UTPOST

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PROTESTS IN POLAND
VEM HAR RÄTT TILL ARKTIS?
CATALONIA - A STRIVE FOR SELF-RULE
NAGORNO-KARABAKH
MAPPING MYANMAR

• UTRIKESPOLITISKA FÖRENINGEN UMEÅ •

EDITOR'S NOTE



Dear reader,

It's been yet another challenging six months in the international community. The president of the United States opening a U.S. embassy to Israel in Jerusalem despite large protests. Continuing streams of refugees from different parts of the world. Terrorist attacks carried out against civilians, often with fatalities as result. It's easy to feel hopelessness in a time like this. Is the chaos ever going to stop? Will there be a final solution to the many raging conflicts in the world? That's why it makes me as an editor so thankful for my writers, presenting tremendous articles on important subjects we all should be talking about. Because discussing important matters is always the first step towards change, spreading awareness will engage people. This is one of many

things Ebba did during her voluntary work as a teacher in Myanmar. Make sure to read about her experiences on page 18.

The environmental week held at the university in April is another good example of UPF spreading knowledge on relevant issues. Emelie reports from an interesting panel discussion on the subject Security in a changing world on page 22.

In February, UPF went to Poland on a well appreciated trip with several interesting visits on the agenda. Meeting one of the leaders of a Polish NGO promoting democracy, Daniel's text on page 4 reveals a country in rapid change since the victory of the conservative party PIS in the country's national elections of 2015.

It was a pure pleasure making this issue, and I couldn't be more proud with the result. I hope you all will enjoy it this summer as much as I do.

Until next time,

Julia Heggenes, editor

Juia Luus

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PROTESTS IN THE STREETS AND IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, THE POLISH DEMOCRACY AND RULE OF LAW SEEMS TO BE UNDER PRESSURE. UPF'S ANNUAL TRIP WENT THERE TO TRY TO FIND OUT WHAT'S GOING ON IN POLAND.

aroslaw Rodzik, board member of KOD who have organized demonstrations in favour of democracy and rule of law where more than 100 000 participated, doesn't seem to be bothered by the sudden change of meeting location. The originally planned conference room have been replaced with our hostel bar, complete with a few hungover backpackers preparing a very late breakfast.

- To be fair, I understand why the university withdrew your booking. You know why? Nobody there would like to be the one responsible for letting KOD into the university, no one would sign that paper. So, to save their own skin, they must withdraw the booking, simple as that.



The establishment of KOD came shortly after the elections 2015, in which Law and Order (PIS), led by Jaroslaw Kaczynski came to power. PIS time in charge have

been characterized by a lot of controversial reforms that has been limiting the independence of the courts and the freedom of media. KOD has during its short lifetime been able to achieve a lot. One and a half million poles claim that they have attended at least one of KOD's protests and it has organized the biggest mass protests in Poland since the fall of communism. The organization's goal is simple, to protect democracy, human rights and the rule of law. Values that at a first glance would seem as basics to any EU country but have become controversial in Poland.

- I'm not interested in politics, never been. But when your government is tearing down the democracy and rule of law, you just have to do something. So, I joined KOD and I have been arranging protests ever since.

Pictures of demonstrations in favour of democracy usually shares some features no matter where they are taken. Young engaged people, often students, crowding the streets demanding change. But every rule has exceptions, and it turns out that KOD might be one in this case. When asked whether there are a lot of students active in KOD, Jaroslaws sighs deeply.

- No, not at all. I am one of the youngest, and I am much older than you are! KOD mainly consist of those who are old enough to remember how it was under the communist regime. They were seeing some familiar and worrying signs, so they began to protest. But it is a problem for us that we are missing out on the younger generations. They do not know anything else than living in a democracy and in the EU, and maybe that is way they are not protesting?



Criticism has not only come from the Polish civil society, representatives from the EU have multiple times expressed their concerns and even threatened to activate article 7, sometimes called the nuclear option, which would suspend the Polish voting rights in the EU. At the same time PIS enjoy a stable support of around 40 percent and it looks more than likely that they will stay in charge after the next election.

A stroll around Warsaw tells a few

things about Poland, and PIS as well. As our hostel was located on the same street as the parliament, we walked past the memorial of Lech Kaczinsky each day, and never saw it without at least a few mourners paying respect to their former president. Lech Kaczinsky founded PIS together with his twin brother Jaroslaw Kazcinsky. After his brother's tragic death in a mysterious flight crash outside Smolensk, Jaroslaw Kazcinsky has been the leader of the party and has

. 7.

brought it further out on the right wing. The churches are a significant part of Warsaw, especially in the Old Town where they are neighbouring each other with just a few houses in between. At first impression, the churches look like any church in Europe, crucifix, sculptures and wooden benches, but the nationalistic symbols stands out. The polish flag and the white eagle in a red shield hangs along the high walls. The Polish catholic church is powerful and has tight connections with PIS. On your way out of the church, the anti-abortion stickers wish you farewell.

As in many other countries, the accused dismantling of democracy in favour of a more authoritarian government arrived hand in hand with an anti-immigration rhetoric. As a major part of the Visegrád group, Poland has been one of the major opponents to receiving asylum-seekers from other EU-countries and around 75 percent of the population is against accepting refugees. However, this has not always been the case. We met Rafal Kostrzynski and Maria Pamula from UNHCR's office in Poland to learn more about this.

– As late as 2014, Poland was one of the European countries with the most open attitude towards migrants and refugees. Since then a dramatic change has happened. But the population did not change, and neither did the situation. It was just the discourse that changed. Refugee does no longer mean somebody in need of help, now refugees are seen as a threat to the nation.

Rafal Kostrzynski tries to make sure that we all follow his reasoning. Poland

received a record number of refugees 2015, and it happened without public outcry. Similarly, the two million Ukrainian migrants in Poland is not seen as a threat to the country. He concludes,

- This is not about numbers, it is about words.







Photo: Unsplash

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CATALONIA - A STRIVE FOR SELF-RULE

Text: Julia Heggenes, Photo: Flickr, Toniu

In the fall of 2017, a referendum done in the Spanish province of Catalonia gained massive attention all over the world. The turnout was under 50%, but the people who went to the polling stations were clear. An overwhelming 90% wanted indepen-

dence from Spain. The vote was declared illegal by the Spanish Constitutional Court, although it stirred up many emotions in the international community and shed light on a conflict that many of us probably weren't aware of.

ut how did it all come down to this? The region is, as a matter of fact, already an autonomous community with its own constitution, parliament and president, so why do the Catalan people persistently want independence from Spain? While Catalonia has enjoyed a strong unity and regionalism throughout the years, it wasn't until in the early 1920s, when the political party Catalan State was formed by Francesc Macia, that the strive for independence caught speed. A backlash came when General Franco took the power in 1939, banning the region's native language and all Catalan institutions. After his death in 1975, though, the Spanish government once again restored Catalonia's national status to the autonomous community that it is today.

FOR MANY OF US, THE SUDDEN REF-ERENDUM IN SPAIN IN 2017 CAME BY SURPRISE.

Even those who knew about the region's history still probably asked themselves why it all came down just then. Some argue that an initial trigger likely was the financial crisis in 2008. While it led the country to struggle financially, Catalonia, being one of the wealthier regions comprising 20% of Spain's total economic output, remained economically stable. This sparked an outrage among many Catalans, claiming they shouldn't have to pay a higher price for the rest of the country's struggles by letting their tax money go to other regions. Furthermore, in 2010, the Spanish Constitutional Court ruled parts of Catalonia's own legislature unconstitutional and therefore ineffective. A public outcry by the Catalan people was once again a fact. In 2014, a

symbolic referendum on independence was held and an overwhelming majority voted for it. One year later, pro-independence parties took the majority of the seats in the Catalan government, and a declaration of the start of an independence process was officially signed later the same year.



Photo: Flickr, SBA73

Fast forward to October 1st 2017. Despite the referendum already being ruled out by the Spanish government, people showed up to the polling stations to make their voices heard. Many of us probably remember the news coverage, showing police aggressively clashing with voters and protesters. The international community condemned the police violence, calling for dialogue between the two sides. Some expressed support to the Catalan people, others underlining the fact that the vote had already been declared unconstitutional. The European Commission stated that the vote was an "internal matter". Shortly after, several Catalan politicians who contributed to arranging the referendum fled the country to avoid prosecution. Carles Puidgemont, president of Catalonia and therefore one of the main forces behind the independence movement, was detained in the spring of 2018 by German police acting

on an international arrest warrant from the Spanish government. He is currently awaiting a decision from the German court on whether he is going to be extradited to Spain, where he in that case would face trial for several charges.

IN EARLY MAY 2018, QUIM TORRA, WHO HAS CLOSE BONDS TO CARLES PUIDGEMONT, WAS ELECTED THE NEW PRESIDENT OF CATALONIA.

He seems determined to continue what his predecessor started, already promising a draft of a constitution for an independent Catalan republic. There can be no certainties on whether he eventually will succeed or not, but if there's one thing that can be said about the Catalan people, it's that their struggle for freedom goes on, unconditionally.



Photo: Flickr, Sasha Popovic



Photo: Flickr, Sasha Popovic



NAGORNO-KARABAKH

A conflict probably less well known in South Western Azerbaijan, between said country and Armenia. The area is inhabited almost entirely by ethnic Armenians, while it is internationally recognised as part of Azerbaijan.

The background of the conflict goes far back in time, with the area having been under Turkish, Persian, Russian and later Soviet ruling. After the Russian revolution in the early 1900s, both Azerbaijan and Armenia were declared independent states. Disputes quickly grew regarding the borders between the two new countries, the area of Nagorno-Karabakh being one of them. In 1923, Josef Stalin declared it a self-governing autonomous area in Azerbaijan. Even though there were protests from Armenia, the conflict didn't blossom up again until the 1980's when the Soviet rule started to fall apart.

In 1988, the highest assembly of Nagorno-Karabakh voted in favour of becoming part of Armenia. The authorities in Moscow disagreed and the referendum had little effect. The people took to the streets to show

their discontent. As a consequence, the native Armenians still living in Azerbaijan started to move back to their home country, while the Azeris in Nagorno-Karabakh went back to Azerbaijan. The Azeris in the conflicting area were now in a vast minority and the dispute being more infected than ever. A year after the referendum, Moscow decided to dissolve the area's self-governing and put it completely under Azerbaijani rule. The Armenian government reacted shortly after by declaring Nagorno-Karabakh a part of Armenia. This action didn't have any formal impact, though, since the area was still internationally recognised as part of Azerbaijan.

1991. The Soviet Union fell, and the two conflicting countries once again declared themselves independent states. Nagorno-Karabakh declared independency as well, although the vote was boycotted by the Azeri population and not internationally recognised. From earlier mostly consisting of protests and demonstrations, the dispute now took an even more violent turn. Persecution of minorities, murder and terror carried out by paramilitary groups on both sides were now common. Gradually, Armenia managed to take control of the area and expel Azeri civilians as well as troops. In 1992, the Minsk Group was formed by the intergovernmental security organisation OSCE to mediate in the conflict and eventually reach a peace agreement.

After about 30 000 people being killed in the war and one million people fleeing from both sides, a cease-fire was finally established in 1994 and a few years later it looked like an agreement was going to be made. The plan was for Nagorno-Karabakh to become relatively self-governing, although formally remain a part of Azerbaijan. The Armenian president, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, was positive to the deal. His approach was met with so much hate from his population, though, that he eventually had to resign before a final agreement was set. His successor? Robert Kotjaryan, former president of Nagorno-Karabakh.

In the 21st century, the tensions have once again grown higher on both sides. Azerbaijan no longer seems to be interested in Nagorno-Karabakh becoming self-governing, while Armenia won't accept anything else than an independence for the area. A referendum on independence was held in 2006, with 98% voting in favour. Like so many of the earlier votes, the international community didn't validate it. Since then, violent clashes between the militaries from both countries and in many cases civilians have been common. In the spring of 2016, it all culminated with at least 100 people being killed under the course of a month, this despite a declared cease-fire.

So what about the future? The conflict is clearly very infected with three parts, all pushing their own agenda. Two countries both persistent on what type of agreement should be reached, and the area itself constantly demanding their independence from both of them. As previously stated, the frequent peace talks seem to have had no real effect, with the situation rather becoming more and more violent. The area is still recognised by the international community as part of Azerbaijan, although consisting almost exclusively by Armenian separatists.

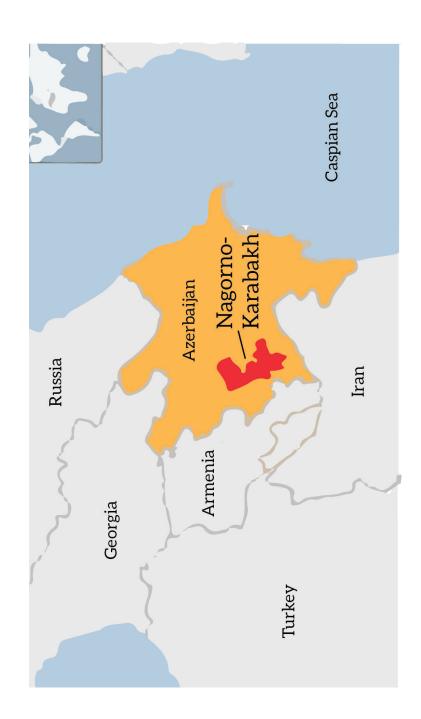
It is easy to become pessimistic learning about the area's violent history, and a possible solution to the conflict seems far fetched. But there could be hope. Nikol Pashinyan was elected Armenia's president on May 8th 2018 and many see him as the leader who would actually take on a realistic peace plan. On a news conference following a meeting with Bako Sahakian who is the leader of Nagorno-Karabakh, lately also known as Artsakh, he stated:

"I am ready -- and in general Armenia is ready -- to negotiate [with Azerbaijan] on behalf of the Republic of Armenia, and it is the leadership of Artsakh represented by its president that should negotiate on behalf of Artsakh."

He urged on the area's own authorities to become a more active party in the mediations, rather than the two countries setting the agenda. While this would seem as a step in the right direction, it's still clear that Armenia, as well as the international community, has no intentions to acknowledge Nagorno-Karabakh as an independent, sovereign state.

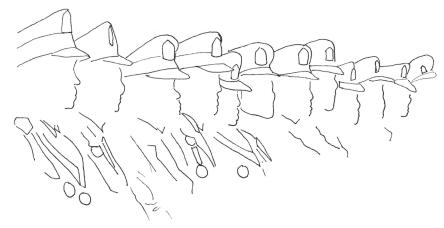


Nikol Pashinyan





MAPPING MYANMAR: DEATH AND DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA



y name is Ebba Kohl, and I am social science student here at Umeå University. In November of last year I travelled to Myanmar to volunteer to teach at a school called YES (Youth Empowerment School). YES is an international collaborative project between SSU (Swedish Social Democratic Youth League) and YNS (Youth for a new Society). YNS is the youth organisation of the Democratic Party for a New Society, which used to be the second largest political party in Myanmar before they were put in exile. But today they are welcomed in the country and are working to reestablish themselves, which is where I come in.

Before I share my own experiences, it may be helpful to provide some context about the country. In the past few decades there has been some confusion regarding

the name of the country, so I will attempt to resolve this first. Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, has been the official name of the country since 1989, when the former military regime dictated a change of name. As a protest against the regime people all over the world have chosen to continue calling the country by its former name. Sweden is one of those countries; thus I typically call the country Burma when I speak Swedish, and Myanmar when I speak English. Because of my own confusion I asked a few people about it when I was there, and most said the same thing: "It doesn't matter". So here we are, 30 years after the name change, and it is just as confusing now as it was then. For the sake of simplicity, in this article I will call the country Myanmar.

Myanmar is currently going through a process of slow but steady democratisa-



Aung San Sui Kyi

tion. In 2016, Myanmar took a big step towards a democratic government when the NDL (National League for Democracy), led by Aung San Sui Kyi, won the national election. Aung San Sui Kyi has been the foremost figure for democratisation in the country, but because of her family's dual nationality her official role today is conflicted. She was bound to be the president of Myanmar, but the constitution forbid it. Aung San Sui Kyi therefore has the official role as state counselor, witch is the country's de facto head of state, leaving her as the country's front figure. She has been highly criticized by the international community for how she handled the Rohingya crisis, but she is beloved by her country. Every-

where you go people choose to honor her by putting up her picture or other forms in her likeness.

Myanmar is a country in which the political situation is made tenuous by the ongoing wars. I chose to formulate "wars" in plural because at any one time there are several armed conflicts going on between the military, ethnic minorities, and indigenous groups. Most readers will already have heard that in 2017 the Muslim Rohingya minority suffered an atrocious genocide, which lead to them getting a lot of media attention throughout the world. But most people outside of Myanmar are unaware of the violations of human rights happening in

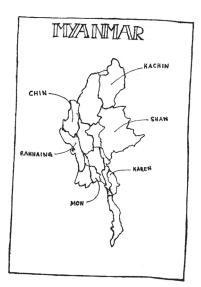
19.

other regions in the country.

The fact that the outside world finally turned their eyes on this conflict-affected country is something positive, finally the outside world may have a positive impact on the horrors in progress. But I also speculate regarding the possibility that it can also be a strategy the military uses to turn the world's eyes towards an area so that the remaining are unattended. The same is true concerning Ang San Suu Kyl, it may be a strategy of their way to put her on a paralyzed pedestal so the criticisms of the outside world should be directed towards her only, so the military can act according to their plans. This is, of course, only speculation, but I think we must realize that the military here is smarter than we generally give them credit for.

Because of my students' personal experiences of those wars, they got frustrated when I talked about the media attention that surrounded Rohingya. They did not understand why the outside world only feels sympathy and anger concerning the Rohingya, when they and their close ones also have experienced violence, oppression, and systematic violations from the military. Henceforth I wish to take this opportunity to enlighten you a little about these regions and the suffering of their people.

The states affected by conflict today are Shan, Chin, Kachin, Karen, and Mon. During the time I spent in the country I was able to visit all but one. During this time I was told a story of a 13 year old boy who participated in the armed groups who



has been detained for months without trial. I have been told stories of a military who uses heavy drugs such as opium and heroin to control minorities. But most of all I have observed a constant fear for one's own life. After hearing of these incidents, I cannot help but wonder why the media is not covering stories from all corners of the country.

Kachin state is located in northern Myanmar, and is home to a minority group called Kachins. They are concentrated in the northern mountain region of the state and have lived in the area for more than 200 years, but some also reside in the Shan state and in India. Kachins are an indigenous group and differ from the majority Burmans in religion, culture, and language. The majority of Kachins are predominantly Baptist Christians while the majority population follow Theravada

Buddhism. These differences have, among other factors, stoked the flames of a brutal civil war between the Kachins (represented by the Kachin Independence Organization) and the state.

There is technically an official ceasefire between the group and the military, but the military broke the ceasefire in 2011. Ever since, the Kachins have endured various forms of human right violations and the denial of humanitarian assistance. Recent developments in the area have forced thousands of civilians out of their homes, and many are trapped in areas of conflict. Only a few days ago, at the time of writing the organisations working on protecting Kachins rights collectively demonstrated against the war, in the hope that the UN Security Council will intervene. The demonstration lead to an escalation of state-based violence, and the people who were participating have suffered consequences from attending. The protest was covered by national TV stations



Kayan woman

that broadcasted from the demonstrations. I can not describe the proud feeling of seeing your old students standing up in solidarity against senseless violence. But pride was not the only emotion that was stirred up inside me; along with it came fear and help-lessness, and I have to hope that what they learned in the school has prepared them with the tools they need.

The aim of the school I worked at was to bring together students from regions around the country, creating an environment in which to establish a positive relationship between different minority groups. My main subjects to teach were human rights and democracy, and to share my experience of growing up in a social-democratic country. But in my opinion, my most important assignment was to educate them on how to become participant citizens. Because most of the students came from ethnic minorities or indigenous groups the general tolerance of subjects was high, giving a greater meaning to the classroom discussions. But the question: "Is it morally acceptable to use undemocratic methods to achieve peace?", created a discussion which could only be summarised in saying "let us agree to disagree". The civil wars going on in the country had directly or indirectly affected all of my students, a background I don't share and can't relate to. For me, these clashes between worlds is where we learn to understand others. When the foundational understanding of concepts is so divided from others, we have to challenge our own mindsets to be capable of relating to others.



I PANELEN SATT LARS WEDIN, EXPERT PÅ FÖRSVARSSTRATEGISKA FRÅGOR, KEITH LARSON, EVOLUTIONÄR EKOLOG OCH EXPERT PÅ KLIMATFÖRÄNDRINGARNA SAMT PETER SKÖLD, FÖRESTÅNDARE FÖR ARKTISKT CENTRUM I UMEÅ OCH KLIMATAMBASSADÖR FÖR VÄSTERBOTTEN. MODERERADE GJORDE LINDA WESTERLIND, POLITISK CHEFREDAKTÖR VID FOLKBLADET VÄSTERBOTTEN.

Att klimatförändringarna accelererat på grund av människan är ett faktum som många är välbekanta med vid det här laget. Men också den enkla regeln att mörk materia absorberar värme, vi har väl alla någon gång ångrat den mörka tröjan på sommaren eller noterat att ljusa kläder är väldigt vanligt förekommande vid länder på varmare breddgrader.

I OCH MED ATT ISARNA SMÄLTER MÖJLIGGÖRS NYA HANDELSRUT-TER VILKET ÖPPNAR UPP FÖR NYA AVTAL.

Ändå är det för många ny information att klimatförändringarna accelererar i dubbel hastighet i Arktis, mot resten av jorden. Keith förklarade att anledningen är att när isen smälter och den ljusa ytan försvinner, så reflekteras inte längre solen från jorden. Den ljusa ytan ersätts av mörkt vatten som istället absorberar värmen. Precis som den mörka tröjan på sommaren.

Den här biologiska förändringen, av

jordens egna kylsystem, har många flera konsekvenser än vad en vid första anblick kan tro. Den påverkar samhällsstrukturer, världsekonomin och inte minst säkerhetsläget. I och med att isarna smälter möjliggörs nya handelsrutter vilket öppnar upp för nya avtal, mycket tack vare att havet är ingemansland och samtliga har rätten att färdas i de vattnen, men det har också tillsynogjort oexploaterade naturresurser. Inte minst olja och metallarter, vilket får stater kring Arktis



att vädra pengar. Arktis har på kort tid gått från att vara ett ointressant isblock till en guldgruva.

Det är dock inte helt okomplicerat, då det inte är reglerat vilka stater som skulle kunna få exploatera dessa resurser.

Förutom att det finns ett intresse att exploatera och nyttja Arktis så bidrar detta även till rent geografiska skillnader för specifika stater. Ryssland har numera en helt ny kustlinje vid vilken de dessutom börjat etablera nya militärbaser. Vad kan det innebära?

Lars påpekade tydligt att problemet inte är att nya baser etableras just där, det är ju ändå ryskt territorium, utan problemet



• Fr. vänster Peter Sköld, Keith Larson, Lars Wedin och Linda Westerlind

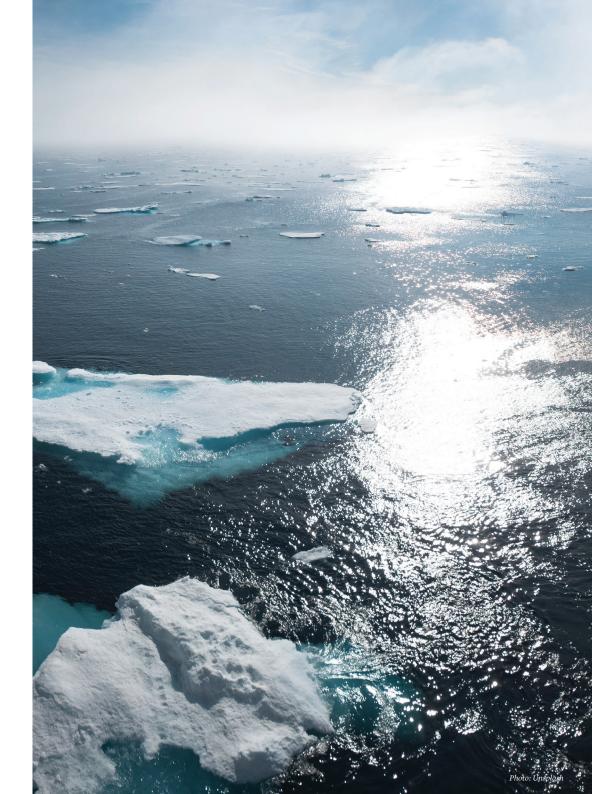
är om de börjar försvara områden i den arktiska regionen med hjälp av denna nya räckvidd.

En zon som kan ge upphov till så mycket konflikter, är då ett tredje världskrig en möjlighet?

DET FINNS OCKSÅ EN OPTIMISTISK SIDA AV DISKUSSIONEN KRING ARKTIS.

Inte särskilt troligt enligt våra paneldeltagare. Trots att det finns många intressen gällande Arktis och många stater är inblandade. Men i en kommande konflikt kommer inte vapen vara den krigsföringen staterna kommer använda sig utav, utan pengar. Exploateringen av Arktis handlar om pengar.

Det finns också en optimistisk sida av diskussionen kring Arktis. Idag vill vi lösa problemen, vi lyfter upp dem till ytan och diskuterar ämnen som inte var lika självklara att diskutera förut, vilket enligt Peter är ett enormt steg framåt. Det vi saknar är verktygen för att lösa problemen, bland annat den politiska viljan att skapa ett arktiskt samarbete. Arktis är nämligen optimalt som samarbetsregion, den binder ihop flera stater och öppnar nya möjligheter som vi kan välja att utnyttja på ett hållbart sätt. Keith, Peter och Lars var betryggande överens om att för att nå fram till ett samarbete krävs opinion och folkvilja, det demokratiska verktyget för att ändra den politiska trögheten.



A WORD FROM THE PRESIDENT



Dear members,

First of all: What a year! I am proud to be a part of Umeå Association of International Affairs with all these creative perspectives and ideas.

There has been lectures about Russia and Putin, the committees of Rojava, Sápmi, Sweden's relation with Japan, and in connection with the theme of Musikhjälpen arranged here in Umeå at 2017 – trafficking by children. Both of my favorite podcasts also visited Umeå: USA-podden and Det politiska spelet, both in a cooperation with Kultur på campus and Sveriges Radio, inter alia. Another important cooperation this year, is with Allmänna Försvarsföreningen. We participated in the major conference, Pax Nordica, and a couple of days later we received a visit from Sweden's Supreme Commander Micael Bydén. We kicked in the Swedish election year with a debate between the Swedish parliaments parties' youth associations on Midgårdsskolan in

April, and now, in May: a debate with represented parliamentarians from all parties of the parliament. The associations yearly trip went to Poland, where the participants – inter alia – visited Auschwitz. Unfortunately, there isn't enough space to tell all things we've done but last but not least: I want to pay attention to our environmental week, where the project croup combined environmental issues with matters of security in a very interesting and inspiring way.

Yes - what a year! We will kick in the autumn term with a Swedish election night at September 9th - but more information about that later. I will resign as president after this term - the current Vice President Emelie Karlström was elected as new president at our election meeting - but will keep my engagement in the association as SAIA representative. Being involved in an association like ours, is not only something valuable to add at your CV: it's a creative space where you can develop ideas and, maybe most of all, your skills in particular areas - you will achieve great knowledges in areas employees will evaluate. We offer opportunities to create and implement projects, administrative work as searching for grants and get familiar with our new member system, work with social media and graphics, recording podcasts, arrange a seating, and even make this magazine.

So, I encourage you all to take the chance and get engaged next term. There will be an info meeting with – ofcourse – fika.

To amount, I want to thank all members, all partners, and this year's board for an amazing year. See you all!





