

The logo for 'UTBLICK' is a white, wavy-edged rectangular shape with a subtle concentric line pattern. The word 'UTBLICK' is printed in a blue, serif, all-caps font across the center.

UTBLICK

MAGAZINE  
ABOUT FOREIGN  
POLICY ISSUES

N° 1  
2015

THEME:

A stylized map of Europe is shown in a light blue, textured style. It is surrounded by numerous small, solid blue dots of varying sizes, some of which are scattered across the white background.

# Freedom of Speech



Utrikespolitiska  
föreningen  
Göteborg

LETTER FROM  
THE EDITORS

Freedom of speech has long been one of the main pillars of a vibrant democracy. But today, more than ever before, that very pillar seems to be questioned in multiple ways. After the attacks on Charlie Hebdo, the citizens of Europe have been thrown into an inevitable moral and political debate about the limits of one's freedom of speech. As the shock from the massacre may be easing, the obstacles against freedom of speech continue to be recognized around the world: media-information wars, or in rising self-censorships due to fear of repressions from both the public and the government. In the aftermath of the massacre, we can't help but wondering if people have become more frightened of the possible consequences of the free word, or have they become more encouraged to openly express their opinion?

As Europe and the rest of the Western society may have taken their freedom of speech for granted, not all people in the world are able to do so. What about writers living in dictatorships, or in any other way with limited human rights? How do people without the basic needs of food, clean water or air to breath, react to the worlds increasing focus on *freedom of speech* as the absolute human right? And what triggers a human being to risk its very life for the ability to speak one's mind?

Hence, Utblick felt an urge to contribute to the discussions of freedom of speech, as it is of most relevance today. Thus, in this issue you'll find a variety of articles, acknowledging different perspectives on the issue. We will take you through a wide dissemination of texts analyzing everything from the Charlie Hebdo massacre effects on French society, to acknowledging public transport workers in London using their right to speak their minds through protests. We're also reflecting on what traditional journalism is facing in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and much more. You will also find a couple of poems that we hope will bring a dimension of personal interpretation of the complexity of freedom of speech.

As new Editors-in-Chiefs for Utblick, we look forward to working with and develop the magazine into new realms, as well as to reach further onto today's international issues. Furthermore, we have brought Utblicks own radio back to life. *Radio Utblick* broadcasts on Tuesdays at 21:30 on FM 103.1. You can find them, as well as links to their previous programs, on our website [www.utblick.org](http://www.utblick.org).

We hope you'll sit back and enjoy the first issue of Utblick 2015. Hopefully, we'll inspire you to react, but also to act, through contributing to the debate in your own way.

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"who were expelled from the acad-  
emies for crazy & publishing obscene  
odes on the windows of the skull..."

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## JOURNALISM IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

It is no news that the media industry has been through a transformational decade. Internet-powered creative destruction has turned on its head a business model that has been successful and unchanged for a century and a half and won't stop there.

Publishing has traditionally been something reserved for a tiny minority of professionals working at institutions that have made up a fairly constant media landscape. The flow of income for newspapers, radio- and television stations has been based on a mix of advertising revenue and the money that the consumer pays directly for access to the content, often through long and loyal subscriptions. All of these basic facts of life however, have been called into question by fast, reliable and cheap internet connections and the possibilities that they represent. As internet traffic has developed rapidly, its appeal as a marketing platform has increased, drawing money from print-advertising. Parallel to this the long term trend of decreasing circulation of the printed newspapers has continued and new net based actors have entered the stage rapidly, making the traditional media outlets one voice in a cacophony of newly awakened ones.

These twin forces have already brought down a number of old players who did not manage to transform in the same pace as the world around them. And many others have substantially slimmed down their operations at the same time as the staffs that remain have had to double down on their online presence to stay relevant. Even the public service companies, funded through a mandatory license fee, are in financial limbo as more and more of us dump our TV:s altogether.

The hopes of the most optimistic observers has been that the papers, as they go digital will simply take the add money with them to the web. But the gain in internet advertisement revenue has far from made up for the fall in print. The numbers differ of course but it is not unusual that traditional income shrinks at between ten and twenty times the pace that digital income increases. This is, however, very much a European and North American story. In other parts of the world, the numbers tell a different story. In China for example, newspaper circulation increased by over 30 percent between 2008 and 2012. India, Egypt and Mexico show similar patterns if not as strongly. So the big question is if the western countries are fundamentally different in this regard or simply more digitalized and ahead of the curve?

A way to answer this is to put the evolution in the media industry into the bigger picture and look at what seems to be an emergent reshaping of the economy as a whole. A lot of research is dedicated to trying to understand what many think is the coming of a third industrial revolution, powered by the very same forces that have disrupted the news

industry. In one often cited study from Oxford University, economic researchers have used descriptions of the tasks currently carried out in the American labor market and ranked them according to how easily they could be automated. They estimate that 47 percent of the professions that we have today can be automated within just a few decades due to rapid advances in fields such as artificial intelligence, mobile robotics and machine learning. This is by no means the academic consensus, some researchers think that much less will change or that the pace will be much slower, but the possibility of such a fundamental overhaul of the labor market warrants a deep discussion of what this will mean for the wider society. What is the role of education in a world where skills get outdated faster and needs to be updated continuously throughout a working life? How can social safety nets look like to be able to handle excessive rates of unemployment which could appear if jobs in new sectors are not created at the same rate as the old ones are being destroyed?

It is clear that we have some very important conversations before us as a society and, for better or for worse, the journalists and media companies that have led that conversation for 150 years, are in the same boat as the rest of us. The important thing is not that this conversation is being held in, and being led by, the traditional media voices. Indeed, a more level playing field in which more people and different groups can articulate their views on the way to go forward is surely an advantage. In the same way that *Uber* has made every car owner a potential taxi driver and *Airbnb* every homeowner a potential landlord, social media has made everyone with a smartphone not only a source but a publisher as well. What really matters is the conversation itself and neither the appeal of discussion and debate nor the demand for it, is in any way in decline.

"In the same way that *Uber* has made every car owner a potential taxi driver and *Airbnb* every homeowner a potential landlord, social media has made everyone with a smartphone not only a source but a publisher as well."

## INFORMATION SOM VAPEN

I *The Economist* (nr 11/2015) kan man läsa om hur den ryska eliten uppfattar väst som ett hot mot den ryska statens existens. Ryssland för inte krig mot Ukraina utan mot Amerika som finansierar den Ukrainska armén: »Even without Ukraine, Mr Putin has said, America would have found some other excuse to contain Russia.« Rysslands inblandning i konflikten är av den orsaken att de endast vill skydda sin suveränitet från vem? Från Amerika, EU och NATO. I Svensk media har vi kunnat läsa om hur Ukraina, efter revolutionen som bröt ut på Majdan-torget i Kiev 2013, varit splittrat mellan å ena sidan EU (för mänskliga rättigheter, demokratiska val etc.) och Ryssland (för ett auktoritärt styrelseskick, religiös ortodoxi, euro-asiatiskt samarbete etc.). Ända sen dess har Kreml aktivt fört krig med hjälp av information. Men hur och med vilken effekt?

Ett framgångsrikt sätt för Ryssland att sprida sin sanning, eller propaganda om man så vill, har varit att sända TV utanför landet, riktat mot ryska minoriteter, men också respektive medborgare. De baltiska länderna har varit ett viktigt område och särskilt Lettland med en rysktalande befolkning på över 40 procent. Den viktigaste TV-kanalen för detta ändamål har varit RT som startades 2005 för att ge en så bra bild av Ryssland som möjligt utåt och för att konkurrera med nyhetsförmedlare som BBC och CNN. Även nyhetsbyrån *Sputnik* har startats för samma syfte. TV-kanalen RT sänder förutom på Ryska på Engelska, Spanska och Arabiska och planerar sändningar även på Franska och Tyska. Nyhetsrapporteringen är inte olik den i de västliga medierna men urvalet är gjort så att det ska utgöra en motvikt mot vad som sägs i väst: »I väst ljuger medierna – för att svärta ned Rysslands agerande och Rysslands anseende – men RT och *Sputnik* vill presentera en mer korrekt version till västeuropeiska nyhetskonsumenter« skriver man i SVD (*Putin trappar upp informationskriget*, 10 december, 2014).

Lettland har föreslagit att EU ska starta en egen rysk TV-station som ska ge de rysktalande minoriteterna ett alternativ till det ryska utbudet som finns. Att förbjuda de ryska kanalerna i landet är inte ett alternativ för Lettland, kanske på grund av att det skulle innebära att spela samma spel som Ryssland. Enligt *Time* säger Makarovs, den lettiska presidentens rådgivare, att man hoppas med denna kunna nå både de ryska minoriteterna och Rysslands invånare. Han säger att han hoppas på att få stöd för detta av bland annat Polen, Sverige, Tyskland och Storbritannien men att det är viktigast att få med sig Estland och Litauen.

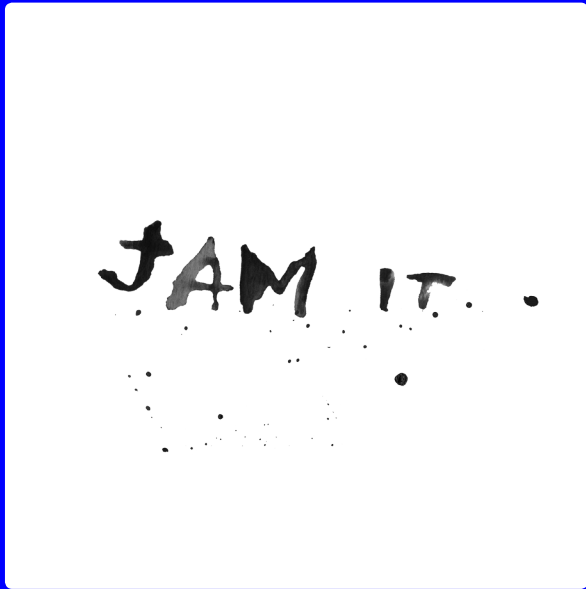
Effekterna av det ryska informationskriget har bland annat varit att informationen skapat en bild av ett Ukraina som splittrat mellan å ena sidan Ryssland och å andra sidan EU. Timothy Snyder, amerikansk historiker, menar att Rysslands propaganda fungerat genom att den etablerat en diskurs om kriget där det handlar om en kamp mellan fascister och anti-fascister. Upproret i Ukraina, enligt Ryssland, genomströmdes av fascister vilka man nu strider mot. Med hjälp av propagandan har Ryssland vidare breddat diskursen genom att etablera en bild av att det pågår ett geopolitiskt krig mellan Ryssland och väst. En ytterligare del i diskursen har varit att framhäva att den pågående striden är mellan ryska konservativa värderingar

och liberala EU-tillvända krafter. Enligt Snyder utmynnar allting i syftet att motverka sympatier för Ukraina. Ett land som för övrigt fortfarande lever i skuggan av Sovjettiden och vad poängterar Snyder, har brist på en tydlig historia som skulle kunna samla landets befolkning (se *10-Tal* nr 2/2014).

”Rysslands krig mot Ukraina och rollen media spelat för att sprida en ’alternativ syn på världshändelserna’ ställer den europeiska yttrandefriheten inför fortsatta utmaningar: hur ska de europeiska länderna svara Ryssland?”

Bortsett från initiativet taget av Lettland att försöka etablera en europeisk motpart till Rysslands RT och *Sputnik* pågår just nu en diskussion i Storbritannien huruvida media-myndigheten *Ofcom* ska dra in RT:s TV-licens. *Ofcom* menar att RT vinklar sina sändningar i en anti-väst ton, skriver *The Intercept*. Om Storbritannien börjar gå emot yttrandefriheten riskerar de att skada det demokratiska klimatet och trappa upp informationskriget på riktigt. I kontrast till detta bör sägas att Putin i fjol godkände en lag avsedd att begränsa det utländska ägandet i inhemska medier med att det inte får överstiga 20% vilket fortsatte den beskärning mot alternativ media som pågått i Ryssland en lång tid. Därmed är *Ofcoms* eventuella agerande mot RT relativt mildt.

Rysslands krig mot Ukraina och rollen media spelat för att sprida en »alternativ syn på världshändelserna« ställer den europeiska yttrandefriheten inför fortsatta utmaningar: hur ska de europeiska länderna svara Ryssland? Är det rätt att gå emot yttrandefriheten och förbjuda skev nyhetsrapportering eller ska man låta rapporteringen fortgå men istället försöka etablera en europeisk nyhetsrapportering som försöker svara den ryska? Och hur ska man göra detta utan att fortsätta spåda på det den Ryska propagandan lyckats åstadkomma: att tysta Ukraina? Vad kan man göra för att lyfta fram deras röster och hjälpa dem föra deras talan utan att de blir inklämda mellan ryska eller europeiska intressen?



#bussord #bobmarley  
p. 25



Photo by Mikael Boberg  
#london #publictransportprotests  
p. 25



#writersanddictatorships  
#hertamüller  
p. 14



#sometimesyouhavetobeidealistic #redrosefilm  
p. 21



Photo by Kremlin.ru / CC BY 3.0  
#geopolitik #propaganda  
p. 6



## WHAT'S NEXT?

"Je suis Charlie" has been a world leitmotiv since a month, but what's next?

The terrorist attack faced by the magazine *Charlie Hebdo* on January the 7<sup>th</sup> was a direct blow struck against the freedom of expression. The national and international uprising which followed was an evidence of a global shock and a global support to one of the pillars of democracy. France as a nation has spoken with one voice. Four million people gathered throughout France during the *Republican march* on January the 11<sup>th</sup> to show their support and commitment to what makes France a democracy. As Ernest Renan says in his essay *What is a nation?*, two things build a nation – one is the past and the other the present. A nation must share a common history (common pains and struggles) and share a common will to live together. One month ago the media coverage showed that what faced France has involved a national revival, that the pain caused by this atrocity was shared by all French people and everyone recognized themselves as French, and showed that they were proud of this identity. Another component which build a nation according to Ernst Renan is solidarity. French people have proved that there is solidarity between them with the aim and the basic tenets of *Charlie Hebdo*: the struggle for the freedom of expression and the freedom of speech. However, what's next?

One month later, the unified voices of the nation seem dismantled. Then, what are the other voices that we hear? Those who claim "I am not Charlie". Who are they? What does it mean to 'not be' Charlie? Two main discourses have made their voices heard within the group of citizens who don't want to be Charlie. To this statement either they add *Charlie Hebdo* had what it deserved or it did not and denounce what happened. How is it possible to claim that the persons dead in the terrorist attack deserved to die? That was the question I asked myself, however instead of being shocked and just denounce these statements, the solution is to analyze why.

This problem is raised by some teachers, who indeed have heard these arguments being expressed by their students. It also happens that they talk about a conspiracy, and spread the idea that this terrorist attack was organized by the government in order to renew their popularity. The ones who claim that *Charlie Hebdo* deserves what happened do not understand the fact that the French government both defend the freedom of expression as one of the foundations of their country, and prohibit racist remarks. This question leads to the debate: where should the line be drawn between what's okay to say and what's a harassment? In the French law, the restrictions of freedom of expression are related to glorifications of terrorist crimes, incitement of hatred or racial violence. What should be the answer to these threats of freedom of speech? Denial, exclusion or listening and teaching?

The Minister of the City, Youth and Sports, Patrick Kanner, has to answer the question "I want to be the Minister of those who are not Charlie". What he wants to do is to listen to them and help them to escape from segregation. Indeed, they are from tough neighborhoods (throughout France), victims of a manifest ghettoization, where poverty and unemployment rate (especially among young people) are the highest. They represent almost five million people, however Patrick Kanner claims that they are not five million jihadists. He refuses to follow this trend of tough neighborhood 'bashing'.

The Prime Minister, Manuel Valls, used during a speech the word *apartheid* in order to describe the current gap between this tough neighborhood and the others, who live outside these segregated neighborhoods. It was very criticized by both elite and public opinion because *apartheid* means that the state apply and legalize such discriminatory policy. Whereas what he wanted to highlight was the logic of apartheid in the sense of segregation (social, territorial, economic, etc.). He denounces the lack of social diversity which is the result of deeper issues such as education (how the education system is built) and the problems of integration. So, what's next?

Faced with these issues, several answers are given in order to bring social peace. The return of a compulsory civic service currently leads debates. It could be one way to revive national unity, and French citizenship because it would involve all social classes and create solidarity among them. Nonetheless disagreement is about whether or not the civic service should be mandatory or remain voluntary. Indeed, mandatory civic service (different from army service, focuses more on education), avoids any discrimination but could be seen as a sanction. Whereas the voluntary one (which is already implemented) represents a real involvement from youths. The goal of social diversity is then not reached, and those

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who applied voluntarily are the ones who already feel concerned by national solidarity or commitment. Therefore, this civic service does not affect targeted youths, and the principle of civic service is that it involves all young people (boys and girls) of a specific age range in the same way. This proposal is raised in order to solve the problem of integration. However, what would this civic service be? If we clearly understand its aim, its components are not obvious. For instance, nowadays the voluntary civic service consists in an voluntary commitment to serving the public interest, translated by assignments around themes such as culture, international development (humanitarian action), education, health, solidarity, sport and environment. However it does not tell what would be the *assignments* of compulsory civic service and what would be the cost.

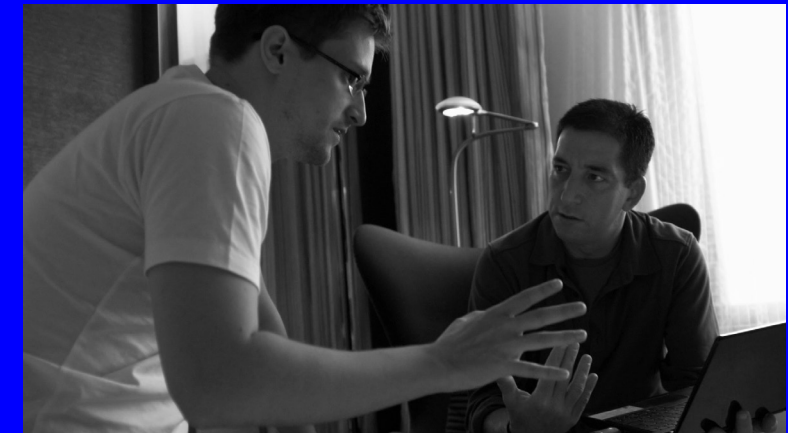
Concerning the problem of ghettoization, the french newspaper *Nouvel Observateur* asked Benjamin Stora, a french historian, what would be the most urgent measure which has to be implemented. His answer is to create a popular and interdisciplinary university opened "to all of those who do not have a degree, the youths and their parents". It would represent a unique place where people could talk about issues with which they would feel concerned such as the story of their ancestors, their place in the French society, etc. Furthermore, the intellectuals could explain to them the history of French Republic, secularism principles, communitarism, etc... The aim would be to give the people capacities to analyze and criticize current issues in a relevant way, and to avoid that one part of the population becomes excluded. This is what he calls a *cultural battle*, intellectuals should be involved and spread their knowledge throughout society. The key here is listening, educating and involvement.

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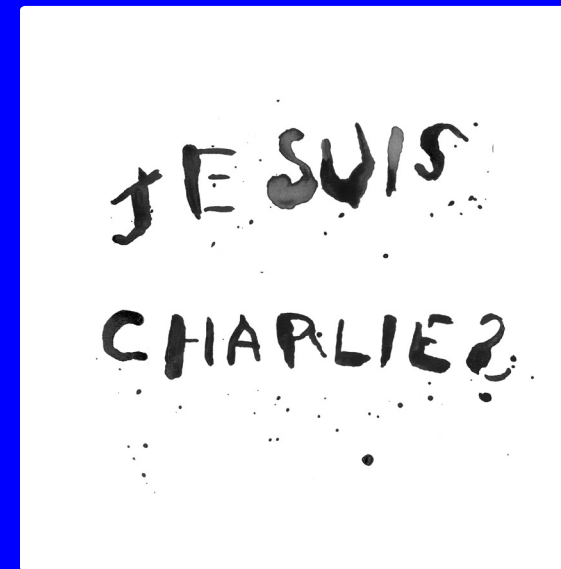
In order to solve national problems raised by the terrorist attack, politicians, and intellectuals have given their opinions and their proposals. All these answers are given from *above*, what about the answers from *below*? What do they want, those who are facing ghettoization and integration issues? To be listened to and involved.

"a lost battalion of platonic conversationalists yacketayakking screaming vomiting whispering facts and memories and anecdotes and eyeball kicks and shocks of hospitals and jails and wars..."

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on p.17



#citizenfour  
p. 26 & 28



#whatsnext? #jesuischarlie #jenesuispascharlie  
p. 10



Photo by Steve Rhodes / @tigerbeat / CC BY 2.0  
#theonrighttorulethemall  
p. 26

## WRITERS AND DICTATORSHIPS - HOW AND WHY?

“When we don’t speak, said Edgar, we become unbearable, and when we do, we make fool of ourselves.”

Thus, the Romanian-born writer Herta Müller begins *The Land of the Green Plums* (*Herztier*) in Michael Hofmann’s translation. As in several of her works, one of the recurring themes is the silence incurred by dictatorships on its people – in her case, Ceausescu in Romania. What will happen to a people, Müller wonders, when intelligence has spread from the employed agents of the state to the ‘voluntary’ agents of the people, and self-censorship is the logical effect?

For Müller, the thematization of this question is the unescapable consequence of the context in which she wrote her early work. Her short story collection *Niederungen* was published while she was still living in Romania, under Ceausescu’s harsh dictatorship. Evidently, dictatorship means the limitation and circumscription of freedom of speech. Writing under a dictatorship will always amount to taking means to fulfilling or getting round the censorship laws of the dictator – in every instance, being aware of them. For a writer, it will, with Müller’s words, be unbearable to stay silent. Speaking, however, will inevitably imply the fool-making of oneself.

The speaking cannot be done in any way – at least not if the wish is to remain outside the physical and mental bars of imprisonment. Writers have circumvented the circumscription in plenty of ways, but boiled down to its core, the circumvention will always imply the giving up of the freedom of speaking-however-one-likes, for the sake of speaking at all.

In Müller’s case, it meant the omission of several of the short stories, the possibility of publishing, but the consequent harassment of the state. Müller accepted the restriction, to be able to publish. She became less critical, in order to be able to criticize at all. She had to speak, but her words were not strong enough to eradicate the state. Conversely: the state was strong enough to restrict the freedom of her speech. Did she thus make a fool of herself?

Every now and then it happens, that writers living under dictatorships – perhaps the most difficult literary environment – are awarded the most prestigious literary award, the Nobel prize in literature. For example, Mo Yan in 2012. The Chinese communist party was cheering; several others were not quite as positive. Chinese dissidents complained with his lack of support for fellow writers imprisoned for violation of the freedom of expression. Müller called the decision a catastrophe. Others complained with his lack of interest for the Nobel Peace laureate Liu Xiaobo, imprisoned for dissidence. Perry Link, in New York Review of

Books, reckons that “all must choose how they will relate to their country’s authoritarian government”; that one cannot condemn Mo for choosing lenience on behalf of the government in order to be able to write without risking imprisonment, as Liu; but, finally, that it would be “wrong to mistake the clear difference between the two.”

Similar criticism has been raised towards the Albanian writer Ismail Kadare. A publicly declared Marxist, Kadare was elected for parliament under the oppressive rule of Enver Hoxha. Unlike Vaclav Havel of Czech Republic (and later, its first president) he never became much of a dissident, though he criticized Hoxha in his writings. His work could

“What will happen to a people, Müller wonders, when intelligence has spread from the employed agents of the state to the ‘voluntary’ agents of the people, and self-censorship is the logical effect?”

probably never have been published without some cooperation with Hoxha; but what implications does this have on how one should value Kadare? At least some argue that he should not even be read.

In the 1960s and 70s, the Swedish 2011 Nobel laureate Tomas Tranströmer got criticized for being too little concerned with politics. In a highly politicized culture, Tranströmer chose to almost completely disregard from politics (something which he also comments in the poem *Med älven*). Writers like Herta Müller have obviously, if not openly stating political views, written works they know will not be appreciated by their oppressive governments. Do writers like Tranströmer, Kadare and Mo disrespect their fellows by not writing politically in a manner pushing the borders of freedom of expression? Or, even, is not writing politically disrespectful towards those who cannot write politically without retaliation? At the furthest: does literature have to be political?

The literary theoretician Rancière famously stated so in *The Politics of Literature*:



or depending on interpretation, at least that all literature could seem to be political. It is hard to find the politics in Tranströmer's early poems (unless one regards not writing about politics as a political choice); but perhaps it could be said, that writing under a dictatorship will always imply making choices on how to relate to the censorship; and that this, in a way, is one way of being political. The writer, says Müller again, has to speak; but speaking is foolish, because we cannot say what we think. We can only say what we think in a tolerated manner. This is foolish. But to speak, we have still.

In what manner is it best to speak? Considering literature as political, and that the writer-under-dictatorship wishes to work against the dictator, there seems to be two apparent choices: either escaping the boundaries, seeking the protection of another country's freedom of expression to express opinions about one's country of origin; or remaining within, again giving up of the freedom of speaking-however-one-likes, for the sake of speaking at all, and pushing the borders from within. After *Niederungen*, Müller fled Romania and followed the first route. She became, what many people call, a writer-in-exile. Maybe the most famous movement of writers occurred with the Third Reich, and led to a distinguished category of books, including such famous writers as Thomas Mann, Hermann Hesse, Erich Maria Remarque, Bertolt Brecht, and many more. The Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka fled Nigeria, and many came to call him an exiled writer. In 2002, he responded to this in *The Guardian*: he is not in exile, because he does not feel in exile. He has merely moved away from his country. No one else can know his reasons. Or maybe rather: all writers are in exile, because exile is one of the fundamentals of being creative. As Soyinka himself stated: a writer is "a creature in a permanent state of exile, since his or her real vocation is the eradication of the barriers of reality". Might so be, but the case is still – he or she, who has fled the dictatorship, does not anymore have to follow its restrictions.

Thus, those who have followed the second route. Here we have already mentioned authors: Mo Yen, Ismail Kadare, Müller-while-*Niederungen*. It has to be acknowledged: these three are all born in Communist dictatorships. For Communism, literature plays an important role; this is also one of the main critiques against both Mo and Kadare. Are they only instruments used by the state? Kadare, while at the Maxim Gorkij institute in Moscow could see the so called Pasternak affair<sup>1</sup> at close hand. the Soviet leader Khrushchev had had his thaw – relaxations on the restrictions on the freedom of speech etc. It had, however, gone too far. He had to reinsert control. Pasternak's novel *Dr. Zhivago* was the last straw. The thaw had to freeze. Another Soviet writer, Solzhenitsyn – also a Nobel laureate, acclaimed by Khrushchev and the Soviet leadership – had pushed the borders with *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch*; Pasternak had crossed it. What had he done?

He hadn't even attempted to hide his critique against Soviet. While Solzhenitsyn could be used by Khrushchev to enhance himself, Pasternak couldn't: it was mere humiliation. As such, it couldn't exist. Kadare saw this: he noticed, he learnt. The crucial question: what can one do as a writer in a dictatorship, neither to be an instrument of the state, nor a harassed and imprisoned dissident?

<sup>1</sup> Boris Pasternak published the novel *Dr. Zhivago*, which was a success internationally, and regarded as a masterpiece. It was also one of the main reasons Pasternak was awarded the Nobel Prize. He was refused permits to leave the Soviet Union, however, and could not collect his prize until years later.

The Pasternak affair is maybe the most obvious example of the role of culture in dictatorships, and dictators' view on the citizen's relationship to the state. We-the-dictatorship-inhabitants are not citizens in a society which as a society has chosen to cooperate in a state; we are parts of the state-as-the-holy-structure. Our role in life is to fulfill our role in the state. We are the tools of the state. We have no specific *raison d'être*. The *raison d'être* is with the state. As a writer, Solzhenitsyn could be used by the state. Khrushchev could use him to point to the thaw; show the Soviet tolerance and high culture; accept and receive the Nobel Prize, not necessarily Solzhenitsyn as an individual, but Soviet as a state. *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovitch* fulfilled Solzhenitsyn's role in Soviet's *raison d'être*. Pasternak did not. Indeed, a Nobel laureate himself; but across the border. Khrushchev could not use his literature. Thus, Pasternak had no role. He was a misshaped tool.

Writers in dictatorships are a big heap of fools, per Müller's definition. They have had to amend to the restriction of the freedom of speech. Otherwise they would have been able to write at all. To be able to criticize the state – if this was what they wanted – they have had to follow the laws of the state. The criticism is, thus, only as critical as the limitations of the state allow – unless the goal is to be punished. This fact makes many writers in dictatorships subjects to heavy criticism. How should we treat these writers?

Herta Müller's answer would be easy. She has to speak, no-matter-what. Foolish, indeed. But otherwise, she would become unbearable. "When we don't speak, said Edgar, we become unbearable, and when we do, we make fool of ourselves." On the question of what to do, the answer seems easy. Foolish or not, a writer has to speak – no matter if under a dictatorship, or not.

"who distributed Supercommunist pamphlets in Union Square weeping and undressing while the sirens of Los Alamos wailed them down..."

Follow ★  
on p.22

## MAJDAN

*Emil Zawadzki*

– Tiden vrider om stjärnbilderna  
i skratt; Europa i mental dimma  
stapplar mot avgrunden –

Majdan  
och kaoset  
från vattendroppar som föll

paniken spred sig  
när hundratusentals myror  
korsade toaletsitsen,  
rann genom lavoaren  
och ut ur köskranen.

Paraplyn låg brinnande  
bland kullerstenar.  
Staplade och skördade  
såg jag ansiktsuttrycken som  
sjönk in i massan  
blev ett med den brinnande väggen

ett med den omsusade frihetsgudinnan i Bejing,  
till det omtalade radiotornet i Moskva(!)  
där den som målar den vackraste näsan på tsaren  
får den HISTORISKA piskan  
att vända mot andra,  
till den magiska parabeln i radhusområdet  
till den fallande porslinsallriken i folkhemmets kök  
och allemansrättens knivskurna sängar

hur de sedan spreds ut längs asfalten  
och skapade TORGET  
där kärleken till nationen  
blev den konstliga förälskelsen till illusionen  
och lögnen som marknadsförde  
de ensamma själarna.

## (UTAN TITEL)

*Lydia Liljegren*

Ni fångslar min röst med skuggans  
kedjor, dränker lögnen i bläck.

I den underjordiska Stormen skriver jag  
mig själv med blod.

Bokstäverna vrålar i timglasets där tiden  
inte får plats.

Ni står på andra sidan mörkret, dansar  
med ljungen – förför de blinda.  
Berget lutar sitt skelett mot historien  
om den brinnande tystnaden.

Ni har förargat skogens pelare nu:  
den gröna marmorn spricker.

Under stenen dansar döden med orden  
och med ringbarkade fingrar  
föder ni min eld.

## EN KVINNAS YTTRANDEFRIHET

Elin Fondén

Du sitter där  
 I samma rum som DEM  
 Vrider och vänder  
 En och samma mening  
 Ska den någonsin få komma ut?  
 Känna friheten.  
 Med frihet kommer ansvar  
 Vad kommer de säga?  
 Kanske kommer de slå den gul och blå  
 men det finns en liten chans  
 att de kommer att förstå  
 Du tar mod till dig  
 Du öppnar munnen.

Inget händer  
 Högre, högre!  
 Du öppnar munnen igen  
 Det känns som du skriker  
 DEM vänder sig mot dig  
 Nickar.  
 Ler.  
 Mötet fortsätter.

Nästa punkt på dagordningen: jämställdhet  
 Här har vi inga problem  
 Kvinnor och män, vem är vem?  
 Vi gör ingen skillnad  
 Könsneutrala skyltar på toaletterna  
 Och den där meningen  
 Irrar runt i huvudet  
 Vrider och vänder  
 Ut och in  
 Upp och ned  
 Och du blir så trött att inga ord finns kvar  
 Alla meningar har tagit slut.

SOMETIMES  
YOU HAVE TO BE  
IDEALISTIC

During the filmfestival of Gothenburg Sepideh Farsa's new movie *Red Rose* had it's Nordic premiere. Utblick was there to watch the film and also had the opportunity to ask the creator about her life, her homeland Iran and the importance of hope for the future.

*Red Rose* takes place in Iran 2009-2010 during the election protests, also called the green wave, which was one of the most important uprisings against the regime since the revolution in 1979. A young woman, Sara, meets an old man named Ali who lives alone in a big apartment. He has drawn the curtains to whatever happens outside. Once he was also young and believed he could change the world, but he lost his faith because of the high price he had to pay. On the contrary, Sara thinks the only thing possible to do is to protest against the regime, until death if necessary. At first, she is mainly interested in using Ali's internet connection to post updates from the revolution on twitter but it all eventually evolves into a passionate love story.

The fictive story alternates with authentic material from the election protests which was posted on *YouTube* during the time. This way of communicating through social media, both with the outside world as well as inside the country, has become important in countries with mass media silenced. This phenomena grew bigger and more widespread during the Arabic Spring. The contrast between the love story going on in the apartment and the war on the streets is beyond measure.

*I wanted to show the schizophrenic way of how you live inside and how you live outside, Sepideh says.*

This, of course, is nothing that the Iranian regime likes to be reminded of and Sepideh tells me that neither she or any of the actors are now able to go back to their country.

*I came to a point in my life where I had to make that choice, she tells me.*

Her family still lives there and it was not an easy decision. For Sepideh what mattered most was to express her opinions. She tells me of the struggle and we start discussing the relationship in the movie between the very idealistic Sara and Ali who has given up. Sepideh says she identifies more with the older man and his feelings since she is about the same age as him and share the same history.

***It is a generation which has paid a lot, she says and alludes to the Iranian Revolution and its aftermaths.***

In 1979 there was a revolt against the absolute monarchy, called the *Iranian Revolution*, and after an intense struggle the country became an Islamic republic. A lot of people hoped for modernization but instead a lot of oppression was to take place after that Khomeini became the leader of the country. As it looked like Iran was in a weak position Iraq decided to attack and an eight-year long war started. Hence, a million people have until today left the country. The movie does not explicitly bring up these events but does constantly refer to them which makes it useful to have some historical knowledge about the country before watching it.

Today Iran has an extremely limited freedom of speech and is accused of developing nuclear weapons. Although the country is the second largest economy in the region it is still very dependent on the oil prices which has declined. This makes Sepideh predict a political outburst due to the economic situation in combination with the oppression. She is not hopeful about the situation of her homeland but still she thinks it is important not to stop believing.

***What meaning of life is there if you just go to work, get paid and die?***

I ask her if she thinks this movie, and similar expressions, can make any difference for the situation in Iran today. At first she tells me that it will not but eventually she opens up and tells me the hope for change actually is what makes her continue making movies.

22

***Sometimes you have to be idealistic, says Sepideh Farsi.***

"who howled on their knees in the subway and were dragged off the roof waiving genitals and manuscripts..."

Follow ★  
on p.27



♥ Sepideh Farsi  
Film director of *Red Rose* (2014)



♥ Ulla Carlsson  
Professor i yttrandefrihet,  
medieutveckling och  
internationell politik  
vid Göteborgs Universitet



## BUSSORD

Vilka krav ställer yttrandefriheten på de som utnyttjar den? Finns det några sådana?

*Yttrandefriheten är en av de mest komplexa och politiserade frågorna i vår samtid – inte minst mot bakgrund av digitalisering och globalisering. Det finns en relation mellan yttrandefrihet och ansvar – det måste vara klart var ansvaret ligger. Ytterst handlar det om människors lika värde – yttrandefriheten kräver ömsesidig respekt. När enighet inte längre råder om yttrandens värde måste överväganden om var gränserna ska dras diskuteras. Den diskussionen är oerhört viktig att föra i det offentliga rummet. Det finns en koppling mellan yttrandefrihet och det offentliga rummet. Med de sociala medierna uppstår nya problem då det är en arena som kan vara både privat och offentlig.*

Vilka är de viktigaste förutsättningarna för att yttrandefrihet ska kunna vara möjligt och gå att utnyttja?

*Ett öppet och demokratiskt samhälle. Kunskap och dialog. En god skola lika för alla är en förutsättning för öppenhet och delaktighet i samhället. Det behövs förstas grundläggande ämneskunskaper men också god kunskap om innebörden av de mänskliga rättigheterna och kunskap om hur medierna och internet fungerar och hur de kan användas för att uttrycka sig på olika sätt i ett demokratiskt samhälle.*

Hur ser det ut för yttrandefriheten i dagens värld?

*Det är en ständig kamp för yttrandefriheten. Krig och konflikter försvårar yttrandefriheten. Vi ser dagligen t ex nya former av politisk censur, självcensur, övervakning och kontroll, gatekeeping, desinformation, terrorism, antiterrorlagar och andra hot mot journalister – även mord på journalister – samt olika kommersiella hinder. Det pågår en kamp för ett öppet och fritt Internet – mot övervakning, kontroll och censur – riktad både till regeringar och privata företag. Det finns idag ett antal stora medie- och kommunikations-konglomerat som inte upprätthåller något som helst ansvar inför samhället och dess medborgare utan istället endast svarar gentemot marknaden eller den politiska makten.*

Hur ser du på situationen för yttrandefrihet i Europa efter massakern mot Charlie Hebdo? Var är Europa på väg i dessa frågor?

*Det är lätt att bli arg, ledsen och orolig för framtiden utifrån ett demokratiperspektiv. Ansvaret för attackerna i Paris och Köpenhamn är bara terroristernas. Men det är oerhört viktigt att begrunda varför sådan terrorism kan uppstå – kunskapen om terrorism och fanatism måste öka. Faktorer som samverkar är många – det handlar med största sannolikhet om politik, utanförskap, sociala konflikter, frustration, religiös politik... och vi måste våga tala, föra en dialog, inte minst om geopolitik och informationsteknologi, som drivkrafter vad gäller innebörden av yttrandefrihet idag. Återigen handlat det om kunskap, kunskapsutveckling och dialog.*

Ett tydligt tecken på hälsa inom en demokrati är när det fria ordet är närvarande. När civilsamhället är en öppen diskussionsarena, då fungerar det som allra bäst. Storstaden London visade nyligen prov på just en sådan vigör när fackförbundet *Unite* orkestrerade en strejk i mitten av januari och tog ut knappt trettio tusen busschaufförer i strejk under tjugofyra timmar. De tydliga konsekvenserna av att över sjuttiofem procent av busstrafiken dras in i Europas största stad, är folk i långa rader och klungor som står väntandes på trottoarkanterna. Londons morgontrafik som annars brukar vara tråkigt trång var inget annat än omöjlig. Tunnelbanan som vanligtvis brukar vara full i rusningstrafik var under strejkdagen närmre ett inferno än en del av civilsamhället. Människor köade i trappan för att ens komma in på stationen.

Ovanför jord, på gatunivå kom det inte en enda buss på trettio minuter. Samma gata trafikeras annars av röda dubbeldäckare i rad. När väl en av de få trafikerande bussarna anländer är den redan till bristningsgränsen full. Bussdörren hålls stängd, ingen får kliva på trots att ett par passagerare kliver av. Flertalet missnöjda ansikten riktas mot busschauffören, och det bara på den här hållplatsen. »Inga fler passagerare«, hör man busschauffören förlåtande ropa genom den tjocka glasrutan på bussdörren innan bussen rullar vidare i den helt tomma bussfilen. Den påtagligt stressade stämningen är ändå förvånansvärt glad. Det verkar som om Londons invånare förstår att busschaufförernas kamp är viktig. Få visar agg. Svordomarna lyser med sin frånvaro.

I södra delarna av staden, utanför ett av Londons arton bussföretags kontor står en grupp strejkande busschaufförer, beväpnade med visselpipor och tutor gör de sitt bästa för att få förbipasserandes uppmärksamhet. En av de femtiotalet strejkande chaufförerna här sjunger karaoke till Bob Marleys låt *Jamming*. När reggaeoutrot tar slut börjar han predika till alla som går förbi, »Cameron har fel, alla måste berätta för Cameron att han har fel. Jag säger till er, alla vi måste tala om för regeringen att de har fel.« Att denna kungörelse har något med de löneskillnader som han och hans strejkande kollegor egentligen vill utjämna lämnas osagt. Dock är det samlade engagemanget inspirerande och busschaufförernas kamp visar hur essentiellt det fria ordet är för ett vitalt samhälle.

Dispyten mellan chaufförernas och bussföretagen pågår fortfarande nu i början av mars, dock ställdes två planerade strejkdagar in under februari för att underlätta förhandlingarna mellan parterna. Vad detta kan komma att betyda för Londons miljontals bussåkare i ett framtidsperspektiv återstår att se. Klart är dock att den brittiska huvudstadens morgontrafik har svårt att klara sig utan dessa tiotusentals busschaufförers arbetsinsats.



## THE ONE RIGHT TO RULE THEM ALL

When freedom of expression is threatened, the Western world rises to arms.

Satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo's* offices in Paris are attacked, and the world's leaders hook arms in a show of joint reproof against a reprehensible crime. Edward Snowden and his efforts to spread classified information for the greater good is portrayed in heroic light in the film *Citizenfour* (see *Utblick Recommends* on p.28 for further details), and Swedish artist Lars Vilks' right to draw whatever he desires despite threats on his life allows him to remain relevant far longer than would otherwise be possible. Endless think-pieces and debates on our right to express ourselves versus the rights of other people not to have us trample all over their identity are produced across the world. These are perhaps all healthy, justified reactions to threats to one of our inalienable human rights, but this solid wall of outrage must beg the question – what about the other rights violations conducted every day?

Among human rights scholars, the question of the indivisibility of rights has been a topic for lofty debate and typically produced little in the way of concrete answers. Theoretically, all human rights are equal and indivisible. It's all or none. In reality, we automatically rank them a bit – the right to not be subjected to wartime propaganda (covenant on civil and political rights, article 20.1), while worthwhile, is simply less important than the right to adequate food (covenant on economic, cultural and social rights, article 11.1).

It's not always quite that obvious, though. While we might all agree that the right to life (universal declaration of human rights, article 3) trumps the others, as they are rather redundant without it, ranking the other rights gets fuzzier. Is the right to not get tortured more important than the right to education? Is the right to self-determination less vital than freedom of expression? And yet - when did you last come across a joint effort by global leaders against the occupation of Tibet, for instance? Clearly, though it is difficult to logically justify, we have built a hierarchy with freedom of expression right at the top.

So why did we choose the freedom of expression as our litmus test for a functioning society? First, some background on the UN Human Rights. The Declaration was issued in 1948, shortly after the end of the Second World War, in the fresh new United Nations. It was never meant to be a solid, applicable piece of law – the aim of the Declaration was to provide a broken world with a new, universally applicable moral compass. The legally binding covenants were supposed to follow shortly. It took almost 20 years for these laws to be put to paper, and by this time the world was deeply entrenched in the Cold War. Naturally, the enemies could not agree on fundamental human rights, inalienable or not. The two covenants were thus issued simultaneously to not cause friction, one favoured by the Soviet bloc, the Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural rights, containing among other things the right to adequate housing and food, and one preferred by the US, the Covenant

on Civil and Political rights, including the freedom of expression. The latter became an important tool in a democratic society, perhaps not least because it contrasted so vividly with Communism. Freedom of expression was the bastion of the West, the moral high ground lacking in the Soviet Union. This schism has lived on: the US still has not ratified the Covenant on Social, Economic and Cultural rights, and we still equate freedom of expression with democracy, and democracy with good governance. We do not seem to dwell on the question whether access to adequate housing and clean water are not also integral to a stable society – once you have democracy, you're doing well.

It would perhaps do us all a service to re-evaluate our hierarchy of rights. Perhaps we need to spend more time focusing on the rights of immigrants and the homeless to housing and health care, or on the often-squashed cultural rights of our many minorities a little, just to even things out a bit.

“And yet - when did you last come across a joint effort by global leaders against the occupation of Tibet, for instance? Clearly, though it is difficult to logically justify, we have built a hierarchy with freedom of expression right at the top.”

»who demanded sanity trials accusing the radio of hypnotism & were left with their insanity & their hands & a hung jury...«

Follow  
on p. 9



## Citizenfour (2014)

Seven days, one Hong Kong hotelroom, and a whistleblowing decision accusing the highest echelons of power: "Citizenfour" filmmaker Laura Poitras stays with Edward Snowden during his claustrophobic first days of NSA document leaks. Filmed grip-pingly close up, the viewer is caught in a real-life thriller as shockwaves of espionage, mass-surveillance and violated rights revelations hit the globe. Reverberating from Rio de Janeiro to Berlin, Utblick gives this Oscar-winning documentary 9/10 for outrage and courage.

## Erasing David (2010)

Tackling similar themes to Citizenfour, "Erasing David" is a concrete exercise on freedom's limits. British documentary maker David Bond, perturbed by the fact that the UK is now one of the top 3 surveillance states in the world, tries to go undercover for one month. Top private investigators are hired to track him down, with nothing to go on but his name – and any other information they manage to unearth. Does privacy still exist now that our every move is recorded publicly? This thought-provoking documentary gets 7/10 for paranoia inducement.

## Fosterlandet - Stadsteatern, Göteborg

Fosterlandet är en pjäs om att höra till, men samtidigt inte. Det berättas om relationen mellan John, ett så kallat krigsbarn som av Rysslands attacker mot Finland blev ivägskickat till Sverige, och hans finska mor som tvingades lämna ifrån sig honom. John blev en av de 15 000 barn som efter kriget blev kvar i Sverige. Tystnaden om ursprunget och bristen på gemensamt språk gör att de två glider allt längre ifrån varandra och splittrar familjen. Det är en hård pjäs. När det blir paus sitter många kvar på sina platser och stirrar ut i intet med glansiga ögon. Jag gråter själv när jag ser de brutala konsekvenserna av kriget och ifrågasättandet av moderns beslut att skicka iväg sitt eget barn. En högst sevärd pjäs som också kan hjälpa till att förstå känslorna hos de 50 miljoner människorna som idag är på flykt runtomkring i världen.

## Howl - Allen Ginsberg

This poem-like manifesto for the experiences of the beat generation was published in 1956 by City Light Books. After being published the police declared the poem obscene and arrested the publisher. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 1957 *Howl* by Allen Ginsberg was ruled not obscene by judge Clayton W. Horn. The poem marks a big step for the freedom of speech in America and with its open-mindedness, outspokenness and celebration of drugs, sex, spirituality, liberation and freedom of speech it breaks every barrier ever possibly built around a human-being. Thus Utblick has felt a need to bring back this poem from the dusty bookshelves and to celebrate its value as a manifesto for freedom of speech.

Follow  
on p. 3,  
12, 17, 22  
& 27 ★



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JOIN  
MUN!

Model United Nations (MUN) is an extra-curricular activity in which high school or university students role-play as delegates to the United Nations and simulate the UN committees. This activity takes place at Model United Nations Conferences, organized by Model United Nations Societies all around the world. Preparation for MUN conference involves substantial research and participation promotes a person's interest in international relations and related subjects. MUN students tend to go on to become great leaders in politics, law, business, education and even medicine.

Now you have the chance to join a MUN Society here in Gothenburg! This semester the Model United Nations Society became a Committee within the Utrikespolitiska Föreningen. Are you interested? Don't hesitate and contact us on [modelun@ufgbg.se](mailto:modelun@ufgbg.se) or come to our regular meetings on Monday, 15:15 in the UF room on Sprängskullsgatan 25.



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## LETTER FROM

## THE PRESIDENT

Freedom of speech is probably the most discussed human right this decade. In these parts of the world we are privileged with a freedom of speech that almost always allows us to speak our mind. There are many people in the world that lives in countries with regimes that does not allow such a thing. When tragic events, such as the shooting at Charlie Hebdo and other similar attacks occur, it is easy to put restrictions on freedom of speech. As the holders of this privileged right, it is our responsibility to stand up and protect it. While doing so, we must keep the value of respect in mind. Respect towards all is what will make open debates and discussions possible. The attacks on Charlie Hebdo and others was done by people who do not value respect and freedom of speech. At the same time as we defend our freedom of speech, we must also make sure our respect towards others remain and that we do not judge a big group of the world's population because of what a few people did "in name of religion".

On a lighter note, as the first number of Utblick has now reached our members, I would like to take the opportunity to encourage you all to take part in our upcoming events. Our newly established Model United Nations Committee has rapidly grown to be popular among our members. They have a lot of interesting activities going on. Among many other events, they will attend a MUN-conference in Paris. As always our lecture and event committees are regularly planning interesting and exciting lectures and documentary screenings. In order to not miss anything, make sure to visit our website <http://ufgbg.se> or like us on Facebook.

Lastly, I would like to recommend you all to attend the Annual Convention of International Affairs, hosted by the Swedish Association for International Affairs. This year UF Gothenburg is the host-society and on 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> of April there will be several interesting lectures at Handels. As you can see, we are planning a lot of speaking, screening and writing. Hope to see you around!



### Tuesdays at 21:30!

*Do not forget to tune in Utblick's own radio program through your radio or computer!*

*We air every Tuesday at 21:30 on Göteborgs Studentradio K103, or anytime you want on Mixcloud!*

*We will broadcast both in English and Swedish, please visit us at K103, se to find out which topics we will be discussing next.*

# UTBLICK

ISSUE  
N° 1

THE SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
GOTHENBURG IS A NON-GOVERNMENTAL  
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