

THE PERSPECTIVE

MAGAZINE

No 4 2018

THE NEW FACE OF WAR



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EDITORS' NOTE

To tell you the truth, readers, this hasn't been an easy issue. There has been grey weather and darkness creeping up on us over the past couple of months. Exams have been stressing both us and our editorial team. The quest for articles has never been stronger. However, our editorial team has persevered and we have, once again, ended up with a Magazine that we are very proud of.

THE THEME of this issue is The New Face of War. Wars are changing and are not necessarily fought in the traditional sense with guns and brightly coloured uniforms. The world is, as always, developing and so are wars. Cyberwars, climate wars, and potential alien attacks are, to name a few issues, something that needs to be brought up in the discussing to make sure the definition of "war" follows the present times. This is what we have aimed to do in this issue. Our writers took on the mission and showed us that there are many different ways to look at this theme. We hope that this issue will show a bit of all the different views that make up what war has been, what war is today, and what war might be in the future.

WE ARE SITTING here at the office, putting the final touches on this issue when we realised that we are

halfway through our operational year. Two Magazines have now been published and we have two to go. We feel as though we have a lot more to do, and we are excited for next semester. We will aim to keep improving the Magazine. But for now, we will take a Christmas holiday with hot cocoa and knäck, and hopefully, you will as well, with the Magazine in your hands.

Happy Holidays and enjoy your read!



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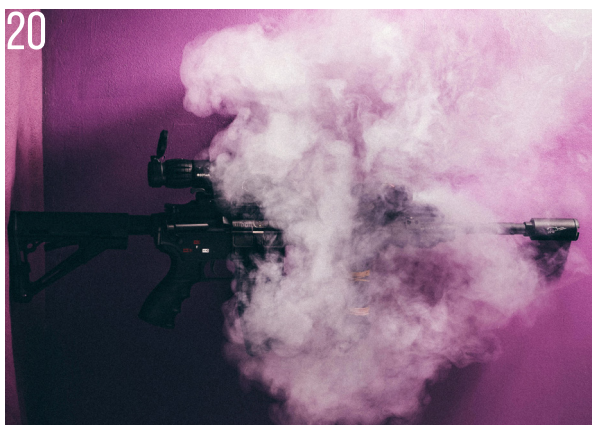
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PRESIDENTS' ADDRESS

The leaves on the trees change colours from green to yellow, and winter has yet again come to Lund. As we light our candles while hiding away from the cold wind outside, we begin to reflect about another year passing by. And indeed, what a year it has been! In the spring of 2018, UPF initiated its first exchange with Belarus, travelled to Brussels, hosted the magical Annual Ball, held numerous lectures and seminars, and published articles and radio content weekly.

ONLY THIS AUTUMN, UPFs hardworking and dedicated members have arranged many intriguing lectures, planned study trips to both Copenhagen and New York City, invited us to two wonderful sittings, and hosted a successful networking event. Every week we have been spoiled with interesting and well-written articles, and podcasts and live shows by our radio committee have made the cold autumn a bit warmer. All of it reaching all corners of Lund and beyond, thanks to our talented PR committee.

UPF MEMBERS! We are so proud of your commitment and tireless effort to encourage participation and debate, bringing light to important issues from all corners of the world. Even when the challenges of our generation seem daunting, you are willing to look beyond for solutions. Your curiosity and enthusiasm for international affairs, your openness to new perspectives and knowledge, not to mention your compassion, never cease to awe and inspire us.

LEAVING 2018 BEHIND, we cannot help but wonder what next year has in store. Not to jinx anything, but we have a feeling that 2019 will bring us even greater experiences. However, that will not be possible without you. Therefore, we would like to encourage you to attend our Get Active mingle in January to find out more about what UPF has to offer, how you can affect our operations, and how you can contribute. Remember; it is interest, not expertise, that sets the boundaries for what you can accomplish. We cannot wait to welcome you to become a part of a wonderful family that learns, makes mistakes, and grows together.

UNTIL THEN, ENJOY some well-deserved rest before the new semester, and do not forget to take care of yourselves and each other. We look forward to seeing you all again in January!

SEASON'S GREETINGS,



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OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN LAW

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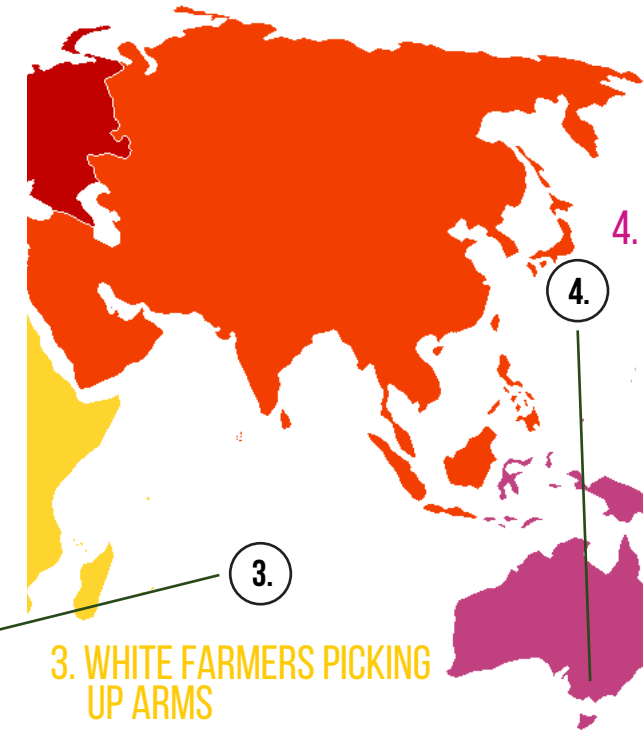
1. PROTESTING IN PARIS

On December 1st, protestors took to the streets of Paris, France protesting against the increase of fuel taxes, higher living costs, and against president Emmanuel Macron's government. The people leading the protests are a movement called "gilets jaunes" or the yellow vests. The gilet jaunes are recognised for wearing a highly-visible yellow vest. The protests lead to over 100 people being injured and 400 arrests. However, it is estimated that 136 000 people took part in the protests. The most intense protests were in Paris at Champs-Élysées where tear gas, stun grenades, and water cannons were used and after the protests, there were over 190 fires to be put out. President Macron said in a press conference in Buenos Aires that "I will never accept violence". The president also said that "No cause justifies that authorities are attacked, that businesses are plundered, that passers-by or journalists are threatened or that the Arc du Triomphe is defiled". Authorities are currently in the process of trying to figure out what needs to be done for similar events to be prevented in the future. For now, the cleaning up after Saturday's protests are well on the way in Paris. ●

2.

2. SURFING IN CUBA

It is estimated, by the government, that around half of the population of Cuba (5.3 million) have mobile phones. The communist government has, for years, been promising the population access to 3G mobile internet, however, the access remains low. Until recently, the only feature people could access through mobile internet is sending and receiving emails. On December 6th the government made a move to try and change Cuba's technological isolation with providing more mobile internet to its citizens. The government has provided wifi hotspots around the country where people can access a limited amount of slow working internet, monitored by the government. The government still has a monopoly on all telecommunications and the prices for mobile internet is high, 7 USD for 600 megabytes, resulting in a limited amount of the population able to afford this plan. The average salary for a state worker is roughly 30 USD per month, making the cheapest plan, of 7 USD a month, extremely high. Cuba's internet connection is currently one of the lowest in the world, something the government wants to change. With the prices being so high, not many will be able to purchase 3G mobile internet. Will this result in change and modernisation as the government wants? As it looks now, it does not seem like it. ●



3. WHITE FARMERS PICKING UP ARMS

Under apartheid, the British colonizers stripped the black population of most of their rights, including the right to own property. Reports from 2017 show that 72% of the land, owned by individuals, is owned by white people. South Africa is still, twenty years after apartheid, very divided with 10% of the population owning about 95% of the total wealth. African National Congress (ANC) expressed, last December, that land expropriation without compensation should be implemented, in order to distribute wealth among the population. Furthermore, ANC said that they would push for an amendment on the constitution to make it clear under which circumstances land can be expropriated without compensation to the owners. The proposed changes were voted through on the 4th of December this year, with the support of Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) who are positive towards land expropriation without compensation. The parliament will now start a process of changing the constitution. This has undoubtedly sparked an infected debate in South Africa. Farmers have been attacked in the last few weeks, stirring the debate further. Some white farmers are now picking up arms bracing for, what they perceive as, a coming race war over the land. ●

4. THE ABORIGINAL STRUGGLE FOR A TREATY

Out of the fifty-three member countries of The Commonwealth, Australia is the only one that has never made a treaty with its indigenous population. Presently, however, the state of Victoria is working to become a national first, paving the way for treaty discussions with the state's Aboriginal population. In 2019, a statutory Aboriginal Representative Body will be created, which will decide on rules for the treaty negotiations with the state government. Yet, the road to this point has not been easy. It has taken almost three years of heated discussions, and more than 37 million Australian dollars, just to get to this early stage of the process.

Moreover, the situation is complicated and controversy, due to several postcolonial factors, surrounds the future representative body. For example, not all 38 of the so-called Aboriginal 'language nations' will be given automatic seats in the representative body, which will render the body unrepresentative and, it has been argued, discriminatory. The process is, thus, a difficult one and a future treaty might still be years away. However, the negotiations conducted so far is a step in the right direction for a country with a long and complicated history with its indigenous population. ●

FIRST MISSION TO VENEZUELA BY A UN RAPPORTEUR IN 21 YEARS

The mandate of the independent expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order was created in 2011 and the Human Rights Council appointed me the first mandate holder in May 2012. During my six-year tenure I presented 13 thematic reports to the HR Council and GA on a variety of international order topics, including tax havens, free trade agreements, bilateral investment treaties, ISDS, , disarmament and self-determination.

AS A FORMER senior lawyer with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and Chief of the Petitions Department, I was keenly aware of the economic crisis affecting the people of Venezuela, characterized by galloping inflation, scarcity of foods and medicines, unemployment and mass emigration. I knew that the Venezuelan government had been criticized by the OAS and UN and that a dozen UN rapporteurs who had requested the opportunity to visit had their requests denied. In August 2017 I requested from the government of Venezuela permission to carry out an independent assessment of the situation. Already in September I received a positive response, which was seen as a sensation by my colleague rapporteurs and OHCHR. Why did I get this invitation? Perhaps because my prior reports had not been confrontational but result-oriented and had formulated pragmatic solutions. I was not perceived as a priori hostile.

ACCORDING TO MEDIA reports, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, PROVEA and other civil society organizations, there was a “humanitarian crisis” in Venezuela requiring urgent action. I had also read reports by FAO and CEPAL according to which although there was scarcity and delays in distribution, the threshold of a humanitarian crisis had not been reached.

WHEN IN VENEZUELA I was determined to speak

with as many stakeholders as possible – from the opposition, the press, NGO’s, entrepreneurs, chamber of commerce, professors, students, churches etc. Pretty soon I realized that the population was extremely polarized. Thanks to the cooperation of UNDP I successfully divided my time between the government and the opposition, listening to victims of human rights violations, but also speaking to the Attorney General, Defensor del Pueblo , ministries of health and agriculture. etc.

WHEREAS THE ENTREPRENEURS attributed all the ills to the “failed socialist model”, to “incompetence” and “corruption”, a considerable number of interlocutors, including the Venezuelan NGO’s Fundalatin (UN consultative status) and Grupo Sures, the Jesuit activist Father Nuno Molina, and economics Professor Pasqualina Curcio explained to me that the situation was not that simple and drew my attention to other contributing factors:

- 1.** The dramatic fall in oil prices in 2014. For 100 years Venezuelan economy had depended nearly 90% on the sale of petroleum. A drop in commodity prices necessarily had immediate impacts. Surely Chavez and Maduro should have diversified. But 80 years of neo-liberal governments in Venezuela before them had similarly failed to diversify.
- 2.** The non-conventional war waged by the US against Venezuela since 1999, similar to the economic warfare against Salvador Allende in Chile in 1970-73, against Cuba since 1960 and against Nicaragua in the 1980s.
- 3.** The US financial and media support of the Venezuelan opposition and NGO’s has had a destabilizing impact, including the coup attempt of April 2002, the lock-out of the petroleum industry in 2003, which cost the Venezuelan economy an estimated 15 billion dollars, and the violence of the “guarimbas” (violent street demonstrations).
- 4.** Because of the sanctions imposed by the US since 2015, followed by the Trump sanctions of 2017/18 and the sanctions imposed by Canada and

the European Union, investors and entrepreneurs have radically reduced business in Venezuela out of fear of penalties.

5. The financial blockade, including the closing of 80% of Venezuela's bank accounts abroad and the refusal of many banks to transfer funds owed to the Venezuelan Government or to transfer payments that Venezuela attempts to make for the purchase of food and medicines, including insulin, anti-malaria drugs, anti-retroviral drugs, scanners and dialysis equipment. During my visit I obtained convincing evidence of the devastating effect of this financial embargo.

6. The economic war is also conducted internally, since most of Venezuela's importers and distributors are private sector and opponents of the socialist policies of Chavez/Maduro. Evidence of this disruption is found in the phenomenon of hoarding of food and medicines in warehouses, only to release them into the back market at exorbitant prices. (See my report to the Council A/HRC/39/47/Add.1, and the extensive comments and documentation submitted by Venezuela A/HRC/39/47/Add.2).

7. Domestic and international smuggling rings have smuggled tons of subsidized foods and medicines into Colombia and Brazil, to sell them at ten times the price.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE PERSUASIVENESS of the mainstream narrative that the crisis is primarily due to government mismanagement and that there are too many ideologues and too few technocrats in government, a rapporteur cannot ignore detailed evidence and statistics received demonstrating the impacts of the economic war. As an NGO told me: "economic sanctions kill".

THE PROBLEM WITH the concept of a humanitarian crisis is that it can be instrumentalized to make a military "humanitarian" intervention more palatable to world public opinion, although it would inevitably violate the prohibition of the use of force in Article 2(4) of the UN Charter and Chapter 4, Article 19 of the OAS Charter. The "humanitarian" intervention in Libya 2011 cost untold lives and has left the country in chaos. Is this the right recipe for Venezuela?

ALTHOUGH I WAS not a "super rapporteur" and my mandate did not authorize me to investigate issues of arbitrary detention and violation of press freedom, I did welcome reports given to me by relatives of victims and, after reviewing the evidence, transmitted their communications to the competent rapporteurs. I also incorporated meritorious cases into a six-page confidential memorandum, which I gave to the government. Shortly after my visit, 80 detainees were released, including persons on behalf of whom I had strongly interceded. Consistent with my recommendations, UN agencies in Caracas made new cooperation agreements with the government I consider my mission to have had moderate success and conclude that our priority must be to help the Venezuelan people and remove obstacles so that Venezuela can import all the food and medicine needed. It is scandalous that when a malaria outbreak occurred in November 2017, Colombia refused to deliver the anti-malaria medicine, which Venezuela had to obtain instead in India. An international commission of economists including e.g. Joseph Stiglitz, Paul Krugman, Thomas Piketty could help the government get the economy back on track. ●



Photo: Private Photos

HOW TO TOPPLE A REGIME IN TWO WEEKS



In the small landlocked country of Armenia, a civil revolution took place this spring that few have heard about. The post-soviet country underwent a shift from authoritarian rule towards a more democratic discourse in two weeks, without a single bullet being fired.

With a population of just about 3 million people, landlocked in-between Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkey, and Iran, Armenia is a country people generally know little about. The spring of 2018 is a time that surely will go down in the country's history as a pivotal point in the post-post-Soviet era. In two weeks, the authoritarian regime lost power to a peaceful, people driven social revolution called the Velvet Revolution.

THE VELVET REVOLUTION of 2018 was to some degree a *deja vu*, the name was previously used in 1989 to describe the post-communist break from the Soviet Union in Czechoslovakia. Fearing Russian suspicion, naming the revolution the same thing this spring, was a tactical choice in order not to spark resemblances with the so-called “colour revolutions” of other post-soviet states throughout Eastern Europe and Eurasia. In Russia, unsurprisingly one of Armenia's closest ally, the “colour revolutions” resonates a form of political mobilization and threat, inspired by external players, namely “the West”. Branding the Armenian revolution a la 2018 with a colour or a flower would imply to categorize it among historical events resembling the power struggle between East and West, colliding in post-communist states. A “velvet” revolution, on the other hand, is smooth and peaceful, with domestic legitimacy. Important to remember is that although external players have been involved in the “colour revolutions”, the nar-

rative of western influence, impact, and involvement is usually overstated.

So, WHAT MADE the Armenian Velvet Revolution so successful? Similarly to other post-soviet regimes experiencing democratic revolutions, the Armenian regime allowed for some political opposition, pluralism, independent press, and civic freedoms. In line with Charles Tilly's theory for political revolutions, the emergence of a counter-elite and a charismatic leader, combined with the unwillingness or incapacity of authorities to muzzle protest violently, are some prerequisites for social revolutions. Tilly argues that revolutionary situations can occur when authorities are unable to control particular areas of political life, leading the way for alternative forces. In the pre-revolutionary Armenia, the public did not have alternative means for expressing their political demands, other than revolution.

WHAT MANY BELIEVE is the primary reason for the discontent of the Armenian regime was the lack of power rotation. Since 1999, the Republican party had been in power. In 2008, Serzh Sargsyan took office after fellow Republican Robert Kocharyan, under what many views as a flawed, embezzle-ridden election. The Republican party of Armenia can be seen as a non-ideological body, described as a trade union of public officials and affiliated businesses. Post-election, hundreds of thousands took to the street to protest the already then unpopular Republican party, culminating with eight protest



ers and two policemen being killed during a move to disperse the crowd. The government image, now personified by Sargsyan, deteriorated even more. Circumstances became even worse when the 2008 economic crisis hit Armenia hard and as the border conflict in the region of Karabakh (a key security concern among many Armenians) escalated. In the years that followed, the ruling party buttressed its power, while continuously falling into disfavour with the general population. People grew to hate the government, but also the disorganized opposition that failed to inspire political change. Voting in an election, or going to post-election protests gave the same outcome: the regime stayed in power. Despair, fatigue and lack of credibility grew among Armenians, especially the young, regarding their political system.

THE GENERAL POLITICAL fatigue and apathy was used by the Republican party that bribed, threatened, and embezzled their way to entrenched power. They gradually took over most of the political platforms: the presidential office, the parliament, the provincial administrations, most town halls, even down to most village councils. This ensured them a never-ending rule over Armenian society, or at least so they thought.

IN 2010, DECENTRALIZED, social-media-driven youth protests began to break out. Although political in nature, the protests agendas were non-political. Leadership was flexible and mostly non-hierarchical. Topics ranged from combating increasing



THIS ENSURED THEM A
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OVER ARMENIAN SOCIETY,
OR AT LEAST SO THEY
THOUGHT.

consumer prices on public transport and electricity to environmental preservation and issues regarding urban planning. Protesters took active measures to exclude political parties from the rallies, the presence of such would counteract mobilization. The protests remained sporadic and local for the coming years, a political trigger was needed to challenge the status quo. This was provided when Sargsyan planned to unconstitutionally run for office for a third term in the 2018 election. Given the Republican party's grip of state institutions, there was no judicial method to prevent this. The experience of the educated, middle-class youth in holding para-political protests, could now be used to catalyze the general political resentment. All they needed was a charismatic leader.

FORTY TWO YEARS old Nikol Pashinyan, head of one of three parties in the Way Out Alliance, took the leading role in the protests. Pashinyan had devoted his entire adult life as a relentless critic of the regime, both as an established journalist and through politics. A whole generation younger than the traditional political elite, Pashinyan stood out from the old post-soviet political guard.

UNDER THE SLOGAN “Take a step, reject Serzh”, Pashinyan and his supporters began their protests against Sargsyan’s upcoming election. Starting in the northern capital of Gyumri, on the 31st of March 2018, making their way towards the capital of Yerevan. Initially, the protest involved several thousand people, however, as the parliament elected Sargsyan as prime minister more people from all social strata joined in, spreading protests. Human roadblocks popped up all over Armenia. The regime reacted with policing, arresting and isolating leaders and activists. However, new leaders and more activists emerged and participation grew proportionate to repressive measures. Pashinyan and other key members were arrested, but all too late. In Yerevan alone, hundred thousand people were now taking part in protests.

THE REGIME HAD two options: hand over power or involve the military. Conveniently, the 24th of March approached, the worldwide commemoration of the early 20th-century Armenian genocide under the Ottoman Empire. Any repressive action during the sacred date would be political suicide. The crowd of half a million in Yerevan alone, slowly walking up the hill to the memorial, could easily turn into a giant anti-government rally. Sargsyan announced his resignation the day before the commemoration. Momentum was kept, all main roads into Yerevan were blocked, including the airport, MPs were shamed on social media. The parliament had to yield, releasing and electing Pashinyan as prime minister May the 8th.

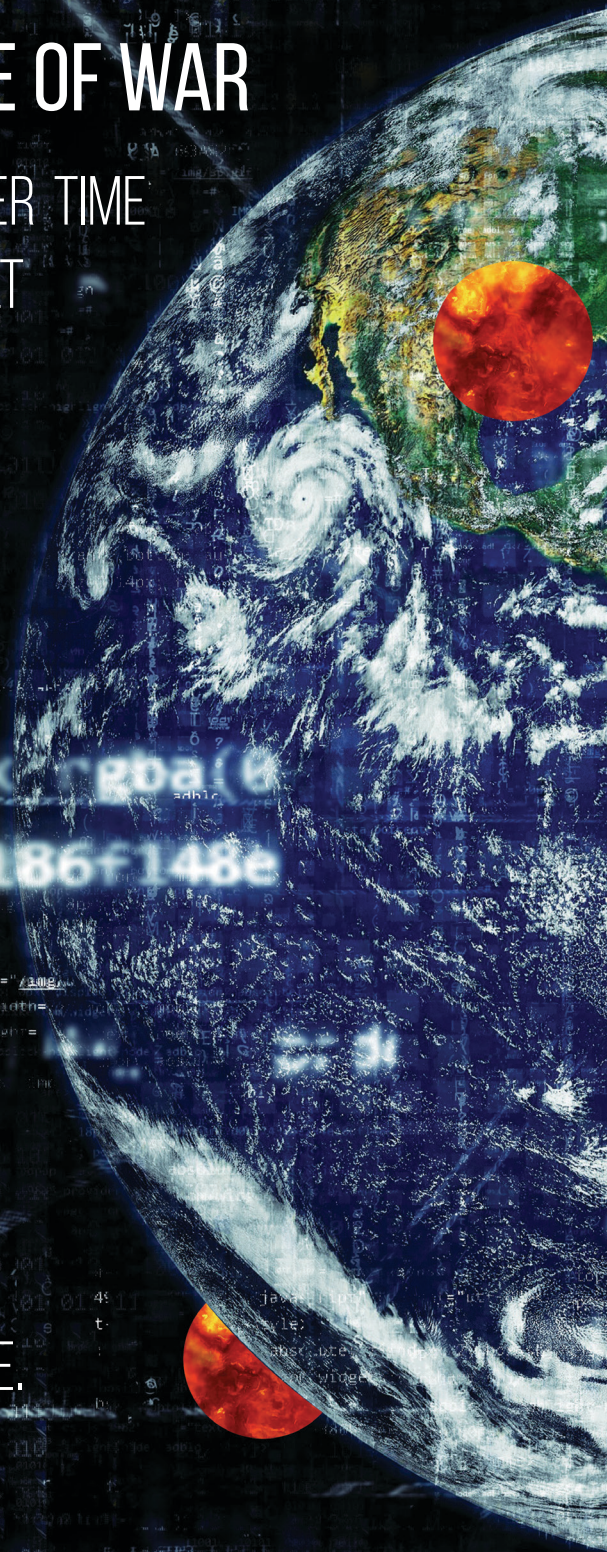
FIGHTING CORRUPTION is the main occupation of Pashinyan and the new regime but without institutional support, dependent on public support. The situation in Armenia is euphoric and expectations are sky-high. Although Armenia suffers from a whole range of systematic problems which requires more than two weeks of protests to combat, the Velvet Revolution 2.0 is a beacon of light, in a shrinking world for civil society. ●



Photo: Wikimedia Commons

THEME: THE NEW FACE OF WAR

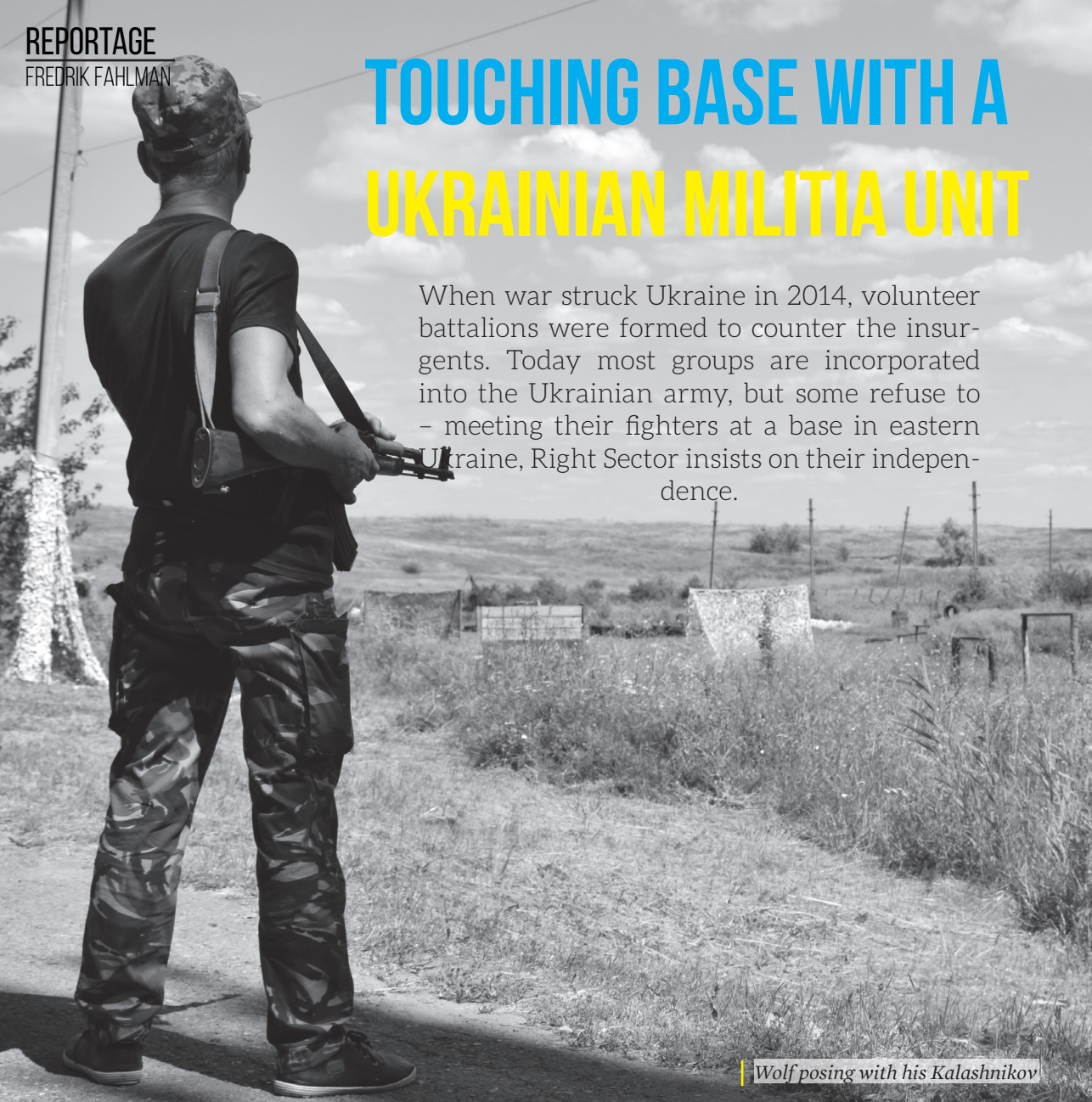
WAR, A CONCEPT THAT OVER TIME HAS BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO GRASP. THERE ARE CYBER WARS, CIVIL WARS, AND WARS BETWEEN NATIONS, TO NAME A FEW. IN THIS ISSUE, WE HAVE TRIED TO GRASP AND BROADEN THE CONCEPT OF WAR. OUR EDITORIAL TEAM HAVE TRIED TO DEFINE AND GIVE EXAMPLES OF WHAT WAR WAS, WHAT WAR IS, AND WHAT WAR MIGHT BE IN THE FUTURE.





TOUCHING BASE WITH A UKRAINIAN MILITIA UNIT

When war struck Ukraine in 2014, volunteer battalions were formed to counter the insurgents. Today most groups are incorporated into the Ukrainian army, but some refuse to – meeting their fighters at a base in eastern Ukraine, Right Sector insists on their independence.



Wolf posing with his Kalashnikov

“Did you know that in war, only 20 percent of soldiers actually aim at the enemy? Our number is 100 percent. Volunteer fighters like us saved Ukraine.”

THE WORDS CAME from “Poltava”, a nom de guerre that the man in front of me has taken as a tribute to his hometown. Poltava is a middle-aged man, wearing a woodland uniform and a cap with the Ukrainian flag on it. Minutes ago he had welcomed me to the base in Yurivka with a firm handshake and a large grin across his face.

HE IS A base commander for Right Sector – a group that had been formed in wake of the 2013 Euromaidan protests to oust the pro-Russian government of Viktor Yanukovich. As it succeeded, pro-Russian separatists occupied cities in the east – and the Ukrainian Armed Forces were too ill-equipped and underfunded to effectively counter them – Right Sector started sending its members to the frontlines.

AT THE OUTBREAK of war in Ukraine, Poltava had been serving as an artillerist in the army but later



joined Right Sector. He, like many others, had grown increasingly frustrated over the regular army's ineffectiveness. As acting base commander he had gladly accepted my request to visit the training compound. There had, however, been preconditions: no names, faces, or questions about their alleged far-right affiliation. The latter was especially problematic, as the group had been accused of pursuing a neo-nazi agenda.

THE WASHINGTON POST reported last year that an ex-Right Sector member, now Ministry of Interior official, had an Instagram account full of admiration for Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. The official also called for homosexuals to be executed. According to senior representatives, these are isolated incidents that do not represent the groups view as a whole.

RIGHT SECTOR WAS founded by political activist Dmytro Yarosh. He left the group in 2016 to become a senior military advisor and parliamentarian but still acts in their interest. A large framed photo

of Yarosh hangs in Poltava's office. According to the commander, it is much thanks to Yarosh that Right Sector is still independent – all other volunteer battalions had already been integrated into Ukraine's home guard.

"IF IT WEREN'T for Yarosh we would probably have been taken over like the rest. But he knows how corrupt the government is, and how necessary we are for Ukraine. In the beginning, the war was very different. The frontlines were changing every day, there were a lot of battles and we suffered many casualties. We had a problem with funding as well

“

DID YOU KNOW THAT IN WAR, ONLY 20 PERCENT OF SOLDIERS ACTUALLY AIM AT THE ENEMY? OUR NUMBER IS 100 PERCENT.

but now the community is helping us. Today the situation is stable. Instead, it is the government which is turning against us”, Poltava says.

HE IS INTERRUPTED by a knock on the door. A woman in her thirties, sporting camouflage trousers, a worn-out sports shirt, and khaki-colored boots, enters. She looks exhausted. The woman is about to address Poltava, but first he stops her and tells me to pause my recording device.

THEY TALK ABOUT the frontline: a Right Sector unit had been hit by an artillery attack during the night. The woman is a medic in the group and had spent all night helping a soldier with shrapnel in his leg. He had now been transferred to a hospital, but his situation remains unclear. Poltava seems distracted for the remainder of our meeting and shortly after excuses himself, telling me I am free to walk around the base.

WHILE AT THE main gates I strike up a conversation with one of the guards: a grey-haired man in large glasses, wearing a black shirt and uniform trousers. The man is going by the pseudonym “Wolf” – tragically picked as he has been living alone most of his life and is now in a foreign country.

WOLF IS RUSSIAN. He tells me that back home he started feeling increasingly estranged by the Putin government's actions. While browsing news online he says he found out about Right Sector and started researching more about them. Two months ago he decided to leave his native Russian city and came here to Yurivka, Ukraine. He has already been at the frontline multiple times.

AS EVERYONE AT the base, he is reluctant to reveal any specific background information, but he gives me the impression that he wants his story told. He happily agrees to have a photo taken of his back



and tells me to keep taking pictures as he makes different poses with his Kalashnikov rifle.

"Putin really destroyed Russia."

In what way?

"There is no democracy anymore. Everything is corrupted. Russia is already broken, but I came here to make sure at least Ukraine remains the same."

You have already been at the frontlines. How did it feel shooting at presumably your countrymen?

"Honestly? Not as bad as I thought. If they came here to fight for Putin they support a rotten system."

Can you ever return to Russia?

"As things stand now, no. I don't think the FSB [Russian intelligence agency] knows about my presence here, but I cannot risk it by traveling. I also fear for my family. Regardless, this is a war that needs to be fought."

ANOTHER GUARD WALKS past us, saluting Wolf with a smile. While taking deep drags of a cigarette, Wolf tells me that he first feared that Right Sector members would not accept him due to his heritage, but he was welcomed straight away.

ALTHOUGH RECEIVING MANY answers, nothing Poltava or Wolf have said had revealed anything of



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THERE IS NO DEMOCRACY ANYMORE. EVERYTHING IS CORRUPTED. RUSSIA IS ALREADY BROKEN, BUT I CAME HERE TO MAKE SURE AT LEAST UKRAINE REMAINS THE SAME.

disorganised to be branded anything but conservative.

ALTHOUGH THEY ARE frequently mentioned in the media, he tells me that Right Sector today is a minor actor in the conflict. Dmytro Yarosh's departure from the group caused many to leave with him. More than four years into civil war, the general opinion is that the government should now be able to fully take care of the conflict. As such, contradictory to what Poltava had told me earlier, donations to the group have waned. Many members are now “part-time fighters”, as they have to keep up with regular jobs as well.

“THE RECENT ESCALATION between Russia and Ukraine has made the situation much more volatile. With the direct involvement of two states and not just Ukraine and Russian-supported separatists, the potential for violence has increased remarkably. From the Ukrainian perspective it was previously expected that not much would change before the presidential election in March and a parliamentary election in October next year”, Kähkö says.

HE DESCRIBES THAT to an extent both parties are following the Minsk agreement, which calls for a ceasefire and withdrawal of heavy weapons. Small skirmishes with separatists in the east are still happening – but any unilateral escalation from Ukraine's side is unlikely before next year's parliamentary elections. After that, the government definitely has an interest in regaining the public trust for their war effort, and that Right Sector is an obstacle to that.

BACK AT THE base in Yurivka, Wolf is asking me how Sweden is like. After putting out his cigarette he is telling me that he would like to visit Stockholm some day. Before parting ways I ask him how long he plans to stay in Ukraine for. “As long as there is war. Maybe forever”, he says. ●

the group's political aspirations. Ilmari Kähkö, an assistant professor of war studies at the Swedish Defence University, has studied the war since May 2017. During his research of volunteer battalions in Ukraine, he has conducted five trips to the country and interviewed many Right Sector members. He would know where they stand.

ACCORDING TO KÄHKÖ it is difficult to pinpoint the group's exact political affiliation. From their initial video manifesto, he says, they have a clear nationalistic and conservative agenda, rejecting both EU and Russian influence over Ukraine. He met some Right Sector members who openly made extreme right remarks, but considers the group to be too

ARMAMENT RACE, IS SOMEONE WINNING?

Wars and weapons have evolved throughout history in their form and abilities to cause the most damage with the least intervention, today this has created a frantic race for armaments. Which in turn created a very profitable industry and trade manufacturing and selling weapons. The selling race in the present might be as frantic as the buying race.

Amid the scandalous killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul, US president Donald Trump was asked if the US government were going to punish Saudi Arabia and impose sanctions, among which was stopping weapons sales to Saudi Arabia. He answered that there are other ways to punish the Saudi regime if their guilt was proven. Ways other than stopping a 110 billion dollars arms deal between the two countries. The reason for this was, according to Trump, that the Saudis have other options, two good alternatives, Trump said pointing at Russia and China.

THERE ARE TWO issues with this incident and Trump's statements. The first one being the question of stopping the arms export to Saudi Arabia only arose after Khashoggi's murder, while those weapons the United States and many other countries are selling to Saudi Arabia were - and still are - used in the war in Yemen, called the worst humanitarian crisis of our time. This questions the

double standards regarding whose life counts and the role of media and propaganda when it comes to whether an incident is worth to be under the spotlight or ignored. The second issue is that this case draws attention to the recurring question about the conflict between morals and economic interests, a dilemma that the United States government, through many consecutive administrations, has failed to resolve in a clear and sufficient manner as the supposed leader of the free world. It seems like when it comes to profits, in some cases, the moral barriers are ignored or forgotten.

THIS INCIDENT ALSO points out a very essential characteristic of the global arms trade and armament, the other side of the equation, the selling side. There is a heated race to sell weapons, with two big poles as providers in terms of total exports: the US and Russia. However, if we look at weapons export per capita, smaller countries like Israel, Sweden, Belarus and Switzerland will jump to the front. This business has been continuously expanding, creating a very profitable industry with high



IT SEEMS THAT THIS RACE IS RUN BY A DIFFERENT SET
OF RULES AND ETHICS, THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE IS
CLEARLY PROFIT

numbers of jobs with a massive economy around it. Which makes the very idea of cutting it down or applying moral standards to this sector a very demanding and complex process, that eventually boils down to political will. This political will is sadly close enough to political suicide taking into account the money and job creation of the sector, sadly the competition for armament sales is consequently not predicted to end in the foreseen future.

RUSSIA, THE OTHER pole of the industry race, has exploited the Syrian war scene to test and present more than 200 weapons in a campaign that costed in total half a billion dollar. This in order to attract the eyes of potential buyers which proved to be effective as it resulted in arms orders exceeding 56 billion dollars according to Vladimir Putin, the Russian President. In 2015 alone, the Russian weapons sales totaled to 14.5 billion, more than planned, according to Putin. Russia sells weapons to many different countries with little restrictions and adopting different strategic considerations. They sell weapons to many of the rivalling sides of conflicts, Saudi Arabia and Iran, India and Pa-

kistan, to name a few. It seems that this race is run by a different set of rules and ethics, the most important one is clearly profit, and this is not only for Russia but for many of the selling countries.

WITH ITS INSTABILITIES, heated situations and many hot and cold conflicts, the Middle East is a very appealing area to weapons sellers, not only for the above reasons, but also for its oil-rich nations, and the everlasting rivalry between them. The conflicts in the Middle East do not seem to end any time soon. The leaders in the two big powerhouses in the region, Saudi Arabia and Iran, are not even contemplating the option of peace: for them, each other are zero-sum existential threats, creating the best environment for arms trade to grow and expand.

THE SAUDI QUEST for militarization and fear of Iran lead them to buy weapons from whoever is willing to sell, they are buying from the top sellers Russians and Americans at the same time. While most of their arms and military equipment are from the US, their ally, they approached Russia for S-400 Triumphs, the Russian-made anti-air





Photo: Dominique A. Pineiro/Flickr

missile defence system. Despite this frantic quest for weapons, the war in Yemen revealed its weaknesses and ineffectiveness. With billions of dollars being spent over the course of seven years, without defeating the rivalling Houthis, victory is not seen in the near future. An outcome which should at least draw their attention to their spending strategies and the effectiveness of spending these amounts of money, on all these advanced technological weapons, with all its destructive abilities, but with no efficiency in winning wars.

THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS industry is a complex web between supply, production and demand. However, the commodity of weapons itself seems to be creating its own demand. Add to the fact that it is an industry lacking ethics, where profits and the perverse image of weapons seems to discourage their destructive effects. Maybe that is why a seemingly simple decision like restricting guns in the US is still impossible, despite all the tragedies. The failed regulation in one country could be the symptom of the complexity of intercountry weapons trade. Complexity and legal implications that

for instance hindered Canada from stopping a deal to sell armored vehicles to Saudis despite Canada's will to stop it according to its prime minister Justin Trudeau. Not only that but also the jobs this industry has created and the income which is quite significant for many exporting countries' economies. A situation that creates a high political pressure on anyone trying to win ballots.

THE QUEST FOR militarization and armament around the world has far exceeded just being for defensive purposes. It has transformed into a very profitable trade with a well-established and a growing industry and economy around it. On one hand, many governments are buying to secure their territories and not only that but furthermore to threaten their enemies in a show-off of power. However, rarely are all those bought weapons used. On the other hand, there is a war to sell, and for this war economy to continue blooming, there must be more wars to feed and they should never stop, and this is a frustrating continuous chain. Will we ever be able to break this vicious circle? ●

INTERVIEW
ISAK FRITZON

PREPARING FOR THE WORST

Photo: Pexels

Statistics are hard to find but anthropologists believe that the prepping movement is increasing worldwide. I met up with a local prepper to discuss why planning for a coming disaster is the way to go.

Preppers are people actively preparing for a future societal shut down due to various reasons. Such as natural disasters, armed conflicts or economic collapses. Preppers prepare for the worst by stocking up on canned food, water, building safe rooms and planning ahead of the hypothetical coming disaster.

THE TERM PREPPING is relatively new but the phenomenon is not. Modern prepping developed during the 1970s with fear of the cold war breaking out in an atomic war. Preppers are found especially in the US, but Sweden isn't an exception when it comes to prepping. One example of this is Storuman Folkhögskola in the north of Sweden starting a one-year education with a focus on prepping. It's difficult to say if these preparations are reasonable, or if it's global anxiety that pushes people into imagining the worst kind scenario. Global warming, terrorism and armed conflicts are examples of threats that motivates preppers.

ON THE ONE hand, global warming will be the modern world's biggest challenge and might just be a trigger for disaster. It's not hard to imagine that water will become a hard currency in the future, especially looking at the current water crisis in Yemen or what took place in Cape Town this spring. It's basic economics really. Stocking up on supplies expecting that the price will rise. When the state is fragile and not self-sufficient it might even be seen as irresponsible to not prepare and contribute to the country's ability to be sustained during a crisis.

ON THE OTHER hand, people are globally improving their standard of living and prepping might become a self-fulfilling prophecy spreading fear amongst an ever safer and better off population. You could argue that having the doomsday clock at minutes to doom might be unnecessary, conspiratorial fear-mongering in a generally safer world.

PREPPING COULD BE seen as a consequence of individualism and a reduced trust in the state, putting more responsibility on individuals. In Sweden

prepping might be a symptom of the state, after the end of the cold war, dismantling the national defence and individuals looking at different alternatives to defend themselves.

GUSTAF SKREALID is a good friend of mine and what I would like to call "a lightweight prepper in the planning stage". We sat down, in his student apartment in Lund, over a freshly brewed cup of tea to discuss his view on preparing for the worst.

Why do you do this?

The cost of preparing yourself is very low when times are good and there is an economic boom. Freshwater, canned food, rice and a Trangia stove (portable stove powered by gas) doesn't cost big bucks. On the other hand, if a crisis would occur the price for being prepared is invaluable.



Gustaf Skrealid

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SWEDEN DOESN'T HAVE AGRICULTURE PROVIDING FOOD FOR THE POPULATION. IT'S NOT EASY TO EAT IRON ORE OR WOOD.

Preparing for the worst gives me a buffer for figuring out a plan on what to do next. The world is getting more and more intertwined and countries are becoming specialized. Sweden doesn't have agriculture providing food for the population. It's not easy to eat iron ore or wood.

What measures are you planning on taking?

I plan to follow the brochure sent out by the authorities (“If the war or crises breaks out”, sent out by the Swedish government body of social protection and preparedness). My aim is to be self-sufficient for two weeks with provisions. It's about buying time. If a war, or another crisis, was to break out there might be some time before, for example, NATO's, interventions are put into effect.

I'm also looking into investing in an alternative currency such as physical gold. Gold is the most consistent currency when looking back at history and if the economic system would collapse gold could get you out of a pickle.

Are you really worried for an eventual crisis?

First and foremost, as I said before, the cost for preparation is very low. There is no harm preparing for the worst even if I think the risk is slim that it would happen. I think people trust the state's ability to cope with something unexpected a bit too much. People sit here in the “student bubble” and laugh at me for thinking along these lines, but there is no certainty that there always will be food in the supermarket.

Do you see a danger with the signals prepping might send?

I don't think there is a danger with being self-sufficient a week or two. The state is pushing for us to become more self-sufficient and I can't see why I wouldn't follow their advice. The economic system is fragile, especially when it comes to the production of food. I believe there is a way bigger danger with putting your faith in the state. If that makes me classify as a prepper, so be it. ●



Photo: Flickr

DRAINING THE ESSENCE OF LIFE AND DEVELOPMENT

Water is the basis of all existence. As it becomes more and more scarce in this world, the possibility of wars and conflicts over access to fresh water is more often considered. Refusing access to water is examined as a method of warfare by US officials. Water is already a highly relevant issue in existing conflicts and exemplified in the unsolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Water is sometimes considered to be the ‘new oil’ – a resource playing a major role in conflicts. Increasing scarcity of drinkable water is believed to make it a pivotal element of future conflicts around the world. In 2012, a multi-agency US intelligence assessment found that conflicts directly evolving over water issues may be unlikely before 2022. However, water issues are already seen as a catalyst for conflict especially if combined with other destabilising influences. While climate change and unsustainable water usage exacerbate the risks of water-related conflicts, officials also talked about the increased possibility of potentially using water ‘as a weapon, where one state denies access to another.’

HOWEVER, ACCESS TO water already is a pivotal issue in some ongoing conflicts. Most prominently, water bears a central role in the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which will not be resolved without finding solutions regarding access to water. Israel occupies the West Bank and the Gaza strip since 1967. During the war, it took full control over the mountain aquifer running beneath Israel and the West Bank as well as the Jordan river bordering the West Bank area, which provides a very large share of Israel’s overall water supply. During the negotiations leading to the so-called ‘Oslo 2’ accord in 1995, a temporary agreement on water management intended to last for 5 years was reached. Amongst other things, the Joint Water Committee (JWC) was initiated. It was supposed to oversee the water management of the aquifers based on consensus. Additionally, water quotas were legally installed, awarding Palestinians about a quarter of the withdrawn water. Although being intended to be in place for an interim period, the agreement still exists in theory.

THE WORLD BANK found in 2009 that Palestinians living in the West Bank and the Gaza strip were allocated about 17 percent of the estimated potential of the aquifers. However, water withdrawals per capita have been declining in absolute terms over time. Increasing population and Israel withdrawals above the estimated potential by 50 percent caused Palestinian wells to become shallower, and have led to a stark asymmetry of available water per capita. While Israelis can enjoy approx. 240 cubic metres per year (the average in the set-

tlements amounts to over 300 cubic metres per person per year), Gazans have access to 125 cubic metres. West Bank Palestinians, however, only have access to 75 cubic metres, which is below the WHO minimal standard. Over-withdrawals have led to a deteriorating water quality, leaving only 5 to 10 percent of the available water to be clean enough to drink. The limited access to water is especially notable as, for example, Ramallah has more rainfall than London per year.

“MANY AREAS HAVE ONLY ACCESS TO 10-15 LITRES PER DAY, WHICH LIES BENEATH RECOMMENDED LEVELS TO AVOID EPIDEMICS

FURTHERMORE, THE SITUATION is especially dire in Area C, the West Bank’s part under military law. It is completely disconnected from the water network and many inhabitants rely on water sold from tanks by the Israeli national water company. Many areas have only access to 10-15 litres per day, which lies beneath the recommended levels to avoid epidemics and other humanitarian disasters. Overall, water accounts for 8 percent of West Bank Palestinians’ household expenditures, which is twice the globally accepted standard.

MILITARY ATTACKS, E.G. in 2009 and 2014, have worsened the situation: much of the few existing water and sanitation infrastructure got damaged or destroyed. The 2009 report already found a clear lack of investments in water and sanitation infrastructure and that the region made almost no progress since the Oslo 2 negotiations. However, the governance framework installed by Oslo 2 requires the approval of Israeli authorities for any proposed water management or infrastructure

project in the West Bank. The vast majority of Palestinian projects have been rejected during very timely procedures. In 2009, there were 106 water projects and 12 large scale sanitation projects waiting for approval – some of which had been pending since 1999. In contrast, only 2 Israeli projects had been denied over the same time period. The report found that the governmental framework, the physical restrictions of militarised zones, combined with institutional weaknesses and low aid effectiveness, has led to the deteriorating access of the population to water services. Furthermore, the OCHA criticises the destruction of essential existing water infrastructure due to lacking building permits, possibly leading to displacement, poverty and increased risk of disease. The news channel Aljazeera reported in June 2016 that ‘over 50 water and sanitation structures have been demolished by Israel since the beginning of 2016 already (more than in the entire 2015) on grounds that they were lacking the Israeli permits.’

DESPITE THE WORLD Bank’s assessment in 2009 that the institutional setting had failed to fulfil its purpose and needs reform, not much has happened. The report was highly criticised by Israeli officials, providing alternative figures. Although authorities have reached a new water sharing agreement in 2017, promising the occupied areas access to increased shares, its implementation is slow. Just recently, the RAND Corporation reports that, in the status quo, a disease outbreak or other

public health crisis, which would possibly spread to Israel and Egypt, is imminent. It concluded that cooperation between Palestinian, Israeli and Egyptian authorities was required to pre-empt such an outbreak.

ADDITIONALLY, DECREASED HOUSEHOLD expenditures due to high water costs and a lack of irrigation opportunities in agriculture have severe implications for the economy and overall development. The World Bank report has produced estimates that, without the opportunity losses for irrigated agriculture, GDP could have been up to 10 percent higher, entailing 110 thousand jobs.

OVERALL, IT BECOMES apparent that there cannot be a long-lasting peace without facilitating symmetric cooperation between authorities in the region. Israel, for example, has started to heavily invest in desalination plants to generate additional sources of fresh water. Desalination, however, is costly and energy-intensive, requiring imports from the region and causing a new set of difficulties.

THE ONGOING CONFLICT emphasises the importance of considering water issues in international relations. This is especially the case in a time of climate change and its consequences, such as increased probabilities of droughts and globally decreasing amounts of fresh water. Water scarcity exists in many parts of the world and will exacerbate the potential for conflicts. ●



FIGHTING HISTORY

The past is always present in the Czech Republic - the nation turned 100 years in October, and continues to fight against its own history.

It is 2018 and I'm thinking of my great-great-grandfather Josef. One hundred years ago, he sat in the first Czechoslovak national parliament. The nation was born in the wake of the First World War, as Austria-Hungary fell apart, and things then seemed quite positive. By 1918, Czechoslovakia was a flourishing democracy with a rich cultural life, a developing industry and a president who had taken his wife's surname. The past was history, the future was here to stay.

CZECH POLITICS TODAY are far from what had been envisioned one hundred years ago. The current President Miloš Zeman has threatened journalists, called the stream of refugees from Syria an "invasion" and socialized with right-wing extremists. During his presidency, he has made his negative stance towards the EU quite clear. After the parliamentary elections in 2017, he got a Prime Minister of his own kind. As the Head of Government, Andrej Babiš refuses to accept the refugee quotas agreed upon by the EU. Furthermore, his government recently followed the example of Austria and Hungary by pulling out of the UN pact on migration.

THE CZECH REPUBLIC of today must be seen in the light of its past. The nation that Josef and his colleagues tried to build hasn't lasted. History came in between, and still plays a major role in politics.

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION to Czech history: In 1938, the Czechs were betrayed by the British and the

French, who thought they had disarmed Hitler and proclaimed peace in our time. The Czech parts of the country were occupied by the Nazis whom with the Slovaks collaborated. After the end of the Second World War, the communists saw their chance and in February 1948 they seized the power through a coup d'état. The newly liberated Czechoslovakia was thrown into a new dictatorship. For the next 41 years, Czechoslovakia was a puppet state to the Soviet Union. Efforts to gain more independence were made in 1968, but then the Russians entered the streets of Prague with tanks. The communist regime collapsed after the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989. Václav Havel, a screenwriter who became the leading Czech dissident, was elected the first president of the new republic. Havel, a great humanist who called Franz Kafka the person who had influenced him the most, was pro-Europe and was awarded sev-





Photo: GoodFreePhotos

eral international awards for his work. However, in 2002 Havel was replaced as President by Václav Klaus. Klaus became known for denying global warming, being eurosceptic, anti-homosexuality and anti-immigration.

THE SPIRIT OF Havel is long gone and Czech politics today are, in my point of view, a disgrace. How did this happen? How did the Klaus approach become mainstream? In 2017, Swedish journalist Richard Swartz tried to explain why the Czech Republic is so opposed to a common European migration policy. He wrote: "that, by order accepting migrants, can therefore be seen as another violation, as the usual arrogance from the West towards the Eastern European nations; at this point, the people have the same opinion as their politicians Orbán, Kaczynski, Fico, Zeman or whatever they are called."

IT HAS BEEN 100 years since the liberation from the Austria-Hungarian empire, 73 years since the Nazis left the country and 29 years since the Velvet Revolution. Nevertheless, the Czech Republic is still battling with its past, and with the European Union. The day the United Kingdom voted for Brexit, the populist politician Nigel Farage declared "Independence Day". The same foolish logic applies to Zeman and Babiš.

IT'S 2018 AND I'm pretty sure that the Czech Republic of today would have made Josef disappointed. Things never turned out the way they should. On the anniversary day for the Velvet Revolution, around 20.000 Czechs gathered on the streets of Prague to demonstrate against Prime Minister Babiš, accusing him of cheating with the EU subsidies. The Czechs know their history and they know how to use it, not only for bad purposes. ●

FIGHTING THE ORIGINAL SIN

Hacking, Drones and Artificial Intelligence might be the means of future warfare. But technological change is just one of many dimensions one has to consider if talking about modern warfare and future threats.

Photo: Flickr

It seems as if peaceful human coexistence never lasts long, making violent conflict the original sin of mankind. Our history is largely one of wars, alliances, cruelties, and peace agreements. Conflicts based on individual or group interests erupt over territory, food, ideology, or political power. And those who associated philosophical, political and technical progress with peace, were regularly proved wrong. Contempt for human life reached its horrific climax during the Second World War, with fascist Germany and the Holocaust – relying on advanced technology and bureaucracy. It is a temporal and European exception to live in relative peace for over 70 years. Yet the armies of many European countries are globally entangled in conflict and new risks threaten cyberspace and public opinion.

IT MIGHT HELP to step back and scrutinize historical changes and their consequence in order to classify new dynamics and threats. A long-term perspective can give support in a time when there is much talk about new techniques for warfare, but little about new ways to find peace. Therefore, it pays off to analyze the bigger picture of warfare before digging deeper into the dynamics of new threats.

THE IDEA OF war is dominated by a form of classical interstate warfare as practiced until the 19th century. This conventional warfare took place between clearly identifiable soldiers with the aim of defeating the other side. The fighting units were

mostly organized hierarchically. Combat had a defined beginning with the declaration of war and a clear end with peace treaties or truces. The aim of classical warfare was to determine the conditions of a new order of power mainly on a locally restricted battleground and it was possible for each side to surrender.

TODAY'S ARMED CONFLICTS differ in their characteristics and are often termed “minor wars”, “asymmetric wars”, or “new wars”. Important forms of new, unconventional violent conflicts are insurgencies, in which the distribution of power within a country or a regional alliance is violently fought over, and armed struggle in failed states. The latter is characterized by a non-existent state monopoly on the use of force, strong social centrifugal forces away from state legitimacy, and war economies that provide incentives for maintaining instability. In these cases, bargaining peace becomes extremely difficult, as Somalia and Libya have shown. Unconventional sub-state conflicts often have no clear start and end, since the formal opponent whom one could defeat is missing. The participants are stuck in a vicious circle of political instability, economic incentives, and human suffering.

FROM A MILITARY-HISTORICAL perspective, these changes are immense, as the fronts between combatants and non-combatants shift and combat units merge with organized criminality. However,

as different means have been used as strategies in conventional wars as well, labelling them as “new” might be misleading. So far, it has not been clearly defined what is truly new about the “new wars”. As the German political scientist Herfried Münkler says, one can also argue that the individual components, more precisely the tactics and strategies, are not new. Rather, one can trace them back to the Thirty Years’ War, the Wars of Independence, or even to battles in antiquity. Therefore, it makes more sense to describe them as unconventional violent conflicts in order to distinguish them from conventional military warfare - an equally unsatisfactory but more practical solution.

RATHER THAN DETERMINING the old, new, hybrid, or asymmetric component within contemporary conflicts, it seems more helpful to focus on future threats to peace. These can be roughly divided into four dimensions: Language and Law, technology, organizational network, and decision making. What threatens peace between and within states today and how could conclusions be derived for the future of conflict resolution and prevention?

LANGUAGE AND LAW pose a challenge for conducting and resolving future conflicts, as the existing international concepts and jurisprudence are no longer accurate and sufficient. A drastic change followed the devastating September 11 attacks on

the World Trade Center, when US President Bush declared global war on terrorism and everyone who supported its existence. The intervention in Afghanistan began despite many unanswered legal questions opening the box of Pandora. Before 9/11, terrorism was seen as a threat to peace and security but not as a legal cause for war. After, a terrorist attack or its future possibility was seen by influential countries as a de facto cause for the right to self-defense under Article 51 of the UN Charter.

IF THERE IS no clear demarcation of the enemy, it remains unclear how to surrender or behave in order not to be seen as an enemy. This problem became visible in Afghanistan and Iraq, where the lines, between civilians, local armed insurgents, and terrorist groups, blurred. In the future, victory in the classical sense will become nearly impossible, especially if the attacker is not human but algorithm-based.

STRIVING FOR TECHNOLOGICAL advantage for the purpose of warfare is nothing new. Historically, the armament developed roughly speaking from the sword over arm bursts, rifles, bombs, drones to today’s cyber weapons. As different as these developments may seem technically, in principle the change can be reduced to the dimensions of space and time. Each side tries to increase the dis-

WAR AND TERRORISM

War is an organized conflict carried out with weapons between states or between social groups of the population of a state (civil war). *Terrorism* is political violence that exerts coercion by spreading fear and terror because it can fundamentally and arbitrarily injure and kill anyone.

WARFARE IN LAW

Ius ad bellum: The current international law is based on the *right to armed conflict* only in special cases as defined by article 51 of the UN Charter, or due to collective coercive measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Further exceptions to the general ban on violence are humanitarian interventions, known as the responsibility for protection, as well as intervention by invitation. However, recent discussion stresses the primacy of the general prohibition of the use of force as stated in article 2(4) that “all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state [...]”.

Ius in bello: In times of war know certain rules which have been incorporated into several international treaties and are known as *right in armed conflict*. Most important were the Hague Conventions on Land Warfare for the military rules in combat and the Geneva convention for the protection of civilians and victims. Warfare should respect the principle of humanity, discriminate between civilian and military objects, follow the principle of military necessity and prohibit excessive collateral damage.

tance to the enemy as far as possible in order to minimize their own potential damage. In addition, each side strives for temporal decoupling of its attacks and their impact. For example with “sleeping” virus-code in hostile infrastructure. Moreover, modern digital information technology and digital life opens new possibilities to manipulate public opinion to challenge leadership or change the perception of ongoing conflicts.

THEREFORE, ONE SHOULD focus less on the available technology itself and more on its implied application possibilities in new organizational networks. It became evident that the shift from stately hierarchical command structures to the often unguided and widely scattered networks of terrorist groups strongly challenged classical warfare. This change in the command structure can manifest itself in terrorist attacks by digitally radicalized individuals, or in loosely linked hackers who reform themselves according to the object of the attack and the aspiration. In addition, attacks are more and more difficult to trace back to a specific origin, as in the example of social media campaigns that intervene in national debates with the aim of scattering disinformation and uncertainty.

FINALLY, IT ALL depends on the decision making, which in almost all current weapon systems still lies with the human being. Digital instruments

do indeed provide and evaluate information, produce promising attack options, and carry out the attacks. But they don’t make independent attack decisions yet. However, Artificial Intelligence (AI) seems to be one of the most important topics of the current military research. Independent of speculations, there is currently no evidence of attack-related AI decision making. In contrast, AI systems are already in use in cyber defense to combat comparatively simple threat patterns. With the rise of computer power, it will become decisive for a battle to process and react faster to new information than the enemy.

WHERE DOES THIS leave the debate about the new faces of war? On the one hand, warfare continues to be deadly, also if the technological means might change. Furthermore, combat will remain confusing and terrifying for all participants, even if they may be locally or temporally decoupled as drone operators are.

ON THE OTHER hand, there will be violent conflict as long as people do not find new patterns to formulate their interests and resolve emerging conflicts. To date, one cannot say if Artificial Intelligence will just add more destructive potential or perhaps breaks the pattern of human inability concerning the use of violence. ●



Photo: Wikimedia Commons

CLIMATE WARS: OUR CURRENT FUTURE

The wars of the future will mainly be fuelled by climate change and its repercussions: more droughts, wildfires, hurricanes and tsunamis. These wars have already begun and they will continue to intensify. We need to act.

Photo: Pixabay

In his 2012 book, *Climate Wars: What People Will Be Killed For in the 21st Century*, German social psychologist Harald Welzer paints a bleak future. Wars will no longer be fought over territory or about conflicting ideologies and religions. They will be about shortages of food, water, and living space, all of which will displace millions of people around the world, bringing even more strife. Indeed, an increasing amount of reports coming out since 2012 claim that climate change has had an amplifying effect for some of the world's ongoing conflicts, like the Syrian war, and this amplification will only get stronger in the future. It is becoming painstakingly clear that climate change is not only an eco-

logical problem but a socio-political one as well. With this in mind, we need to become more aware of its various implications in order to prevent the bleak future Welzer talks about from occurring. So, what is the overall picture?

GLOBAL WARMING HAS led to an ongoing incremental environmental degradation, like melting polar ice caps, rising sea levels, and erosion of soils. Abnormal weather disasters like severe floods or droughts, hurricanes, heat waves, blizzards, and wildfires have been increasing due to these changes. In addition, a rising global population that needs more and more resources and energy to survive does not allow our planet to recuperate in

time from human industrial expansion, ultimately intensifying climate change. All of this, on the other hand, causes people to lose their livelihoods and homes, forcing them to become climate refugees in search of a better life abroad. As people move, countries' demographics change, forcing people to cluster in one place or another and contest each other over scarce resources. Thus, modern conflicts will arise not because they are planned by an elite vying for more power, but because people are forced to fight each other for their own survival.

FOR EXAMPLE, THE 2015 report, *Climate change in the Fertile Crescent and implications of the recent Syrian drought*, argues that a severe climate-related drought in Syria in the period 2007-2010, along with unsustainable governmental policies, brought about an agricultural collapse and mass human migration from rural parts of the country to urban ones. This led to human suffering, which helped flame the Syrian civil war. As a Syrian farmer, turned rebel commander, says in a video on YouTube, titled 'Climate Wars - Syria' with Thomas Friedman, "It's a revolution for freedom and a revolution of hungry people". Of course, there were many other factors at play in the Syrian conflict, but climate change was a major one and will continue to take precedence in the future.



IT'S A REVOLUTION FOR FREEDOM AND A REVOLUTION OF HUNGRY PEOPLE.

THE SYRIAN CONFLICT may be one of the first ones that has been connected to climate change, but it will definitely not be the last. We should expect conflicts to rise in countries that have recurrent water shortages like in Somalia, Venezuela, and Mexico, amongst others. The WWF claims that the freshwater that we drink is so scarce that "some 1.1 billion people worldwide lack access to water, and a total of 2.7 billion find water scarce for at least one month of the year". Considering the current consumption rates, these numbers will only get

worse. In addition, the less water you have, the less you can use for irrigation and crop harvest, which will lead to a scarcity of food as well, causing even more problems. One can only imagine what will happen when countries like China and India, having the world largest populations, start having serious water and food shortages.

THESE ISSUES HAVE an impact on every country in the world, even those in the West that still haven't felt the full effect of climate change. When the climate refugees start pouring into Europe from all sides, no fence or wall, paid by Mexico or not, will be able to stop them. The Syrian refugee crisis is only the beginning.

APART FROM THIS, another factor to take into account here is geoengineering. This is the deliberate tampering with the world's climate in order to mitigate the effects of climate change. On the one hand, geoengineering is a viable way to battle the effects of climate change. Some of its strategies include the deflection of sunlight via marine cloud brightening or the injection of sulphur dioxide into the stratosphere in an attempt to cool down the planet. Of course, there will be side effects like changing rainfall patterns, amongst others, so it is still unclear whether or not this is the way forward. However, apart from its unknown side effects, politics will surely come at play when it comes to geoengineering. Will there be a world body like the UN that governs how geoengineering is used or will the most powerful nations compete for dominance in a new technological war? It does not take much imagination to envision that the country to create a sophisticated geoengineering technology, a weather control machine if you like, will try to eliminate its competition. No longer in the field of conspiracy theories, geoengineering might become the catalyst for a new arms race, despite the good intentions behind it.

SO, IS THERE some light at the end of the tunnel? A brighter future to look forward to? Maybe we need to get scared and act, and not only brush off climate change news as just another article or piece in the news. Otherwise, the comfort of our lives today might come at the expense of the discomfort we will experience tomorrow, running and fighting for our very existence, simply because we weren't that bothered in the end. ●



Center for Middle Eastern Studies Lund University

The Middle East in the Contemporary World (MECW)

The Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES) was founded in 2007 to support, coordinate and expand research at Lund University on the Middle East. As the home of the Strategic Research Area “The Middle East in the Contemporary World”, CMES strives to produce research and education at the highest international level, and to help contribute to informed public debates and policy formulations related to the Middle East.

Education

CMES offers a two-year multi-disciplinary MA programme taught by an international faculty, which provides unique opportunities for those wishing to deepen their knowledge of the contemporary Middle East. Many courses are available as freestanding electives and open to students across the university.

To find out more go to cmes.lu.se/study-with-us/

Outreach

The main goal of our outreach activities is to raise awareness and spread knowledge about matters related to the Middle East. CMES does this by organising a variety of debates, lectures, and events, inviting researchers from diverse fields in addition to human rights activists, journalists, artists, singers, filmmakers and war reporters.


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The Center for Middle Eastern Studies is internationally renowned for its excellence in research on the contemporary Middle East. Our approach to the study of the region includes societies, culture and politics, and we focus on flows within the region as well as ways the region impacts the rest of the world. Research is organised into four themes: Democratisation and Social Development; Migration, Multicultural Societies, and Minorities; Environment and Sustainable Development; and Religion, Processes of Interpretation, and Identity Formation.

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SURVIVING A STAR WAR



Imagine that one day you wake up to the news that we have a proof that we are not alone in the universe. Now, imagine that this proof comes knocking on our door, or hovers ominously over our heads. Our planet seems sadly unprepared for such an occasion but let's discuss how we could protect and organise ourselves.

It is a far-fetched scenario, however, it is also statistically unlikely that the Earth is the only planet capable of supporting life in an ever-expanding universe. This is why NASA hosts a Planetary Defense Network, which sole mission is to protect the Earth from alien life. As exciting as it sounds, the Planetary Defense Officer is mostly concerned with microbes which could leave the planet when scientific equipment is sent into space, and the ones that could potentially come to Earth.

HOWEVER, IF THERE is something more advanced than alien microbes out there, the alien life might already know that the Earth is inhabited as the radio signals we use leak beyond the atmosphere, sending a beacon to anyone else. So, for argument's sake, let's imagine that there are alien spaceships surrounding the planet. Maybe they want to build an intergalactic highway and the Earth stands in their way. Maybe they are just seeking a new world to colonize. And, if we are considering an alien visit, then we are talking of an extremely advanced form

of society, capable of creating technology to travel in space for dozens, or hundreds, of light years.

WHAT TECHNOLOGY DO we possess in comparison? As far as we know, the most destructive weapon on Earth remains the thermonuclear weapon, commonly known as the hydrogen bomb. Since many of the tests have been carried out in the atmosphere and even in space, we know that it is a potentially effective weapon. The H-bombs are a thousand times more destructive than the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. However, most damage comes from a blast wave, which wouldn't occur outside of the atmosphere. The iconic mushroom would be missing, too – nuclear and thermonuclear explosions in space take a spherical shape. Instead, the Earth would witness the most spectacular aurora borealis show, spanning hundreds of kilometers and lasting for days. The alien spacecraft would be subjected to heat, light, and radiation. Would it be enough? In order to survive space travel, the spaceship would have to be able to withstand some degree

“ MEETING AN ADVANCED CIVILIZATION COULD BE LIKE NATIVE AMERICANS ENCOUNTERING COLUMBUS. THAT DIDN'T TURN OUT SO WELL.

of radiation. Whether it would be able to survive a thermonuclear onslaught depends on the alien technology but we could probably stand a chance.

A HUGE PROBLEM here is that detonating an H-bomb in space would send an electromagnetic pulse down to Earth which would cause power outages and disrupt radio and navigation signals. The scale would depend on the tonnage of the bomb but we are considering areas spanning thousands of kilometers. Therefore, using a H-bomb would cripple our own infrastructure for hours or even days. There is also the problem of radiation. It is estimated that some 2.5 million people worldwide will die from the cancers caused by the atmospheric atomic tests carried out during the Cold War, and none of the bombs came close to the bomb-tonnage we would have to consider to destroy or disable an alien spacecraft. If the explosion would take place in space, the atmosphere should protect us from the worst of it. However, our only weapon worth considering seems pretty

debilitating to the Earth as well. Earthlings could decimate their numbers without much alien input.

THEN THERE IS the question of organization. Many futuristic films show the Earthen nations uniting in face of an outside danger. However, five out of six of the biggest space research centers are funded by their respective governments (USA, Russia, Japan, India, and China). The only intergovernmental project is the European Space Agency (ESA), which is sponsored by twenty-two European nations and Canada. In a theoretical scenario, one could imagine different governments following the ESA example and coming together to fund an Earth-saving mission. However, what would happen if the aliens came knocking on our door now, at the end of 2018? Can we really imagine Presidents Trump and Putin cooperating with the European leaders to unite the three biggest space research centers? What if we introduced Japan, India and China to the mix? It would be more likely to count on regional cooperation between established political allies. An alternative could be private funding, probably from big corporations, which would require privatizing the national space agencies or investing in the smaller, more independent research centers. Maybe there is a reason why science fiction often imagines Earth to be ruled by corporations in the future.

IN STEPHEN HAWKING'S words: "Meeting an advanced civilization could be like Native Americans encountering Columbus. That didn't turn out so well." Maybe, then, it is good that at least we have an organization that cares about all the microbes they could introduce to us. ●



FEATURE
THOMAS KUIJPERS

DIGITAL GOVERNMENT IN E-ESTONIA

WORTH THE RISKS?

Photo: Tomasz Sroka, Unsplash

Estonia presents itself as having one of the most digitalized societies in the world, with 98% of its population using an e-ID Card. However, this also makes the country particularly vulnerable to cyber-attacks. A large one already took place in 2007 that severely disrupted daily life in the country. How did Estonia recover? And is (further) digitalization worth the risk of a second cyber attack?

After the restoration of its independence in 1991, Estonia transitioned from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, and from the Socialist Federal Republic of Estonia to an independent parliamentary democracy. These reforms were painful at first; the economy was in a strong decline and it seemed as if the government had hardly any budget for public services. Therefore, in recent years, the Estonian government chose the path of digitalization of its public services. Given its demographic geography – the country's populous capital of Tallinn, a few medium-sized towns and a relatively large and dispersed rural population in between – this seemed a sensible choice.

THERE REALLY WERE only two alternatives. One was offering the public services in just a few population centres, and thus being hard to access for much of the country's population. The second one was offering public services in the less populous areas as well, but that would have the consequence of enormous public expenses. Neither of these two alternatives seemed attractive, thus Estonia chose the third way: digitalization. Then a relatively new concept that was still heavily in development. In that sense, the country truly was a pioneer.

FLASH-FORWARD TO 2018 when 99% of Estonia's public services are accessible online, through the personal e-ID Card. Estonia is currently branding itself as e-Estonia, and when visiting the e-Estonia Showroom you will learn that it is only necessary to make a physical appointment at a public office in three instances: to get married, to get divorced and to buy a house. Everything else, from voting in the parliamentary elections to opening your own business in a mere 18 minutes, can be done from the comfort from your own house through one single gateway. People who prefer the ana-

logue system for one or more systems can still do so; public institutions still have physical offices. But they are fewer and further between, and most people are fully or almost fully integrated into the digital society, anyway.

HAVING A SOCIETY of which public institutions exist to such an extent on servers wires comes with consequences. One of them is that the country is an attractive target for cyber attacks, such as the one mentioned earlier in this article. In April 2007, a time in which Estonia was caught up in a heated public debate. The relocation of the Bronze Soldier of Tallinn, a statue erected by the Soviet authorities after the Second World War to commemorate the fallen soldiers in Estonia, and the graves of various soldiers adjacent to the statue, caused enormous public protests. The protests took a violent turn, and were not just carried out on the streets and squares of the country, but also online.

A THREE-WEEK WAVE of attacks was carried out on Estonia's online public services by an unknown source. Even though it was never proven who exactly was behind the attack, many paths lead to groups and persons that opposed the relocation of the Bronze Soldier. The attacks itself varied from deliberately clogging websites of various public services to make them inaccessible to others, to issuing fake online statements on behalf of public and political institutions. In the end, the systems got up and running again, but daily life in Estonia was quite heavily disrupted. This created a fear of what would happen in case of a second attack and both the public and the political leaders agreed that measures needed to be taken.

AS OF NOW, the security measures on the entire spectrum of cyber security are highly advanced, thanks to the implementation of various national strategies of cyber security between 2007 and

2018. Estonia is being recognized internationally as a leading example in the field, as proven by Tallinn being the location of the NATO Cooperative Cyber Defence Centre of Excellence. However, those with malicious intentions are also aware of Estonia's current high level of cybersecurity. Since they too are using increasingly advanced technology, a successful cyber attack shutting down government services is still a small but realistic risk. And as proven in 2007, it only takes one successful attack to disrupt the entire country. What to do then?

FORTUNATELY, IN THAT case, Estonia has a backup plan. Quite literally. Since 2017, Estonia has been developing a 'data embassy' in a high-security data centre in Luxembourg. Should a cyber attack on the current digital system in Estonia happen, the systems could instead easily be run from Luxembourg. It is being researched whether further data embassies in other friendly nations are feasible and necessary.

DISREGARDING THE POTENTIAL second cyber attack, the digital solutions were implemented in the first place to make the government run more (cost-) efficiently. In that regard, Estonia has definitely been a success story. At 40.20% of its GDP, Estonia has the third-lowest public expenditure rate in the European Union. It is estimated that the use of digital signatures in e-government alone accounts for a 2% saving in the national income. And is exactly that amount that Estonia is required to spend on defence – which goes beyond cyber defence – as part of its commitments as a NATO member.

The protection of Estonia's digital public services has seen great progress since 2007, and in the worst case scenario even a digital government 'in exile' can take over. More importantly, the digitalization has allowed Estonia to improve and secure its physical defence, so that it will better able to resist physical military threats. At any rate, Estonia seems to be well-prepared for an attack, from either old or new methods of warfare. ●

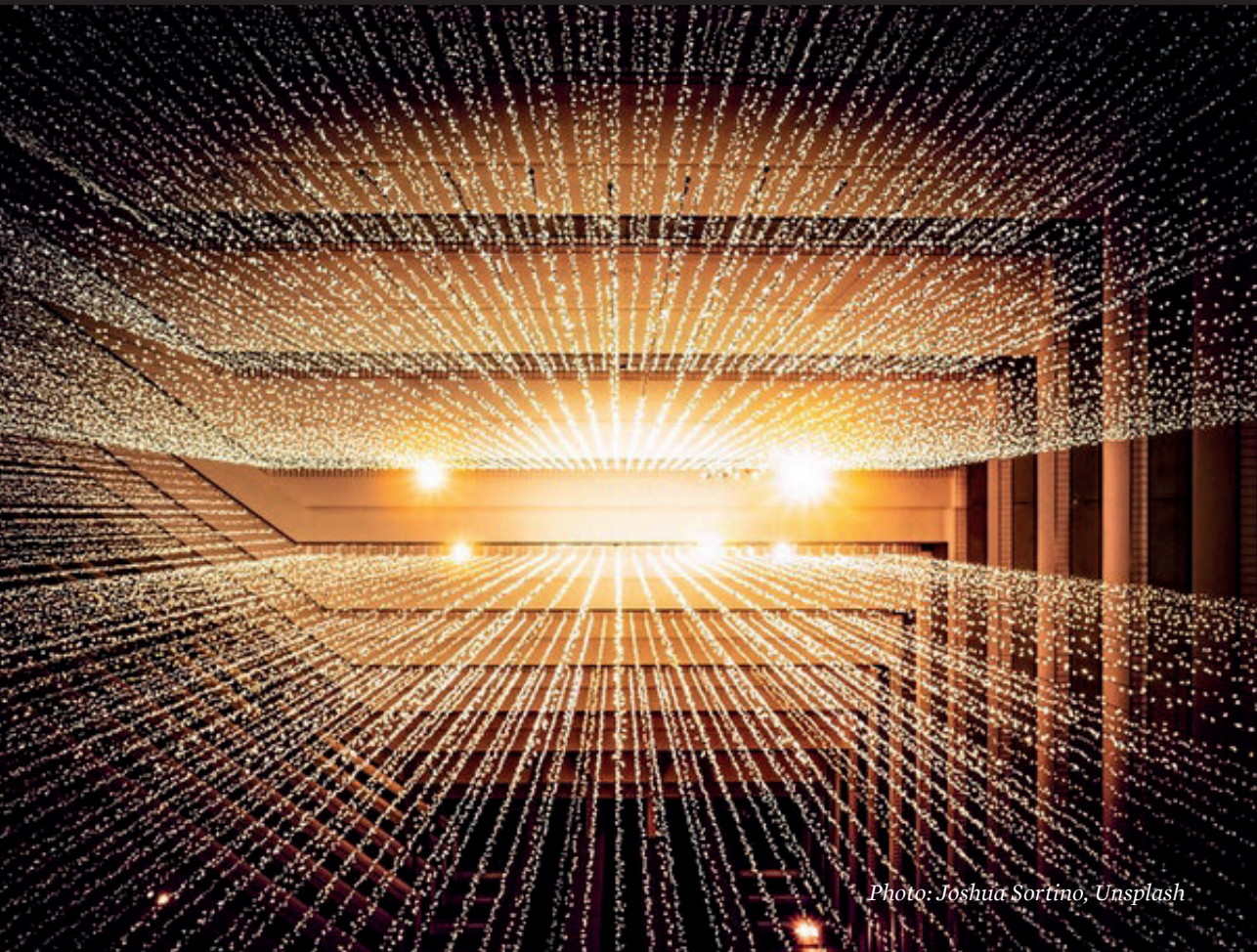


Photo: Joshua Sortino, Unsplash

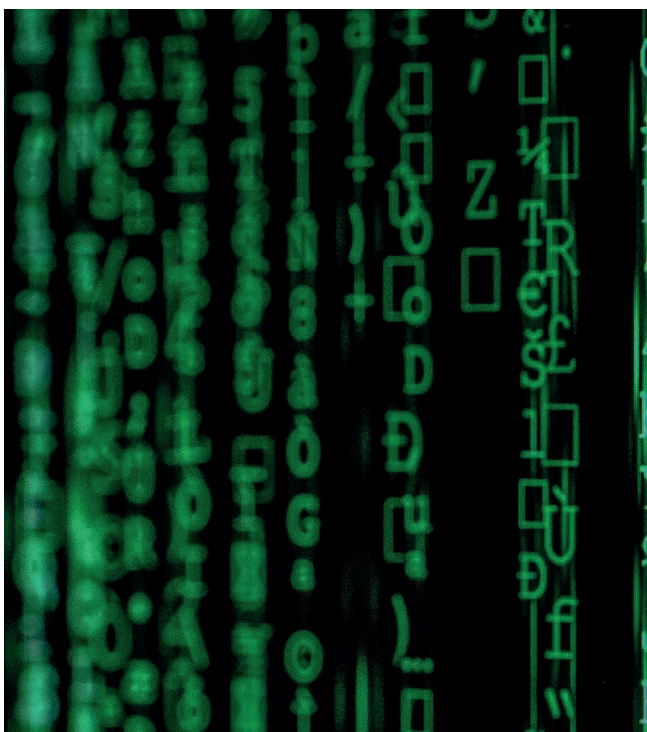
DIGITAL WARFARE: UNTRACEABLE

Cryptocurrency and consumerism - but also corruption - become some of many stepping stones along the digital pathway. The creative chaos which occurs within the computer geek's mind is now more powerful than ever.

As technological advances develop, human minds and creativity develop simultaneously. On a global level, the pioneers of computer science have paved a pathway for future generations to unfold. From expanding communication to groundbreaking innovations such as artificial intelligence, a new era has been opened to explore. Hackers have steered democracy and the online exploitation has planted seeds of fear inside people's minds. From hacking America's largest bank to infiltrating the United Kingdom's National Health Service (NHS), the digital crime culture is borderless and worldwide.

BILL GATES, STEVE Wozniak, and Mark Zuckerberg collectively addressed how negative connotations are glued to the hackers' identity, stating that "hacking just means building something quickly or testing the boundaries of what can be done. Like most things, it can be used for good or bad." Whether sponsored by a nation state or a terrorist organisation, the execution of one's ideas become what you make it. The annual average salary of a hacker or ethical security analyst in the United States, laying at 94,000 USD, does not seem too bad. However, through the creative chaos of technological developments, many mysterious doors are opened, some of which trigger cybercrime. Cybercrime is a fast growing area of crime where criminals exploit other technology users' information in the convenience of anonymity, often from within the safety of their homes. Cybercrime includes offences against computer

data, computerized fraud, as well as content and copyright offenses. Cybercrime becomes growingly complex and has become a central issue as serious offenses go untraced and mainly due to its transnational nature. An estimated 70% of acts have crossed borders. Different countries entail different laws, therefore, it's tremendously difficult to handle cyber attacks as multijurisdictional



investigations require collaboration between nations. Digital warfare has spun out of proportion and a substantial amount of cybercrime occurs outside of the law enforcements reach.

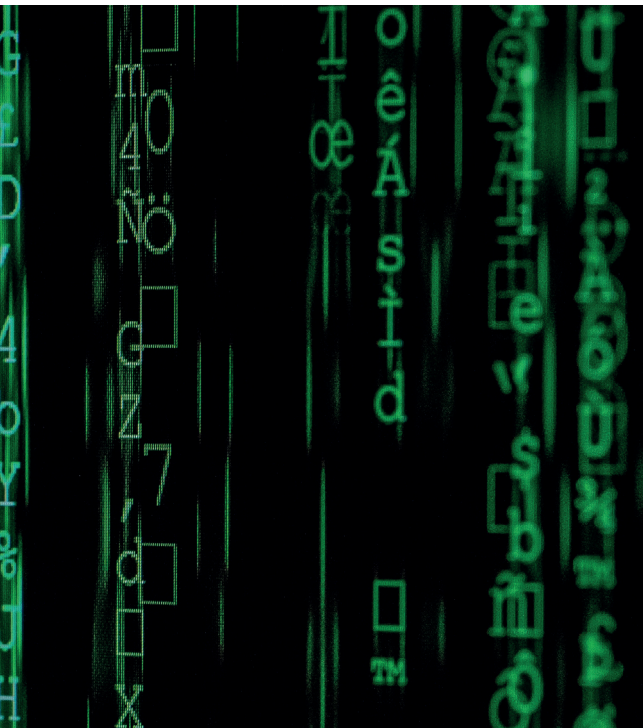
AN ESTIMATED ONE billion data records were exploited in cyber attacks. 47% of Americans had personal information stolen, including personal information such as full name, credit card details, phone numbers, passwords, security question answers, and home addresses. Digital warfare is difficult to trace, complex, and dangerous. The world wide web represents only 4% of the internet content. The remaining 96% can be accessed through the deep web. These results do not show up in search engines. The dark web can be defined as a digital territory, built with bulletproof web hosting services originally intended for the military, businesses and governments, that require specific software and anonymity to access. Uncontrollable activity has led to cases of corruption where illegal products, from drugs to weapons, become available to the dark web users. The illegal products from online providers, who have ratings and reviews similar to those of TripAdvisor, can be purchased with cryptocurrency. Cryptocurrency

“ AN ESTIMATED ONE BILLION DATA RECORDS WERE EXPLOITED IN CYBER ATTACKS

is used as a global payment method and is the central currency within the darknet markets, allowing its users to pay for products without a trace.

THE UNITED NATIONS Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reveal the immense need for technical assistance, prevention, and awareness-raising, as well as international cooperation in order to battle cybercrime. Unfortunately, the opportunity to exploit sensitive information at little cost is large. The UNODC threat assessment report has evaluated the severity of online child pornography. Behind each image of a child exists a victim case of sexual abuse and under some circumstances, human trafficking. A large digital risk is that access of child pornography leads to demand for more. It is crucial for states, law firms and individuals to redirect attention to the organisations who produce these materials through fictitious businesses. International action is vital to trigger a disruption in the transnationally organized market and crime. Prevention efforts require immense amounts of cooperation, both nationally and internationally, as stated under the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

AS ONLINE EXPLOITATION becomes increasingly popular, it is crucial to spend time and energy on this central issue. Hacks cost the global economy up to USD 400 billion annually, they cause millions of personal data leakages and influence political elections. The simple operation of spreading chain-mail with cat images, something which used to be known as a joke, has over a discourse transformed into massive attacks infecting individuals, businesses, institutions and entire nations. Responsibility and action must be taken in order to make our lives, digitally and physically, a safer space. ●



HOW AI IS TRANSFORMING POLITICS

In the wake of Artificial intelligence (AI), traditional democratic principles are slowly losing relevance. Unless we make an effort to decentralize and democratize this technology, we can expect a future in which high-developed AI dictates politics.

Self-driving cars, autonomous weaponry, artificial doctors and composers. The year is 2050 and scientists have succeeded to develop Artificial Super Intelligence (ASI). Computers now surpass the characteristics associated with human intelligence such as learning, reasoning, solving problem, and understanding language. No doubt ASI will play a vital role in shaping our daily lives in obscure ways by dominating all products, services and information we consume.

THE WORLD'S LARGEST human-level AI conference was held in Prague in August this year (2018). AI experts, scientists and thought leaders from around the world gathered to discuss their goals and progress towards human-level AI (last stop before a fully developed ASI). Irakli Beridze, Head of the Centre for Artificial Intelligence and Robotics, UNICRI, United Nations was present among many others. They all had different predictions on when AI will have realized its full potential but it will most likely happen sooner than expected.

AT PRESENT, AI is already integrated into services offered by tech giants such as Facebook, Apple,

and Google. The technology is, however, not only confined to shareholders in search of maximizing profit or scientists with a tireless dedication to invent. It is also a serious political matter. Vladimir Putin already made clear in a speech last year that “whoever becomes the leader in this sphere will become the ruler of the world”. The increasing patent applications of AI technology prove that Putin is not alone in his concerns. China is clearly establishing itself as a strong market competitor against the U.S. with a 186 % increase of AI patent applications between 2010 to 2014. Contrariwise, the U.S. through the Pentagon established the Joint Artificial Intelligence Centre (JAIC) this summer to supervise the planned 600 AI projects at a cost of \$1.7 billion. Over the next five years, \$2 billion will most likely be invested in AI weapon research. Considering the present fact that the U.S. military budget is larger than that of China, Russia, Saudi Arabia, India, France, Britain, and Japan combined, one cannot help but feel worried about what this will imply.

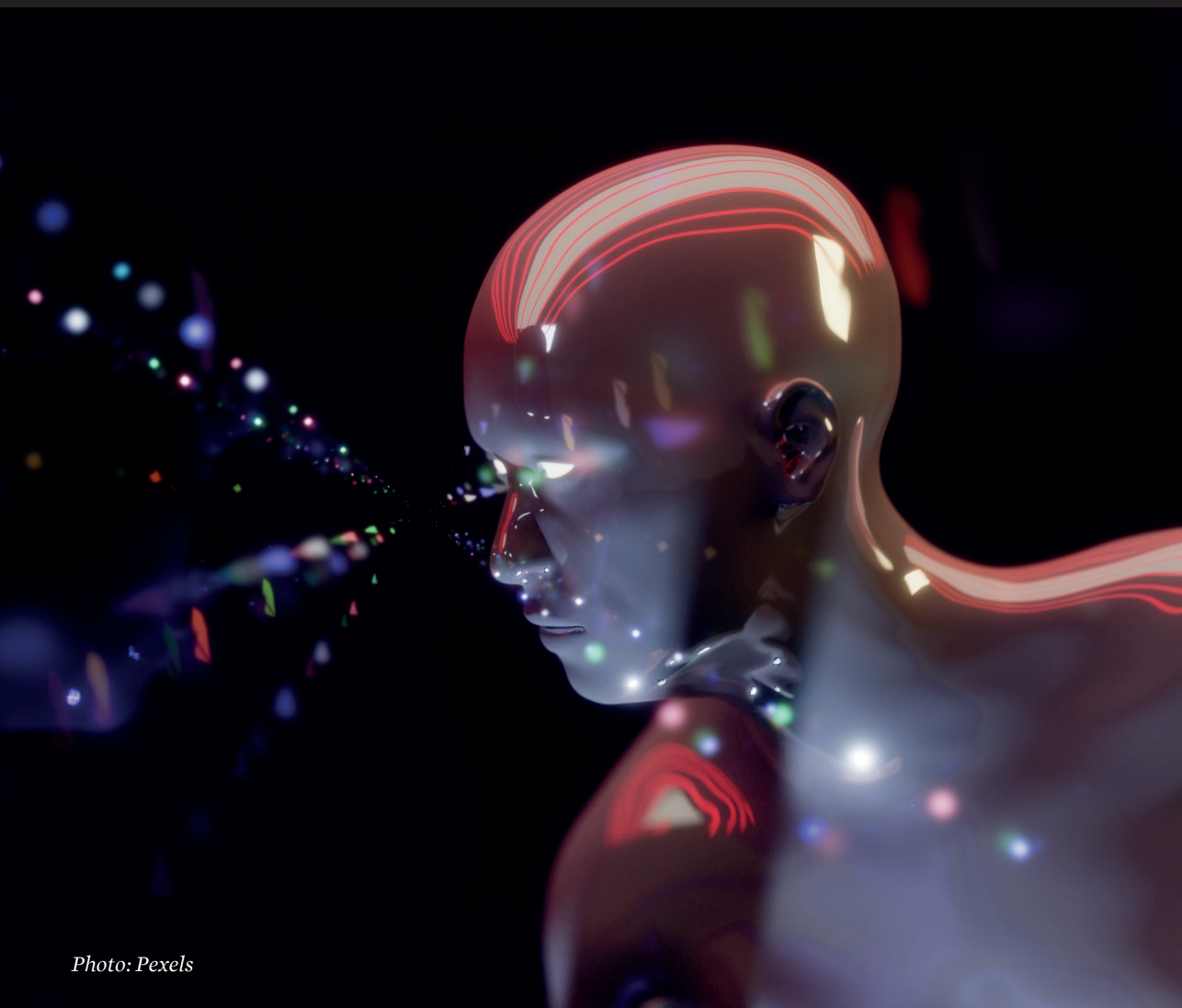
IN HIS LATEST book “21 Lessons for the 21st century” professor Yuval Harari describes a future in which AI has not only penetrated the market and political forums for policy-making. It is also


authorizing human desires and goals. Harari reviews all forms of liberalism with the revolution of ASI. Liberalism itself is about individual freedom to make economic, social and political decisions. The endless choices we have to make every day are discouragingly already shrinking. Netflix guides us when deciding what movie to watch and Google Maps tells us which direction we should take. Blindly we trust in their judgments. With ASI present in all domains and storing data on our personal lives through algorithms, the ultimate philosophical question to grapple is what will become of free will? Consequently, what will become of democracy that rests on this idea?

THE ETHICAL ASPECTS of AI are already widely dis-

cussed. High-profile entrepreneur and investor, Elon Musk, warns for the potential of ASI to become an “immortal dictator” stretching beyond borders and populations. He builds a dim scenario in which a company or small group of people have developed ASI and thereupon governs the rest of society. It resembles the Marxist thinking that rich capitalist owners control and subordinate the poor through its means. The difference is that traditional political dictators and economic capitalists are mortal and limited to a space in a particular time. Once developed, ASI is difficult to undo and confine as it has the ability to programme itself.

THERE IS THE idea that current politics and “the self” has taken on the shape and the form of the





economy. Capitalism is in this way a governing rationality that dominates with hegemony. Likewise, our minds and our pursuits in 2050 are digitized with the possibility of ASI to monitor all individuals all the time. Political institutions are not spared from this. The first to programme ASI will determine the course that the rest of the global community will operate under. It is difficult to say whether it will be Google, another U.S. company, or China that is stepping up its game. What is certain is that we will see an ideological upheaval.

TO BRIGHTEN UP this dark future, there are clear benefits with ASI. It might provide revolutionary techniques that will once and for all eradicate war, diseases and poverty. Still, ASI enables information and power to be concentrated to extreme levels. For already authoritarian regimes this will clearly be an upper hand when controlling its citizens. For liberal democracies with elected politicians making informed decisions for us, they will be bound to what information ASI has processed and delivered. Harari calls it “an illusion of choice”. The agenda for policy-making is already pre-set by capitalist economic principles as bank-

ers, business people and economists are guiding where politics is heading. Our own Swedish scientist and entrepreneur, Max Tegmark, talked about the importance of right instruments and the need to democratize AI in his pod-talk for Swedish Radio this summer. He called it “the most important democratic issue of our time”. Our inability to combat climate change or to deal with the migration crisis makes this quest seem pointless because it will require international cooperation. As we know international cooperation is not our strong suit.

THE YEAR IS 2050 and humanity has succeeded with “the last intervention we ever need to make”. We have failed to democratize and decentralize ASI and paved the way for our own downfall. The apocalyptic story of humanity battling against a conscious technological innovation, as portrayed in *Terminators*, *Ex Machina*, *I robot* and *Matrix*, is in fact a reality. We are just oblivious to this battle even taking place. Therefore, our most important quest is to intervene the notion of humanity and liberalism when we no longer have freedom of choice. ●

IS SOCIAL MEDIA THE NEW BATTLEGROUND IN POLITICS?

Brazil has become the latest nation to move towards the far right. Initially dismissed as an unlikely candidate to win the 2018 Brazilian presidential election, Jair Bolsonaro proved experts wrong by seizing the title through building his supporter base online with the use of social media.

Against the backdrop of a struggling economy following a deep recession and record-high levels of violent crime, Brazil, Latin America's most populous country and largest economy, held the most important presidential election in its history. Brazilians were arguably frustrated by the government's handling of the social, political and economic problems the country is facing. On top of this, a criminal investigation recently convicted hundreds of politicians for bribery, corruption and collusion. It exposed corruption high up in the ranks, with former President Lula da Silva of the leftist Workers' Party being sentenced to twelve years in prison. The investigation further polluted Brazilians' faith in the "effectiveness" of the government and intensified their craving for change.

ENTER JAIR BOLSONARO: a former military captain and a member of congress since 1991. From the onset, he was considered a political outsider with low chances of claiming the presidential title because of his hard-right conservative politics and provocative views. He has previously expressed an affinity for the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil between 1964 – 1985, and advocated for granting the military more authority. Bolsonaro has also argued for withdrawing Brazil from the Paris Agreement, weakening environmental regulations and lowering gun control laws. Not to mention the long history of offensive statements he has made. In 2014, he told a fellow lawmaker that he wouldn't rape her because she wasn't "worthy of it", and in 2013 he stated that he would "rather his son die in a car accident than be gay."

DESPITE BOLSONARO'S HOMOPHOBIC, racist and misogynist views, he seized the presidential title in October, marking the most dramatic shift to the right since Brazil was ruled by the authoritarian military dictatorship. His win adds to the growing list of countries – from the United States to the Philippines – where controversial far-right leaders have been democratically elected. Bolsonaro won by tapping into the deep well of anger towards the status quo in Brazil and one of the ways he did this was by effectively harnessing social media as a campaign tool.

DURING BOLSONARO'S ELECTION campaign, he almost exclusively used social media, primarily the

messaging platform WhatsApp, as well as Facebook, to disseminate information to his voter base. Considering that more than 120 million Brazilians use WhatsApp and that Brazil is Facebook's third-largest market, Bolsonaro was able to directly communicate with his supporters, uncensored and unfiltered. Thus, when mainstream media began reporting about the candidate's offensive comments and provocative politics he could personally convey his version of the events to supporters. He accused mainstream media of everything from telling lies to ignoring his rise in polls, with the intent of discrediting its reliability as a news source. This is one of the ways in which social media has changed politics. Before the arrival of social media, civil society was more or less a passive receiver of communication from politicians, who used traditional news outlets to communicate with supporters. Today, social media has cut out the "middle-man" as politicians can directly address and be up close to their voters, thus creating a sense of familiarity. In turn, social media users can create their own content and directly respond to politicians. As a consequence, Bolsonaro was able to bypass traditional media and manipulate public debate.

BOLSONARO'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN also used social media to attack his opponent, Fernando Haddad. The Brazilian newspaper Folha de S. Paulo reported that millions of dollars were spent to blast WhatsApp with targeted messages against him. However, since apps such as WhatsApp and Facebook are encrypted end-to-end, outsiders can't see the content of a message, which makes it impossible to fact-check and refute false information. In addition, posts are shared between friends and family which gives credibility to the news regardless of whether or not it is in fact true. Nonetheless, during the Brazilian election campaign, Facebook shut down over 200 pages and accounts identified as spreading false information, most of which were linked to pro-Bolsonaro factions. Furthermore, a study conducted by GPOTAI, a research group that studies public policies for information access, found that only 8 % of the most-shared information in WhatsApp groups was correct.

HOWEVER, FROM ANOTHER perspective, social media can be viewed as a liberation technology given its ability to facilitate communication between activists, lower coordination costs for protest



movements and help mobilize anti-government campaigns in oppressive countries. For instance, as a response to Bolsonaro’s misogynistic remarks, women in Brazil launched an online group under the hashtag #elenao or “not him” and organized protests around the country. Thus, social media has also become a global platform on which people are able to criticize and challenge politics and the state.

IN THE AFTERMATH of the Brazilian presidential election, it is clear that Bolsonaro successfully manipulated social media in his election campaign to shape public opinion, rally support and inject mistrust into mainstream media. Social media isn’t the sole explanation to his success, but its impact is an indisputable fact given the part it played. After Bolsonaro’s victory was announced, he set aside the tradition of holding the first speech as president-elect at a press conference. Instead, he immediately live-streamed his acceptance speech via Facebook from his home – an ending to an election campaign that perfectly encapsulates how Bolsonaro’s use of social media has fundamentally changed the way Brazilian political elections are fought. ●

MACRON PUSHES FOR A EUROPEAN ARMY

On the 11th of November 2018 French president Emmanuel Macron revived the idea of a common European army. European leaders spent the 100th Armistice Day ceremony discussing Macron's comments.

“We have to protect ourselves with respect to China, Russia and even the United States of America,” French president Emmanuel Macron said, referring to the creation of a “real” European army, as he was visiting the sites of former World War One battlefields in northern France. World War One ended one hundred years ago, but the senseless slaughter of the trenches feels far more ancient when one of Europe's most important leaders talks of a common European army. Europe has changed. The idea of a European army is not, however, a novel concept in EU-politics. In 1954 the same country that is today reviving the concept, failed to ratify the treaty which would have established a pan-European defence force. An idea which for long has seemed like nothing but a distant dream is now on everybody's lips.

TO DONALD TRUMP's detest, as evidenced by the barrage of angry tweets following the event, Angela Merkel has pledged her support for the idea. Macron and Merkel agree that Europe stands at a crossroads and that reliance on outside powers for security might not be prudent. Support is coming from other, more unexpected places as well.

FOR THE EUROSCEPTIC prime minister of Hungary and the president of the Czech Republic, a European military force could be the tool with which the Union's external borders are made impassable for migrants. Even Vladimir Putin expressed his

support: “Europe is a powerful economic entity [...] and it is quite natural that it wants to be independent, self-sufficient and sovereign in matters of defence and security” the Russian president told RT, an obvious sneer directed at NATO.

TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS HAVE been frosty during most of Trump's presidency. The president claims that NATO members fail to live up to their spending obligations and makes the US “[...] the piggy bank that everybody likes to rob” and he has called Macrons talk of an EU army “very insulting”. But the joint military projects proposed by EU ministers are humble in their scope and hardly size up to Macrons ambitious remarks. Some member states are tasked with setting up an intelligence training academy, others with the development of a new medium-range missile. Further projects include airship reconnaissance and an upgrading of Tiger attack helicopters. While the council of EU ministers broadly backed a plan to establish a European Defence Fund designed to co-invest in military industrial projects. Never has there been any real proposal to detach Europe from her military dependence on America. Not only do these initiatives not rival or weaken NATO, they bolster it.

A REAL EUROPEAN army would mean a genuine fusion of Europe's armed forces, something the EU seems unable or unwilling to do in the near future. This point has been echoed by German defence officials who accurately state that there's a differ-

ence between a “European army” and “an army of Europeans”. The latter implies a firm integration into already existing NATO structures, which in many ways, remains Europe’s best bet. The recently proposed joint military projects seem to lead us down the path to “an army of Europeans”. Procurement and development of defence materials, as well as a close cooperation between the armed forces, is the main goal; not soldiers clad in blue and starred uniforms singing “Daughter of Elysium”.

THERE IS NO reason to believe that Macron’s push for a European army will realize any time soon. But if old allies turn their backs and new enemies become more daring, who’s to say an army

of Europeans is unrealistic. Geography has made the countries of Europe neighbours, history made them friends, trade has made them partners and maybe necessity will make them allies.

BETWEEN THE CENTENNIAL anniversary of the 1918 armistice and the 1919 Versailles Treaty, Europe once again stands at a crossroads. The lessons from World War One and the fragile peace that followed are clear: Passions of nationalism are easy to rouse but difficult to control. Humiliated countries will look for scapegoats and revenge. War has historically been Europe’s natural state, and absence of war the European Union’s greatest achievement. An army of Europeans, distant as it may seem, could be a way to sustain that success. ●



MERRY CHRISTMAS AND HAPPY NUCLEAR!

The competitive arms race of the 21st century has begun, and last year the world once again got to taste the fear of a potential nuclear strike. Once more we are faced with this political and moral question - who may hold the power of nuclear weapons?

Almost thirty years have passed since the dissolution of the Berlin Wall, marking the end of the Cold War era. Four decades characterized by a constant fear of a nuclear war between the two hegemonies, the Soviet Union and the United States, finally came to an end. Although the number of states in possession of nuclear weapons increased in the following years, the risk of a nuclear war seemed far away according to many politicians and scholars. The former US President Obama announced his commitment to a nuclear disarmament in a speech in 2009 and thereby took several steps towards a nuclear-free future. He was later that year awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his actions. Although he acknowledged that a world free of nuclear weapons would most likely not be achieved in his lifetime, it marked an important and sharp break from his predecessors.

IN ORDER TO gain a full perception of the current situation, let us fast forward to 2018. China and Russia are rapidly improving their nuclear capabilities, and so are India and Pakistan as their conflict continues. In Brazil, the far right populist Bolsonaro who recently won the election has previously stated his interest in expanding Brazil's nuclear power. An action that could potentially lead to the production of a nuclear force.

EARLIER THIS YEAR, the US announced its withdrawal from the JCPOA-deal with Iran in an attempt to pressure the Iranian regime. If the remaining parts of the deal now fail to keep it alive Iran has declared its ambitions to continue the

process of enriching uranium for their nuclear program. In case of such scenario, Saudi Arabia will most likely follow their footsteps due to regional power tensions. Moreover, only in October this year, the US President Trump declared its second important withdrawal from a nuclear agreement this year alone. This time it was the INF-agreement signed by Reagan and Gorbachev during the late 1980s, that has kept missiles out of Europe for three decades. What this will mean in the long run, the future will certainly tell. But one thing seems to be for sure, the nuclear weapons have made a comeback and the competitive race of the 21st century has begun.

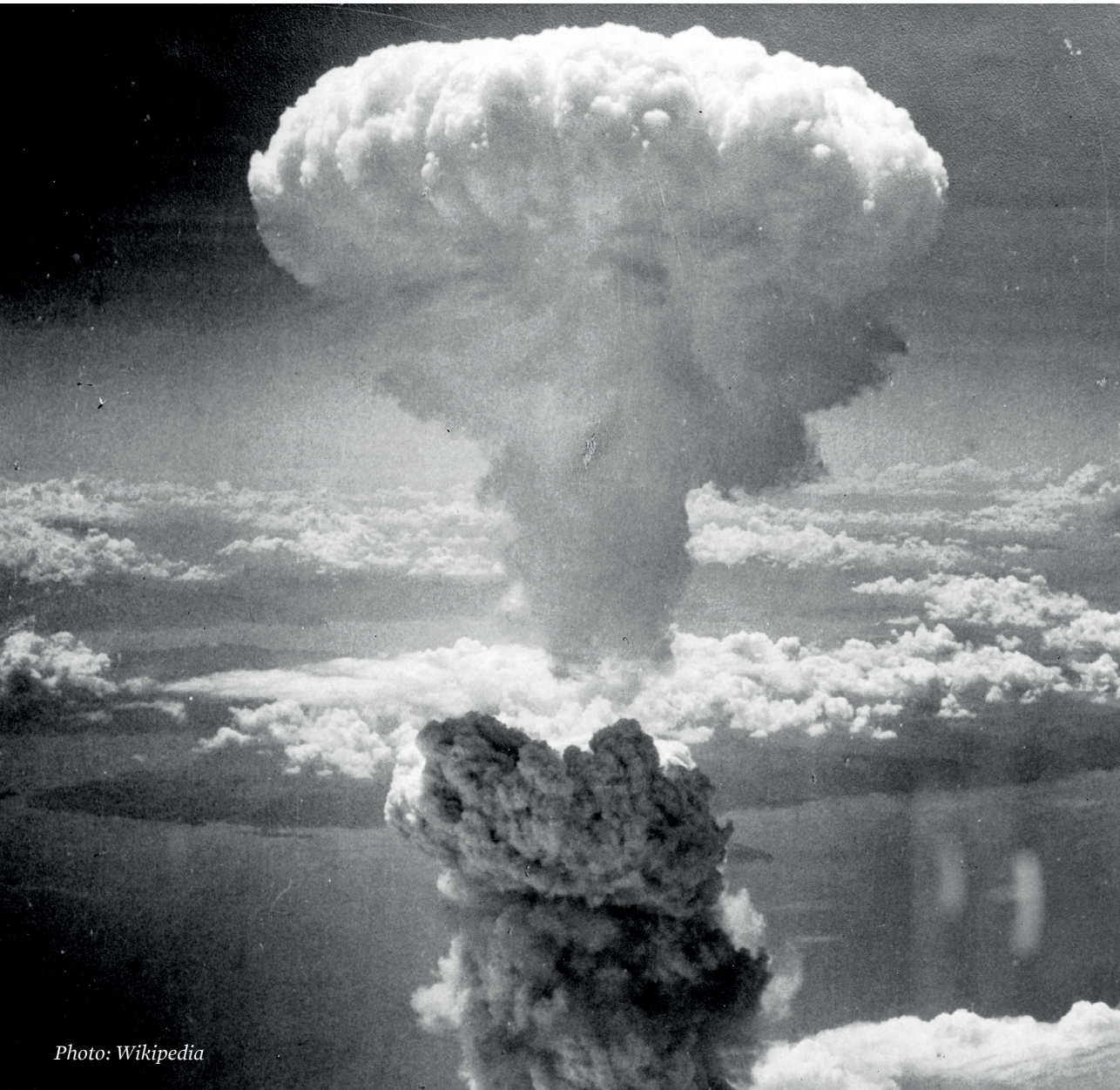
IN THE JANUARY number of Foreign Affairs 2010, the former director of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Mohamed ElBaradei, stated that nuclear terrorism was to be considered as the biggest danger the world was facing. If such weapons ended up in the 'wrong hands', it would undoubtedly cause a serious danger. He was referring to the destabilized situation in Pakistan, where many different terrorist organizations were and still are aspiring to get power.

TRADITIONALLY, THE MAIN reason behind that an armed attack never occurred during the Cold war has its explanation in the theory of mutually assured destruction and the necessity of power balance. However, with that said, in such an analysis one must not underestimate the important role of the individual. In a changing political landscape with populist- and dictator leaderships in some of the most powerful leading countries with direct or

potential access to nuclear weapons, one has the right to be worried. Unfortunately, there seems to be a trend among some of the world leaders to glorify these weapons of mass destruction and once again turning them into a symbol of national power.

LAST YEAR, THE world held its breath during the online war of words between the two leaders of

the United States and North Korea. For the first time in modern days, there were actual threats about a real strike. When ElBaradei explained his fear of the potential risks of 'wrong hands' getting access to nuclear weapons in 2010, he was referring to terrorist groups. Soon to be nine years later, it might be time to reconsider the term 'wrong hands', and wonder - whose hands are actually the right ones? ●



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