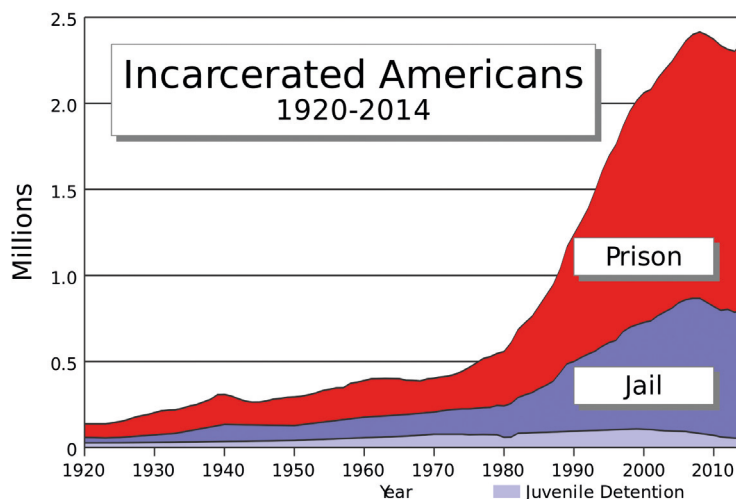
the incarceration percentage rose dramatically, with the rehabilitation policy being thrown out, and punishment became the future of US prison system. One would argue that if the extremely harsh prison policy in the US discouraged people from doing crime, it would be a success. Given what we have seen from the numbers above, one would say that success is not the case.

**DON’T GET ME** wrong, prisons are needed and important. But they should however, be reserved for people who commit the most societal harm and shocking acts of violence that poses a real threat. American style mass incarceration is kind of their misguided welfare state. Instead of handling welfare problems at the base, they throw people in jail, locking them away, out of sight out of mind. Poverty, injustice, drugs and other social problems are not being handled at the get go, but wait until they can put these individuals behind bars. Some people deserve to go to jail of course.

Harsh prison sentences and bleak futures doesn’t seem to encourage people to obey the law. Instead of using some of these 80 billion dollars on keeping people behind bars, the US should be attacking these problems at their core, which in turn will keep people away from being arrested. Free education, poverty reduction and drug reduction will probably decrease the US population from turning to crime.

**I ALSO WANT** to mention an interesting angle that explain some of these worrisome statistics. I am talking about the Prison-industrial complex which originates from the 1970s. The Prison-Industrial complex is a term used when describing the relationship between the states and private prisons. In order for private prisons to run, they need inmates. It has been revealed that private prisons strike deals with the states in order to have a steady stream of prisoners, even if the crime activity in the area does not match. Even worse is that these inmates are used as “forced labour” in huge contracting jobs worth millions, like for the US military. These prisoners create very cheap labour and its all paid for by taxpayers. No questions asked. They are after all, criminals.





**WHAT WILL ENCOURAGE** people to detain from crime? An example from Florida is most illuminating, where during a high terrorism alert the police force was enlarged by 50%. It is not sure if they actually prevented any terrorist attacks, but what is certain is that auto-theft crime dropped with 43% and burglary decreased with 15%. This is rooted in how people view risk. People often perceive that getting caught after the crime is done, is un-

“THE US PRISON POLICY OF MASS INCARCERATION IS JUST ACTUALLY CREATING MORE CRIMINALS

likely. People do however feel that getting caught during a crime is much more likely. So with a 50% increase in police presence on the streets, people will feel that getting caught during crime is much more likely and therefore will not consider doing crime. A different but effective method is from San Francisco jails, where they adopted a re-educational program for violent offenders. Prisoners who attended this program showed a 83% reduction of violent behavior after getting released from

prison. This not only increases public safety, but saves the tax-payers huge amounts of money, seeing that it costs 33,000 dollars a year per prisoner.

There are several aspects to this mass incarceration policy. The first and most obvious aspect is the financial one. The US pours billions of dollars to keep and feed inmates, 80 billion dollars to be exact. About 33,000 dollars per year per inmates, then after 5 years, 76% of them are back in prison. This is ridiculous.

The social aspect is also important. When someone goes to prison, his or hers family have a 65% chance of not being able to make ends meet. Ex cons in 48 states in the US will lose their right to vote after being incarcerated, meaning that they become even less important for the community. Today there are about 6,1 million americans unable to vote.

**BY PUNISHING PEOPLE** they become bitter and ultimately become more violent or defiant. Just by looking at the numbers above one can see that the US prison policy just creates more criminals, and usually it creates worse criminals. By pouring billions in keeping people behind bars, the US are neglecting the root of the problems that are forcing people to commit crime. As former US president Barack Obama said “By using the 80 billion dollars the US could created universal preschool for every 3 and 4 year old in America.” Another thing he mentioned was that with 80 billion dollars the US can double every teacher’s salary. So by looking at the numbers and fact one can easily see that “getting tough on crime” is a bad idea, which in turn just makes more criminals. Actually, the risk of committing crime again increases by 12% for each year spent in prison. Having spent time in a US prison totally destroys your chances of getting a proper job and will only be able to get a low paying job. In fact, staying just 1 year in prison will reduce your chances of getting employment after release with 24%. These percentages are pretty revealing. Punishing prisoners makes them often unable to be reintegrated into society, and therefore will turn to crime yet again. ●



# Is EVIL Born or Made?

Jack the ripper, Dr Shipman and Anders Behring Breivik. What drove them to kill? Were they born this way or did their experiences shape them into psychopathic killers? This age-old nature-nurture debate has recently been used to explore psychopathy.

**T**he first indication that biology and physiology is involved in behaviour was back in the 19th century when 25-year-old Phineas Gage survived after a large iron rod was driven through his skull. It almost completely destroyed his left frontal lobe and orbital cortex and, although he miraculously escaped without any major impairment to intelligence, motor function or speech, he had become a completely different person. Before the incident, Gage was known as a kind, even-tempered man. But after, he was described as disrespectful, impatient and moody.

**TODAY'S BRAIN IMAGING** technology has confirmed that psychopathic individuals have reduced activity in areas of the frontal lobe associated with empathy and a smaller amygdala, which processes emotional reactions and decision-making. Many impulsive killers were also found to have damage to the orbital cortex.

**WHEN SCIENTISTS HELPED** a woman identify why she had generations of especially violent males in her family they discovered a genetic defect on the X chromosome, on a gene called MAOA-L – nicknamed the “warrior gene”. It causes the brain-signalling chemicals serotonin and dopamine, which control mood, and norepinephrine, which controls the flight or flight response, to surge, causing impulsive behaviour, violence and mood swings. A study found that 78 Finnish violent criminals, who were responsible for a total of 1,154 murders, manslaughters, attempted murders and batteries, all had the variant of the warrior gene.

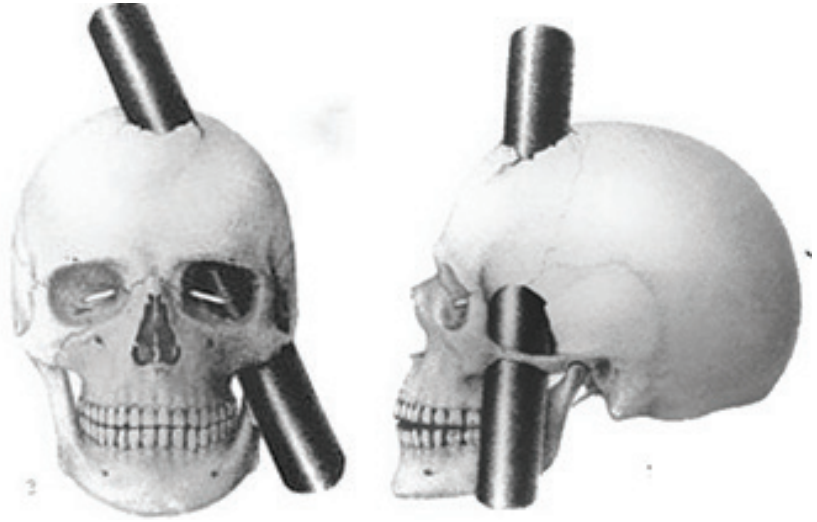
**THIS MAY PROVIDE** a reason for why there are considerably less female psychopathic killers than males. Women have two X chromosomes so even if they have the defect warrior gene on one chromosome,

they can be protected by a normal version on the other. It has even been speculated that the MAOA-L version of the warrior gene may be evolutionary for males as they have a greater tendency to form numerous relationships and so have

“A COCKTAIL OF GENETIC FACTORS, BRAIN PHYSIOLOGY AND CHILD ABUSE CREATES THE TRADITIONAL PSYCHOPATH

a reproductive advantage. Perhaps social groups with members that had the MAOA-L variant were better at fighting for resources, giving them an evolutionary advantage. Well... as long as those individuals didn't turn on their own community.

**THE GENETIC VARIANT** has been shown to impact development even before birth. The unborn baby's brain is flooded with serotonin, causing functions like valuing others and mood regulation to un-



An image showing how the metal rod penetrated Gage's skull.



“

IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED THAT 30-40% OF PEOPLE CARRY THE VIOLENT VARIANT OF THE WARRIOR GENE. SO WHY AREN'T A THIRD OF THE POPULATION GOING ON A VIOLENT RAMPAGE?

der-develop when they grow up. Could this show that psychopaths really are simply born that way?

**NOT ONLY CAN** people be born with the genetic predisposition to be a psychopath, but traumatic periods in someone's life can trigger changes in their genetics that can be passed on two generations. Potentially creating three generations of psychopaths from one traumatic event!

**IT IS ESTIMATED** that 30-40% of people carry the violent variant of the warrior gene. So why aren't a third of the population going on a violent rampage? A neuroscientist, James Fallon, researching brain scans in order to characterise a typical psychopath's brain found, to his surprise, that his own brain scan had the same profile as the psychopaths. He also tested positive to having the the violent variation of the warrior gene.


**WHEN HE DUG** deeper he discovered that his cousin was an axe murderer and he had three ancestors on his father's side that killed their own families. Although Fallon has never committed any violent crime, when he asked his friends and family they admitted that they have seen him express some psychopathic tendencies. For example, manipulating people for fun, having very little response

to pain or gruesome images and not understanding when someone needed emotional support.

**AS FALLON DID** not act on any of his violent impulses, he described himself as a “pro-social psychopath”. Fallon accredited this to his loving childhood and big family that always gave him a lot of attention. This suggests that someone may have the genetic disposition to be a psychopath, but their environment triggers the violent behaviour.

**THE FIRST THREE** months after birth is when someone with the genetic preconditions is most sensitive. If they experience any abandonment or abuse, the part of the brain that processes ethics, morality and impulsivity will not fully develop. A combination of the high-risk genes and child abuse increases someone's chances of committing a violent offence by more than 400%!

**IF THIS IS** the case, how should society deal with them? How should they be treated if they do end up committing a monstrous crime? Court cases have shown differing approaches when faced with genetic evidence that the defendant was predisposed to be a psychopath and so perhaps wasn't fully in control of their own actions. In 2009 an Italian appeals court reduced a murderer's sen



tence due to the fact he had the MAOA-L variant associated with violence. In a different US case, the defence lawyer, William Burnet, urged that “A person doesn’t choose to have this particular gene or this particular genetic makeup. A person doesn’t choose to be abused as a child. So I think that should be taken into consideration when we’re talking about criminal responsibility”. This led to the defendant, Bradley Waldroup, receiving 32 years in prison for voluntary manslaughter rather than the death penalty for murder. However, this has also gone the opposite way, with one US court using the genetic evidence to increase a sentencing, on the basis that those with the variant warrior gene couldn’t be cured and will remain a risk to society.

“ULTIMATELY, EVEN IF A PERSON LACKS EMPATHY AND HAS VIOLENT URGES, THEY STILL HAVE THE CHOICE TO ACT OR NOT

**A COCKTAIL OF** genetic factors, brain physiology and child abuse creates the traditional psychopath. However, this is missing one key ingredient. Free will. Ultimately, even if a person lacks empathy and has violent urges, they still have the choice to act or not. Essi Viding at the Department of psychology at University College London, says “Any gene alone will be neither necessary, nor sufficient to predispose someone to high levels of psychopathic traits and as such, the responsibility for choosing to offend still resides with an individual.”.

**THERE IS STILL** a vast amount we don’t understand about the influence of a person’s biology and physiology on psychopathic behaviour. More and more genes related to violence and psychopathy are being discovered. What this will mean for the future is uncertain. Will genetic factors be used more in the court room? Will people be genetically screened to predict if they will become violent criminals? Could it go so far as testing unborn babies for influential genes or imposing regulations on families with violent ancestors? ●





# UPF GOES TO RABAT

With big expectations and an eager to learn, the UPF travel committee visited Rabat, the capital and political center of Morocco. Besides enjoying the wonderful Moroccan cuisine and city views, we packed our schedule with visits to institutions and organizations in order to receive a better understanding of the political situation in Morocco. Some of the highlights included Amnesty, the EU-delegation and the UNDP to mention a few. All of the visits provided us with interesting and thought-provoking discussions roaming from the West-Sahara conflict to grass-root initiatives to support women's rights. In addition, the many visits gave us a differentiated perspective regarding the challenges and opportunities Morocco is currently facing and just how complicated some of them can be. In the end, and to sum it all up, it is safe to say that the UPF trip to Rabat made a lasting impression on all of us and something that will surely last for some time to come.

Caroline Asker and Fredrik Blix, Heads of Travel







# SUN'S WORLD

Two teenage girls who for a few weeks mean the world to each other. Then the summer break ends and reality kicks in. Is the South Korean film "The World of Us" an everyday experience of South Korean children?



**I**t would be so easy to state: kids are the cruellest. It's true that they don't put a hold on their desires or their rage and don't feel the pressure to be just. We have seen and read this numerous times, like in *Battle Royale*, *Lord of the Flies*, and in the news. At the same time, kids don't invent the superficial concept of *wangtta* – a South Korean term meaning loser – by themselves. They don't exist in a vacuum.

**BUT IT ALL** starts with a girl, Sun, who likes to draw. I was sitting in a room full of students in their early teenage years at the Swedish Human Rights Film Festival's opening day. We were watching *The World of Us* (*Woo-ri-deul*), the South Korean children's film directed by Yoon Ga-eun. The students paid attention, watched silently and reacted loudly at crucial points. The film, with its many close-ups on the main characters faces that nearly guide the viewer into their heads, and the relatively slow narrative, is indeed touching. Female directors are gaining more space in the South Korean film scene and Yoon Ga-eun is one of the most prominent among this new generation. *The World of Us* is so detailed, that even nail polish has its meaning. The pastel tones, the peculiar compositions, and the sunset-warm, mild lighting deliver a cinematography that is a joy to watch.

**SUN IS A** loser in the eyes of her classmates. Then she meets Jia, the mysterious new girl who for some reason changed schools on the last day of the school year. Jia is lonely, misses her mum, and easily gets frustrated for trivial reasons. However, Sun is happy that she finally made a friend. Jia is up for fun, and unlike Sun, she can pay for it. When Sun convinces her mother that Jia should sleep over for a week, they go on adventures together with Sun's little brother Yoon. Paradise only lasts a few weeks: in the summer school, Jia meets Bora, the queen of the class, closer to the socio-economic status of Jia's family, and when the new school year starts, Sun is an outcast again, abandoned by her new best friend.

**THE VIEWER GETS** to see a society full of tensions in which the children react to the adult world. Class is status, divorce is stigma, overwork is normal and thus even elementary schoolers have chores because exhausted parents fall into bed in the evenings. Afternoon school and summer school do not provide leverage, but the ones who cannot afford

them are the disadvantaged ones. When studying the grade that counts – you have to be very best in class. In such a society it's not surprising that the parents pressure the children and the tensions reaches into childhood and spreads among the students. Furthermore, it's not surprising that after long psychological abuse, Sun and Jia confront each other, leading to a bloody fight. The depicted picture is not that far from South Korean reality. A frequently quoted fact is that the most common cause of death among Koreans aged 15-24 is suicide. Former president, Park Geun-hye, proposed action against the four evils: domestic violence, sexual assault, bullying and food contamination.

**ANALYSTS DESCRIBE CONFORMITY** as one of the country's most typical characteristics, and deviancy leads to mobbing – often at workplaces, too. The country's quick economic growth is a possible source, as it induces new social pressures. The result is a highly competitive environment that requires hard work, also from children: they spend up to 16 hours per day at school. This only makes 'wangtta' more harmful and narrows the parents' possibilities to even notice the problem. According to the 2012 National School Violence Survey, 12% of the asked students had been bullied. And again in correlation with the film, a study from last year found correlation between bullying and depression and showed that it's more likely for mobbing to occur between girls in South Korea. Yet, the school counselling didn't seem to provide effective help for the victims nor did the legislation offer prevention.

**AT THE END** of the day, facts and data don't explain the complexity of everyday life. It's easy to look at South Korea and say that instead of the human rights quality and safety, there's class-based discrimination and psychological, as well as physical abuse. We need to understand what it means and what it looks like and that's easier done in fiction – that's why it started with a film. ●



# A STORY OF RACISM IN SWEDEN'S MODERN HISTORY

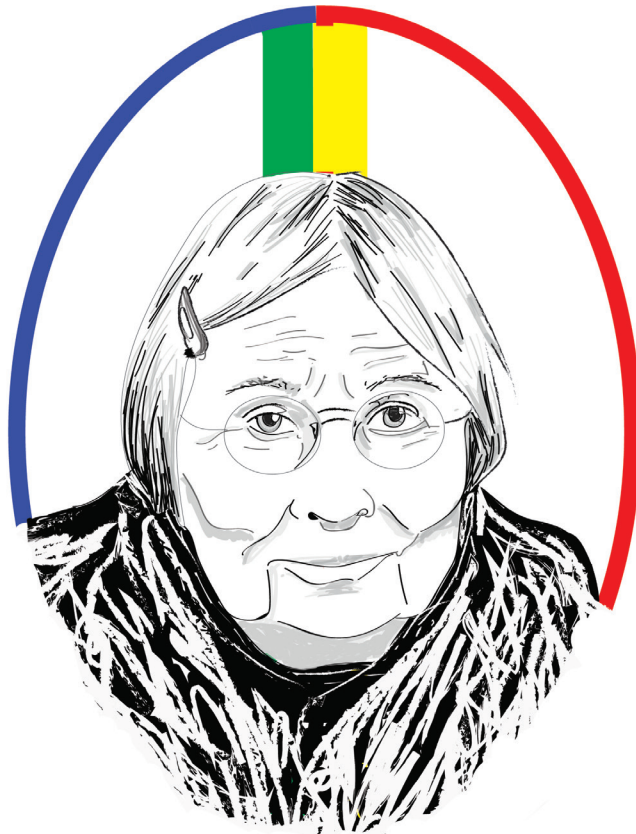
When the movie *Sami blood* came up at the theatres it became an immediate success, raising awareness on the issue of racism against the Sami in Sweden. The Perspective has met with two Sami women burning for equal rights and the recognition of their people.

**O**n the last day of The Human Rights Film Festival in Lund, I had the honour of meeting Helena Dådning and Majvor Massa Eriksson for a discussion on the Sami's situation. Majvor is a Sami woman born in 1936 who, together with her daughter Helena, started a Sami-organisation for Sami's living in the south of Sweden. Today Helena is the president of the organisation as well as a representative in the Sami Parliament. The two women are passionate about Sami rights. Familiar with prejudice and racial discrimination themselves, they speak up for equality.

**MAJVOR WAS BORN** in a Sami village outside Gällivare. At the age of seven she was forced to attend a Swedish school, as the Sami were assimilated into Swedish society at the time. However, the Sami children were often singled out and confronted with racial stereotypes. "I was very lucky. I had a strong sense of identity and I felt confident about being Sami," Majvor says. For her, the issue of identity is indispensable. "It is important that children, regardless of ethnicity, are given the opportunity to feel proud about who they are," Majvor argues. She points at the refugees arriving to Sweden, and worries that children are not allowed to feel proud of their background.

**GOING BACK TO** the 19th and early 20th century, Swedish Sami policies were characterised by racism. The Swedish Institute of Racial Biology studied the Sami by measuring their skulls, claiming that the Sami were born with characteristics that made them inferior to the rest of the population. For example, this attitude was applied to the education where the Sami children were taught fewer subjects as they were considered less intelligent. They were forced to learn the Swedish language,

**“IT IS IMPORTANT THAT CHILDREN, REGARDLESS OF ETHNICITY, ARE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO FEEL PROUD ABOUT WHO THEY ARE**



Majvor started the organisation “Samer i Syd” for Sami living in the south of Sweden.

while receiving punishment for speaking their mother tongue. Nevertheless, things must have changed since then, right?

**SWEDEN HAS ACKNOWLEDGED** the Sami as an indigenous people and has ratified international conventions that safeguards minority rights and prohibits racial discrimination. “In reality, Sweden is failing to do both,” Majvor claims. The question of language makes just one example. As a national minority in Sweden the Sami have the legal right to learn their mother tongue in school. However, Helena describes a constant battle where parents must push hard for something to happen. The schools rarely have the resources to provide Sami language classes, but Helena believes that it could easily be solved with today’s technology. In her view, it has rather to do with choosing not to prioritise the Sami language.

**IN 2008 THE** Swedish “DO,” a governmental agency working to combat discrimination, published a report on the discrimination of the Sami. The report showed that the Sami still face discrimination in education as well as in contact with local authorities where negative views persist. Furthermore,

Sami culture is used for PR and tourism by municipalities, while their rights concurrently are being pushed aside. The Sami remain a categorised group based on old prejudices. Helena provides examples of the discrimination she has faced in contact with health care services. The personnel often seem to find her ethnicity more interesting than why she is in need of health care. At times, she has been referred to as “the Sami” as substitute to her own name.

**THE TRUTH IS** that Sweden repeatedly has received international criticism for how the Sami situation has been dealt with. Problems that began over a century ago, lingers on. Remember the racial biology claims during the 19th and 20th centuries? Those theories also included nomads being given a lower status than farmers, as they were considered to be less “civilised”. As a result, the reindeer herding Sami were deprived of large areas of land, forcing them into great poverty. According to Helena, the real problems began when the government sold the land to private investors. The northern parts of Sweden are rich on minerals and contain vast areas of forest. In other words, profit was the real issue here. A clash between short





*Financial interests are threatening the Sami way of life.*

term economic growth and the survival of the Sami way of life emerged and persists. Sweden is yet to follow in the footsteps of Norway and ratify ILO convention 169 which protects the rights of indigenous people and guarantees the Sami the right to own their lands.

**SIMILAR PROBLEMS EXIST** with the Swedish predator policies. People who want to ensure the thriving of wolf, bear, lynx and wolverine are in conflict with the Sami who are making a living on reindeer herding. Helena agrees that it is important that the animals are preserved. However, when reindeer herders lose over 50 percent of their herd the situation becomes unsustainable. "There is an issue when most decisions are made in Stockholm, where there is little knowledge about the reality of the Sami life," Helena explains. Recently a suggestion about establishing different corridors for the predators and the reindeer was presented. However, Helena finds it difficult to understand how the decision intends to explain to the wolf that it must stay in one so called corridor when the food is in the other.

**AS A MEMBER** of the Sami Parliament, Helena is a voice for the Sami people in these kinds of matters. The Sami Parliament is an elected body as well as an administrative authority under the Swedish government with its main office in Kiruna. In reality, the Parliament is more of an advisory board on Sami issues and Helena explains the difficulties with getting any direct influence in Stockholm. The representatives often have to push hard, not to get set aside by the Swedish government. Ac-

cording to Helena, the big challenge for the Sami therefore lies in uniting as a people. All issues must be raised by a united Sami Parliament to make an actual difference. Achieving this is, however, not as easy as it may sound.

**THE SAMI ARE** historically divided into two major groups: the Sami who move around with the herds and the Sami who have permanent residence. The former is referred to as the Mountain Sami, and the latter as the Forest Sami. The Forest Sami have received less attention due to their less nomadic way of life. The Mountain Sami are thus far prioritised, although only about ten percent of the Sami own reindeers today. Further problems with uniting the Sami involve the hostility many Sami moving south face from those remaining. Helena and Majvor have first hand experience, and explain how Sami choosing to leave are often portrayed as traitors. They are seldom welcome back, leaving the Sami a divided people.

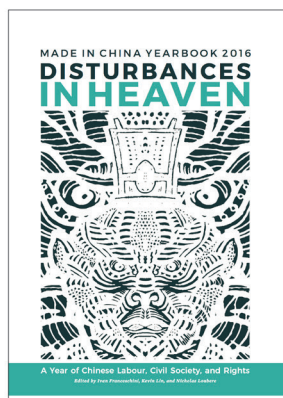
**REGARDLESS OF THE** struggles, the future of the Sami remains close at heart for mother and daughter. The Sami are still facing discrimination and racism. The Swedish government is yet to acknowledge the rights of the Sami to full extent, and there are different groups of Sami fighting for their own survival rather than together. The priorities for Helena and Majvor lies in creating discussion, restoring pride and confidence in the Sami identity and uniting as a people. "It is not enough to sit and whine, you need to stand up and fight for your rights!" Helena argues. ●

## Book launches

**4 MAY 15:00**

Venue: Asia Library, Sölvegatan 18

Book launch and discussion with *Andreas Johansson* who has recently published a book about Japanese tattoo. **Yakuza Tattoo** offers a unique insight into the dragons, fish and gods inspired by the structure of the yakuza and form the identity of the organization. Welcome!



**18 MAY 15:00**

Venue: Asia Library, Sölvegatan 18

Join us for a discussion with *Nicholas Loubere* about the **Made in China Yearbook 2016: Disturbances in Heaven**, recently published open access by ANU Press. The book launch will be followed by a reception and attendees will receive a free copy of the book. *Please note that registration is necessary.* Welcome!

## Democracy and Human Rights

If you missed our recent event "Democracy and Human Rights in East and Southeast Asia: Developments and Challenges" you can now watch it on UR Play (Swedish Educational Broadcasting Company). Scan the QR-code or visit our web site for more information.



Centre for East and South-East Asian Studies  
Sölvegatan 18  
223 62 Lund  
Phone: 046-222 38 61

[www.ace.lu.se](http://www.ace.lu.se)



**LUND UNIVERSITY**  
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# GREECE, EUROPE & THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PUNISHMENT

A musing on the fact that, despite falling out of the spotlight, Greece still burns, and the consequences of this for the world.



“**E**conomic privation proceeds by easy stages, and so long as men suffer it patiently the outside world cares little.” These words were first uttered a century ago. Subsequent events showed that, when ignored and unremedied, the suffering can breed an animosity that one day might just snap. Speaking of which, have you heard the latest about the Greek economic recovery? Me neither; must be fine, then.

**MID-MARCH ONE** International Monetary Fund worker sat down by his desk in the Paris office, and started the day by sorting mail. As he opened one packet, the sender note stating the New Democracy party of Greece, the small bomb inside went off. The event left the worker severely injured, but alive. The same week, another letter bomb, delivered to the office of German Minister of Finance Wolfgang Schäuble, was intercepted before being opened. Some days later another eight were found at a Greek post office, all bound for high ranking officials of the ‘troika’, as the Eurogroup countries, the European Central Bank and IMF are referred to in Greece. In the last few months several large

protests have been staged in Athens, some leading to violent clashes with the police, with Molotov cocktails virtually raining over them.

**LOOKING AT THE** numbers, the anger can seem perfectly understandable. Falling out of the media spotlight was not a consequence of the economic future actually brightening. The economy has shrunk by a quarter since the global financial crisis, equaling the US in the Great Depression of 1929. Wages are down 40% compared to pre-crisis levels. Unemployment has fluctuated around 25% during the last decade, with almost 50% for youth. A recent report from the Cologne Institute for Economic Research states that poverty has increased by 40% since the crisis. According to The Association of Greek Food Industries sales of milk and bread, typically thought to be among the last goods people cut back on, fell by 7% only in the first two months of 2017.

**THE REALLY ASTOUNDING** part, however, is not the severity of Greece’s situation but that it has remained unimproved for such a long time. The global financial crisis pushed Greece, which for



decades had been underreporting its annual deficit, to the brink of bankruptcy. To avoid a calamity that in the worst case scenario could have caused the economic collapse of the already bleeding EU, the troika bailed Greece out. This has been twice repeated since. The loans have been granted on the condition that government spending is reduced to a minimum and policy retailored to the master's wishes, in order to build up a surplus that can be used to repay the debt. This economic policy and state of things is called austerity. Its goal is surplus at any cost, never minding unemployment or poverty. What has kept Greece in a Marianas Trench-level recession for almost a decade, is this forced inability to use any economic measures to alleviate it.

**THERE ARE SEVERAL** reasons the troika keeps this firm chokehold on Greece. First, there is the risk to lenders and to the European economic system in general. Should Greece default on their loans,

its situation. Bad governance and wasteful policies have caused this mess, now reap what you have sown!

**THE TROIKA IS** not in consensus, however. While the Eurogroup and the ECB have consistently pushed for a budget surplus demand of 3.5% for a decade from 2018, the IMF has argued that more than 1.5% will be not only impossible but dangerous. A decade of that kind of surplus is, as the Guardian recently wrote, "a feat few governments in the world have managed, much less one in a country with a 23% unemployment rate". IMF has, furthermore, pushed for granting Greece debt relief, but without success. The pressure is currently building at an ever increasing rate, as July holds a repayment of €7 billion, and Greece's treasure chest is all but empty. If an agreement with the Greek government cannot be reached in time, the house might again find itself on the verge of crumbling.



## THERE IS IN EUROPE WIDE SUPPORT FOR THE CLAIM THAT GREECE DESERVES ITS SITUATION

other European countries would be dragged down along with it in a new recession. However, this could just as well motivate debt relief. Secondly, the sitting governments of the Eurogroup simply do not have enough political capital to allow Greece any breathing space. Populist challengers would rather see a, say, 'Germany first' kind of policy, and frankly do not give a damn about whether Greece burns or not. Giving Greece what it wants, in other words, could in the long run make it receive even less than today. A third reason is more interesting, however. "I cannot spend all my money on liquor and women and then ask for your support", said Eurogroup president Jeroen Dijsselbloem recently about the Greek. There is in Europe, among governments and populations alike, wide support for the claim that Greece deserves

**MANAGING THE GREEK** dilemma is like walking on a barbed wire tightrope: each step causes bleeding and pain, with a fatal fall awaiting on either side. Yet, it is a dilemma that cannot remain unsolved much longer. The consequences of hard lining financial negotiation have been well recorded in history. One Century ago, the economist John Maynard Keynes, who had taken part of the Versailles Treaty negotiations as a British delegate, wrote a book called *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. He argued that the consequences of the treaty, which imposed huge reparations on Germany, would be catastrophic. It would create a poverty, social distress and resentment that could lead to nothing but strife and war. The book was a call to accept that though there might be justice in retribution, it comes at a prize the size of the



Promotional poster for the Marshall Plan.

sun. Just like Keynes said it would be, the Treaty of Versailles is today seen as one of the prime causes of WWII.

**THOUGH MOSTLY, HISTORY** is not only darkness and human ignorance. After WWII, the allied forces were once again holding the fate of Germany in their hands. On the one hand there was the Morgenthau Plan, which involved deindustrializing and curbing the power of Germany. The idea was to have the Germans “fed three times a day with soup from Army soup kitchens” so that “they will remember that experience the rest of their lives.” Justice, in one of its many interpretations. On the other there was the Marshall Plan, which eventually drew the longer straw. Its goal was to rebuild Germany and other Western European countries and reinvigorate their economies; to protect them “against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.” The Marshall Plan has been called “history’s most successful structural adjustment program”, allowing “relaxed austerity measures and rationing, reducing discontent and bringing political stability.” Indeed, it was almost exactly what Keynes had proposed one war earlier.

“ WHO CAN SAY  
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ESCAPE FROM THEIR  
MISFORTUNES?

JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES

**MUCH OF KEYNES’** argument is about understanding the real consequences of economic policy. It is not abstract theory without impact. Rather every decision, even if made on the highest level, has repercussions down to the poorest worker and into the mist of the future. Even if we feel punishment would be right, this is not enough to make it the better choice. The world does not bend to our will, and if we eat the cake there will be none tomorrow. The point is that there are reasons for keeping Greece on nothing but life-support. When the troika puts their arguments forth, they are not wrong. Yet right is not always enough, as history demonstrates with such clarity.

**THE CHOICE OF** Marshall over Morgenthau might have been one of the EU over WWII. Today the EU stand before a choice that is similar in many ways. “Who can say,” as Keynes ended his 1919 book, “how much is endurable, or in what direction men will seek at last to escape from their misfortunes?” Today, this question will remain open until closed by the troika or answered by the people of Greece. ●



# HOW TRUMP'S CHEAP SHOT DIPLOMACY WILL SAVE THE EU

Considering how the changing nature of diplomacy  
might affect the view of populist alternatives  
in the European Union



**R**onald Reagan's secretary of state George Shultz once said that diplomats are like global gardeners carefully tending to greening fields of healthy alliances and flowering bilateral relationships. Fast forward three decades later and the Republican led American foreign policy could not be further from that. However, instead of being a curse for the EU, Trump's cheap shot diplomacy might just as well serve as a blessing.

**MR. TRUMP** HAVE had a prominent start as the president of the United States by questioning America's most important military alliance, NATO, and putting some last-ditch effort into upsetting his most important allies – from hanging up on Australian prime minister to refusing to shake Angela's Merkel's hand and celebrating Brexit. It is becoming apparent that his late night caps-lock tweets are being translated into America's new foreign policy tone – compulsive and sometimes insulting. This serves as quite a departure from what is regarded as traditional high-level diplomatic exchanges.

**THUS FAR,** THE foreign policy thinking of Donald Trump seems to be highly based on his personal likings. After a call with the president of the Czech Republic Milos Zeman, Trump told him “you're my type of guy”. The necessity of personal chemistry is replacing the necessity of strategic thinking. Guys talk is replacing diplomatic dialogue.

**NONE OF THIS** is in line with the principle of diplomatic consistency which requires wise and expertise-based calibration between economic, strategic and security interests. With his approach to diplomacy, Trump is risking to alienate the traditional allies of the US – both Australia and Europe. However, even though Trump frequently criticises the EU and sets a precedent as being the first president of the United States openly arguing for European disintegration, his fixation on the Euro-sceptic narrative may just as well strengthen the bloc. It all depends on how well the EU manages to respond to Trump's statements.

**AFTER DONALD TRUMP** openly encouraged EU countries to follow the example set by Brexit and leave the Union, European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker responded with humor. He declared that “if that continues, I'll call for Ohio

to be independent and Texas to leave the United States”. Being able to stay calm, confident and smile at the ridiculousness of the situation is a sign of political sophistication.

**WHEN TRUMP TAKES** cheap shots at the EU to portray it as crumbling, the EU has an opportunity to take them with class.

**FOR THOSE IN** Europe, tired of the mainstream politicians and longing for some ‘my type of guy’-savior, Trump's inadequacy might be just what makes them see that the grass is not always greener on

“ LATE NIGHT CAPS-  
LOCK TWEETS ARE BEING  
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the populist side. In fact, that grass might even be pretty gross. The EU staying strong, united and led by the spirit of expertise instead of compulsiveness at times of crises might thus get some of the vital support back. Hopefully, the elections in Netherlands where populists lost is the beginning of a tendency.

**IT'S JUST LIKE** in the Pina Colada Song by Rupert Holmes where one looks for a new romantic thrill, but realises that there's no truer and more exciting love than the love for ones old lovely lady. Let's hope the populist fling will wear out as their supporters begin to get a taste of what inadequacy on global scale is like. ●





# SINGAPORE'S SCHOOLS

From the time I've spent at the National University of Singapore, it's quite noticeable how serious Singapore takes its education. Students are graded as early as in Primary school – grades that determine the opportunities going forward. The strict system puts the small country at the top of rankings, but economically disadvantaged children might pay the price.



**S**ingapore is rooted in meritocracy, and thus the emphasis on academic success is high. The main employer in Singapore remains the governmental civil service, and their hiring process require disclosure of O-level and A-level test scores. This results in the fact that the tests you take at age 16 and 18 can have a direct effect on getting a job in the future. Employers in the private sector focus less on grades, and instead take into account internships, volunteer, and co-curricular experiences.

## “ TESTS YOU TAKE AT AGE 16 AND 18 CAN HAVE A DIRECT EFFECT ON GETTING A JOB

**PRE-COLLEGE EDUCATION** in Singapore can be roughly divided into three sections, namely primary, secondary, and post-secondary school. Primary school lasts for six years and is for children aged 6-12. At the end of it, students take a test called Primary School Leaving Education (PSLE), and the results from those examinations determine which secondary school one can attend.

**SECONDARY SCHOOL LASTS** four or five years, depending on your test preparedness, and culminates in a series of tests called O-levels that determine your options for post-secondary education. In secondary school, you can choose between normal, specialized, or express paths. Express path secondary school prepares students for the O-levels in just four years.

**LASTLY, THE POST-secondary** education is a period of schooling which generally lasts for two years, and students are usually sixteen or seventeen when they start. This part becomes even more complicated, because you have the option to attend junior college (JC), polytechnic or technical education institutes. A junior college results in A-level testing, and prepares students for university work. People who enroll in junior college have

an easier time of getting into university than those that attended other post-secondary options. Polytechnic schools have a more hands-on approach, usually in technical and economic areas, and upon graduation students receive an advanced diploma that could be used to seek employment. Technical education institutes give students the skills in a specific sector for work without needing to go to a traditional university.

**SECONDARY AND POST-secondary** schools are not based on geographical location. Test scores determine how many schools you have to choose from, and the higher the score, the better the options. But since Singapore is such a small country, the distance is not so bad. Despite the constant changing of schools, most people I've spoken with says the changes don't disrupt their social life, because it's still fairly easy to catch up with old friends without long commuting times.

**BESIDES THE BASICS** of mathematics, sciences, literature, history, etc. usually taught in schools, Singapore also requires learning an additional language. Singapore's official languages are English, Chinese, Tamil and Malay, with English being taught to all students. The additional language would be the mother tongue of the student's ethnic roots. If your ethnic background is Chinese, you take Chinese. If you're of Malay descent, you take Malay.

## “ THE NATION HAS PRODUCED NO SHORTAGE OF TALENT FROM ITS UNIVERSITIES

**DESPITE THE HEAVY** academic emphasis, co-curricular activities (CCA) are still integrated into school culture. In secondary schools it may be required to join a CCA, and in post-secondary education CCAs are seen as a good supplement to A-levels results in university applications.

**WITH ITS RIGOR**, Singapore education has produced many positive results for its population. Singapore ranks consistently at the top of the world in terms of math and science, reading literacy, etc. The nation has produced no shortage of talent from its universities, which drove the rapid modernization success that Singapore went through in the past few decades.

**STILL, AN ACADEMIC** system that places heavy emphasis on test results has led to its fair share of critics. A common criticism is that Singaporean testing relies too much on rote memorization and leaves off the process of understanding the material. Some people further lament that an emphasis on test results encourages parents to send their children into cram schools to receive extra practice and a leg up in the academic process. However, those families that can't afford the price tag of the cram school may see their children get left behind in the process. ●



## SINGAPORE

*Population: 5,4 million*

*Area: 719 square kilometers*

*Official languages: English, Malay, Mandarin, Tamil*

*Currency: Singapore Dollar*

*Prime minister: Lee Hsien Loong*

*Independence: 1965*

*Singapore skyline*



*Photo: Edward Dalmulder/flickr*





Photo: Street scene in Morocco, Anders Ackfeldt

## Spring program 2017

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES | LUNDS UNIVERSITY

CMES is a multidisciplinary center at Lund University with focus on research, education and outreach. Every semester CMES offers an extensive public program, open and free for everyone who wants to know more about the Middle East. Discover all our events on [cmes.lu.se/events](http://cmes.lu.se/events) or [facebook.com/cmeslund](https://facebook.com/cmeslund). Welcome!

### Upcoming events

**APRIL 25** "Female leadership in worship: Female imams and the institutionalisation of Islamic feminism- The making of The Mariam Mosque", Sherin Khankan

**APRIL 27** "The digital society: Weapons of Mass Participation: Social Media, radicalization, and the Politics of Crowdfunding for War in Iraq and Syria", Nicole Sunday Grove, University of Hawaii.

**MAY 10** "A Conversation About: Music, Religion and the Black Atlantic."

**MAY 11** "Big Man to Chief: The Consolidation of Power in Turkey", Jenny White, Stockholm University

[cmes.lu.se/events](http://cmes.lu.se/events) | [facebook.com/cmeslund](https://facebook.com/cmeslund)