

THE PERSPECTIVE

MAGAZINE

No 3

2017



PEACE
AND
SECURITY



**ASSOCIATION OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

LUND EST. 1935

EDITORS' NOTE

So, another operational year for the Association of Foreign Affairs has started. We are filled with excitement and curiosity about what the upcoming year will bring. We were left with big shoes to fill, and it is our goal to incorporate our own vision for the magazine with the great work and progress from last year. Our first job as the new editors-in-chief was to put together a team of writers, layouters and proofreaders. It was not an easy task, but we are beyond happy with the editorial team of 2017/2018. Hopefully the hard work and dedication of the team will be reflected in what you read in this issue.

WE ARE HONOURED to present to you the first edition of The Perspective Magazine for this academic year. We live in a time when security seems to be ever as important. We face global pressures such as a changing climate, the so-called decline of democracy, and we once again are living under what seems to be the threat of a nuclear war. The response to global migration has in many instances been stricter border controls, isolationism and populism. Whereas peace and security go hand-in-hand, in some cases they almost seem to contradict each other. To achieve security we are building walls, boosting our military and using stronger rhetorics, rather than striving towards peace together.

IN THIS ISSUE, you can read about the privatisation of peace, frozen conflicts, future security threats such as cyberwar, conflicts in space and possible solutions to the threats of a growing population. You will also find a guest article from one of our members about the struggle of Afghan refugees against impending deportations in Malmö. This year it will be possible for you to raise your voice and include your own articles in the magazine. We want to hear your ideas, thoughts and comments! We hope that this magazine will inspire you to debate, discuss and challenge yourself in your views of the world. Enjoy your read!



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GOT FEEDBACK?

LET US KNOW WHAT YOU THINK!

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The Perspective Magazine is the member magazine of the Association of Foreign Affairs at Lund University, published quarterly each year. The magazine has no affiliations with any political parties. Opinions presented are the writers' own.



PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS

DEAR MEMBER,

EVERY YEAR WE look in the mirror, expecting to be horrified by the ageing process that nature bestows upon us, and yet we never cease to be amazed. 82 years young, we are – with barely a wrinkle in sight.

It must be the face cream.

WHILE GLOBAL POLITICS make a virtue out of being predictably unpredictable, UPF is back in business as usual. Whether it's radio shows on the UN and the Arab Spring, webzine investigations into nuclear missiles and ethnic conflicts in China, or lectures that bring the world to our doorstep, our committees have continued to illuminate, challenge and discuss a variety of issues in the international arena. The quality of the speakers so far has been outstanding. In October alone, you, the active members, brought Sweden's chief climate negotiator and ambassador to China, Anna Lindstedt, UN whistleblower Anders Kompass, and Russia's ambassador to Sweden, Victor Tatarinsev, to talk to the rest of us.

UPF WOULD BE nothing without you, and we are delighted to see so many of you taking the opportunity to get involved. You enrich our experience, designing eye-catching graphics for our marketing, organising activities and events that bring us all closer, and of course taking the opportunity to travel with us on foreign adventures.

AS YOU SIT down to digest this issue, showcasing the very best side of UPF – our curiosity, open-mindedness and intellectual creativity – we hope you feel inspired to get involved in the months to come.

WELCOME TO UPF.



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OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN LAW

About us

We are an experienced research and academic institution that has offices, programmes, and convening power covering 40 countries.

We combine evidence-based human rights research with direct engagement with key partners around the world to bring about human rights change for all.

We are named after Raoul Wallenberg, the Swedish diplomat who saved tens of thousands of Jews and other people at risk in Hungary at the end of World War II.

Upcoming events

15 November

Human Rights or Global Capitalism - The Limits of Privatization
Book Launch seminar with Professor Manfred Nowak

Wednesday Night Rights

15 November

Torture: An Expert's Confrontation with an everyday Evil with Professor Manfred Nowak

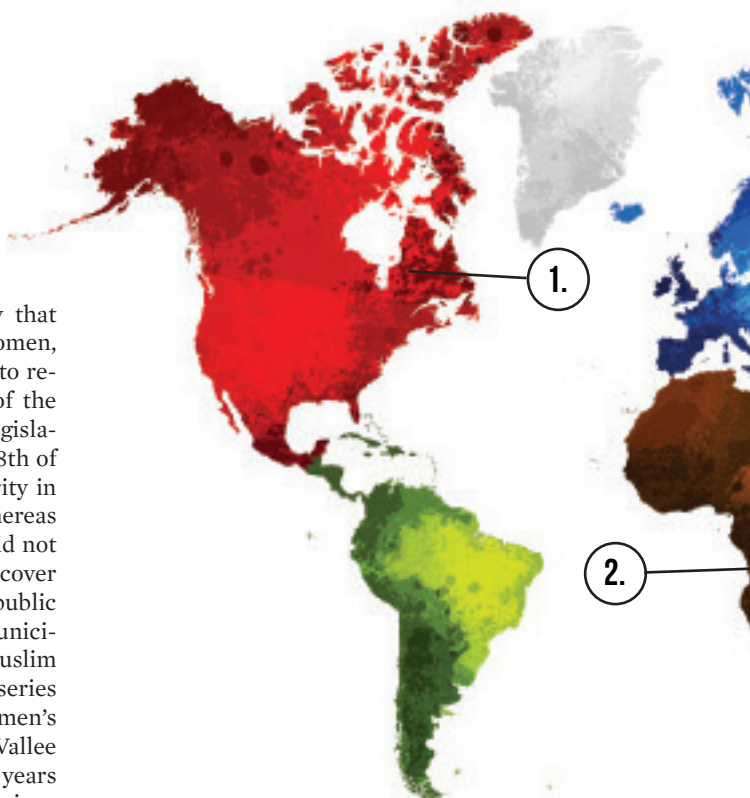
6 December

Mogens Lykketoft: Former President of the UN General Assembly

Let us know you're coming!

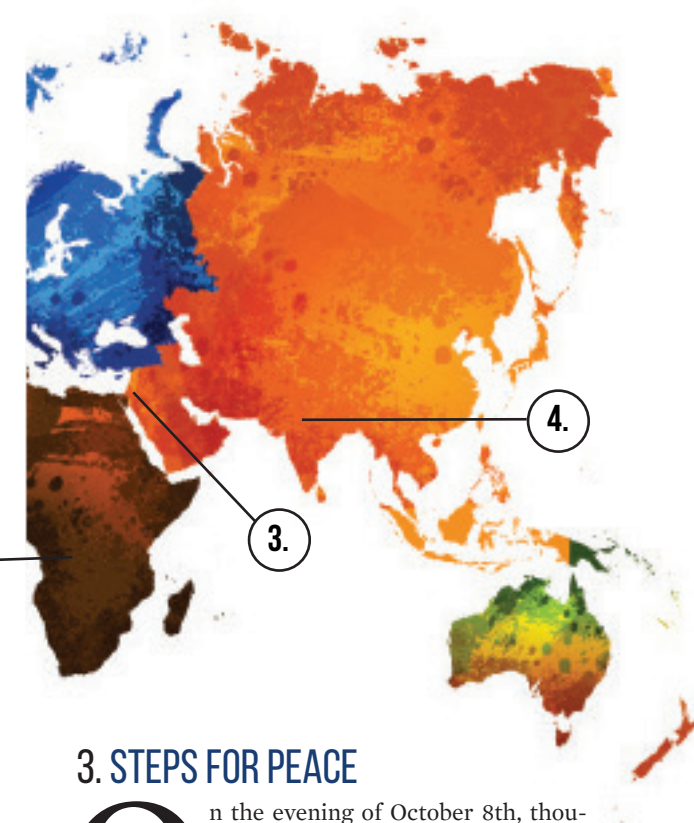
1. CONTROVERSY IN QUEBEC

Quebec has recently passed a law that will make it illegal for Muslim women, and others who cover their faces to receive public services. Members of the provincial legislature voted in favour of a legislation on religious neutrality on Wednesday 18th of October. The Liberal Party, holding a majority in the provincial legislature, backed the bill, whereas the opposition parties voted against as “it did not go far enough.” The law forces people to uncover their faces in order to provide and receive public services in the province, including both municipal employees and public transit workers. Muslim women in Quebec are feeling targeted by a series of attempts to “raise the issue of Muslim women’s attire.” Quebec Justice Minister Stephanie Vallee had already proposed the bill in 2015, after years of debates in the province regarding religious symbols in the public sphere. Vallee is defending the new legislation, claiming it’s all about “living together in harmony.” However, voices across the province are questioning whether this law is even possible to implement, let alone whether it is in accordance with fundamental human rights. ●



2. REFUGE IN ZAMBIA

The violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo has forced thousands of refugees to flee over the border to neighbouring Zambia. The clashes between Congolese security forces and militia groups have forced people to leave the northern regions Katanga and Tanganyika. The total number of refugees has reached 30,000 and is expected to increase. Every day about 100 people cross from the Congo into Zambia and the majority of refugees are children. Most of them are taken to the Kenani transit centre located in the Nchelenge district about 90 kilometres from the border. The Zambian government is working together with aid agencies to provide the refugees with food, tents, mosquito nets, hygiene kits and psychological support for children and survivors of sexual violence. If the security situation in the Congo continues to worsen, humanitarian conditions for the refugees will become increasingly critical. ●



3. STEPS FOR PEACE

On the evening of October 8th, thousands of women gathered in Jerusalem to conclude a two-week long march in an attempt to revive the peace talks between Israelis and Palestinians. The walk, organised by the Women Wage Peace, is just one of the marches the organisation has coordinated since their start up in 2014. Over the two weeks, the women march through Israel and the West Bank to end up in the Independence Park in Jerusalem, with rallies and speakers demanding a peace deal. The participants come from a variety of political and religious backgrounds in an attempt to show unity. The march began as a spark of hope, at a time when many see little hope in a peaceful outcome in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This movement was however, exposed to strong opposition from the alleged terror organisation, Hamas, although the women did not let this stop them. ●

4. A NON-VIOLENT PROTEST

On the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi, hundreds of farmers in Rajasthan, India gathered to protest against the government's plan to acquire their land by digging up holes in the ground and burying themselves in them. The government has been pushing hard for industrialisation but their developmental projects have displaced millions of Indians. Families in Rajasthan fear that their lives will be greatly affected by the acquisition of 540 acres of land as they rely on it for agriculture and farming. The leader of the protest, Negander Shekhawat, says that they strongly oppose the government's move as it will destroy their main source of income and the compensation offered is simply not enough. They demand that the acquisition and the compensation should be done as per the Land Acquisition Act that requires consent from 80 percent of the residents. Shekhawat insists they will continue the protest against the destruction of people's homes until their demand has been met. ●

AFGHANISTAN NOT INSECURE ENOUGH?

According to the latest judicial position released by the Swedish Migration Agency over the security situation in Afghanistan, the country is not dangerous enough to entitle all Afghan asylum seekers a residence permit in Sweden. This has become widely criticized by a number of actors such as Afghan asylum seekers themselves, Swedish individuals, and widely recognized organizations like Amnesty International.

A movement has emerged amongst those who mean that Sweden is mistreating Afghans in the asylum process and endangering the lives of individuals who face deportation. "Ung i Sverige" (Young in Sweden) started as a group of young Afghan refugees who got tired of all the negative asylum decisions. They decided to start a sit-in demonstration. They believe that Afghanistan is not safe for anyone, and especially not young people. It started in Stockholm in the beginning of August and spread to many other cities, including Malmö.

IN MALMÖ, the Skåne section of "Ung i Sverige" has arranged manifestations, outside the City Hall, every weekend since the end of August. In sunshine and in pouring rain, they have spent hours and hours charing their message - "we have only love to give, please let us stay, let us live". The group calls for amnesty for all Afghan asylum seekers. During the gatherings, they have met both support and criticism, with people telling them to "get out of Sweden". Reza Rezaie, an asylum seeking poet and musician who is active in the group, says that the people turning against them have misconceived their reasons to be here.

"We keep on fighting. We have to show Sweden first and then the rest of the world, those who flee their homes do not have a choice. Afghanistan is not safe", Reza Rezaie says.

MANY AFGHAN ASYLUM seekers who came to Sweden during the fall of 2015 are now receiving their decisions, and many applications are denied. A

large portion of the young Afghans seeking asylum did this as they were under 18, but now that the decisions are made many of them have turned 18. This means they are treated as adults, which diminishes their asylum reasons according to the Swedish Migration Agency.

ACCORDING TO ADMIR Skodo, researcher in Migration Studies at Lund University, Afghans are treated as "second class asylum seekers". This means that decision makers basically doubt the asylum reasons for Afghan refugees and that they therefore are given a lower priority than others. Afghan asylum seekers are presumed not to have sufficient grounds for asylum, which means their grounds for asylum are questioned from the beginning and that there is more focus on individual stories than in other cases. This makes it harder for Afghans to be granted asylum. Skodo, together with many other researchers, believes that Afghanistan is not a safe country for the general population. Afghanistan currently lack essential conditions for security, such as a legal system with institutions that can offer citizens protection from illegitimate violence, a democracy that functions in practice, and real opportunities for people to receive education, employment and health care.

MANY OF THE Afghans demonstrating in Malmö have got rejections from the Migration Agency, but are tireless in their peaceful struggle against deportations.

"You can live without luxury, but not without love, freedom and respect", Reza Rezaie says. ●

WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA? APPLY TO UPF'S

PREP COURSE

THE PREP COURSE consists of a cycle of at least 10 interactive seminars or workshops inviting officials of international institutions, politicians, ambassadors, journalists, high representatives of NGOs or global companies to share our students their experience, their philosophy of life and career, and give them advice for the future. Over the past years, we have for instance received people working in international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Union or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden. The aim of the course is to give participating students a unique chance to get professional contacts and ask questions and obtain a deeper insight into what it takes to get a job at these international organizations.

It is a general programme designed for students who want a broader perspective of different working areas. They will get a chance to meet successful individuals coming from all walks of life, within foreign affairs (high civil servants, politicians, high NGO representatives...), or broader areas but whose experience can be inspiring for them (entrepreneurs, journalists, business people etc.).

MENTORSHIP PROGRAMME

THE MENTORSHIP PROGRAMME is a partnership with the Diplomatic Club in Lund made to match students with a personal mentor that fits the student's study background and dream career. This mentor is working in international spheres who will provide guidance based on their professional expertise. Our student mentees gain a better understanding of international or political issues as well as how various organizations work in practice—from first-hand sources.

It is relevant for students with a clear idea of what they want to start their career with, in order for us to link them with the most precise and relevant mentor to help them get there

**The application period for the Prep-Course is from the 13th to the 26th of November.
The application period for the Mentorship Programme is from the 6th to the 19th of November.**

Applications must contain only a statement of purpose and a CV, and has to be sent to career@upflund.se with the subject line "Application for the Prep Course" or "Application for the Mentorship Programme."

FOR MORE INFORMATION : UPF LUND - THE ASSOCIATION OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON FACEBOOK



**ASSOCIATION OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

LUND EST. 1935

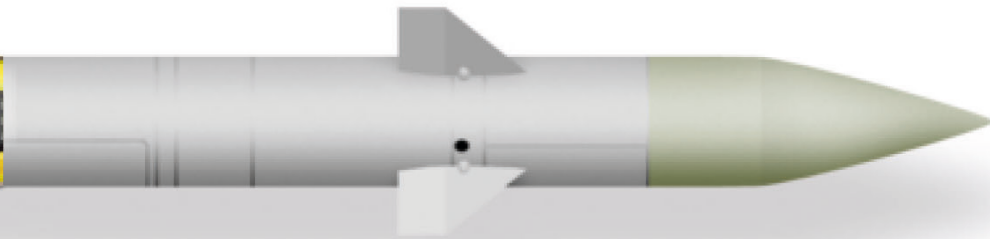
THEME:

PEACE AND SECURITY



PEACE AND SECURITY ARE WHAT EVERYONE WANT - RIGHT?

THE LINE BETWEEN CONFLICT AND PEACE APPEARS BLURRY.
CAN WE HAVE PEACE WITHOUT SACRIFICING SOME OF OUR OWN
SECURITY? WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM HISTORY AND WHAT DOES THE
FUTURE HOLD? IS WORLD PEACE A FOOLS DREAM?
THE ELUSIVE QUEST FOR PEACE AND SECURITY CONTINUES IN A WORLD OF
MASS MIGRATION, CLIMATE THREATS AND GLOBAL CRISES.



ANDERS KOMPASS

The Perspective sat down and had a quick chat with newly appointed Swedish ambassador in Guatemala and former field operations director within the OHCHR, Anders Kompass. We wanted to hear Anders' thoughts regarding the theme of Peace and Security.

What are the main threats to global security or peace today, according to you?

WELL I THINK, perhaps the most pressing threat that we are facing today is the new nuclear arms race, the conflict and the tensions between North Korea and the United States. Beyond that I would say the environmental issues, we can already see the consequences in terms of natural disasters around the world. Also, the growing population. I think in next 20-25 years we will see 3 billion more people on earth, a majority of those people will be in the [global] south and there will not be sufficient resources and food. That will most likely lead to, more mass movements or mass immigrations from the south.

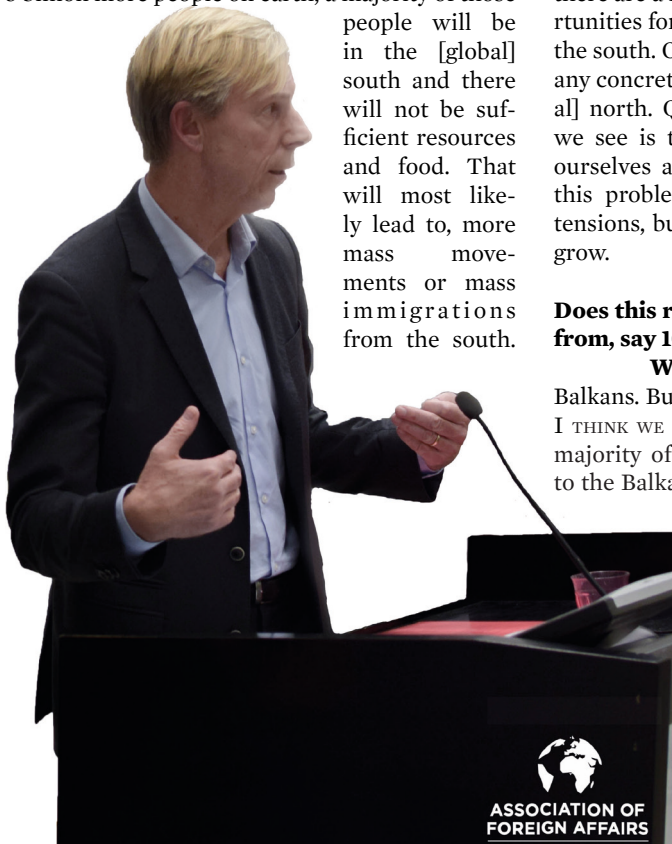
The fact that we are now, as scientists are saying, using and taking out more resources from the earth than ever before, so once again, this is probably the most critical issue.

What trends or developments have you noticed?

WHAT WE ARE seeing is more and more tensions between what is really happening, as I said, the population is growing tremendously, and there are a lack of resources, (and) lack of opportunities for the majority of the people in the south. On the other hand, we do not really see any concrete responses from Europe or the [global] north. Quite the contrary, the only response we see is trying to close the borders, isolating ourselves and that is not the best way to solve this problem, we are already seeing increased tensions, but they will just continue to grow and grow.

Does this restrictive new approach differ a lot from, say 10 years ago?

WELL, WE SAW it during the wars in the Balkans. But then it was a European problem and I THINK WE saw it as a temporarily problem. The majority of the people were expected to return to the Balkans after the war. Today we are seeing people coming mainly from Africa and from the war in Syria and other places but I think the big majority of these people are leaving because of the lack of opportunities. Then we are making this difference between people who are fleeing from war and conflicts, so called refugees, and the migrants. But people themselves do not see it this way. We are trying to stop this without having any solutions for it, we are trying to contain



“ I THINK IT IS A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FAILURE

these people around the Mediterranean, Greece, Turkey and Lebanon.

The question is: For how long if the people do not have any opportunities? There are no easy solutions, I know, but I don't see any real thinking

In your own opinion, who carries the main responsibility for these very pressing issues?

WELL, THE CRITICAL QUESTION for us here is that we have been so fortunate, so lucky, but can the rest of the world have the same kind of development and living conditions that we have? Without further endangering the living conditions for the whole world. That is why it is so important that we ourselves are considering the way that we are living so that we are not taking out more resources from the earth, particularly when it comes to letting out fossil fuels. But also, I think it is a political and economic failure. As I have been working with democracy and human rights, I can see that the main reasons or the push factors for people to leave their countries are human rights issues, lack of opportunities, and even repression or political problems. Particularly a lack of opportunities for young people. At the same time people are very much aware, just as we are. They know that there are better opportunities somewhere else and go where the opportunities are. This of course are putting a lot of socio-economic and political pressures which we now can see with the growing populist movements within Europe.

Are human rights still too political in today's global arena, how do you view the spread or implementations of the human rights?

THE HUMAN RIGHTS advocates are quite happy when it comes to the SGDs, particularly goal number 16 which is really about human rights. But then again, the right to food, health or education... we have human rights in almost

all the goals of the agenda 2030. But the human rights are still a very controversial issue because it's really about how you are dividing the power in a country. We are still fighting to give every human being a fair chance.

The war with words we see within the UN right now, what happened to diplomacy? Has it gone out the window?

PROBABLY, IT IS nothing new. Only that we perhaps thought that our leaders should have learned better and that's why we are, perhaps, surprised. Also, we had 8 years with Obama as the president of the United States who were very talented, using words in a very constructive, possessive way both nationally and internationally. Which of course, is a big contrast to the way his successor uses words. This is particularly unfortunate as US still is not only a very important country but also the US president is an important spokesperson when defining and setting the tone in international debate. When a leading country speaks in a very confrontational way it gives space for all the other leaders to speak the same way, or people who have spoken like that forever can now speak more freely.

We can see now with the Trump administration and the “America first” policy that the US are backing off, leaving room for other nations to increase their influence. Are we seeing a shift in international politics?

CLEARLY, OBAMA ALREADY spoke about a multipolar world that he somehow recognized. It is not only a bad thing that the US is not as a leading country as it was before, there are other countries that are growing in importance. What is worrisome for me is that the emerging countries are not necessary sharing the same values in terms of democracy, human rights, or freedom that we have known for the past 70 years. There are even voices now speaking about how the international order, that we have known since the second world war, is in danger. Once again it is very unfortunate that the leader of the US is speaking in those terms, questioning this order that with all its difficulties has kept the world in a fairly good place. There have of course been a lot of conflicts at the national level, but we have been spared from big international confrontations as the second world war. ●

PEACE ON SALE*

*NO REFUNDS OR RETURNS

The use of Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) has seen an unprecedented increase in recent times since the signing of the treaty of Westphalia and the rise of modern states. Distinguishing itself from mercenaries, to avoid their tainted historical baggage, the private military industry's innovative developments are rapidly leading towards the privatization of "peace". The private solutions are claimed to be low-cost and efficient. Erik Prince's MacArthur Model for Afghanistan is one such solution.

The "Strategic Economy of Force" is what Erik Prince, founder of Blackwater, called his approach for achieving victory in Afghanistan. His proposed plan, inspired by the East India Company, was to send 5,500 private military contractors supported by a private air force of 90 plane strong with limited American Special Forces footprint, and to work in close propinquity with the Afghan national forces under the auspices of a Viceroy. The Viceroy would only be answerable to the US President. The plan was simple and apparently dead cheap, but something astonishing happened – good sense prevailed in the White House. The plan was rejected.

MARRED WITH CONTRADICTIONS, selective understanding, distorted interpretation of history and



divorced from the complexities of ground realities, the plan would have been a political and military disaster: East India Company was not the harbinger of peace but a band of profiteers authorized by Her Majesty in Britain's pursuit for colonization. The Company's successful occupation and control of the Indian continent was a victory for the British, not for the colonized. Despite being a multi-billion dollar industry feeding on insecurity and war, I dare assume that this is not the "victory for America" that Prince is talking about.

PRINCE'S APPROACH IS wishful and extreme, but the fact is that Afghanistan and Iraq have had massive deployment of PMSCs since the invasions in 2001 and 2003, respectively. In fact, Peter W. Singer, a strategist and Senior Fellow at the New America, claimed in 2007 that neither the Congress nor the Pentagon knew exactly how many contractors were working for the US in Iraq, exactly how much had been spent on them, or even how many had been killed or wounded. This “shadow force”, at its peak, had over 230,000 contractors in Afghanistan and Iraq, far exceeding the number



Photo: Wikimedia

of US troops there. As of October 2017, the ratio of deployment is such that for a single US soldier there are 1.74 contractors in Iraq and 2.5 contractors in Afghanistan that are working under contracts directly funded by the US Department of Defense (DoD).

IT IS IMPORTANT to point out that not all contractors fall into the stereotypical image of the dogs of war i.e. trigger-happy combatants armed to the teeth. PMSCs provide services ranging from im-

plementation and command to training, advisory, logistics, intelligence, technical support and transportation. The most widely quoted successful example of the “dogs of war” providing services at the battlefield is the Executive Outcomes (EO) and its work in Sierra Leone. EO, made of elite forces of the apartheid-era South African Defence Force (SADF), at the cost of \$35 million ended an over decade long civil war after soundly defeating the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and forced it to negotiate with the Sierra Leone government. As a result of EO’s endeavors, stability was achieved to an extent that elections were held and peace accord was signed with RUF. However, all this was short lived. Within 100 days after the termination of the contract, a coup took place and the civilian government was toppled. Some argue that EO’s efforts are greatly exaggerated, and pointed out to its corporate connections with various mining interest including Branch Energy and the diamond firm, De Beers (remember the movie Blood Diamond).

KELLOGG, BROWN AND ROOTS (KBR, formerly Brown and Roots) is an example of a private contracting company providing support services to armed forces like base camp construction, food services, refueling and mail delivery. Interestingly, in 1992 Brown and Roots was paid \$3.9 million by the DoD to produce a classified report detailing how private companies could help provide logistics for deploying US forces around the world. It further got \$5 million to update its report dealing with specific contingencies. It has provided support services to the US forces in the Balkans, Somalia, Haiti and Kuwait. KBR was once part of the Halliburton Corporation, in which Dick Cheney, Vice-President to George W. Bush, had served as CEO. During the Operation Iraqi Freedom (renamed Operation New Dawn in 2010) and post-conflict constructions in Iraq, Halliburton’s KBR won the most contracts (some without any bidding), making a staggering \$39.5 billion in a decade. The company has been accused of overcharging with lawsuits filed against it by the US Department of Justice.

IN AUGUST 2011, the Wartime Contracting Commission in its report to the Congress concluded that at least \$31 billion had been lost to contract waste and fraud. Since then six years have passed, and the privatization of military functions has

been greatly extended to allow the market forces to do its “magic” following the neo-liberal market mantra. The “cost-effective” measures of the private sector includes recruitment of former child soldiers from Sierra Leone to work in active combat areas. The combination of business for profit that stems from the dirty politics which advocates war as solution is toxic. The “war on terrorism” has only been successful in escalating war and swelling terrorism. Over \$1,550 billion has been spent on Afghanistan and Iraq which has yielded nothing but sorrow and misery. No alternate approach is being considered that can lead to a

sustainable success, probably because no other approach is this profitable. More of the same is being proposed from all sides, be it governments or the private sector. Prince believe his cheap war is the answer to the Taliban in Afghanistan, now controlling more territory than ever before and Daesh, which sprouted its venomous head in 2014.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF peace, through increased outsourcing of core military functions to the private sector, has fundamentally altered the military institutions, limiting their autonomy and breaking their monopoly on knowledge and skills. Na-



tional armed forces are not the security experts anymore, as Prince contends. The private sector, grounded in neoliberal capitalist assumptions of economic efficiency and military effectiveness, guarantees a solution to the 16 years old stale-mate in Afghanistan. Honestly, it does sound ridiculous that peace in war-ravaged countries is up for grabs at a discounted rate. Relying on contractors motivated by profit and self-interest once led to the Nisour Square massacre in Iraq in 2007, where 17 civilians were killed in cold blood by the employees of Blackwater. No refunds or returns can bring back the dead. ●

THE NEW RACE FOR SPACE



The year is 2060. Outer Space is the game. After private space companies had drilled valuable resources from Mars and the Moon, leaving them ruined and contaminated, the attack on the Chinese asteroid mining company started. The Russians have already had several wars with the US over Space resources. If only we had been able to draw adequate space legislation before the private space race began...

Photo: Wikipedia



Photo: Wikimedia Commons

SpaceX launches one of their missiles

This might seem a little exaggerated, but it is not an impossible scenario considering current outdated space law. New private companies have spent the last 10 years preparing to explore space, an enterprise which have largely been reserved for governments. Most states do not currently have a Space Act nor any legislation that addresses the new commercialization of space. This leads us to the question whether current space law is adequate for this new private space race, and if it's able to secure future peace and stability in Outer Space.

SPACE LAW, LIKE international law, is composed by different agreements, treaties and conventions. In recent times, the focus on space activities has shifted from exploration to economic commercialized utilization, expected as early as 2025. As different nations have clearly seen the undeniable economic benefits of this new pursuit, they are keen to join the party. This shift in perspective has revealed major gaps in the current Outer Space Law. These gaps are mostly of the ambiguous nature, leaving nations able to interpret these rules on their own. The Outer Space treaty (OST) of 1967 has laid out all the fundamentals for national space exploration, and states that "Outer Space,

including the moon and other celestial bodies, is not subject to national appropriation by claims of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means". It has also defined the minimal criteria for Space over the past 50 years. So far with great success.

THE MOON TREATY of 1979 was an attempt to articulate a more realistic treaty. The OST treaty is in many ways very idealistic and does not take practicality into account. But the Moon Treaty still remains to be signed by Russia and the US, thereby rendering it pretty irrelevant. This Moon Treaty would have clarified a lot of the laws that are today too vague, stating for example that outer space is "common heritage for mankind".

“THE LAST THING THE
WORLD NEEDS IS
A WILD WEST 2.0
IN SPACE

THE FAILED TREATY included some points such as the banning of commercial and the ownership and sale of extra-terrestrial resources. It also argues for an international governing regime to oversee the extraction of extra-terrestrial resources and activities.

AS THE PRIVATE companies are getting bigger and richer, concerns in the near future arise. If the private sector gets bigger than the government, the government might have to rely more and more on the private markets missiles, launch pads et cetera. This will in turn have some serious side effects. As their influence grows, these private companies will in turn be able to turn down policies they disagree upon and the government might move towards a regulation free and open outer space policy. It is estimated that by 2030, the private annual turnover will be 600 billion dollars.

CURRENT PRIVATE COMPANIES engaged in Asteroid mining have found a loophole in the treaty. The OST states the national governments are responsible for regulating what private actors do, but can the international community accept or trust the ethics of another nation? The current legislation does not provide have a framework for the national governments to ensure these new ambitious private companies follow the OST rules. In 2015 the US congress tried to pass a new space law directed at asteroid mining, called the competitive Space Act. The bill stated that every resource private mining companies find are theirs to keep. This is a direct violation of the OST, and is leading to rising tensions with US, Russia and China.

OUTER SPACE HAS long been considered a place for international cooperation. Now, it's transforming into an area for private international competition. What happens when the US say a private company can drill and own resources in space, and China says they can't? This can cause great damage to an already fragile international system. What if the US government grants a licence for a US private company to drill a specific Asteroid and China does the same? A vital part of the OST is that it is forbidden to have or use nuclear weapons in space. This illustrates how representative the Treaty is of its time. There are however no rules concerning other types of weapons. Just adding two and two, with a highly commercialized and competitive space, one can assume that a militarization

“THE OST HAS SO FAR BEEN THE BACKBONE OF SPACE LAW, BUT DO NOT INCLUDE PRIVATE COMPANIES

and fortification of space is on the horizon. This will also have major ramifications on life on Earth. Experts argue that international regulations might not be that important in what they term the “experimental phase”.

THEY DO AGREE on that the need for international regulation to be strengthened and adapted is crucial in the near future as private companies compete for resources. The current OST is just too vague. Some national governments might conceal facts, alter results and deem actions acceptable which other nations might not. Michael Listner, founder of Space Policy Solutions, says that this will lead to legal and political conflicts in the future. An international commerce lawyer with expertise in Space Law, Dr. Oduntan agrees with this, and further points out that the international community needs to act quickly.

A FREE FOR all on Outer Space is the last thing we need right now, and will guarantee future conflicts, both in space and on Earth. Dr. Oduntan suggests that using already established laws such as the UN Convention on the law of the Sea, where the UN governs what nations do with the sea might solve this problem. International governing bodies regulating space activities are of utmost importance to ensure future peaceful international relations. The current space law is outdated and in need for new legislation relevant to this era. The increased risk and danger to human life, health, property and the environment of Earth and Space requires international regulation. Regulation that is transparent and effective. The Moon Treaty was widely unpopular and, it will be no easy task getting a firmer treaty signed by the Space faring nations.●

PEACE AND SECURITY: INSEPERABLE CONCEPTS?

THE CASE OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

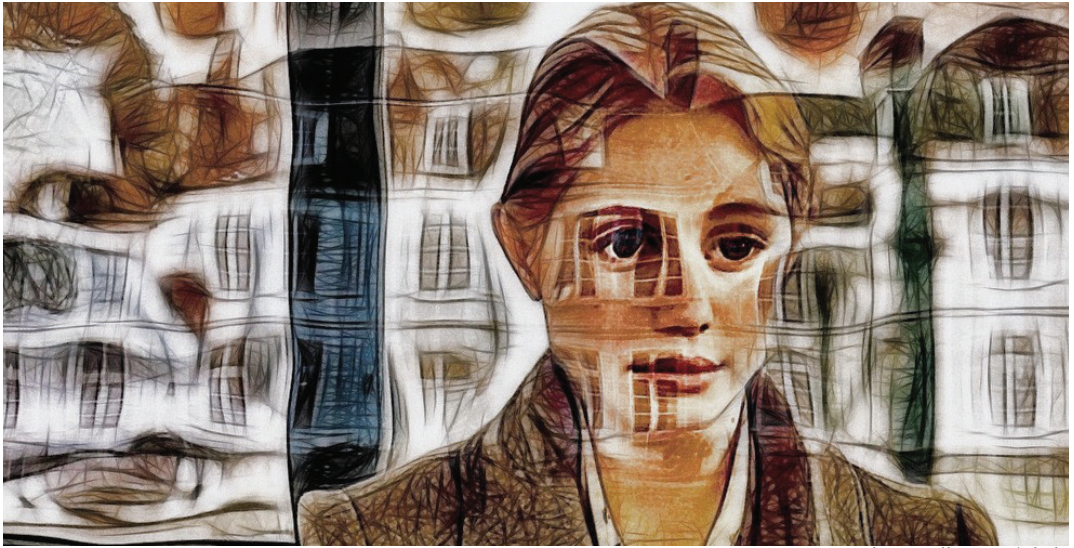


Photo: Bill Strain/Flickr

Is a peace agreement enough to end a vicious cycle of ethnic violence, could it be the only thing separating peace and security from war and devastation? As the lid has been put over the Balkan hotpot, one question remain: Will it boil over?

As I take in the beauty of the Herzegovinian landscape in the backseat of a minivan, my tour guide tells the story of why she changed her name. When she was born in Sarajevo in the 1980s, out of a marriage between a Bosniak woman and a Serbian man, she was given a traditional Serbian first name, while living in a predominantly Bosniak environment. Nothing unusual for the time when Bosnia and Herzegovina was then still seen as a model multi-ethnic society.

BY THE TIME she was ten years old, however, my tour guide had experienced a war that devastated her country. While society started to recover, she felt things were not the same as before. Her old Bosniak friends were told by their parents not

to play with her, because 'she is part of the Serbian scum who ravaged our city'. At school, part-time jobs, or any other environment, she felt like she was being treated differently, merely because she had a Serbian-sounding name. By the time she turned eighteen she adopted the Bosniak equivalent of her name. She took that decision with a heavy heart, but she wanted to live her life without constantly being treated with suspicion.

WITH THE DEATH of President Tito in 1980, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is said to have died as well. While heavily criticized for his authoritarian style of governing, Tito is often seen as a strong leader who kept the different ethnic groups of Yugoslavia at peace. In the decade after his death tensions in the country grew, culminat-

ing in a string of secessionist wars and inter-ethnic conflicts in the 1990s. Bosnia and Herzegovina, then one of the federative republics of Yugoslavia, was affected severely, mainly because the country did not have an obvious majority population; Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs were all largely represented.

THE WAR IN Bosnia formally ended with the Dayton Agreement of 1995, recognizing the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The agreement did take the concerns of ethnic Croats and Serbs who feared to be discriminated against in a Bosniak-majority country, into consideration. The State of Bosnia and Herzegovina was thus organized into three political entities: the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which Bosniaks and Croats form the dominant ethnic groups; the Republic Srpska, in which Serbs form the dominant ethnic group; and the Brcko district, with a fairly mixed population. These three entities have a high degree of self-governance, yet, they are - to some level - subject to a central government.

EVEN THOUGH THE Dayton Agreement did bring stability to Bosnia and Herzegovina – there has not been an outright inter-ethnic conflict ever since – a question remains unanswered: to what extent has peace really been brought to the country? Ethnic relations are not what they used to be before the war. One reason is that the population is much more segregated now: different ethnic groups live in different parts of the country, or in distinct neighbourhoods within the country's cities, leading to a lack of contact and mistrust. Further, the complex decentralized system in which the country is organized leads to administrative chaos. The leaders of the different entities approach the country's future in fundamentally different ways. Moreover, the president of Republic Srpska, Milorad Dodik, intends to hold a referendum over the question whether the entity should remain part of Bosnia and Herzegovina or secede – and possibly join Serbia.

NOT ONLY DOES this governmental disorder takes up a large share of the country's GDP, it also leads to a high level of corruption and mismanagement. This slows down the recovery process from war and prevents economic and social development, in general. Additionally, there is little or no inter-ethnic contact, which combined with the legacy

of ethnic violence, results in the war living on in people's minds. As the case of my tour guide illustrates, many people from different ethnic groups still mistrust each other. This is not to say that the Dayton Agreement has been a complete failure, since it did end the violence, and thus enabled people to lead safer lives. However, it does pose the question whether such security automatically leads to sustainable peace.

LATER THAT DAY my tour guide leads me over the Old Bridge of Mostar. During the war it was destroyed, leaving it as a symbol of the violent conflict. After the war the bridge was rebuilt as a symbol of reconciliation, connecting the different ethnic groups of the country. But I can't stop seeing it as a visible marker that divides the Western, Croatian-majority part of the town and the Eastern, Bosniak-majority part of the town. As long as these two groups, together with the Serbs, are segregated - in their minds, in particular - I do not believe this conflict has really ended, and I will walk across the bridge with mixed feelings. ●



Photo: Ramirez/WikiCommons

“AFTER THE WAR THE
BRIDGE WAS REBUILT AS
A SYMBOL OF
RECONCILIATION

A LAPSE IN JUDGEMENT



Photo: MaxPixel

In the past years we have witnessed a growing trend for right-wing populism across Europe, which challenges the foundations of the European Union.

This is a story about misguided nationalism and its worst-case consequences.

It's too early to be awake but one of my sister's toddlers is crying for his mama. My head protests when I try opening my eyes – I knew I shouldn't have had that last shot, but my colleague brought rakija from holiday. I shift uncomfortably on the fold-out sofa, indulging in a fantasy of having my own place. I could afford one of those dodgy five-by-five meter cubbyholes. Or move back with my parents.

I USED TO live with my boyfriend but a friend of a friend had an uncle who offered him a job in Malmö. I could have followed, but I have a good job here in a French-owned company. I'm a computer scientist, I don't want to be degraded to waiting tables. My family is here, some of my friends who didn't try their luck in Scotland, or Germany, or whatever is in season this year. And isn't everyone repatriating now, with Brexit, and with our own government finally caring more about their own citizens than about Brussels? At the end of the day, no one looks at you weirdly for being Polish in Poland.

THE TODDLER IS still crying. I sigh and reach for my phone. There's no internet. I brush the sleep out of my eyes, the IT technician in me fully awake. It's not only the Wi-Fi that's not working;

THERE'S NO MOBILE data. That's not possible, not in Warsaw. Maybe my phone is broken, but I'd rather not consider that. I'm saving up for a car. A friend's friend knows someone who imports them from Germany and sells cheap. I'm too old to commute

by tram. No, a new phone is not an option. Maybe someone can fix it.

THE TODDLER FINALLY calms down. My sister wasn't sure if she wanted a second child, but the government pays you if you have more than one. It's not a lot, but they buy coffee in Carrefour now instead of Lidl, and my sofa bed is freshly out of IKEA. They even holidayed in Costa Brava. I spent my holidays picking up tulips in the Netherlands for extra money. Money that will now go to a new phone instead of a car.

SINCE INSTAGRAM-STALKING IS not an option, I shuffle to the kitchen, hoping that some Italian coffee will cure my hangover. And then there's a noise – a horrible, head-splitting sound that makes the floor in my sister's old pre-war apartment rattle. The toddler starts crying again, quickly joined by his older brother. Do we get earthquakes in Warsaw?

"QUICK, LOOK OUT the window!" my sister calls. There's a tank rolling down the street. Is the anti-government committee organizing more riots? These days they're always in the streets, waving Polish and EU flags, singing Ode to Joy. As if they cannot see that things are getting better. As if they cannot see that this is Warsaw, not Brussels.

MY BROTHER-IN-LAW TURNS on the TV. There's our President speaking. The Western-owned media call him a puppet, but we all know he isn't. He's vetoed some of the government's reforms. Of course, I voted for his party. Twice. I knew a lot of people

who could use the extra money they were offering for the second child. I wanted my parents to be able to retire at 65, not 67. Sure, there were some changes in courts and in schools, but who am I to criticize it? I work with computers, not constitutional reforms.

“WE CAN’T TOLERATE the constant provocations anymore. As of today, the Republic of Poland is at war with—” War? Sure, there was military mobilization, but it was something to laugh about, like when my friend got a letter, calling her for a medical check-up to see if she’s suitable for military service. Yes, she’s studied psychology, but she hasn’t worked a day in her profession. She lives in Madrid with her boyfriend.

“We’re calling on our European allies. We need to

protect the Eastern border of the EU—”

“What are they talking about? It’s Europe, we don’t have wars in Europe.”

“HONEY, I THINK it might be better if we take the children to the countryside for a couple of days, visit your parents, wait it out...” Clearly, it’s just a joke. There’s no internet, I can’t google what to do when a war starts. Do I go to work? Are the trams still running? Should I stock-up on cans and flour? Is vodka still the universal currency? Is it too late to join my ex in Sweden?

I’m too hungover for this. I head to the kitchen to finally make my coffee, ignoring the next tank rolling by. I know it’ll be okay. Brussels wouldn’t let us go to war on our own. Surely our government will have to listen when they speak up, won’t they? ●

Photos: Pixabay/Wikimedia Commons



Fall program 2017

CENTER FOR MIDDLE EASTERN STUDIES

OCT 25

Private and public lives of Iranian women, a
generational perspective
Public lecture with Masserat Amirebrahimi

NOV 8

"Arazel Owbash" – Criminalization of
Working-class Masculinity in Iran
Public lecture with Shahram Khosravi,
Stockholm University

NOV 15

Syria's Disappeared: The Case Against Assad
Film screening + conversation with the film
director and survivors of the Assad regime.

NOV 16

Recasting Gendered Paradigms: An
Indonesian Cleric and Muslim Women in the
Malay World
Lecture with Khairudin Aljunied,
Georgetown University, USA.

DEC 4

Contested Pasts, Uncertain Presents: A
Historical Look into Statehood,
Sovereignty and Identity in the Middle East
Round table talk followed by mingle and
refreshments.

More information at cmes.lu.se/events
facebook.com/cmeslund
instagram: @cmes_lunduniversity

Welcome!

...



SOLDIERS CARRY LAPTOPS NOW, NOT GUNS

There is a phenomenon called cyberwar. It's a real threat and it has been said that we are in the middle of a third world war without even knowing it. Many people are a bit intimidated when confronted with the possibilities of cyberspace. When we stumble across terms such as binary codes, it's convenient to overlook them and not deal with what they signify. However, it's a fallacy to think that the happenings in the cyberworld don't affect us.

The cyberworld doesn't differ so much from the physical world we live in. Although made by humans, and thus not impossible to understand, it's difficult to get a grasp of the concept. Hackers are the mighty ones in this world, the ones who have a lock pick for any door. The others will try to gain entrance by testing different keys or going around the door. Performing a hack is a conscious act, but so is closing your door or leaving it open. The twist is that in the cyberworld there are most likely always some windows that you don't even know exist, so how can you ever be safe? Not every hacker, but one or another can probably get in anywhere, as the Tailored Access Operations (TAO), the hacking unit from NSA, has proven. They might be spying on everyone and everything. And if you can spy on a network, you are also able to manipulate it - all you need is to actively decide to do so.

THERE ARE MANY powerful actors with different intentions and motivations, some of them are what we would categorize as criminals. Security, however, collides with the desire for freedom - a dilemma as old as humans, that gets increasingly more complex. Generally speaking, there are two main types of "transgressions" that hackers can commit: the theft of information, and the manipulation of systems with the intention to do damage. Every aspect of society can be affected, from economics to administration, from nations to individuals. Humanity, besides already being transparent by giving away information for free, becomes even more fragile given how dependent we are on electronic, and thus hackable, devices. This could be something seemingly trivial, like your fridge, tap water, or heating. Light, transport systems, gas stations, ATMs, and hospitals are just a few more examples. On a bigger scale, power plants can be potential targets.

THE CURRENT WORST-CASE scenario is an invasion of something like Stuxnet, a virus which spread across the world, but was originally designed to manipulate the nuclear plants in Iran. It took some of the most skilled experts to even realize

that there was something in the system that wasn't supposed to be there. Stuxnet operated completely autonomously and was so perfectly designed that, despite its gigantic dimensions, it barely left any traces. Cyberattacks like the one performed through Stuxnet are created by humans for strategic purposes. Since the virtual space constantly develops, such attacks are extremely difficult to monitor, and if performed well, it is almost impossible to track a hack back to its initiator. This means that most of crime committed will be unprosecuted, which in turn encourages the mentality that people can do whatever they want.

“ IF YOU CAN SPY ON A NETWORK, YOU ARE ALSO ABLE TO MANIPULATE IT

THE HAPPENINGS in the cyberworld become “real” the instance people can feel the consequences. That could be someone stealing your Facebook identity or credit card details, or it could be a nation attacking the election network of another nation. Luckily, there are people who deal with the ethical aspects and guidelines for actors in cyberspace. The Chaos Computer Club, for example, warned the German Government in the context of the election in September that their systems were not safe.

THERE IS A phenomenon called cyberwar. Actors within the cyberworld have their own vocabulary, but we ordinary mortals try our best to transfer meaning from the physical world onto what is happening in cyberspace. We should try to understand the cyberworld, not as a parallel world or a copy of the physical one, but as an extension of it - a space that provides new possibilities. Consequently, it is about time we construct a new understanding of the terms security and peace. ●

A HEATED CLIMATE:

RESOURCES RACES IN THE UNFOLDING ARCTIC FRONTIERS



Far up north, thousands of meters below the ocean's surface, rooted at the bottom of the Arctic basin, is one meter high titanium Russian flag, symbolically asserting ownership over billions of dollars worth of gas and oil reserves.

Things are heating up in the Global North, and it's not just the ice. Russia's declarative act in the Arctic, although rebuked and disregarded by the international community, underscores the rising tensions in a region, which is arguably the most visible case of climate change on the planet.

MANY ARE AWARE of the environmental imperatives in the Arctic, which are commonly expressed through the images of polar bears helplessly clinging onto slabs of melting ice, or of undulating glacial ranges being forcefully jolted into an icy-black abyss. However, fewer are conscious of the clandestine geopolitical resource crusades occurring just below the surface, attempting to expand boundaries of national jurisdiction.

SPRAWLING OVER THIRTY million square kilometres, a sixth of the Earth's landmass, and twenty-four time zones, the Arctic is one of the most extensive terrains on Earth. For centuries, the enigma of the North has enthralled global leaders. Until very recently, however, the vast chilly expanse was considered inconsequential and largely ignored by the global powers, leaving it in a sort of territorial

limbo. However, rapid thawing of the dense polar ice caps over the past few decades has now opened up innovative trading routes and facilitated access to Arctic reserves, which experts believe can hold up to 25 percent of the world's undiscovered oil deposits. The discovery of this veritable goldmine has led to an unprecedented scrabbling for competing land claims in the "Arctic commons". While nation-states still play a central role in the polar development process, since the dawning Arctic liberalism in the wake of the Cold War numerous other competing actors have entered the transnational playing field, including corporate entities, international organizations, NGOs, advocacy groups, and circumpolar indigenous communities.

THE ARCTIC COMMONS are currently governed by the UN commissioned Arctic Council, which is an international forum made up of the central circumpolar states. These include: Denmark (Greenland), Finland, Sweden, Russia, the United States, Norway, and Canada. In addition to these members, there are six organizations representing Nordic indigenous populations who are categorized as "permanent participants" in the committee. Decisions are made by consensus between the members states, in consultation with the perma-

nent participants. Negotiations are concentrated on three legally binding international agreements that regulate pollution and enhance scientific co-operation. Actions are carried out through working groups with which non-member states and relevant organizations can engage.

WITHIN THE COUNCIL, cracks of discord separate the competing interest groups. Despite its inclusive parameters, many existing indigenous populations claim that the Council still lacks inclusivity. “Permanent participants” groups, such as the Inuit Circumpolar Council, cry for a greater engagement with the Indigenous Knowledge holders in the decision-making and improved com-



munication with communities whose livelihoods and customs are dependent on the Arctic environments and resources. Similarly, environmental advocacy groups like Greenpeace criticize the legal frameworks of the Council for abetting practices like commercial drilling and resource extraction rather than penalizing them.

WHILE THESE SURFACE criticisms are valid, the ultimate underlying problem with the current governing structure is the lack of capability. In accordance with the Council’s legal mandate, the guidelines and recommendations made by the Council cannot be legally enforced; responsibility falls in the hands of the individual governments. Additionally, the present initiatives must be sponsored by the member states, or can receive support from other private entities. As a consequence, the system confers power on large, affluent parties often at the expense of smaller, marginalized ones. The varying levels of influence member states have, and the cross-cutting interests of each par-

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...AS SOON AS SPACE IS
RECOGNIZED AS SOMEONE'S
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INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY .

ty threaten to bring down the careful balance of the system and, ultimately, hamstringing the forum’s agency in its mission for sustainable polar development. While some states tenaciously follow the global commitments, others opt for more deleterious albeit lucrative practices.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE ENVIRONMENTAL pressures, global actors often have greater incentive to exploit the “Arctic commons” as a way to adapt to the changing global conditions, rather than finding better alternatives. The failure of the Arctic’s current governance system to elicit more consistent sustainable commitments cuts across greater “tragedy of the commons” debates. In other words, as soon as a space is recognized as someone’s territory, it’s no longer the responsibility of the international community.

IN THE CASE of the climate change, however, the Earth systems don’t recognize territorial sovereignty. The wellbeing of fragile, connected ecosystems transcends political spaces. The global climate models predict that the North could be ice-free before the end of the 21st century—an event that would spell the end of the world as we know it. For this reason, the governance in the Arctic remains at forefront of sustainability issues. If we are to take the global commitments to sustainability seriously, state-centred environmental thinking is meretricious at best. Finding innovative, multifarious systems of governance based on thematic coordination and leadership with the teeth to enforce its legal mandates is paramount if responsible and sustainable exploitation and management of resources is to be achieved. To quote the former USSR president Mikhail Gorbachev, the future of global sustainability starts with an “Arctic Zone of Peace”. ●



As you are reading, one of the biggest humanitarian crises of our time is taking place in Yemen. For three years an armed conflict has shaken the country. Nevertheless, it is rarely covered by the Western media, labelling it a “forgotten war.”

Fights between the Iran-backed Houthi rebels, a minority Shia group from the North, and the government regime - supported by Saudi-Arabia - have already caused over 2,000 deaths and left two million people displaced. Over 20 million people, amounting to 80 percent of the population, are in urgent need for humanitarian assistance. The ongoing blockade by the Saudi coalition has created further complications for Yemen. Consequently, fuel, food and medical supplies are nowhere nearly sufficient. Malnutrition has skyrocketed and is still increasing. Over half of the citizens are starving not knowing when the next meal will arrive. Children are particularly affected, with at least 400,000 at risk of starvation.

THIS YEAR, ANOTHER threat is constituted by the rapid spread of cholera. In just three months, cholera has killed nearly 2,000 people and infected more than half a million. With around 7,000 new infections per day, the outbreak is by now considered the most severe cholera epidemic that has ever taken place. Less than half of the health care facilities are up and running, making the situation even worse.

THE ONGOING CONFLICT is multilayered and opaque. To be able to fully grasp the current situation, we need to go back to its origin. Instability within the country has increased since 2011. During the Arab Spring the Yemenis, alike many others in the region, longed for a constitutional change. What started as peaceful demonstrations, soon got high jacked and used by the Houthi, a rebellious Shia group in the North, for a coup d'état against president Ali Abdullah Saleh. When he was forced to renounce, he handed his office over to Abdo Rabbu Mansou Hadi. However, the transition failed and a strong separatist movement evolved by the Houthis. The Iran-backed group shares the interests with the supporters of former president Saleh. On the other hand, there are the pro-governmental groups of Hadi. The Houthis overtook the capital Sanaa in 2014, forcing Hadi to flee to Saudi Arabia.

THE CONFLICT BECAME even more violent in 2015, when the Saudi-led coalition got involved. Saudi Arabia disapproved the changes in Yemen as they feared that Iran would gain ground or influence. Hence, Saudi-Arabia started to form an alliance to fight the rebels and to bring Yemen's old and



Photo: Wikimedia

internationally recognised government back into power. Furthermore, the power vacuum in Yemen has emerged as fertile ground for both ISIS and Al-Qaeda, further destabilizing the country.

CONSIDERING THESE TRAGIC proportions, you might ask yourself why the conflict hardly receives any media coverage? First of all, the difficult and restricting political situation in Yemen constitutes a serious danger to free reporting journalists. Since the closure of Sanaa's airport, the main route into the country is closed. At the same time, the Saudi-led coalition refuses to allow the press to enter the country, and obtaining a visa has become a complex set of procedures.

BUT MOST PRESSING, no witnesses are able to directly confront the international community with the horrors that are happening. The daunt stays beyond the lack of European awareness as no refugees are arriving, simply because there is no possibility for people to leave the country. The border with Saudi-Arabia is closed as desert and the sea constitute insurmountable barriers. Moreover, it is hard to find "the good and the bad guy" in this complicated conflict, making it difficult for free-lance journalists to reach their readers.

IN SPITE OF THIS, Yemen is not the only example of a conflict that hardly receives any western media attention. On a global scale, numerous humanitarian crises and conflicts have fallen into oblivion over time and rarely receives any media coverage. Unfortunately, media attention and fundraising of financial donations are closely related in many cases. The media also plays an important role to set topics back on the agendas and hold politicians accountable. Raising awareness about what is happening is therefore of prime importance. The sad reality is what does not constitute a direct threat, easily vanishes in the constant global media buzz of international terrorism or fantail crises. Out of sight, out of mind. The question is: Do we really need to be directly influenced in order to care?

So, WHERE DOES this leave us? The conflict is about far more than just the classic Shia-Sunni clash. It is highly complex, fuelled by regional and international power struggles. The civilians are carrying the burdens of civil war. We are spectators (or rather we are not) of the third year of war, but nothing has changed for the better. Only peace can end the silent and broadly forgotten suffering. The necessity for action is beyond any doubt - attention is needed. ●

REACHING A STATE OF COLLAPSE? DEGROWTH AND THE FUTURE

“It’s been two years since the war started. They say the enemy has plentiful of food and water. I doubt it. I think they say the same for us. Who knows? We should’ve listen when we had the chance...”

– An Eyewitness Report from the Future.

Resource warfare due to relentless human development, overpopulation, and environmental exploitation affecting the climate will become our future if we do not change the way we live, immediately.

In 1972, *The Limits to Growth*, a report commissioned by the Club of Rome, warned about the dangers and limitations of exponential population and economic growth on a world with finite resources. The authors cautioned that as we grow in numbers we will exploit and consume more of the world’s resources, while at the same time exhausting more pollution than can naturally be absorbed, leading to our times most pressing issue: climate change. The report came up with possible scenarios of what might happen, the world (emphasis on industrialised countries) could reach a state of “overshoot and collapse” if we continue to exploit our environment for the sake of profit. Think of it as ascending a mountain and reaching the peak to hurl yourself down the rocks to an untimely demise.

NONETHELESS, WHEN THE report’s first edition came out, it was exactly profit and generating more consumer goods that led the fight against the USSR and communism, and no one took the report seriously. However, its last edition, published in 2004, has painted an even darker picture. If we do not

change our way of life by curbing an increasing world population and overall consumption patterns we will reach a stage of overconsumption and inevitable collapse by the middle of this century, putting us on a rather short timeline. What will this entail for our future?

IT SHOULD BE blatantly clear that if industrialised countries fail to do something, the consequences will be disastrous for every living thing on this planet. *The Limits to Growth* and its subsequent editions have already highlighted a few grizzly developments, including population decline due to resource shortages and climate change, as well as negative health effects from rising pollution levels. The impact on human welfare and the environment will be catastrophic. Certain areas will become inhospitable, becoming like deserts, while others will be inundated due to rising sea levels, bringing about mass movement of peoples. The Syrian migration crisis will prove only a test for developed countries compared to what will happen if entire nations from the Global South start moving to the Global North.



As we grow in numbers we will exploit more and more of the world's finite resources.

Photo: Wikipedia

ANOTHER MAJOR PROBLEM will be resource warfare, where countries engage in conflict in order to gain limited resources. This will certainly spell disaster for small and less developed countries inside the West, let alone for developing countries in Africa and Asia. This scenario, however, is nothing new, as wars over limited resources, especially water in the Middle East, have been fought since antiquity. Indeed, the draught that occurred in Syria between 2006 and 2011 was so severe and devastating to crop fields and livestock that it forced more than a million people to migrate to urban centres. This, on the other hand, had its own toll; a city can absorb so many people before conflicts over resources, shelter, and labour begin to take shape. Subsequently, these mounting pressures, mainly caused by the draught, added towards the Syrian civil war that still rages on today. Following predictions that we are soon to reach (or have already reached) peak oil levels will also put a strain on countries' relations. Such struggles will only exacerbate due to climate change brought about by human development.

WITH THIS IN mind, we need to act instantly. We have already lost precious time since 1972, and even though many countries have signed and ratified the clauses adopted at the Paris Agreement in

2015, change must come rapidly and much more radically if we are to face the problems outlined in *The Limits to Growth*. Fortunately, there has been mounting research on the topic and more and more ideas have come about on how to change the way we live and move away from a society based on growth. Some of the solutions include population control, minimising the use of non-renewable resources and not allowing the erosion of renewable ones, living more frugal self-sufficient lifestyles, having communities that organise more at the local level on the basis of reciprocity, equality, and assistance, amongst many others. All of these can be combined and expanded into what is known as *degrowth*.

“**DEGROWTH: A DELIBERATE COLLECTIVE PROCESS OF DOWNSCALING PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS**

TRACING ITS ORIGINS to the 1970s, degrowth can be described as a deliberate collective process of downscaling production and consumption patterns, as well as the role of global markets and the idea that growth is good, as a guiding principal in human existence. Degrowth can be seen not as an end goal in itself, but as the transitioning phase that will lead us away from growth-based societal organisation towards a steady-state economy, where production input and output are at an equilibrium. Degrowth-ers know that economic growth is no longer sustainable (if it ever was), and a necessary step towards a different type of society must be taken. This change will not come only by reorganising our economic and societal systems, but also, and perhaps most importantly, by changing the ways we think about these issues. We have a responsibility of leaving behind a world that will be hospitable to future generations. This would entail that we assume the short-term costs of adopting degrowth in order to gain long-term benefits. Coming back to our mountain; instead of hurling ourselves off the edge, degrowth will be

the path that will take us gently down the mountain slopes towards a nice green plain where we can walk with ease for the foreseeable future.

DEGROWTH IS, HOWEVER, as mentioned, aimed mainly at industrialised countries, which produce, consume, and pollute much more per capita than countries from the Global South, making for a disparate injustice towards the latter. Despite this, countries from the Global South need to work towards solutions as well, and the Global North shares a responsibility in aiding them by all means possible. Economic growth is, however, not a feasible option. Nonetheless, one thing is for certain; moving away from a society where growth, seen as progressive and inherently good, will not be an easy task, especially when banks and big corporations will lose out the most from this endeavour and are trying to prevent action constantly. Nevertheless, even those that run these corporations and banks must see reason - their goods will be pointless when there is no one left to consume them in the end. ●

“THE SYRIAN MIGRATION CRISIS
WILL PROVE ONLY A TEST FOR
DEVELOPED COUNTRIES
COMPARED TO WHAT WILL
HAPPEN IF THE GLOBAL SOUTH
STARTS MOVING TO THE GLOBAL
NORTH

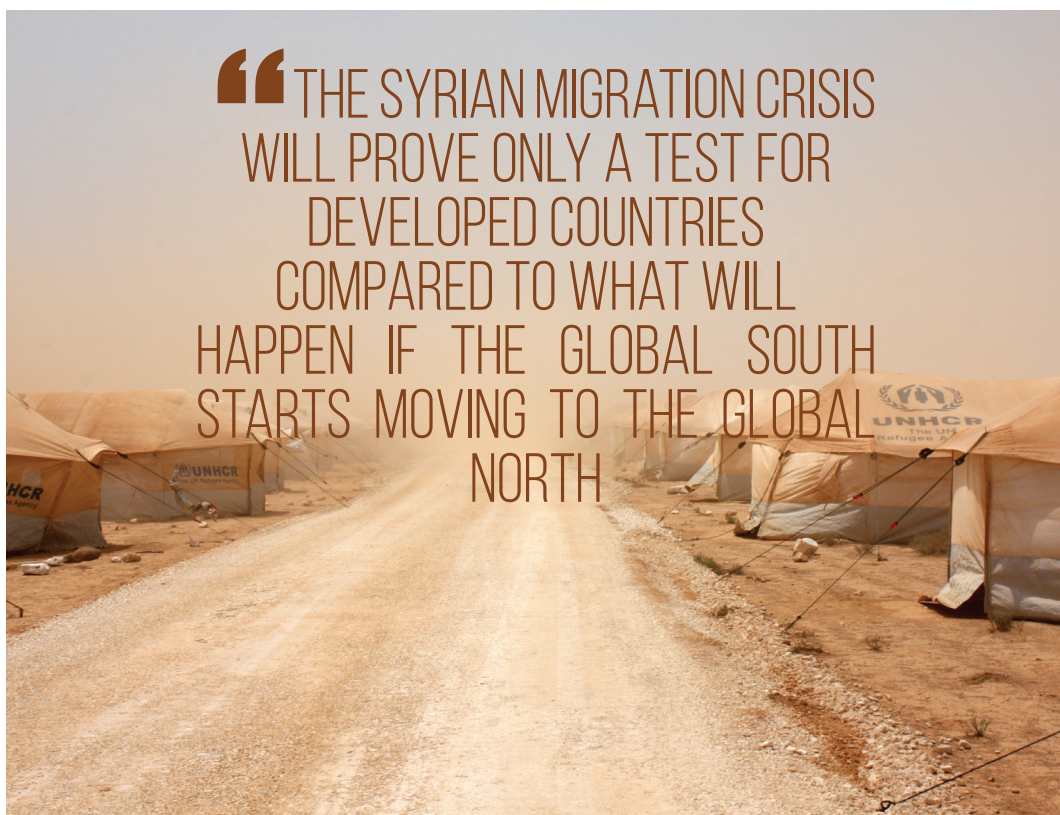


Photo: Dina Baslan/Flickr

VIOLENCE AND THE RISE OF THE LEVIATHAN

Violence and war have cursed mankind since the beginning of time. Human lives have been shed and violence has provoked an incalculable amount of pain and sorrow. Is violence as much a part of our society to-day, as it was a thousand years ago?


The origin of violence is a classic debate on human nature. Thomas Hobbes, the 17th century English philosopher, argued that in the state of nature, violence is inherent to human beings: each person follows their instincts in order to survive in a very adverse environment. He summarizes this view in the classic quote “*man is a wolf to man*”. He argued that to deal with the violent natural state of man, a third actor would have to mediate between humans, the *Leviathan* – the centralized government. The *Leviathan* would impose peace through the monopoly of violence, allowing the society to progress. However, the *Leviathan* can only appear in times of war, when people are scared and willing to renounce some liberties in exchange for protection.

IF WE TAKE a look at the historical evidence, there is no room for doubt. As the neuroscientist Steve Pinker explains, there has been an outstanding decrease in violence throughout history. More recent archaeological discoveries show that the number of violent deaths in pre-state societies were much higher than in state societies. According to some estimates, in the Stone Age, 15-20% of the population suffered a violent death whereas in the violent 20th century the probability was between 1-2%. Pinker argues that this dramatic change can be attributed to the development of the state, not despite of it. Hence, evidence seems to support Hobbes’ claim of a natural state of violence.

“MAN IS A
WOLF TO MAN

IT IS CLEAR that social interactions trigger social changes in the long run and that individuals change their habits according to their experiences. Evolutionary theory predicts that people who are able to adapt to changing circumstances have higher probabilities of survival. Hence, in the context of perpetual violence, groups of people that cooperate are prone to persist over less cooperative groups or individuals. Such reward from cooperation provided the incentives for the growth of social groups along the history and the creation of the first states.

THE BEST EXAMPLES of these early states were the empires that emerged around 4000 BC in the Fertile Crescent, which includes Mesopotamia, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and the Nile valley. Sumer was the first urban civilization in history, situated between the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Its inhabitants developed agriculture with the incorporation of irrigation, established new industries like pottery, masonry or leatherworking, and developed writing in the form of cuneiform script. The appearance of new activities was mainly due to the existence of a cen-



“HISTORY USUALLY
DOES NOT HAVE A
LINEAR DEVELOPMENT,
BUT A DIALECTICAL ONE

tral government that provided security, organized the society, and allowed specialization in different tasks. Actually, some scholars argue that the discovering of writing was caused by the necessity of the government to keep records of the taxes paid by its citizens.

SUBSEQUENT CIVILIZATIONS LIKE the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian empires acquired significant knowledge in different fields like medicine, mathematics, metal-working, and law. We can consider the Roman Empire the last of the ancient Western empires, where all these discoveries, technologies, and knowledge converged. The empire controlled a very large territory thanks to having the first professional army, a strong central administration, and an advanced legal system that allowed management of the remote provinces. Especially remarkable is the period known as “*Pax Romana*”, which saw 206 years of political stability, economic development, and peace within the empire. In this golden age, material prosperity and human well-being reached their peaks and would not be overcome until many years later.

AS THE GERMAN philosopher G.W.F. Hegel said, history usually does not have a linear development, but a dialectical one where the golden periods are usually followed by darker ones. The fall of the Roman Empire in 476 AC due to the invasion of barbarian hordes is one clear example. In Europe, this led to the beginning of the Middle Ages, characterized by feudal societies composed of very decentralized and small kingdoms where

the king’s vassals held fiefdoms in the name of the king and contributed with soldiers in war times. Meanwhile, after the collapse of the Mongol Empire, China flourished under the Ming dynasty like never before, enjoying a long period of cultural and technological advances with social and political stability.

THE NEXT STEP of the civilizing process was taken by the beginning of the modern era, when the ideas from the Enlightenment converged with the development of trade, the Scientific Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution. Modern nation-states became more centralized and bureaucratic, and started to care more about citizenship because it became the basis of the state. Hence, some states began to incorporate humanitarian values, abolishing slavery, torture or capital punishment especially for their citizens. In the colonies, and at war with other countries, numerous atrocities were committed, but as time went by violence also began to decrease. The number of wars has also decreased significantly in the last centuries and supranational entities were created to supervise the compliance of human rights. Hence, in general terms it is safe to say that we live in the most peaceful era in history. As Hobbes predicted, the rise and evolution of the Leviathan has helped to tackle down violence and triggered the improvement of human well-being. Because, after all, if societal structures had been avoided, a lot of pain and suffering could have been prevented, but we could be hunter-gatherers with a life expectancy of 25 years. ●

REPRESENTATIVE RESOLUTIONS?

You know how most people have that one thing that shaped a part of who they are? In my case it was the United Nations Security Council's Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Resolution 1960 on sexual violence in armed conflicts, and its adoption in 2010. A mouthful, I know.

I grew up in a white, feminist, and middle-class household. Brought up in the illusion that everything that came out of the UN was perfect. A force of good in the world. A few years later, this illusion started to crumble as I explored the UN Security Council's Women, Peace and Security (WPS) resolutions through the lens of postcolonial feminism.

RESOLUTION 1960 WASN'T the first, but the fifth, resolution on WPS. The WPS agenda was created through Resolution 1325 in 2000, which argued that women are especially vulnerable and adversely affected in situations of armed conflicts. Therefore, women need to participate in peacebuilding and conflict resolution. Resolution 1325 takes on a gender mainstreaming approach stemming from a Western and liberal feminist position. The aim of gender mainstreaming is to incorporate gender issues on all levels of UN agency and urge member states to do the same. This sounds great, but in reality it is binary.

THE GENDER MAINSTREAMING approach is built on the notion that there are only two genders. This portrays women as a homogenous category. However, there are countless intersecting factors that make women differ from each other such as class, race, sexuality, and ability. The resolutions also

use a binary language that constructs men and women as opposites. For example, men become perpetrators, and women become victims. Women are generally the main victims of sexual violence in conflict, but the wording derives them of agency. Despite the aim to make women into actors of international peace and security, this binary language actually keeps portraying them only as victims.

“THE RESOLUTIONS USE A BINARY LANGUAGE THAT CONSTRUCTS MEN AND WOMEN AS OPPOSITES. MEN BECOME PERPETRATORS, AND WOMEN BECOME VICTIMS.”

IT ALSO UPHOLDS a Westernised gendered hierarchy. The women who work with this approach and these resolutions are usually Western or Western-influenced which creates another problematic binary: those who aid and those who are in need of aid. In this way, affluent women from Western nations become the helping élite, and women at the grassroots, mainly from less developed nations, are portrayed as helpless victims.

“WOMEN AT THE GRASSROOTS, MAINLY FROM LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS, ARE PROTRAYED AS HELPLESS VICTIMS

WOMEN ARE ALSO selectively chosen to participate in discussions on the resolutions. Women activists who avert from the utopian and liberal feminist language preferred by the UN are excluded from the peace discussions. One such example are the two Iraqi women activists Amal Al-Khedairy and Nermin Al-Mufti who during a talk with UN gender experts expressed displeasure with the lack of various UN support during the invasion of Iraq, and the usage of women's oppression as a way of legitimising the invasion. These women, after their talk, were branded as “angry”. The resolutions also tend to represent women in the Global South without providing them sufficient platform for self-representation. This results in a clear North/South divide. One such example is when the current Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Margot Wallström, was appointed the Secretary-General's



first Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict. In her new position, she was given the responsibility to draft Resolution 1960. Still, choosing a white, Western, and middle-class woman to be the representative of women victims of armed sexual violence, mostly from African countries, paints an imperialistic picture. Especially when this woman comes from a country with a history of colonialism, but no contemporary history of sexual violence in conflict. Wallström's successor was in contrast a woman of colour from Sierra Leone, a country with a long history of the issue. Why was she the successor and not the predecessor? I'm not saying that Wallström didn't do a great job, because she did. We do, however, need to be vigilant with whom we choose to represent whom. Again, this results in a lack of speaking platform for the victims and possibly distorted representation of their experiences.

I'M NOT HERE to bash the UN. The UN's WPS agenda is needed and there's no denying that these resolutions make many efforts of increasing women's agency in warred societies. However, it's important to be able to be critical. The issues mentioned above can be something to learn from. Admit differences between women, give those who are critical a platform to speak, and choose representatives who can fully represent. It's easy for women such as myself to see Western endeavours for gender equality as flawless. That's something we need to be wary of. We have to understand our privilege, our situation in global structures, and above all, the fact that we might not have come as far as we think. National and local gender issues remain and we must deal with them too. Simply directing our gaze towards women's situations in the non-West is imperialist, ethnocentric, problematic, and a lazy thing to do. ●

“CHOOSING A WHITE, WESTERN, AND
MIDDLE-CLASS WOMAN TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE
OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF ARMED SEXUAL VIOLENCE,
MOSTLY FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES,
PAINTS AN IMPERIALISTIC PICTURE

THE PERSPECTIVE RADIO

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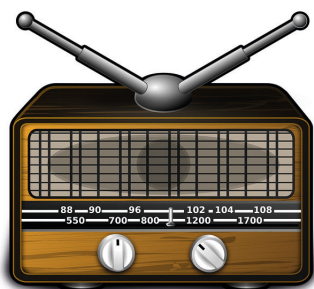
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Today, tourism is being titled as the “world’s peace industry”. People are debating whether tourism exists because of peace or if it can, in-fact bring peace to post-conflict societies. How can tourism be a force towards world peace and what can we do as we travel, to make a difference?

Although it is one of the world’s largest industries, tourism is easily disrupted in the face of violence. One can assume that the tourism industry would need peace as pre-condition and therefore have a self-interest in supporting a ‘peace dividend’. But tourism’s contribution to peacebuilding is being explored like never before. Global institutions such as the United Nations have realised its potential and have proclaimed 2017 as the ‘International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development’. The major reason being that when we travel, we experience new cultures and break through stereotypes. That experience is capable of increasing understanding among people about diverse cultural backgrounds, and build tolerance as well as appreciation for different value systems.

WITHOUT A DOUBT, the the scenic beaches and the rich cultural heritage of Syria have always attracted a large numbers of Western visitors. But,

the Syrian tourism industry has understandably suffered in the past years. A recent tourism ad with the tagline ‘Syria always beautiful’ hinted at a fresh start on bringing in tourists, in an attempt to rebuild the region. While the same beach has been targeted by suicide bombers, the ad displays clear blue beaches devoid of any signs of the horrific past. Although it may look like a distant goal at the moment, as most of the UNESCO heritage sites lay destroyed as an aftermath of the bombings, but cashing in on increased tourist activity in the region are the first steps to get started.

ON THE CONTRARY, Hiroshima, which was reduced to rubble after the nuclear bombing, today stands as a symbol of peace rather than devastation. Museums emphasizing how Hiroshima overcame the devastating atomic bombing have been a priority for the city. The preserved ruins continue to attract visitors from around the globe, hopefully acting as a visual advocate against nuclear war-

fare. Similarly, other 'dark tourism hotspots' such as the Terror museum in Budapest and Rwanda's genocide memorials – showcase past horrors. At the same time they serve as a constant reminder of why it is ever more important to keep working towards peace.

IT IS EASY to see why countries around the world with a more open and sustainable tourism sector tend to be more peaceful. Community engagement and empowerment, capacity building, training, and public to private sector partnerships in tourism are key in advancing a culture of peace. Taking Sri Lanka's example from Passikudah – a fresh wave of tourism has brought in economic activity after the disastrous tsunami and the long history of civil wars. But digging in deeper, one comes across stories of how the fishing community has been uprooted in the villages. To cure this, the Women Human Rights Activists recommend hoteliers to allow traditional fishermen to continue fishing and create a system to purchase fish directly from the locals. Furthermore, they could invest in Community-based tourism by providing training for the youth and recruiting local women. Naturally, by fostering economic activity, it provides valuable opportunities for the local population which reduces any incentive to engage in conflict. In other words, while tourism does not entirely eliminate the threat, but it surely reduces the risk of conflict in countries that are vulnerable to violence.

“THOSE WHO CANNOT
REMEMBER THE PAST,
ARE CONDEMNED TO
REPEAT IT”
- GEORGE SANTAYANA

BEYOND THE GDP and the numbers, industrial growth and economic benefits, tourism is bringing us together, in this technologically advanced and globalized world. As a part of the trend-setting Gen Y, it's all about venturing out into new places, traveling the world, posting pictures on Facebook, Instagramming exotic food, and blogging about new experiences. Embracing the cultural diversity has the power to make us more empathetic and open-minded, and perhaps even devise new solutions for the age-old problems, as we look at the world from new lenses. If all of us were to respect the local culture as we explore the world, and appreciate the beautiful differences, the world could become a border-less space to explore. At the end of the day, it is up to each and every one of us to ensure that we convey honest depictions of places and people and while keeping checks and balances on misinterpretations, to become true ambassadors of the world ●



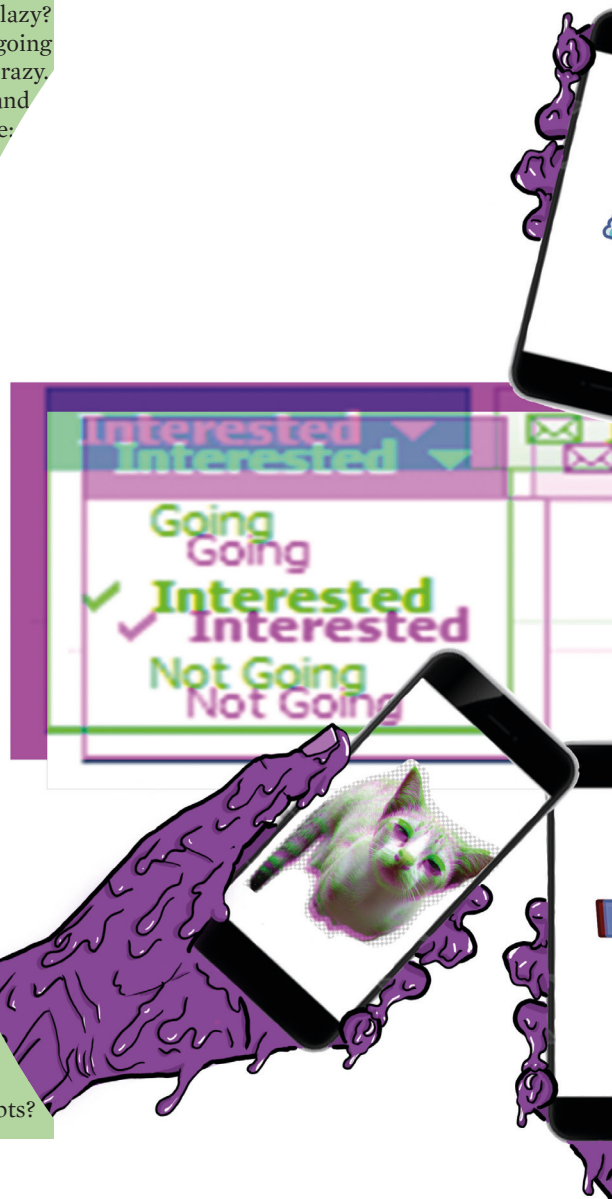
Why am I so lazy?
I'm not doing a thing but in my head I'm going
crazy.
Social justice, climate change, racism and
global peace:
I can never get enough of the debates.
But instead of just talking, shouldn't I go
out on the streets?

Demos, lectures, forums, meetings
Facebook's bombarding me with all of
those greetings
From ambassadors, experts and
human rights activists.
Everyone's interested in every
event:
Look at me, I'm your most en-
gaged friend!
But too impervious is the politi-
cal mist.

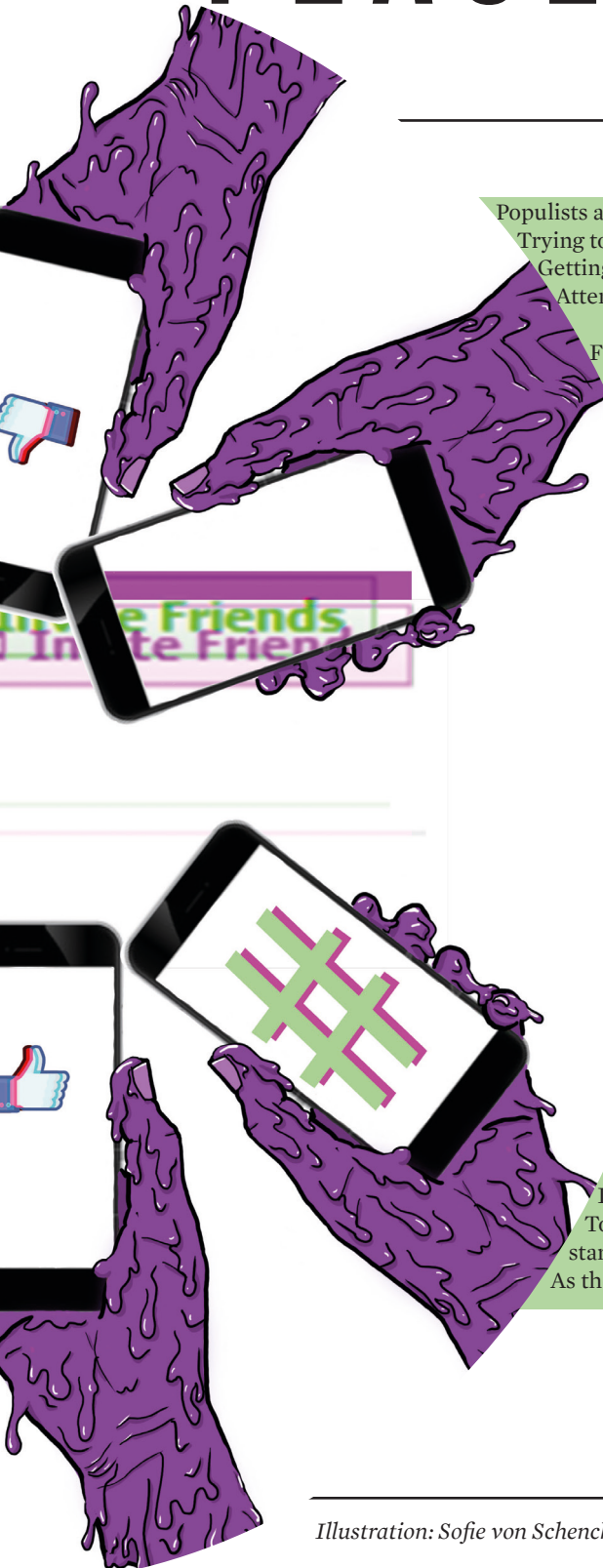
At the end of the day I just sit at
home,
Too lazy to go out,
Liking and Sharing as I look at
my phone,
I can't be bothered to speak out
loud.

They call us "Generation Me":
Self-involved, narcissist, Me, Me,
Me!
Is that true? Are we really that mel-
low?
Do we care too much about ourselves to
care for our fellows?

Or is there just nothing to care about?
Too little problems to feed our doubts?



PEACE OF MIND A REQUIEM



Populists are just bored with life
Trying to create an exciting new hype
Getting people to join a political stream
Attention, I think, is their true dream.

Finally, Trump whispered lowly,
I got them to rebel,
“Grab them by the pussy” is what I had to tell?!
Like this I get reactions, he understood slowly.

What if we told them climate change wasn't
real?

Maybe that will have a new appeal.
Cause this is what it's all about:
Less selfies, less likes, more dislikes,
more doubts.

And there stand the populists: desper-
ate for reactions
They are thirsty for attention
Looking for societal fractions
Which could free our minds from their
detention.

I want to care, but not too much.
The right amount, no war, no fuzz.

We are stuck in our mellow awareness,
Some discussions, but not too deep.
But when we wake,
I am afraid,
We can never go back to sleep.

Too little problems to feed our doubts?

“Maybe that's why there's racists and sexists?”
I'm thinking
To make comments, so absurd, people have to
start blinking
As they awake from their peaceful sleepiness.

Illustration: Sofie von Schenck

UNITY THROUGH SMOKE AND MIRRORS

"I heard sounds like bombs. I could not find my husband, all the villagers fled. When we came back, our home, our lifelong savings and my entire dreams had turned to smoke and ashes. Everything was destroyed. It hurts me that I cannot bury my husband's body, I feel he is still lying there... The soldiers were not done, they came back and beat us- they said they were looking for terrorists. Three soldiers called me over. I knew they wanted to rape me."

Jamalida, a Rohingya refugee in Bangladesh

Following the military crackdown on massive civil protests in 2007, Myanmar's recent move towards a more liberal democratic state, came to many observers as a surprise. Myanmar is a country that has gone back and forth from authoritarianism to more democratic forms of state rule throughout its history. A seemingly sudden change of mind regarding democratisation, within the ruling military elites, occurred as a result of the a constitutional referendum in 2008. The referendums intention was to move Myanmar gradually towards democratisation, with the supervision of the military. The military was guaranteed 25 percent of the seats in parliament, control over defence, home affairs and border affairs and the right to intervene if democracy, according to them, would get out of hand. The level of influence and power the new civil government actually has, and how much democracy in Myanmar is a facade, is clearly up for debate. A dark shadow is cast upon the continuation of a positive development in Myanmar, as great ethnic divisions within its society still polarise, standing in the way of any attempts at national unity and nation building. In the backdrop of a hybrid authoritarian state, ethnic conflicts and national poverty, democracy is facing major obstacles in Myanmar.

ON THE 25TH of August 2017, Rohingya militant forces attacked several border police outposts in the northern Rakhine state in Myanmar, killing 12 members of the security forces. Behind the attack lies months of conflicts and scrutiny on Rohingya rights, a minority Muslims population living in Myanmar. The conflict between the ethnic Muslim minority and the military junta has been stirred up for years. The Muslim communities have systematically been persecuted for decades. Most Rohingya are denied citizenship, healthcare,



education and free movement. Ignoring the Rohingya historical and cultural ties to the northern state. The military's response was a "clearance operation" to look for terrorists among the Rohingya population. However, the attacks that took place in August sparked an old ethnic conflict between the Buddhist majority and the Rohingya minority population. Buddhist militias and local security forces also joined the violence and forced deportations of the Rohingya. The UN have stated we are witnessing a "textbook example on ethnic cleansing", with killings of civilians and burning of villages. In national media, the operation has been described as war on terror. In the time of writing, UN reports show well over half a million Rohingya refugees have fled into Bangladesh. Survivors talk of rape, murder, arson and deliberate targeting villages where only civilians reside.

WITH A LANDSLIDE victory in the 2015 election, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi's party won an outright majority in both legislative chambers. This, even after the 25 per cent of unelected seats held by the armed forces is taken into account. San Suu Kyie as the de facto leader was given the task to lead her country towards stability, peace and prosperity. While politically balancing on a knife's edge. On one side, the military and public opinion is pushing her to "deal" with the Rohingyas, and on the other, the global community is keeping a close eye on her response, watching her next step closely.

IN A PUBLIC speech in September, she avoided condemning the actions of the military and militias saying that "There have been allegations and counter-allegations". Furthermore, she stated that "Myanmar does not fear international scrutiny". International reactions to her speech in the capital Nya U Daw were harsh. Amnesty International denounced her speech as a "mix of untruths and victim-blaming".

ONCE REGARDED AS a beacon of democracy, resilience and human rights, Aung San Suu Kyie has failed to safeguard the Muslim minority, to the great disappointment of the internationally community and more importantly, to the vulnerable Rohingya population.

THE WEST EULOGISED her, putting Aung San Suu Kyie on the human rights defenders' trophy shelf, right next to Nelson Mandela, Mahatma Gandhi or Malala Yousafza. The question is if she simply has forgotten what a Nobel Peace Prize entails of a recipient. Have our simplified views and narratives on international conflicts once again made us simply believe in good and bad, black and white, the lady versus the generals? Does our need for idols and symbols of western human rights, blur our vision of what is needed for democracy? Aung San Suu Kyie just needed to get into office and everything would be fine. The reality once again, is much more complicated.

NATION BUILDING THROUGH violence towards minorities, is historically nothing new among fragile or newly independent states. Rallying around being the majority, othering minorities. We are the many and they are the few, we are unified as we are not them. Ethnicity is fundamental in alienation, with the right rhetoric, easily used in favour of one's interests. The unification of the majority on the basis of eradicating the minority could, in a sick twisted way, might just be a way forward when it comes to unifying Myanmar. This at least in the eyes of the Myanmar military.

FOLLOWING THE IMMENSE international critique on San Suu Kyi's silence, the de facto leader eventually announced her concerns of the human suffering in Rakhine state. Showcasing the will of the civil government to act, although far too late. Plans for a civilian-led agency with foreign assistance aiming at delivering aid and help to resettle Rohingya Muslims back to Rakhine state. There is just one issue: Many of the Rohingyas escaping the brutality of the army lacks the personal identification papers proving their ties to Myanmar, clearly problematising their return.

THE RIFT IN the parliament deepens. The democratically elected party with Aung San Suu Kyi in a moral crossway and a rogue military. Rallying a divided people, setting fire to the nation, creating unity through smoke and mirrors. ●

THE ECONOMIC FUTURE OF EUROPE

With the election of President Macron the European Union might after years of crises see a way forward.

The Europe that we know is too slow, too weak, too ineffective”, chided President Macron in a passionate speech on the future of the European Union on September 26th. The speech, delivered just after the German election, has been called “one of the most pro-European speeches by an EU leader in years”. Proposals ranged from the creation of European universities and the call for every EU citizen to learn two European languages to the assembly of a joint military force and tax-policy harmonization.

“**THE ONLY PATH** that assures our future”, Macron’s resolute proclamation rings, “is the rebuilding of a Europe that is sovereign, united and democratic.” For the French President deeper integration is the only way, and a major part of this is the consolidation of the Euro. A sizeable list of suggestions includes the creation of a shared Eurozone budget, to be paid for by national taxes and presided over by a Eurozone finance minister. The budget could be used for investments to boost growth and employment, to help alleviate pressure during times of economic crisis and to fund joint financial projects. Access to it would for any nation be contingent on sticking to the rules and living up to standards set. Also suggested is the creation of a European Monetary Fund, that would be tasked with financial monitoring and taking decisions

on future bailouts, as well as completing the EU banking union, implementing the last proposals set forth at its creation.

WHAT THESE SUGGESTIONS would concretely entail is anybody’s guess. Analyst of French politics Arthur Goldhammer called the speech “echt Macronism — lofty in conception, bold in symbolism, vague on details.” The cause of the vagueness rests but slightly to the east. Germany is shrugging after years of carrying the Eurozone on its shoulders. With the recent election dealing a firm blow to Europeanism, Macron will face a tough crowd. Still, Chancellor Merkel has signalled clear albeit reserved assent. In fact, she favours most of the proposals, but differently than Macron. The Chancellor has said that a European finance minister could allow for better coordination on economic policies among the member nations, and that a Eurozone budget would contribute to European stability. She envisions, however, only a small budget and a limited role for a minister; Macron wants one that spends, Merkel one that cuts.

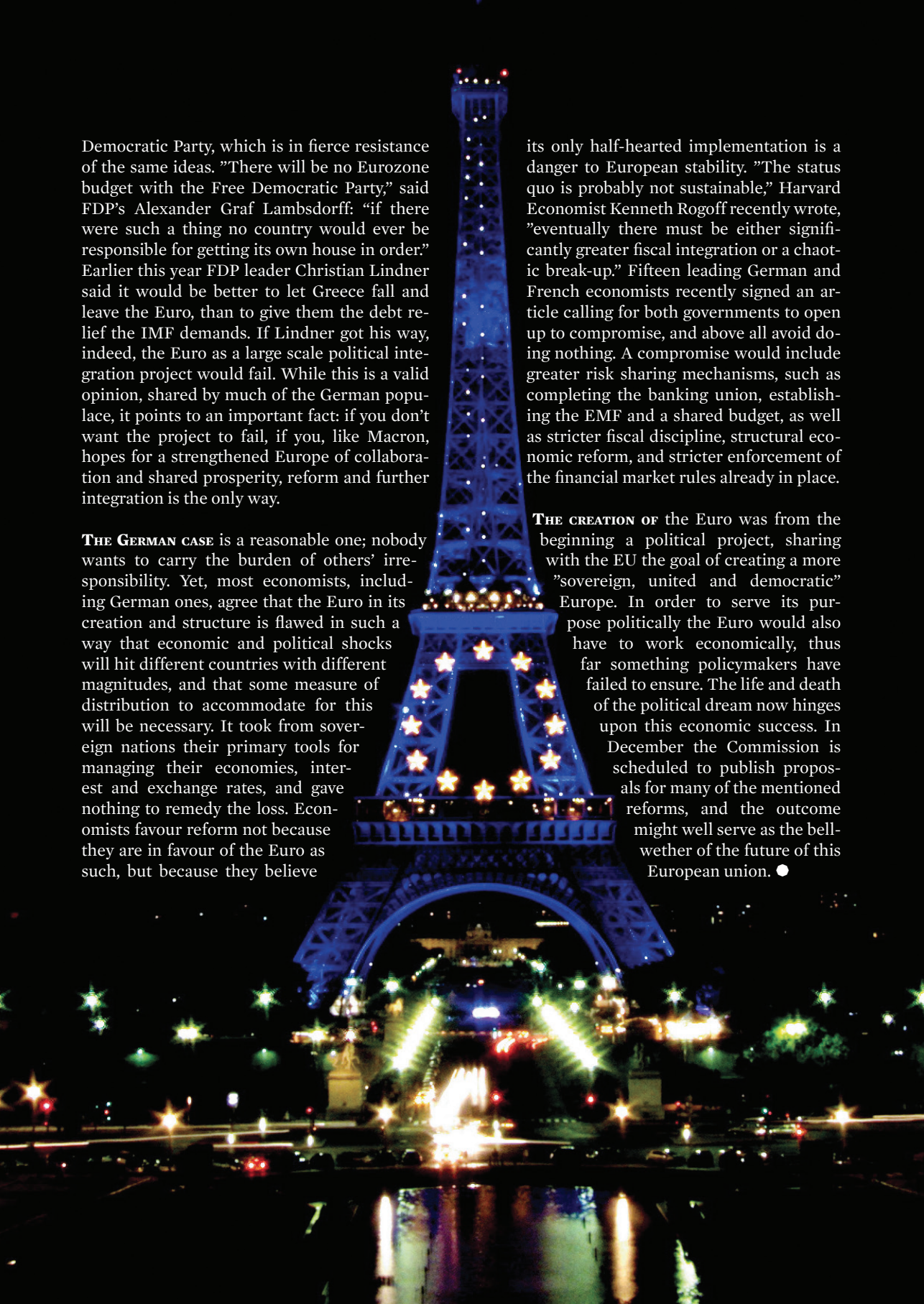
MUCH OF THE possibility of Eurozone reform rests with the outcome of German coalition negotiations. Merkel’s previous partner in government, the Social Democrats, have praised Macron’s proposals and endorsed the general direction. By all likelihood the new coalition will include the Free

Democratic Party, which is in fierce resistance of the same ideas. "There will be no Eurozone budget with the Free Democratic Party," said FDP's Alexander Graf Lambsdorff: "if there were such a thing no country would ever be responsible for getting its own house in order." Earlier this year FDP leader Christian Lindner said it would be better to let Greece fall and leave the Euro, than to give them the debt relief the IMF demands. If Lindner got his way, indeed, the Euro as a large scale political integration project would fail. While this is a valid opinion, shared by much of the German populace, it points to an important fact: if you don't want the project to fail, if you, like Macron, hopes for a strengthened Europe of collaboration and shared prosperity, reform and further integration is the only way.

THE GERMAN CASE is a reasonable one; nobody wants to carry the burden of others' irresponsibility. Yet, most economists, including German ones, agree that the Euro in its creation and structure is flawed in such a way that economic and political shocks will hit different countries with different magnitudes, and that some measure of distribution to accommodate for this will be necessary. It took from sovereign nations their primary tools for managing their economies, interest and exchange rates, and gave nothing to remedy the loss. Economists favour reform not because they are in favour of the Euro as such, but because they believe

its only half-hearted implementation is a danger to European stability. "The status quo is probably not sustainable," Harvard Economist Kenneth Rogoff recently wrote, "eventually there must be either significantly greater fiscal integration or a chaotic break-up." Fifteen leading German and French economists recently signed an article calling for both governments to open up to compromise, and above all avoid doing nothing. A compromise would include greater risk sharing mechanisms, such as completing the banking union, establishing the EMF and a shared budget, as well as stricter fiscal discipline, structural economic reform, and stricter enforcement of the financial market rules already in place.

THE CREATION OF the Euro was from the beginning a political project, sharing with the EU the goal of creating a more "sovereign, united and democratic" Europe. In order to serve its purpose politically the Euro would also have to work economically, thus far something policymakers have failed to ensure. The life and death of the political dream now hinges upon this economic success. In December the Commission is scheduled to publish proposals for many of the mentioned reforms, and the outcome might well serve as the bellwether of the future of this European union. ●



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AVAILABLE IN MANKIND'S QUEST FOR
PEACE AND SECURITY.

- MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

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