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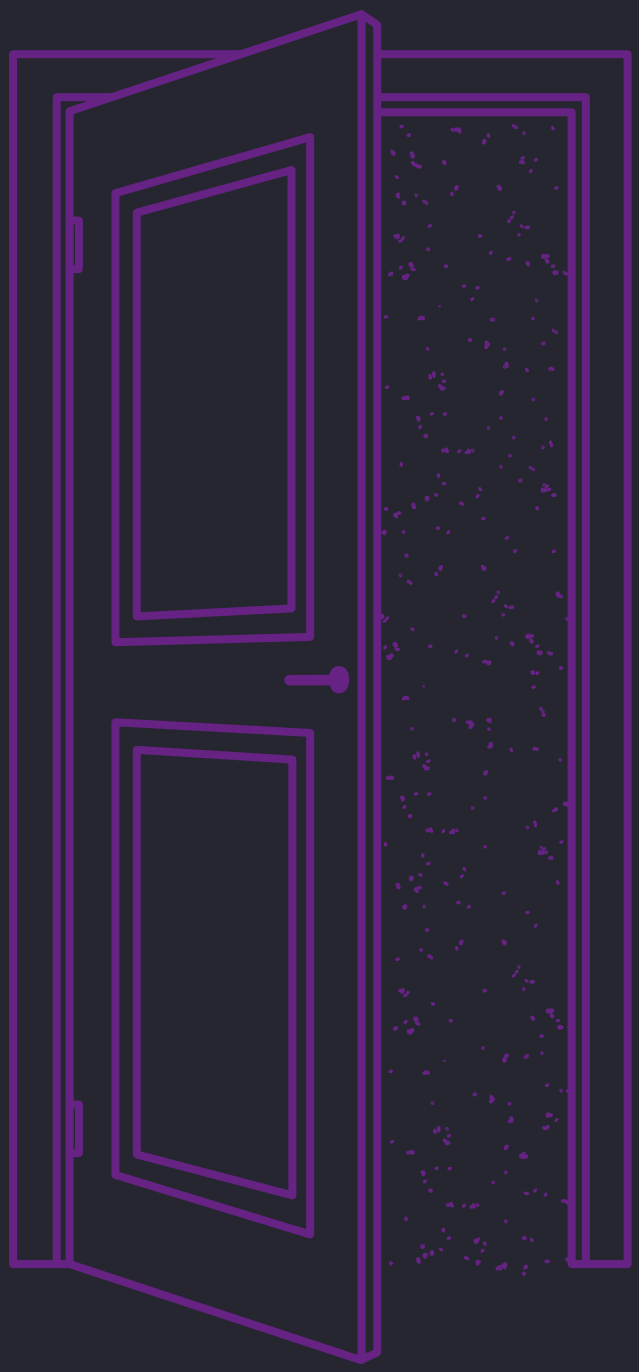
UTBLICK

A MAGAZINE ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES

Globalization as Westernization?

The Meaning of Nationalism in a Global Society

Brexit – Europe's wake-up call?



Intervju med Alice Teodorescu

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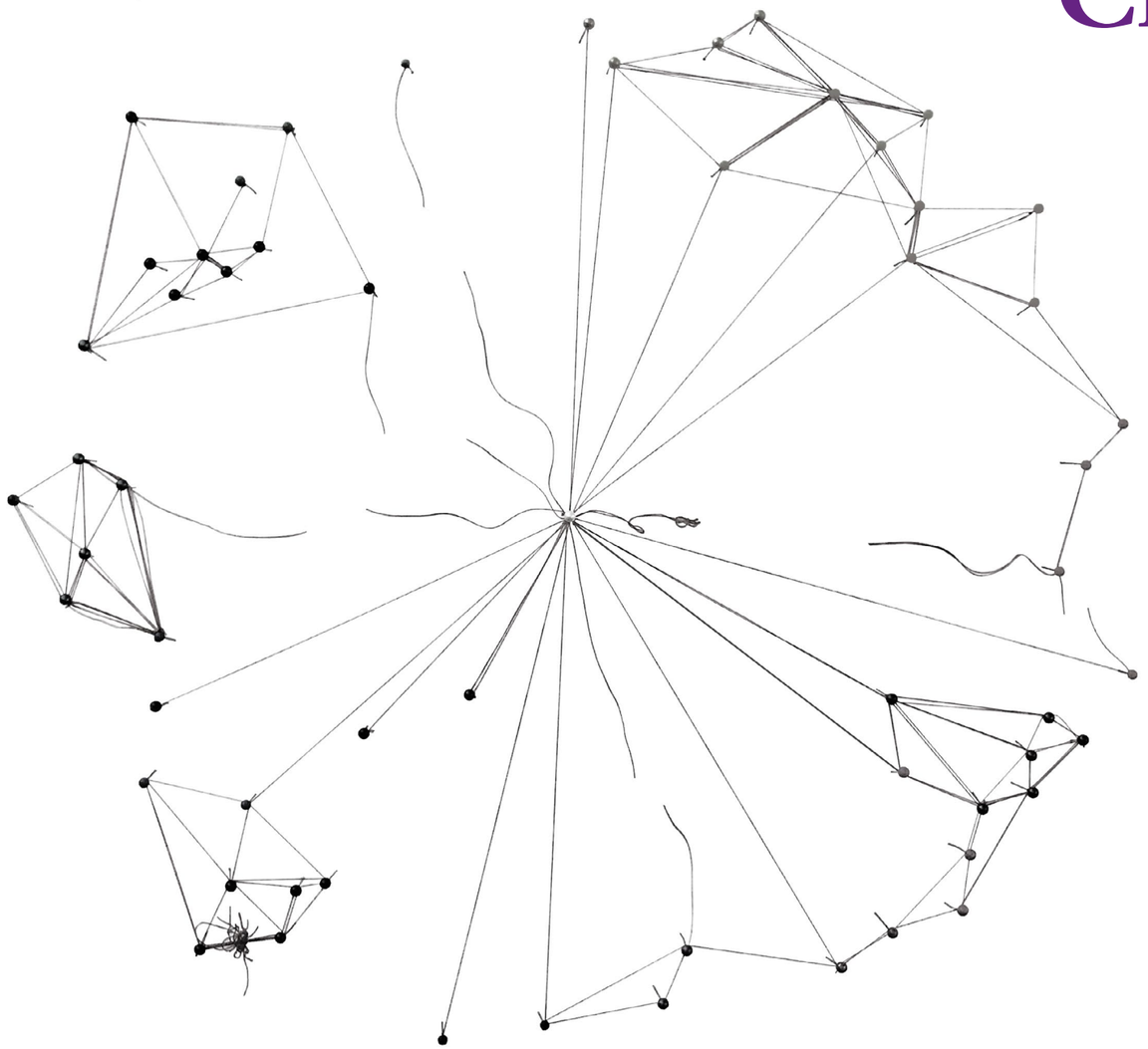

Donemark

Ditchland

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Polend

Remainia

Sweyou

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Letter from the Editors

In the aftermath of Great Britain's surprising decision to leave the European Union, there has been no shortage of speculations about the consequences that such a departure will have. Emerging Euro-sceptical forces throughout Europe have unanimously approved of the result of the referendum, and have attempted to reinforce anti-EU sentiment in their respective countries, calling for their own referenda. It remains unclear, however, if Brexit will ignite a trend that leads to the demise of the union, or if it instead marks the turn of that very same trend.

Peoples and governments receding to the nation state is by no means exclusive for the European continent. It's happening in every part of the world, and even if the different movements distinguish significantly from one another, there is at least one reoccurring critique – the denunciation of globalization. On the other side of the Atlantic, Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, and even Hillary Clinton, have all taken a critical stance against both the *Trans Pacific Partnership* (TPP) and the *Transatlantic Trade- and Investment Partnership* (TTIP). In South America, market liberalization has been said to lead to exploitation of the continent's underdevelopment, effectively cementing many countries in their current, underdeveloped state. In Asia, China has benefited greatly, and is currently breathing down the US' neck as the World's only superpower. And in the Middle East, Turkey is picking the raisins out of the globalization cake, utilizing the global market while attempting to steer clear of cultural change. Everything in the middle of the worst refugee crisis in decades, and an existential environmental crisis that requires intergovernmental cooperation more than anything.

This issue of Utblick offers discussions on the future of the European Union, in depth analyses on specific countries, and debates, both on the origin and progression of different forms of criticism against globalization, and on the character and effects of the process itself. We wish you a pleasant read!

Editors-in-Chief

Mikael Hemlin & Sara Lindström

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Utblick intervjuar

Alice Teodorescu

TEXT: Mikael Hemlin FOTO: Företagarna/CC

I JUNI MÅNAD beslutade det brittiska folket att Storbritannien kommer att lämna den Europeiska Unionen (EU). I folkomröstningens efterdyningar har det spekulerats flitigt kring vilka konsekvenser skilsmässan kan komma att få, och hur dessa konsekvenser kommer att påverka unionens framtid. Hur som helst är Brexit inte EUs enda orosmoment – president Erdogans och president Putins allt närmare relation, auktoritära medlemsländer som inte följer stadgarna, exploatering av den fria rörligheten och ett växande missnöje, särskilt i Västeuropa, är andra orsaker till varför institutionens framtid är osäker. Utblick har samtalat med Alice Teodorescu, politisk redaktör på Göteborgsposten, för att få en klarare bild av det känsliga läget i Europa.

Den 23 juni röstade Storbritannien för att lämna den Europeiska unionen, hur ser du på det beslutet?
- Jag är inte förvånad. Både i Storbritannien, och i övriga EU, har ett missnöje växt fram gällande hur samarbetets utveckling har sett ut. Det är förstås tråkigt, med tanke på hur framgångsrik unionen har varit som fredsprojekt. Men jag tror att EU har expanderat med fel fokus. Man har detaljstyrt mycket, samtidigt som man har misslyckats med hanteringen av de stora frågorna, exempelvis migration.

Storbritanniens nya premiärminister, Theresa May, valde Brexit-förespråkaren Boris Johnson som utrikesminister. Varför?
- Jag tror att det handlar om trovärdighet. Theresa May blev premiärminister, trots att hon var emot Brexit. Boris Johnson var en av huvudfigurerna i lämna-rörelsen. Han åtnjuter stort förtroende bland medborgare som röstade för att lämna unionen, och av den anledningen är det ett naturligt val. Det är också viktigt att poängtera att katastrofen som målades upp i samband med folkomröstningen, (ännu) inte har inträffat.

EUs förhandlingsposition är förstås väldigt känslig, eftersom ett gynnsamt avtal för Storbritannien kan få övriga EU-länder att vilja omförhandla sina respektive avtal. Med vilken attityd borde EU förhandla, tycker du?
- Storbritannien har varit tydligt med att man vill lämna samarbetet, och det måste man stå för. EU bör gå in i förhandlingarna med en tuff attityd, men det handlar inte bara om Brexit. Det är en större fråga, som i grund och botten handlar om att EU inte lever upp till förväntningarna i de frågor som medlemsländerna bedömer vara viktigast. Brexit är förstås en kris, men också en möjlighet i och med att de brister som idag finns i systemet uppmärksammas.

Ungern och Polen, med flera, verkar driva alltmer åt ett auktoritärt styre, och har dessutom inte tagit sitt ansvar i flyktingkrisen. Relationen mellan sådana regeringsformer och EUs grundläggande principer är knepig. Vad har EU för alternativ, bör man utesluta länder som inte tar ansvar?
- Det här är demokratins dilemma. Både regeringen i Ungern och regeringen i Polen är demokratisk valda, och det kommer alltid finnas länder som är missnöjda med andra befolkningars demokratiska beslut. Man kan uttrycka kritik, men jag anser inte att man bör utesluta vissa stater, utan istället att man bör skrota länders egna asylsystem, och ersätta dem med ett kvotsystem där EU fördelar ansvar mellan länderna. Härifrån blir det förstås en fråga om suveränitet, men faktum är att dagens system inte fungerar. EU är ett samarbete, och ett samarbete har för- och nackdelar. Det fungerar inte om medlemsländer väljer vilka ansvar de vill ta och inte ta. Vissa medlemsländer är generösa, andra inte, och det finns en oförmåga till koordination. Länderna är inte överens om EUs kärnuppdrag, och det är där man måste börja.

> ***"Brexit är förstås en kris, men också en möjlighet i och med att de brister som idag finns i systemet uppmärksammas"***

Turkiet har, de senaste åren, varit aktuellt för EU-medlemskap. I dagsläget går knappast att hävda att Turkiet är en demokrati. Kan du berätta lite om den här situationen?
- Erdogan har använt sig av hot för att försöka tvinga EU att inkludera Turkiet, vilket inte är acceptabelt. Men han har också varit ➤

"Det kan inte fortsätta vara en elitklubb som utvidgar det glapp som redan finns mellan etablissemanget och människan på gatan. Detta är en farlig utveckling, eftersom den leder till att genomsnitts-medborgarens förtroende för systemet undermineras"

smart. Han har använt flyktingkrisen som utpressning, vilket har försatt Europa i en situation som är svår att hantera. EU har hamnat i ett spel som inte går att vinna, och Erdogan sitter på ett trumfkort som vi gett honom genom att inte agera tidigare. Turkiet kommer fortsätta närma sig Ryssland om unionen fortsätter hålla dem utanför samarbetet. EU betalar för sina misstag.

Flera länder utnyttjar fördelarna med att vara med i EU, utan att ta det ansvar som medlemskap innebär. Anser du att EU borde anta en hårdare förhandlingsattityd?
- Nej, det skulle få negativa konsekvenser. Om beslut upplevs komma ovanifrån lär det göra opinionen mer kritisk. Det är viktigt att komma överens om vilka områden som tillhör EU. Självklart är det en pedagogiskt svår uppgift, men det är det enda sättet att enas. Medlemsländer måste känna ansvar, men de måste också känna att deras invändningar tas på allvar.

Vilka brister/fördelar ser du med EU i allmänhet?
- EU har varit, och är fortfarande, ett väldigt framgångsrikt fredsprojekt som har gynnat, och fortsätter gynna Europa. Dessutom är det viktigt att betona den ekonomiska faktorn; fri rörlighet av både människor och varor har spelat en otroligt viktig roll i Europas tillväxt. EU tillför mycket av godo, och det vore förödande om samarbetet luckrades upp. Men det behöver reformeras. Det kan inte fortsätta vara en elitklubb som utvidgar det glapp som redan finns mellan etablissemanget och människan på gatan. Detta är en farlig utveckling, eftersom den leder till att genomsnittsmedborgarens förtroende för systemet undermineras. Det är viktigt att komma ihåg att EU faktiskt inte är mer än medlemsländerna. Man behöver tänka om, man måste prata, stater emellan. Det är svårt, men absolut nödvändigt. Europa befinner sig i en existentiell identitetskris som skadar ett samarbete som har tjänat kontinenten väldigt väl under lång tid.◆

Utrikespolitiska föreningen Göteborg

Welcome to UF lectures!

Dear Readers!
With rain coming over Gothenburg we know that Summer is officially over and it is time for a new Semester with exciting lectures from the Society of International Affairs. Here follows some of our so far confirmed lecturers.

13/10 * "Brazil in crisis – the legacy after Dilma Rousseff?"
Torsten B. Wetterblad - Researcher at the Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Stockholm.
**This lecture will be held in Swedish.*

21/10 "NATO and Security in a world of Uncertainty"
Peter Hultqvist - Swedish Minister of Defence

24/10 "Speaking Truth to Power – UN and the Culture of Silence."
Round-table discussion about the UN-system.
Henning Melber – Senior Adviser and Director Emeritus at Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation.
Dennis Halliday – Former UN- Assistant Secretary General with more than 34 years professional work experience within the UN. Worked as Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq 1998.
David Wardrop - Chair of the United Nations Association in Westminister, London.

1/12 "Peace Negotiations in Colombia – what is following next?"
Stefan Åström – Project Manager at Folke Bernadotte Academy, Swedish Agency for Peace, Security and Development.

Information about time and place is yet to be announced. For more updates please follow us on social media.
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We look forward to seeing you!
Welcome!

Jususp Aslakhanov and Dijana Mujdzic
Heads of Lecture Committe
The Society of International Affairs

ILLUSTRATION: Linn Posse

Brexit

Europe's wake-up call?

TEXT: Thomas Kräuchi

THE EUROPEAN UNION IS in a state of turmoil, following the unlikely decision of British voters to leave the EU. Europe faces one of it's biggest political crises in decades, but the outcomes may not be as severe as expected. In fact, they may be constructive.

On Friday, June 24th 2016 the United Kingdom – and most of the world for that matter – woke up to quite a shock. Against all odds, British citizens had voted to leave the European Union. A referendum that was meant to symbolically appease the more Eurosceptic wing of the British Conservative Party has instead sparked one of the most significant political crises in Europe. Surprisingly however, one of the most significant impacts in Europe was an increase in pro-EU sentiment.

Within the UK, this result provoked a series of political changes and opened old wounds. Prime Minister David Cameron, who had taken two serious political gambles under his tenure – holding a referendum on Scottish independence and on leaving the European Union – resigned. Theresa May was appointed Prime Minister following backdoor political negotiations which would see the controversial figure of Boris Johnson, formerly the outspoken Lord Mayor of London, appointed Foreign Secretary. In Scotland, where a majority of voters had voted to remain part of the European Union, calls for a new referendum on independence remain up in the air.

In the Netherlands, the far-right candidate for Prime Minister Geert Wilders campaigned ➤

"A referendum that was meant to symbolically appease the more Eurosceptic wing of the British Conservative Party has instead sparked one of the most significant political crises in Europe. Surprisingly however, one of the most significant impacts in Europe was an increase in pro-EU sentiment"

to hold a "Nexit" vote in the country if he won. Surprisingly for him, the results of Brexit worked as a wake-up call for the soft eurosceptics – not only in the Netherlands but in Europe as a whole.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel's ratings soared to a ten-month high following Brexit, Wilders' PVV dropped to its lowest level of vote intentions in a year, a majority of Austrians now backed remaining in the EU, Danish support for European membership increased by 10 percentage points, while a majority of Swedes now also backed remaining in the EU. Perhaps most shockingly of all, the anti-establishment Five Star Movement of Italy proclaimed itself in favour of remaining in the European Union, despite its constant criticism of the "corrupt Brussels bureaucracy".

So what can explain this sudden and unexpected shift in Europe? On one hand, the problematic negotiations that the UK will face in the upcoming months or years will surely negatively impact British citizens who wish to work, travel, or do business on the Continent. The economic repercussions of Brexit have already been felt, with the British pound dropping to its lowest point in more than forty years – an effect many other European nations will want to avoid. States who currently use the euro yet have been rumoured to leave the Union, such as the Netherlands, would have even more to lose as they would no longer be able to manage their currency independently. Control over monetary and fiscal policy is a basic requirement for countries to steer themselves through economic difficulties – a notable reason why countries such as Spain, Portugal, Greece, and Ireland struggled so severely during the recent financial crisis.

Yet on a more psychological level, Brexit was perhaps the necessary wake-up call for European citizens that, while the European Union does have its problems, fixing them from within may be easier than simply throwing away all the work done to create a representative institution and starting from scratch – or trying to fix them from the outside. Now, the great debate within the European Union and in the United Kingdom will be how to maintain vital aspects of Europe, such as access to the Common Market, funding for agriculture, travel rights to the Union, and job security for British citizens in European countries.

On one hand, Brexit may spark reform and further the deepening of European policies. Without the Euroscepticism of British parties, deepening of political integration may take place. Plans for a fiscal union, notably, have often been discussed but seen as too politically costly. Clear opposition from the UK on this matter hindered developments, but a common economic policy of members of the Union would push integration to a new level. More recently, European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker invoked the need for common military headquarters, a first step towards creating a united European Union army. Neutral members, such as Sweden or Ireland have opposed the move towards creating a unified European Union army, yet military missions in the name of the EU have already been carried out overseas in places such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kosovo, or Georgia, to name a few.

On the other hand, the European Union may be closer to splitting up than ever before. Political cooperation among groups of member-states already exists, and in some cases has been around for a while. In Scandinavia, moving to and from Sweden, Denmark, Norway, or Finland is remarkably easy and open borders among these members have existed for practically six decades. The Nordic Council has implemented a common labour market and free movement across borders, and calls for further integration into a fully-fledged federation have the support of a few, albeit vocal, researchers. Should this union ever see the day, it would be the twelfth largest world economy with a GDP of US$1.6 trillion, not to mention the political power it would have.

The lesser known Visegrad Group, comprising of the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia, can be traced back as far as the 14th century where they agreed on political, military and economic cooperation. These four nations agreed to cooperate economically, and today continue to work together to deepen integration. In a political sense, their ideologies tend to be more conservative, and in the case of Hungary, quite opposed to certain EU directives concerning immigration. Quite recently, the Luxembourgish Foreign Minister Jean Asselborn called for Hungary to be excluded from the EU, which may push the Visegrad Group to further their own cooperation and splinter from the Union.

The Romans were among the first to create a political union around the Mediterranean, however, the Union for the Mediterranean was officially founded in 2008, including all members of the European Union and all those bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Much like the EU, this Union aims to enhance cooperation and dialogue among members, and promoting stability, prosperity and integration in the long term. However, it has come under fire by certain members of the EU, which criticize the seemingly unwarranted need for parallel institutions. Due to the ongoing problems following the Arab Spring, the current situation in Libya, and the Syrian Crisis, the efficacy and agency of this Union remains up in the air.

"It is clear that the face of the European Union is changing, no matter the outcome of Brexit"

It is clear that the face of the European Union is changing, no matter the outcome of Brexit. Should the Union be unable to cope with the loss of one of it's strongest economies, smaller unions may take the forefront and integrate further among themselves, leading by the example that effective cooperation is possible. But the future of the EU may be optimistic without the UK, where less political dissent, faster implementation and adoption of policies might become reality. Perhaps Brexit is the wake-up call the European Union needed.◆

Vänster-radikaler och nationalister

en jämförelse

TEXT: Axel Christoffersson

ATT SÄGA NEJ **tycks ligga människan varmt om hjärtat. Oavsett om det gäller förändringar av stadskärnan i Ulricehamn, trängselskatt i Göteborg eller något så vardagligt som att byta märke på ketchupflaskan låter motståndet inte vänta på sig. Och bakom varje nej finns det lika många förklaringar som det finns människor.**

Att antiglobaliseringsrörelsen är mycket mångfacetterad är alltså ingen överraskning. Det är i själva verket mycket svårt att prata om en rörelse – istället måste motståndet mot globaliseringen ses ur flera olika vinklar och perspektiv för att förstås. Här följer en genomgång och jämförelse av två perspektiv, nämligen det radikala antikapitalistiska och det högerextrema nationalistiska.

Begreppet antiglobalisering är i sig aningen missvisande inom den antikapitalistiska vänstern. Globaliseringen i bemärkelsen mer kommunikation över gränser och mer internationellt utbyte av information och kultur ses inte explicit som negativt. Istället är det de ekonomiska följderna av globaliseringen som står i skottgluggen för vreden, tydligt uttryckt i till exempel Occupy-rörelsen i USA och demonstrationer mot ekonomisk imperialism i Sydamerika. Kapitalismens kapning av globaliseringen utgör här kärnan i resonemanget.

Det man mer specifikt vänder sig emot är de konsekvenser av ekonomisk liberalisering i kombination med globalisering som kraftigt anses gynna de rikaste 5 procenten, samtidigt som resten av befolkningen får nöja sig med en mycket mindre bit av kakan. En av den vänsterradikala rörelsens främsta företrädare, Naomi Klein, skriver i sin bok *No Logo* (1999) om hur kapitalismen sprids och utnyttjar de fattiga förhållandena i utvecklingsländer för att späda på sina vinster. Här spelar börsen och de stora företagen en viktig roll som exploatörer och utsugare av ekonomiska och mänskliga resurser både i Väst och i utvecklingsländerna. I fabriker i Bangladesh och på oljefält i Nigeria använder företagen sitt stora kapital och sin makt för att pressa priser och utnyttja den fattiga lokalbefolkningen i sin produktion. Parallellt med expansionen flyttar också företagen näringar ut från Väst, vilket lämnar människor i arbetslöshet och vanmakt på hemmaplan.

> ***"Med frihandel som hammare och kapitalet som spik bygger ägandet sitt slott av den globala arbetarens möda och svett"***

I stormens öga står alltså börsen, den plats där ägande handlas och makt utövas. Global kapitalrörlighet har blivit en konsekvens av den liberalisering som förespråkats av bland andra Världsbanken och Internationella valutafonden (IMF), och har givit investerare världen över oändliga möjligheter att placera pengarna där de ger störst avkastning. Occupy-rörelsen, den tidigare nämnda och kanske mest kända radikala vänsterrörelsen som motsätter sig kapitalismen, menar att detta har förskjutit makten från den breda allmänheten till börsmäklarna på Wall Street. Med frihandel som hammare och kapitalet som spik bygger ägandet sitt slott av den globala arbetarens möda och svett.

Liksom andra rörelser som anser sig representera de stora massorna har det vänsterradikala globaliseringsmotståndet svårt att omsätta ideologi i konkret politik. Detta har också understrukits av kännare av Occupy-rörelsen - än så länge definierar den problem men erbjuder sällan lösningar. Hos Klein och andra för rörelsen viktiga stöttepelare finns mycket ideologisk substans men det saknas partier som kan organisera och kanalisera dessa tankar. Traditionella vänsterpartier som Vänsterpartiet i Sverige kritiserar visserligen att makt flyttas från till exempel Sverige till EU:s inre marknad men kan trots det inte alls ses som representanter för den gryende vänsterradikala rörelsens världsbild. Denna tar på ett annat sätt ett helhetsgrepp på kapitalismens symptom i en globaliserad värld.

Om den vänsterradikala rörelsen mot globalisering ännu är i sin politiska linda är den nationalistiska motsvarigheten väl utvecklad och definierad. Globaliseringen, som fört med sig flera internationella organisationer och sammanslutningar som får allt mer makt, ses som ett hot mot det nationella självbestämmandet. Sverigedemokraterna i Sverige, Front National i Frankrike och en uppsjö andra partier i Europa är uttalat EU-kritiska. Man ser hur politisk makt sakta men säkert förflyttats från nationella parlament till Bryssel, vilket i deras ögon ▸

"Och om global kapitalrörlighet är det som sticker mest i ögonen på vänsterradikaler tycks migrationen vara den gränsöverskridande fråga som rör upp mest känslor hos högerextrema nationalister"

äventyrar suveräniteten hos de berörda länderna. Motmedlet är mer nationellt självbestämmande och mindre makt åt multinationella organisationer som exempelvis EU.

De nationalistiska partier i Europa som motsätter sig globaliseringen har i mångt och mycket ett betydligt större realpolitiskt fokus än den vänsterradikala. Medan den vänsterradikala identifierar kapitalismen som boven i dramat har de nationalistiska rörelserna anpassat sina preferenser efter sakernas tillstånd. Man sätter kort sagt nationen i första rummet och dömer systemet därefter.

Traditionellt har nationalistiska rörelser inte haft något emot globalisering så länge det gynnar det egna landet och inte hotar det nationella självbestämmandet. Frihandel förespråkas alltså av Sverigedemokraterna som på sin hemsida konstaterar att Sverige är ett exportberoende land, samtidigt som UKIP i Storbritannien under Brexit-kampanjen intalade befolkningen att man skulle fortsätta handla med EU utan att behöva betala någon medlemsavgift. Faktum är att de västerländska nationalstaternas välfärd i mångt och mycket bygger på handel och global expansion, varför det inte är så underligt att nationalister runt om på kontinenten historiskt sett varit positivt inställda. Det finns dock tidstypiska undantag. När den ekonomiska makten glider västvärlden ur händerna hörs ropen efter tullar och restriktioner av handel åter. I detta avseende står Donald Trump i frontlinjen; han vill begränsa det ekonomiska utbytet med Kina, som på allvar utmanar USA som ekonomisk och politiskt koloss i Stilla havet och världen.

Globaliseringen har alltså medfört friare handel och kapitalrörlighet (något som vänsterradikala grupper vänder sig mot) samt spridning av den politiska makten över gränser genom institutioner som till exempel EU (ogillat av nationalistiska rörelser). Men förutom att kapital och politisk makt i allt högre utsträckning korsar världshav och nationsgränser gör också fysiska människor det. På flykt från krig och i jakt på jobb och värdigt liv söker människor från fattiga delar av världen lyckan i rika emirat på arabiska halvön, i Europa och USA. Och om global kapitalrörlighet är det som sticker mest i ögonen på vänsterradikaler tycks migrationen vara den gränsöverskridande fråga som rör upp mest känslor hos högerextrema nationalister.

Trumps mur mot Mexiko, UKIP:s hetska propaganda mot invandrare i Brexit-kampanjen och Sverigedemokraternas identifierande av invandringen som ödesfrågan i vår tid är bara dyningar på den främlingsfientliga våg som idag sveper över västvärlden. Hur främlingsfientligheten ser ut skiljer sig kraftigt åt mellan olika partier – allt ifrån ren rasism till mer rumsren propaganda av typen "de tar våra jobb och lever på bidrag" förekommer. Gemensamt är dock att de vill skärma av de territorier de uppfattar som sina och på så sätt hindra människor från att röra sig fritt.

Denna tanke skiljer sig fundamentalt från den uttryckt av vänsterradikaler, som hellre ser öppna gränser och instängt kapital än tvärt om. Att nationalister i väst, med vissa undantag, inte skriker sig hesa om kapitalrörlighet är inte så konstigt; som redan konstaterats tenderar nationalismen vilja gynna det egna landet och än så länge ägs kapitalet främst av Väst.

Trots att vänsterradikaler och högerextrema nationalister alltså ser globaliseringen som ett hot mot värden de vill värna, går åsikterna brett isär om varför. Den i sammanhanget mest iögonfallande likheten (och kanske skillnaden) mellan de båda, och denna artikels viktigaste slutsats, är synen på människan kontra systemet. Medan de vänsterradikala ser det ekonomiska systemet som ett hot mot individens makt över sitt eget liv betonar högerextrema nationalister hur multinationella organisationer tar makt från nationen och i slutändan också individen. Retoriken förenar de båda i *Det stora systemet mot den lilla människan*, något som säkerligen bidragit till rörelsernas respektive uppsving i ett politiskt landskap alltmer präglat av populism. Att de högerextrema samtidigt menar att närmast maktlösa människor på flykt är ett allvarligt hot mot samhällsordningen i väst, det kan i sammanhanget tyckas vara något motsägelsefullt.◆

FOTO: David Shankbone/CC

Occupy-rörelsen...

...har sitt ursprung i studentprotester mot nedskärningar vid University of California 2010, där studenter manifesterade sina ståndpunkter genom att ockupera publika utrymmen i skolan. Konceptet användes därefter 2011 vid demonstrationer mot börsens alltför giriga och skrupelfria beteende och genererade världsomspännande nyhetsrubriker. Occupy-rörelsen har förgreningar i en mängd länder i Nord- och Sydamerika samt Europa och Asien men är ännu mest aktiv i USA, där Occupy Wall Street är mest känt. Ideologiskt vilar rörelsen på en mix av anarki och antikapitalistiska tankeströmningar som menar att börsen och näringslivet utgör ett hot mot demokratin och individens rättigheter. Dess motto lyder We are the 99%.

KÄLLA: *Wikipedia*

The Meaning of Nationalism in a Global Society

TEXT: Sara Lindström

"A single line traverses the history of the modern world from the fall of the Bastille to the fall of the Berlin Wall. [...] The name of the red line is nationalism, and its story is the central thread binding, and dividing, the peoples of the modern world."
Anthony D. Smith, 1998

NATIONALISM HAS LEAD TO **war, totalitariansm, colonisation and xenophobia. On the other hand, one may argue it is a steppingstone of democracy. Initially, civic-nationalism was a movement that grew in opposition to the tyranny of imperialist and feudal rulers. At this stage, the difference between this movement and what we today call democracy is hard to outline.**

The biggest difference between now and the late 1700s is that nationalism was inclusive; its most important attributes were the ideas of solidarity, security, freedom and equality for all citizens of the nation. Today, focus has shifted from the *values* to the *objects of the values*. It is rather a question of "security for *who*, equality for *who* and freedom for *who*?" - it focuses more on what separates a group rather than on what unites one. Many scholars claim that nationalism was the movement that marked the beginning of the modern world. But a lot has changed since then. As we now find ourselves in a post-modern era, we also find nationalism as a partly redefined concept. So where did it go, the democratic and inclusive form of civic-nationalism? Because contemporary populist parties seem to have forgotten all about it?

"As we now find ourselves in a post-modern era, we also find nationalism as a partly redefined concept."

Enter globalization. It is not easy to pinpoint the effects of globalization, or the way in which it effects nation states. A lot of phenomena are yet to be explained when it comes to globalization and nationalism. However, many agree that globalization is interfering with the nation state in different negative ways, which ultimately result in a nationalist ideology that focuses on recreating a romanticized idea of the nation state. It may have to do with the inequalities that seem to be created by the phenomena, it may also have to do with the way in which globalization interfers with our identity, or it may be a combination of both.

"A lot of phenomena are yet to be explained when it comes to globalization and nationalism"

Identity. One may suggest that nationalism plays an important role in our lives. The idea of the nation state constitutes a large part of the perception we have of our own country. Consequently, that perception determines how we look upon our surroundings as well, hence filtering its way into the most ordinary details of our lives. It influences the ways one may act while standing in line at the supermarket, the way in which one says hello, and it affects the constitution of educational- or electoral systems. This definition of nationalism is quite wide; culture is also included in the concept. This becomes problematic since almost every nation state in today's Western world is influenced by multiple cultures. Therefore, a lot of scholars view nationalism as an overlapping mindset, making it possible for different cultures, or groups, to all be part of one community. This is what civic-nationalism is all about. In fact, civic-nationalism is seen as a precondition for stability and efficiency within the state.

According to Hettne, Sörlin and Østergård (2006), the nation state has an intimate ▸

ILLUSTRATION: Unni Toivola

relationship with the institutions that are rooted the deepest in our conciousness. But are these institutions political or cultural, or both? Where do we draw the line between nationalism and culture? Is nationalism strictly political or does it include politics as well as culture and ethnicity, all at once? These questions generate a lot of different anwers and I believe the disagreement that the answers generate is the foundation of contemporary right wing populist parties. These parties have one thing in common: turning cultural institutions into political issues.

So what does this have to do with globalization? Globalization is not a matter of intensified internationalization, it is a qualitatively new phenomena that moves further. Globalization is causing a turmoil, ripping apart our cognitive framework for the nation state, for society. In our attempts to prevent this, we dig deeper into what unites us, to the point where almost everything external is excluded. We strip down nationalism to a point where skin color and heritage creates a radical ethnic nationalist mindset. The problem with this is that ethno-nationalism is ripping the nation state apart at least to the same extent as globalization, if not more. Of course, this is a dramatic narrative of the effects of globalization. In some societies

"Where do we draw the line between nationalism and culture?"

this is not the case since the implications of nationalism aren't the same in all parts of the world. Nontheless, in some cases, this narrative resembles the reality more than we would care to admit, and in those cases we need to ask ourselves: what comprises national identity? What symbols, what objects and what actions?

"We strip down nationalism to a point where skin color and heritage creates a radical ethnic nationalist mindset"

Some dismiss nationalism as a myth alltogether, but being a myth does not make it less real or tangible when it comes to social interaction. However, there is more to identity than nationality, and ethnicity - an argument useful in explaining situations where globalization has not caused retrogressive tendencies. So what function does nationalism fill in a global society? Nationalism as we know it arose in the late 1700s as an idea that was realized alongside the outbreak of the French revolution. The voice of this idea was loud and clear all over the world for the following two-hundred years. The voice is not loud and clear any more. It is desperate, hoarse and filled with panic.

As globalizations becomes more and more (un)real in its mannors - less tangible but at the same time more and more enforced, is there a way to move beyond nationalism? Would we dare to live without national identity, or will the pursuit of an emergency break become ever more intense?◆

Further reading:

Den globala nationalismen
(Hettne, Sörlin, Østergård, 2006)
Nationalism and modernism
(Anthony D. Smith, 1998)

Globalization as Westernization?

Responses From The New Generation of Islamists

TEXT: Mina Ghassaban Kjellén

IN THE MIDDLE EAST and North Africa (MENA) region, political Islam is a large and important political orientation. Just like the concept of globalization (there are probably as many definitions of this as there are political orientations), political Islam is not easy to define in a simple way. However, in common for the actors within this broad political orientation, is a willingness and goal to incorporate Islamic values in all spheres of life – including the political. This article briefly explores some attitudes towards globalization (argued by many to be just another form of Western hegemony) in the Middle East; and how this phenomenon is combined with Islamic identity, with a particular focus on the AKP in Turkey.

Within the spectrum of political Islam, there are a number of different versions and actors. Some go quite far, for example Iran, an Islamic Republic born out of an Islamic Revolution in 1979. Other actors are more moderate, implementing their policies in constitutionally democratic settings. This latter version could be compared to Christian democracy in Europe or the Christian Right in the United States. A much-used example of political actors pursuing such "Muslim democracy" is the governing Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, AKP) in Turkey.

Why, then, is Islamic identity so important to keep in the political sphere in the Middle East? I would argue that the answer to this question is similar to why there are nationalist movements throughout Europe; the difference being what is held on to – national *identity* or *religious* identity. In these contexts, globalization may be seen as a threat to the local identity. To grasp the importance of Islamic identity in Middle Eastern politics, a (very) short overview of the region's colonial history follows below.

The Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) was a Sunni Islamic caliphate seated in Istanbul, spanning over today's Middle East and beyond. Different ethnic and religious groups lived as the Ottoman Sultan's subjects but were divided in *millets*, in which "national" identity was based on religion and/or ethnicity (such as Muslim, Jew, Arab, Kurdish). When the Empire began to decline around 1917, the *millets* of the Middle East were separated by Great Britain and France as they created a number of Mandate states in the region. These were shaped as Westphalian nation-states (for example Iraq and Syria), while remaining under colonial rule. Within these artificial borders it has been very difficult, not to say impossible, to create any lasting national identity such as "Syrian" or "Iraqi". Instead, for the former Empire's Muslim population, the source of solidarity and sense of political belonging, at least in international/regional contexts, is more often found in Islamic identity.

The colonial history of the region has thus reinforced Islam as a strong transnational identity (the Self), standing opposed to the Western world – the (formerly) colonizing Other. As Yildiz Atasoy points out in *Turkey, Islamists and Democracy: Transition and Globalization in a Muslim State* (2005); "both the West and Islam know themselves as essentially different from each other, but in ways that assume the superiority of the West".

"Traditional political Islam has tended to view itself as a broad resistant movement to Western imperialism"

Based on this identity construction, traditional political Islam has tended to view itself as a broad resistant movement to Western imperialism (for example the revolutionary forces in Iran during the Islamic revolution). However, these perceptions seem to be changing by what is referred to as the "new generation" of more moderate political Islamists. Examples of such actors include Turkey's AKP and the Ennahda Party in Tunisia, to name a few. These have sought to combine Islam with Western (Enlightenment) values and institutions, without rejecting their Islamic identity in favor of adopting a completely Western ditto. In the other end of the spectrum of political Islam, one finds Islamic radicalism; from which we have seen the tragic consequences during the last decades.

In Turkey, this political willingness to incorporate Islam within Western institutions has not always been prominent. In 1923, the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed by ➤

Mustafa Kemal (who was later given the surname Atatürk, father of the Turks) and the newly established parliament. In order for the new Turkish state to gain legitimacy by its citizens, many of whom still felt loyal to the former Ottoman Empire, it was considered necessary to create a new *Turkish* identity. The new regime set out a number of reforms to get rid of its Ottoman past, eliminating all influence of Islam in Turkish society; "Western civilization" was seen as the new goal to be reached at almost any price. The Kemalist top-down modernization was thus explicitly an attempt for Turkey to adopt a Western state identity. (Ironically, the Kemalists pursued relatively isolationist policies without much contact with the Western world).

While the Kemalist Westernization project succeeded in some ways, as it did modernize Turkey in many important aspects, it was not able to replace Islam as an important source of identity and political mobilization in Turkey. In the 1970s, political Islam re-emerged in Turkish politics after half a decade of strong secularism (laïcité) which had been deeply institutionalized in the country; for example, the ban on headscarfs in state buildings was not lifted until 2013. Since then, a number of different political Islamic movements and political parties have been active in Turkey, ranging from highly conservative to more liberal; the latter of which has been more open towards political and economic interaction with the outside world. Members of this more liberal strand of Turkish Islamism, among them Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, joined together to form the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in 2001.

"Davutoğlu emphasized the notion of a Turkish-Islamic civilization inherited from the country's Ottoman past"

"It seems as though the longer the party stays in power, the more Islam becomes institutionalized as the state identity of Turkey"

One of the main architects behind the AKP's foreign policy ideology is Ahmet Davutoğlu, who served as Prime Minister of Turkey until 2016 and before that as Foreign Minister from 2009 to 2014. In his academic work, which has greatly influenced the AKP's party line, Davutoğlu emphasized the notion of a Turkish-Islamic civilization inherited from the country's Ottoman past. This identity, according to Davutoğlu, should influence Turkish foreign policy by developing stronger ties with former Ottoman territories (that is, the Middle East). This idea to embrace Turkey's Islamic identity stands in contrast to the Kemalist Westernization discourse, in which the explicit goal of Turkish politics had been for the country to emulate a Western identity. Put in practice, Davutoğlu's ideas are visible in for example Turkey playing a larger role in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation – of which Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is currently the president.

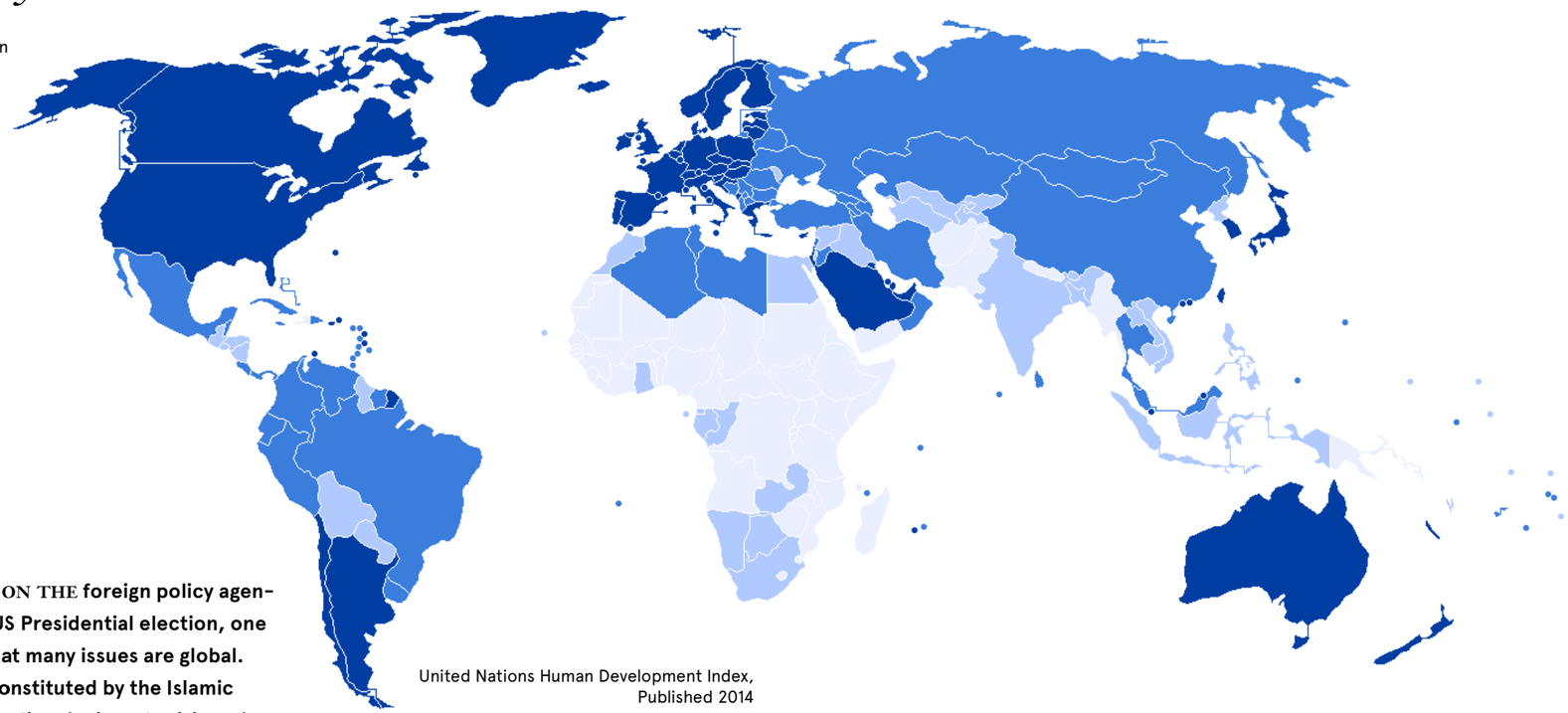
While emphasizing their Islamic identity, the AKP has since its initial stages had a rather pragmatic approach to globalization. In *Turkish Foreign Policy: Islam, Nationalism and Globalization* (2011); Hasan Kösebalaban summarizes the AKP's ideology as a "synthesis between Islamic conservatism as a philosophy of life, liberalism as an economic policy orientation, and globalism as a foreign policy approach", terming this synthesis "Islamic liberalism". (Yildiz Atasoy refers to this as "Islam's marriage with neoliberalism", which is also the title of a book she has authored on this issue.) For example; within six years after the AKP was voted into office in 2002, Turkey's export revenues increased six-fold. The AKP thus seems to be picking out the raisins out of the "globalization cake", benefitting from the material gains of international cooperation, while rejecting the Western "philosophy of life" that is often seen as synonymous with globalization, in favor of Islamic conservatism.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that Islamic politics is not pursued by Turkey as a whole – it is not a caliphate anymore, as its predecessor, the Ottoman Empire, used to be, nor is it an Islamic Republic. There are powerful secular forces, for example the military and large opposition parties, in the country who stand in conflict with what is often referred to as the AKP's "Islamic agenda". However, having been reelected to office since 2002 (and physically protected by the Turkish people during the coup attempt in July) the AKP government is evidently seen as legitimate by a majority of the Turkish citizens, of which a large part (although far from everyone) value Islam as both a private and public/political identity. As a consequence of the AKP's electoral success(es), it seems as though the longer the party stays in power, the more Islam becomes institutionalized as the state identity of Turkey. Moreover, the AKP, with President Erdoğan as its front figure, tends to be looked upon as a role model in the MENA region through its combination of liberalism and Islam implemented through a secular constitution; the "Turkish model".◆

The Globalization of Security

How local issues of development transform into global issues of security

TEXT: Mikael Hemlin



United Nations Human Development Index, Published 2014

WITH ONE EYE ON THE foreign policy agenda of the 2016 US Presidential election, one can establish that many issues are global. The problems constituted by the Islamic State, the international migrant crisis and environmental deprivation have been, and remain, some of the most heavily debated issues. In a closer look, it is noticeable that all of these matters can be tied to security, as well as justice and development.

Concerning the Islamic State, it is obvious that it constitutes a considerable security threat. However, it is not quite as obvious how such an organization can gain footing among Muslims in the Western world in the first place. The way I see it, the problem is rooted in an unjust distribution of resources, both locally and globally. In the West, there exists an extensive feeling of hopelessness and frustration among citizens who live alienated from society. People, in this case Muslims who have fallen victim to a failed integration process, have stopped believing in the government in question's ability to provide them with what they feel entitled to. The Islamic State has been successful in igniting such discontent, and in transforming it into direct hatred against the West, and all that it stands for. In other words, the security threat is a result of injustice on both local and global level; local because resources tend to be unevenly distributed within Western societies, and global because the alleged decadence of the West is one of the main topics of agitation for radical Islamist groups. Consequently, the question is how such injustice is best evened out, in order to prevent radicalization. The answer to this question appears to be development. Integration in Western societies needs to improve, the city peripheries that today constitute fertile recruitment bases for the Islamic State cannot continue being peripheries.

The same chain of events is visible in the current migrant crisis. The people who are fleeing are mainly Syrian, and they are running both from the Islamic State, as well as the country's dictator, Bashar al-Assad. Clearly, the main incentive for the migrants is security. The immediate threat disappears for those who are granted asylum, and from here, focus shifts from security to the justice aspect, and the issue coincides with what is described above. Once again, the situation originates from a lack of development, in this case political. Syria has the means to be a solid state, but its political instability stands firmly in the way.

"Syria has the means to be a solid state, but its political instability stands firmly in the way"

Continuing to the issue of environmental deprivation. Again, the security threat has its origins in the other two aspects. According to the *Brundtland Report* from 1987, poverty causes climate change; While increased technological development would lead to increased emission of greenhouse gases at first, sustained poverty is more harmful to the environment. People who are living under extreme circumstances will inevitably have to exploit land, chop dwown forests and destroy the surrounding nature in their desperate efforts to survive. Conveniently put, poverty, or the globally uneven distribution of resources, is harming the environment. In order to increase the efficiency ➤

of production, the Brundtland Report highlights the need for technological development in the Third World, which would furthermore increase production efficiency and reduce poverty. But in order for such a progression to take place, the governments in question would need substantial economic aid from the industrialized world, and the only way such aid packages could have

"In simple terms, functional national political institutions are a prerequisite for economic-, and therefore also for technological development"

the intended effect would be if the levels of corruption within these governments were low. In order to reduce the harmful effect that poverty has on the environment, the Third World needs to develop considerably in terms of technology. In order for technological development to be possible, these countries would need to develop their economies, at least partly through Western aid. And in order for such aid to have its intended effect, the rate of corruption would need to drop significantly – in simple terms, functional national political institutions are a prerequisite for economic-, and therefore also for technological development.

Conclusively, the moral of the story is that lack of development, whether it's technological, economic or political, leads to increased sentiment of injustice on both local and global level, which may develop further into a security threat manifested in one way or another. In today's globalized world, conflicts that threaten people's security rarely leave the surrounding world unaffected. The accelerating globalization tends to transform local issues into regional, and regional into global. In order to combat issues of global contingency, the national governments of the world would need to cooperate more closely. The Islamic State has proven that it may strike anywhere in the world. The well-being and security of the world's refugees is of interest to the entire world, not only for humanitarian reasons, but for reasons of international security as well, and the ever increasing amount of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will not remain within the national borders it was first emitted. The effects of globalization have made issues of security international rather than national. It is ineffective to fight the tip of the iceberg, the issues have to be dealt with multilaterally, at their roots. And the roots often appear to be technological-, economic- and political underdevelopment. ◆

Utrikespolitiska föreningen Göteborg

The delegation of UF Gothenburg at the international Model United Nations conference in Leuven (Belgium) this March.

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Quitaly

An answer to Italy's worries?

TEXT: Mikael Lassa

WITH NATIONALISMS ON THE RISE all over Europe and the Brexit storm causing turmoil and confusion, what path will unveil for Italy? What future will the Mediterranean country face in Europe?

The story of Italy and the European Union has been an endless one of love and hate, its first steps dating back as early as 1941. While war was raging across the world, on the small Italian island of Ventotene, the first manifesto for a united and federated Europe was drafted. Its aim was pithy, yet ambitious: ending all wars in the continent. It may seem obvious now, but from a broader historical perspective, at that time it must have seemed crazy.

This relationship went steady only in the 1950s, when Italy was among the six countries that signed the treaty of Rome in 1957, thus establishing the European Economic Community (EEC) – the common market – one of the first steps towards the future union. Back then some of the main founding fathers of the idea of a European union were indeed Italian – Alcide de Gasperi and Altiero Spinelli among others. The latter was the founder of the European Federalist Movement, at the time a revolutionary phenomenon emphasising the need to overcome the faults of a Europe made up of nation-states which too often waged war on one another. Such was the dream of Spinelli: only under a common polity would the European states maintain a relevance on a global level after the catastrophes of World War II, without the need to resort to arms. He also envisioned the need for democratically legitimate common European institutions.

The process of European integration was never supposed to be easy, and it wasn't without difficulties that the following decades saw some of the most striking strides forward; a totally revolutionary process of macro-regional integration.

It goes without saying that a lot has changed over the years. Italy has been in turbulent waters for some time. Fast regime changes in the last few years, structural problems in the EU monetary policy, the rising unemployment and the more recent migration and banking crises have all lead to a widespread dissatisfaction among the Italian population. Quite unsurprisingly, the EU – at least in its current state – is widely regarded by voters as one of the major causes of Italy's problems; polls tend to show that Euroscepticism in the country is indeed on the rise.

As in several other countries, Eurosceptic claims can be attributed to a wide array of political forces. A huge part of anti-Europe allegations is based on the assumption that Italy's national polity is being undermined by communal policies and supra-national integration. Nationalist claims of this sort come from several right-wing parties, most notably from the Northern League – a former regionalist party turned nationalist overnight. More moderate claims come from sections of the Five Star Movement, which seems to perform well in the voters' intention polls, advocating the need for a public referendum to leave the single currency and thereby euro's chronic crisis.

The problem inherent to the rising nationalism is the same as everywhere else in Europe: the inward-looking romanticization of a supposedly lost national space is sadly anachronistic in its nature, and potentially dangerous in its implications. Under the rusty flags of parochialism there thrives the utmost bewilderment at the fundamental issues of governance, let alone economics. The ominous Zeitgeist of populism, protectionism and of seemingly fashionable wall-building threatens the foundations of what has been constructed with huge efforts.

Many point further towards a binary opposition between the European Union and democracy. This gives voice to anyone who calls for a Brexit-inspired referendum in Italy, claiming the voice of the population has not been heard enough. If for many the Italian Parliament is far from the will of the people, the whole European system of governance is even less understandable to the voter. The European Parliament, elected directly by the people, is often seen as too weak and lacking in significant legislative power. The turnout in the European elections in Italy dropped to 57% in 2014 (which was, however, higher than the turnout in other countries), a symptom of the lack of trust in European institutions.

> ***"There is no direct democracy in referenda, but only a faint illusion that voters manipulated by all kinds of political rhetoric really know what they want"***

Despite the age-old democratic deficit issue, public referenda are tricky. The point is, the struggle between pro-European and Eurosceptic forces is little but a strictly political one. In this light, the battle around Brexit was more a clash between (or within) the country's elites, rather than the expression of the democratic free will of the ➤

people. There is no direct democracy in referenda, but only a faint illusion that voters manipulated by all kinds of political rhetoric really know what they want. Democracy can function correctly when the voters are informed and well aware of the meaning and consequences of their choices. The current political atmosphere would suggest that we are far away from such a utopian condition. As most of the issues that are being debated require a certain knowledge, direct democracy can hardly be healthy when the voters choose to be influenced by the voice they find the most reassuring. As it turns out, unconfirmed information and biased sources are the receipt for a perfect referendum-centered political campaign, and the last thing Italy needs in this moment is more confusion in the political arena.

Prime Minister Matteo Renzi

Speaking of referenda, Italian voters will soon be called to vote for a major constitutional change in the national Parliament composition, a reform strongly advocated by the Prime Minister, Matteo Renzi. The reform includes radical changes in functions of the Senate, which would become a representative of territorial institutions, with a substantial reduction in terms of members. This would leave most of the legislative power to the Chamber of Deputies, supposedly with the aim of easing up the lawmaking process. If the people vote against the reform, Renzi might resign, leaving the country in an even more uncertain state. Uncertainty is indeed the word that best describes the current situation in Italy, especially regarding its insecure economic situation. With little to no growth, a quick recovery seems unlikely in the near future in any case. Populism is an easy answer, and easy answers are rarely virtuous.

"Populism is an easy answer, and easy answers are rarely virtuous"

However, the nostalgia for a purely national state or the charm of a too direct democracy – among other things – need not be substituted with an equally blind romanticization of a united Europe. A critical view is necessary, and a degree of thoughtful Euroscepticism might be useful in keeping the system afloat and correcting negative tendencies. The European Union has many faults, and the dissatisfaction of parts of the Italian electorate with it ultimately rests on concrete grounds. The lack of consistent political integration and fiscal policies, mutual solidarity, as well as the inability to effectively negotiate contrasting interests between countries are only some of the problems. The way to realize those old dreams of integration is still long, but there's no point in turning it all backwards. European integration needs to be stronger and more sustainable, therefore Quitaly is not the answer.◆

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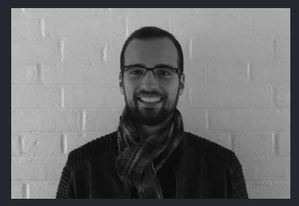

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The Society of International Affairs Gothenburg is a non-governmental organization with the ambition to spread knowledge and spark discussion about foreign policy issues. We organize lectures and trips, host movie screenings and publish the magazine Utblick. A one-year membership is 50 sek and everyone can join.

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Letter from the President

According to many people, the world is more globalised now than ever before. In some respects, it is a good thing; we can follow events in other countries through our televisions, computers and mobile phones. Events in different geographic areas affect us, and as a result, we develop interest in them. During the summer, Brexit, the attempted coup in Turkey, the attack in Nice, and the never ending war in Syria, to name a few, were all reminders that international affairs are never at sleep. Things in the world happen, and globalisation is one of the reasons they are allowed to happen in the way they do. Globalisation is also one of the reasons we can follow the nationalist and patriotic movements in the United States with Donald Trump, in Hungary with Victor Orban, and in Britain with Brexit - movements that may be agitating to limit and decrease globalisation or foreign influence. Globalisation bursts through barriers, good and bad, and leaves none unaffected.

At the Society of International Affairs in Gothenburg, globalisation has diversified our organisation: Through variety amongst our members in terms of nationality and origin, we develop networks and are introduced to perspectives alternative to our own; Through organising lectures, movie screenings, trips, MUN simulations and publishing our magazine, we work to increase peoples' interest and engagement in international affairs in any way possible. Because of globalisation, international affairs is always relevant. It determines where your fellow students come from, it shapes the morning news and decides the origin of the sweater you wear. For this very reason, we engage in spreading knowledge and introducing people to new ways of viewing international affairs and globalisation.

Katinka Ernstsson

President, Society of International Affairs in Gothenburg