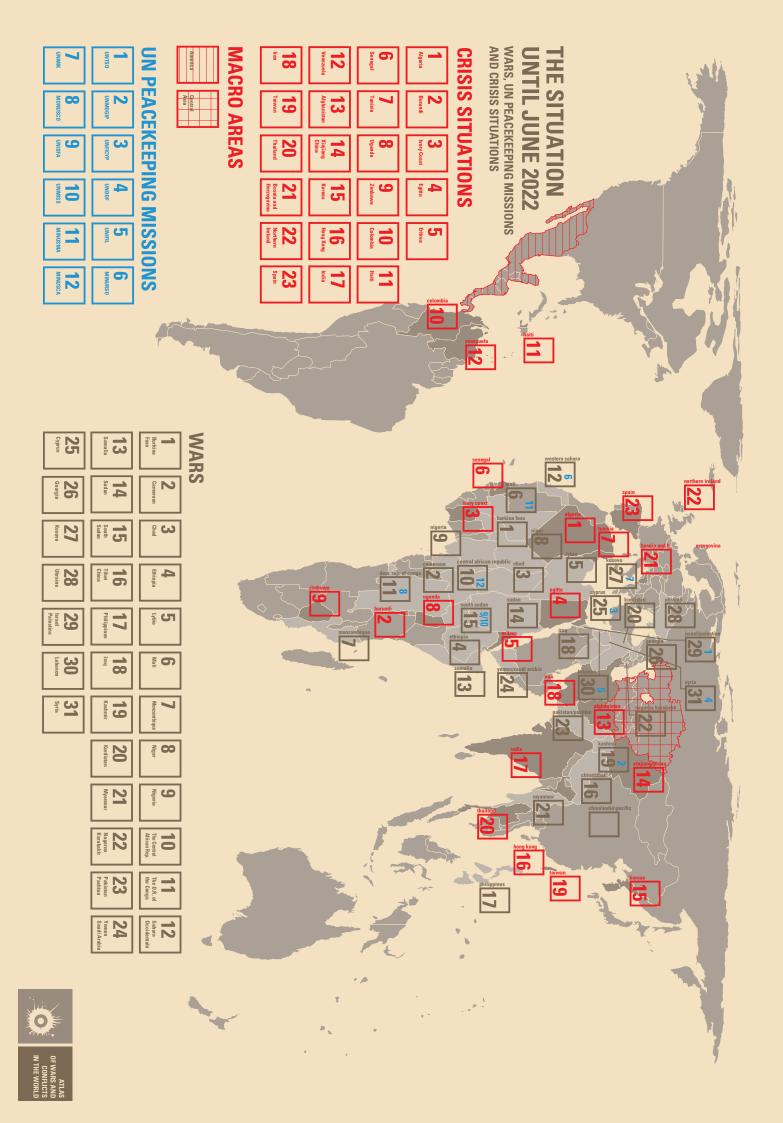


ANVCG Associazione Vittime Civili

Terra Nuova



ATLAS OF WARS AND CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD

Third Supplement Edition

To whom defects for not to kill To whom defects for not to die



Associazione 46° Parallelo



ATLAS OF WARS AND CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD **ENGLISH EDITION** 3rd edition supplement

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Woman crying during the evacuation of civilian from Irpin, under attack of Russian artillery, 5th of March ©Fabio Bucciarelli www.fabiobucciarelli.com





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Editorial



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Khamir Idp Settlement, Khamir, Yemen 4th of May 2017 A displaced woman drags water into her tent.

Enough about geopolitics: look at the world through the eyes of human rights

t has been one year, and things are not certainly getting better. Last year, the war in Ukraine – caused by the Russian invasion in February 2022 - had thrown us back into the deep well of our fears. War had come close, almost at home, with the enemy of all times at the gates. After a year, anxiety may have been appeased but the tension generated by this war, apparently without an end or solution, remains high.

Not only do people keep dying in Ukraine but also in Sudan, after the new coup, in northern Mozambique, in Syria, Yemen, and not less than 31 places on the planet.

And while people are dying and houses, infrastructures, lives, and hopes are being destroyed, the World is changing, useless to deny it.

For example, we have regressed on environmental issues, on everything we did to stop climate change, to reduce pollution, and to slow down resource development. In 2022, pollution caused by the war in Ukraine will make the air heavier and more saturated. Think about it: a military plane consumes up to 16,000 litres of gasoline per hour. How much C02 is released into the air? Then, the fear of running out of energy due to the cut in gas and oil supplies to Europe and the speculation arising around raw materials has caused coal- and oil-fired power stations to reopen on the spur of the moment and has put the possible revival of atomic energy as everyday energy for everyone back at the centre of the debate. Finally, armies have repositioned, rearmed, reaffirmed their role. Every bit of international cooperation was set on fire by bombs in Ukraine, by missiles in Yemen and Syria, by coups in Africa and Asia. The facts are self-evident, they are visible. China is claiming space and deploying its fleet to control the China Sea to take back Taiwan. The US is redeploying its six fleets and making new alliances with Australia and the United Kingdom to control the Pacific Ocean. The European Union is putting into play a new emergency brigade, and each country decides to invest 2% of its GDP to rearm. How much has changed in a year?

A lot, thinking of the rights lost. A few, counting those who are still starving, more than 800 million human beings, 900 million human beings who live on less than \$2 a day, malnourished children, who cannot go to school, cannot care for themselves. In the tragedies, the World seems slightly changed. These last twelve months have taken our breath away. They have come like a hurricane to make the time of the Covid-19 pandemic even more dramatic, which has not passed, it is still present with its load of death and pain.

Never, like in the last few months, has the idea of a necessary and unavoidable change come to the forefront. It is a change that must pass from each of us, from the choices we make every day and our behaviour. It passes from the way we look at what is happening.

We must change tools, parameters, units of measurement. We must not evaluate what happens with system logic or geopolitics, explaining and justifying everything. We should try to leap forward. We should put the vision of the "geography of rights" at the centre, establishing what kind of relations to have and what kind of cooperation to put in place based on mutual respect and human rights in all their forms.

In 2022, we still think as we did in the time of empires and unbridled nationalism. Everything is connected now. Except us. And this absence of connection with others frightens us, makes us feel insecure. An insecurity that becomes the fundamental tool of those who want to convince us that we must arm ourselves more, consume more, hate more.

Last year has been a long year. A year of change. Turn it into the first of many, future, better years.

The director Raffaele Crocco





Bad years for civilians in war, but positive signals come from civil society

22 began with a sign of change. The first act of Norway as President of the UN Security Council was to organise an open debate on urban wars. A gesture that gave so much hope to those who truly believed that there was finally room for fruitful discussion on the topic of better protection of civilians when conflicts are fought in cities. Unfortunately, that hope never materialised into a resolution that would open up commitments on the part of states that would go beyond the usual rhetoric of the supremacy of law, the lawfulness of a certain category of weapons, etc.

On 24 February, after months of dress rehearsals and a succession of increasingly alarming signals, the second Russian-Ukrainian conflict broke out. As always in such cases, the debate on the best way to guarantee protection for civilians caught up in the clashes and forced to flee was replaced exclusively by geopolitical considerations and analyses. And while debating whether to impose sanctions and arm Ukraine, mass graves were discovered, shopping centres continued to be bombed, and over 800,000 people were left without water, gas, and electricity, vital for their survival.

It is as if the world suddenly realised that civilians are the main victims of wars but did not really know what to do. Nevertheless, it has been 20 years since the issue has been firmly on the UN Security Council agenda and the international community debates in diplomatic fora on the legal framework, practices, gender, and child impact, etc. A failure of the international community, then? Partially, unless we also consider civil society as part of the international community.

If the initiative of states and international organisations seems to clash with realpolitik, civil society organisations all over the world are ready to facilitate the decision-making processes of international fora. They keep collecting data, conducting research, and influencing policy and diplomatic processes to achieve higher standards of protection that have been discussed for more than two decades.

It is not automatic, nor presumed that their struggles will be successful. However, they have created a successful model of activism which set the standard. The International Campaign to Abolish Landmines and Cluster Munitions, ICAN to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, INEW to Protect Civilians from Explosive Weapons in Urban Conflicts represent an example of networks in which each organisation contributes to the cause to the best of its ability. ANVCG, National Association of Civilian War Victims, also has become part of this context, bringing its experience in representing and protecting victims of war.

Many other NGOs and civil society organisations have decided to work together to build new foundations for safeguarding human dignity in the darkest pages of human history, creating new diplomatic avenues and engaging states in a participatory spirit where they seemed to have run aground.

These have been years of intense work, daunting at times. Despite the way things seem to be going in the world, as a war victim myself, I see this relentless commitment to building relationships as a sign of hope. If States will not change the world, smoothing out its rough edges, people will. It is hoped that victims' voices will also find their place in this context, becoming actors at the peace table. The process will take time, but the conditions are in place.



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Michele Vigne ANVCG President

The Situation

Raffaele Crocco



New balances, old injustices Here is the World of 2023

Photo above © Drop of Light/Shutterstock.com Let us begin with the new disfigurement done to the World. A sharp, nasty, painful disfigurement. The war in Ukraine seems to mark a boundary of our time, a before and an after. After all, one thinks, it is only one of the 31 wars that human beings have to bear in recent years. While people were dying in Ukraine (around 60,000 dead soldiers and civilians between February and September 2022), they were dying with equal violence in Yemen, Syria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, to name but a few cases. And yet, and yet... The difference in the "sign" was there. The war of the vanities fought in Ukraine marked more than the others the new territories of international power and traced better than elsewhere the profiles of the Planet's next protagonists.

Was it a war that could have been avoided? Of course, like all of them. No one, however, really moved the correct pawns and Ukraine has become the game table of the great and medium-sized powers. Kiev is the absolute protagonist, of course. It is the victim without ifs and buts, unjustly attacked, without logic and justification by Russia. However, during the years of war in the Donbass, it has been responsible for not trying to change its skin to the end and has not sought a solution with the separatists.

Russia, for its part, has used Ukraine to reassert that it is strong again. A manoeuvre that started from afar: Putin had filled the gaps left by the US in the Near East, allying himself with Iran and intervening militarily in Syria, officially to fight Isis, the Islamic State. It has found a role in the Balkans, supporting Serbia, and disturbing the European Union.

NATO has for thirty years, since the fall of the Soviet Union, lived in the belief that it had won the Cold War: it did not realise that it was simply the survivor. A purely defensive military alliance, wanted to avoid attacks from one specific adversary, it has tried to redesign itself in recent decades, without finding a real answer. It has, however, always been arrogant. It has behaved as mistress of the world, humiliating Moscow's history and present. The result is evident in Ukraine: making the country's entry into NATO seem possible has deluded Kiev and unleashed Moscow. Paying the price are those who die under the bombs.

The United States has travelled hand in hand with NATO. Indeed, they have used it when it was needed and abandoned it when the interests to be defended or reaffirmed were elsewhere. A 'mistress' posture, Washington's since 1991, has led to great international tensions and a rapid regression in levels of international cooperation between states. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were militarily and politically a costly fiasco. A naval power, not a land power, the US has shifted its strategic axis with the new alliance with Australia and England (Aukus), but Washington appears cornered, with little political means to really play a role in ending the conflict.

China is the real new player on the scene. Beijing has sided with Moscow: the agreement signed by Putin and Xi Jinping in early February 2022 binds the two countries strategically, militarily, and economically. An important alliance because it looks far ahead. It looks, for example, at that Arctic route that is opening up in the North due to climate change, with the ice melting and making that stretch of sea navigable. The transport of Chinese goods to Europe, the big market, will pass through there, saving 40% in costs. And it will inevitably be Russia that controls those waters.

The EU remains the economic giant dwarfed politically by the international scene. Could it have done more to avoid this war? Yes, it could. But the logic of business, the only one the European Union knows at this historical stage, has led it to play ambiguously on all tables and with everyone for too long.

Finally, Turkey, with President Erdogan. Ankara has thrown itself into the war by exploiting Europe's non-role and its own desire to return to the big boys' table. Very active in the Mediterranean and the Balkans, intent on rebuilding in some way the idea of "imperial Turkey" that died in 1918, Erdogan has historically volatile relations with Putin, but the two have shown they understand each other. Thus, despite being a NATO country (for how much longer?), Turkey began to weave a web that led it to be a mediator between Zelensky and Putin.

Roles that chased and annulled each other. Thus, the new phase of the war in Ukraine, which began on 24 February 2022 after eight years of fighting in the Donbass, has redrawn balances, repositioned armies and fleets, and realised the danger of a clash between the United States and China. All this while the World remains the same as before from the point of view of injustice, badly distributed wealth, and the exploitation without logic of raw materials. Earth Overshoot Day, the day that makes our debt to Mother Earth official, last year came on 28 July 2022. As Global Fo-

otprint Network has been explaining for years, as of that day, we have run out of the natural resources the Earth makes available to us for 2022 and have started using those for 2023. We remain stubborn and compulsive debtors, capable of consuming resources without finding any remedy. And even in this area, we are not all the same. Overall, it is as if we use 1.75 planets every year. But in reality, the US uses 5.1 pile of Earth per year; Australia 4.5; Russia 3.4. India, which has a population of more than a billion human beings, stops at 0.80 Earths in 12 months. In short, no balance here either.

In the background remain the well-distributed injustices: still 200 million human beings are without any possibility of access to medical care or education. And still the rich tend to get richer and richer. This is well explained by Oxfam, an international NGO that monitors this issue and denounces what is wrong. In the co-



ming months, more and more people will find themselves in the position of having to choose: to eat, to keep warm, or to meet medical expenses. Those who will be faced with an option will be lucky because many will not have it: their main, sole concern will be food. Indeed, the world's first emergency will be hunger, acute malnutrition. 827 million people are at risk of death, mainly in East Africa, the Sahel, Yemen, and Syria.

And to pay the costs of the global crisis will once again be the poorest: rising prices weigh 17% on households in advanced economy countries and 40% in poor countries. Meanwhile, wages are not growing, and employment has only returned to pre-pandemic levels for men. For women, we are still at 13 million lost jobs.

Some 860 million individuals will have to survive on less than 1.90 dollars a day.

All this while the super-rich (those who control the big companies in the sectors that pull, such as pharmaceuticals, food, logistics and energy) have seen their assets increase by 453 billion dollars, at the rate of 1 billion dollars every two days. Currently, the world's 2,668 billionaires (573 more than in 2020) possess net wealth of 12,7 trillion dollars, which has grown since the pandemic by 3,780 trillion dollars. The multinationals are also making more and more money: the five largest in the energy sector, namely BP, Shell, Total Energies, Exxon, and Chevron, make 2,600 dollars profit per second. In pharmaceuticals, Moderna and Pfizer make 1,000 dollars profit per second from vaccines.

This is the World of 2023. A disaster? Perhaps. Or just in the process of change, of settling into a new reality that we do not yet see. As always, it is up to each of us to help make it better and smarter.

The hard peace

L'Osservatorio Anvcg



Bad years for civilians at war. Positive signals from civil society

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The issue of protecting civilian populations in armed conflicts only came firmly onto the agenda of the UN Security Council in 1999. Resolution 1265 enshrined for the first time the link between the protection of war victims and peacekeeping, while defining the parameters of discussion that we have inherited to date and that frequently return in thematic debates and diplomatic tracks on disarmament.

If today in the collective political dialogue on how to ensure protection for victims of war we talk about the Geneva Conventions and international protection of refugees, the role of women in peace processes, and the violations of their bodies as weapons of war, what the UN Blue Helmets should and should not do, and small arms, it is due to the work of the UN Security Council, which has been credited with setting the pillars that build the very concept of protecting civilians in armed conflicts. In this view, since 1999, other historical Resolutions which have defined the protection of specific categories of people have been adopted: among others, humanitarian personnel (2175/2014), journalists (2222/2015), medical personnel, and health structures operating in emergency situations (2286/2016), people with disability (2475/2019).

The Resolutions have not only individuated who and what to protect, but also the thematic pillars to deep. It is in this work and discussion context that the debate and the research on the concept of urban warfare are embedded.

To better understand the topic of discussion, it is good to start with the definition of "urban warfare". The term "warfare", which in Italian is generally translated as "war", actually carries with it in the English language a meaning of chaos, movement, disorder. It is the war without rules, guerrilla warfare, the struggle that, brought into cities, into populated contexts, amplifies its destructive scope.

It is undeniable that the urban nature is one of the characteristics of contemporary wars, which depends not only on where the clashes take place but also on who is fighting them. We no longer speak of clearly recognizable armies clashing but of asymmetrical wars in which national and often transnational armies clash with or are joined by a plurality of non-state combatants, often divided within themselves.

It seems clear that in a World characterized by a very high rate of litigation and competition, scarcity of resources, and urbanization, the possibility of being involved in urban wars becomes anything but remote. Think, for example, of the siege of Sarajevo and the entirely similar scenarios in Taiz and Sana'a in Yemen, Aleppo and Daraa Al-Abad in Syria, Mariupol and Chernihiv in Ukraine. More than two decades ago, it was believed that the siege of Sarajevo was a distortion, a deviation from an established set of rules and that such episodes would never happen again. Today, in 2022, we note with concern that that exception is becoming the rule.

Here, then, are scenarios that are considered inconceivable because they are forbidden by international humanitarian law (also known as the law of war) and are likely to turn into dangerous side effects at best or outright military tactics at worst. It is thus possible for schools to become military targets or for civilian infrastructure to be used for war purposes.

While urban wars have been a steadily growing phenomenon in recent decades, the debate and interventions of the international community have struggled to keep pace. The problem has been mentioned several times within Security Council resolutions referring to specific conflicts, in the



last three Secretary-General's Reports and even in two joint communiqués issued by the Secretary-General and the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

General and the President of the International Committee of the Red Cross. As is often the case in such events, international civil society organizations gravitating around the conceptual Humanitarian Disarmament movement have proven to be far ahead of the diploma-

tic delegations. INEW, the International Network Against Explosive Weapons, was established in 2011 to address the issue of the humanitarian impact of explosive weapons in populated areas with advocacy, legal and diplomatic tools. Which is nothing but a different way of talking about urban wars and their consequences on civilian populations.

INEW's primary goal is "to prevent the unnecessary suffering caused by explosive weapons in populated areas" through the development of an international policy statement for the adoption of strict standards for the use of these armaments in urban settings.

INEW has spent much of the past decade raising awareness among the international community and regional organizations, reiterating that the urban scenario of wars is all but normal according to the Geneva Conventions. Its impact on the civil population must be understood and studied in deep because it constitutes a new scenario in the world of humanitarian emergencies that States will be forced to address sooner or later.

INEW's biggest obstacle to overcome was the conception, rooted in most of the States, according to which, since the use of explosive weapons is not itself prohibited by the Geneva Conventions, the damages caused by them, however despicable, are the unavoidable consequences of wars. Switching the perspective of analysis from the use of weapons in itself to the context in which they are used (i.e., in areas densely populated, in conflicts characterized by a plurality of combatants, lack of international accountability), INEW has highlighted that being involved in urban warfare constitutes a humanitarian damage beyond comparison for civilians.

Besides the dead, wounded, and maimed, the use of explosive weapons in urban contexts damages critical infrastructures for survival, such as hospitals, surgeries, schools, sewer, and water supply networks, light and gas.

Besides being immediate, the consequences of these damages reverberate in time and space, prejudicing the economic recovery and the future of a community even much later than the end of hostilities. It is about the so-called reverberating effects, a concept largely debated by the UN research institutes. Hospitals hit and damaged may no longer be able to execute routine operations, with a negative impact on the surviving population. Professors killed may be difficult to replace and the new generations may suffer from the lack of an adequate level of instruction necessary to become labour force useful for economic and social recovery. The lack of water can impact health

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services, with the risk of deadly epidemics. Entire productive territories can remain unexploited because scattered by ordnance of war that cannot be easily defused and with a very high cleanup cost.

The perspective of analysis of the phenomenon of INEW became the basis of discussion for the negotiation of the text of the International Political Declaration of Explosive Weapons to define more rigorous usage standards, at least among state armies.

In his last reports on the protection of civilians in armed conflicts, the UN Secretary-General has repeatedly underlined the disproportionated impact of urban warfare on the population, noting that in urban contexts civilians represent about 89% of the total number of victims, compared to 11% in other contexts. In 2021, the urban warfare phenomenon and the humanitarian damages derived from the use of explosive weapons have been encountered in 21 Countries. Those with the highest number of victims were Afghanistan, the Occupied Palestinian Territories, and Syria. The whole, Guterres specified, happens in the respect of International Humanitarian Law. In 2019 reports, always Guterres estimated that, in the whole world, people who suffer from direct, indirect, and reverberating damages caused by the use of explosive weapons in populated areas are at least 50 million.

The civil society's activism, Guterres' appeals, and the adoption of the International Political Declaration intertwined with the substantial immobilism and the broader dynamics of the Security Council.

Although the theme has emerged several times across the country-sessions of the Council, urban warfare and its consequences were rarely the specific objects of the debate. The growing appeals of the Secretary-General and the President of the International Red Cross plus the sensibilizing work of the States of INEW, have progressively revealed the big pink elephant in the room, without going any further for now.

In 2021, in a full stalemate of the negotiations for the Political Declaration caused by the pandemic, Vietnam organized an open debate on the protection of vital infrastructures for civilians' survival in conflicts, relaunching the contents of Resolution 2341/2017 and pushing for the approval of Res. 2573 that, besides restating the obligations to the IHL, asks the parties to commit to the protection of civil infrastructures, particularly medical ones and those linked to food supply.

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Vietnam's commitment to the topic has been later resumed and expanded by Norway, which inaugurated its two-year Presidency in 2022 with the first open debate specifically dedicated to urban





warfare. Norway's aim was the approval of a resolution expressly dedicated to the protection of civilians involved in wars in towns.

The sensibilisation process of INEW gave its results in terms of general recognition of the humanitarian damage caused by explosive weapons and the resulting extreme vulnerability of civilians involved in urban warfare. In that debate, it appeared clear that the real knot to untie is the legitimacy of conflicts in urban scenarios. In fact, substantial divisions have emerged over the question of whether existing provisions of International Humanitarian Law represent an adequate framework for addressing the problem. A lot of States did not accept and still do not accept the possibility of assuming further commitments and higher standards of protection in the specific case of urban warfare, as they would introduce new dangerous interpretations of the law. Norway did not manage to overcome the many internal resistances in the Security Council about the contents and the draft of the Norwegian Resolution which didn't pass.

Outside the United Nations, the process of adoption of the International Political Declaration collected more consensus, and Ireland, which guided the process, seems to have been luckier than Norway. Dublin was given a green light on the text but with substantial concessions to gain the consensus of as many states as possible. For example, references to the concept of reverberating effects, which are considered divisive because they are absent in the Geneva Conventions, and the outright ban on the use of explosive weapons with wide-ranging effects in fighting in cities were removed from the text.

These difficulties at the diplomatic level demonstrate how much the impact of wars and conflicts in urban contexts is an extremely sensitive and neuralgic theme in terms of geopolitics. In fact, it is no longer possible to conceive a clash of wars that does not have as its fundamental scenario the fate of cities and the people living in them.

It is equally clear that there is an increasingly emerging demand in public opinion around the World for the international community to give a strong and effective response to the problem. A demand that States cannot ignore forever.

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Rearmament file

Raffaele Crocco



2022: atomic bombs and old weapons The whole world shouts "to arms"

© Paolo Siccardi

Let us face it: we had hoped for it. Many had believed in finally living in a World where "cooperation" was the keyword. What has happened in recent years, with the abandonment of cooperation as an instrument of international relations by the so-called "great powers", has ushered us into an era of new trenches, where weapons and wars become again our daily bread.

In 2022, then, it is as if the hour has struck. The hour of return to the past, one might say. On 24 February, the Russian bear officially became scary again and there is no one, among the big and small players in world politics, who did not take the opportunity to shout: "To arms, to arms". The result, and there was certainly no need for this, is that the arsenals are filling up with weapons systems. Observers say that the world record of 2021 (with official turnover in the arms market reaching 2 trillion dollars) is destined to dissolve, surpassed as early as 2022.

This happens in all Continents. China, for example, has raised its already substantial budget. In 2021, Beijing's military expenditure rose by 243 billion dollars to 7.1% of GDP. Beijing is mainly targeting the Navy and the Air Force, no longer hiding its intentions to control the China Sea without external interference and, perhaps, put an end to the Taiwan issue once and for all by invading it.

© SIPRI



Who are the producers

But who produces these weapons? The figure is interesting and is provided by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, known as SIPRI. It was published in April 2022 and relates to production in the decade 2010-2020. The survey was conducted on a sample of the top 100 arms production companies. Well, at the top of the list is the US, with 2.880 trillion dollars spent over 10 years. Alone, they are worth half of the entire sample. In second place is the UK, with 481.5 billion dollars. Third place is China with 381.6 billion dollars, ahead of Russia at 356.8 billion dollars. France with 277.3 billion dollars surpasses Italy, which is at 179 billion. Then there is Japan (108.4 billion dollars), Germany (79.8 billion dollars), South Korea (59.5 billion dollars), Israel (88.3 billion dollars), and India (64.9 billion dollars).

A vicious and dangerous circle

Tons of weapons and weapon systems, therefore, thrown at the World. The most incredible thing is that the logic of rearmament is irrational. It is pursued in the name of security. The result, however, is that a country that rearms itself frightens neighbouring states. At that point, they too rearm, to counter the former, which in turn will respond by rearming more. A vicious and futile spiral. Above all, it is dangerous. To give one example, even



though Beijing's military expenditure is only a third of the US's planned spending, Washington and its ally Tokyo are worried. The rapid rise of the Chinese budget, coupled with the new war in Ukraine, are disturbing elements in the balance imagined by the US. Thus, President Biden has earmarked a spending plan of more than 770 billion dollars for defence, focusing on the modernisation of ground troops.

Europe, for its part, is not standing still. The coming war has given the excuse to aim for general rearmament. Germany has announced that it will increase military spending to more than 2% of GDP, reaching the threshold decided by the NATO countries in Wales in 2014, an agreement also signed by Italy. Poland and Denmark are also working towards the 2% threshold, with Copenhagen aiming to reach it by 2033. France is not backing down. President Macron said that the country must strengthen its army to be ready to respond to "a war of high intensity, which can return to our continent." The goal, he explained, is to make Europe more autonomous in the face of future challenges. Italy made the same choice when the Chamber of Deputies voted to increase military spending. Italy too will reach 2% of GDP, thus touching 36-38 billion euros. To be more precise, Italy's military expenditure will rise from 64 million euros per day to 104 million. We are talking about weapons and aircrafts to strengthen our armed forces, which already rank near the top ten worldwide among the most important armies. And some have proposed (to be safer, of course) to push military spending up to 3.5% of GDP.

Citizens say no, but nobody cares

However, not everyone agrees. Especially among normal people, i.e., citizens, the idea of the arms race when other problems are knocking at the door (rising prices of primary goods, underpaid work, limping welfare) does not seem to find many supporters. From this fact, demonstrated by polls showing 60% of Italians against it, the Association of Italian NGOs (Aoi) and Link 2007 started to ask the Draghi government, in office until the end of October 2022, to backtrack. In a document dated May 2022, they wrote to the then Prime Minister Mario Draghi that "Defence is fundamental and concerns all citizens, as our Constitution states. We are convinced, however, that any significant strengthening of national defences, instead of the construction of a common European Defence, would contribute to the delay in the construction of that European federal political design for which the member states are in any case destined and feeling increasingly the need".

Appeal to the Government and Parliament

The letter was also sent to the parliamentarians sitting in the two legislative chambers at the time. "You, President Draghi, with the support of the majority of the House", the letter continued, "have

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committed to raising the defence budget to 2% of GNP (Gross National Income, ed.) compared to the current 1.22%, with an additional expenditure of 16.5 billion euros. This is a commitment made to NATO to be implemented by 2024, was the justification. We would like to remind you and the Members of Parliament of another equally important commitment, made at national, European Council and UN levels, to be implemented by 2015 (Millennium Goals), but then due by 2030 (Agenda 2030): the spending of 0.70% of GNI on international development assistance and cooperation". The counterproposal is clear: focus on international cooperation as an instrument to solve problems. An interesting theme, but one that seems to have gone out of fashion. In Italy (as in the rest of the World, let's be clear), the focus is on rearmament as an instrument of "growth and empowerment". It is no coincidence that many collaborations between universities and manufacturing companies are being set up to improve the product through research. One such agreement, in Italy, is the one signed in July 2021 between La Sapienza University of Rome and Leonardo Spa, one of the largest arms manufacturers on the planet, with 30% of the capital in the hands of the Italian government. The mutual commitment is in research, but the agreement triggered immediate protests from part of the academic world, which is opposed to this kind of collaboration, and from Italian pacifist movements. On the other hand, the collaboration between war industries and research centres is ancient and the Italian university, which has become increasingly "autonomous" from governments (i.e., less and less financed with public money) needs to find funds to survive.

In short, rearmament runs on the thread of privatisation, as seen with university funding, and runs along the road of fear, business, and misunderstandings, often used to cover increases in expenditure or turnover. Interesting, from this point of view, is the method adopted by the Italian Presidency of the Council of Ministers to correct a series of data, including the largest for the modest sum of more than 4.5 billion euros relating to exports of military systems, in the Report on operations authorised and carried out for the control of the export, import and transit of armaments materials. The report was sent to Parliament and published a few days later on the websites of the House and Senate. Officials of the Prime Minister's Office failed to notice that the 225 million euros worth of arms exports reported by the Customs Agency for the year 2021 clashed with the more than 4.6 billion euros worth of export authorisations granted by the Uama National Authority (Armament Material Authorisation Unit). Even more, they were incongruous with the more than 5 million euros of transactions, mainly related to receipts from abroad, reported by the Ministry of Economy and Finance. In practice (explained Giorgio Beretta, one of Italy's leading experts on arms trafficking), it is as if a company in the same year recorded 4.6 billion orders, over 5 billion in receipts, and sales of only 250 million euros. If that happened, the Internal Revenue Service would send officials to inspect the books and inventory.



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Italy leads the way in foreign rearmament

It did not happen. The Presidency of the Council cancelled everything as if it were a trivial mistake. And so, it turns out that Italy has not only decided to rearm itself but rearm others. In 2021, the national military companies worked at full capacity. They exported armaments worth almost 4.8 billion euros. Among the biggest recipients are Qatar (958,849,653 euros), Kuwait (875,393,504 euros), Egypt (773,289,163 euros) and Turkmenistan (378,470,352 euros). One does not need much knowledge to realise that these are all countries that have little to do with human rights. In the second bracket, we find the United Kingdom (233,466,565 euros), the United States (223,451,692 euros), France (148,001,753 euros). We find Saudi Arabia (135,844,327 euros) and the United Arab Emirates (122,460,394 euros), just ahead of Germany (128,755,982 euros) and immediately followed by Pakistan (87,774,972 euros).

No going back

Under these conditions, to think that the "Italian system" is going backwards, repositioning itself on the rearmament issue, is hard. The real problem, however, is that there is no sign of a backward march anywhere in the world and, above all, despite the treaties, a net increase in nuclear armament is also expected. This is revealed in the Sipri Yearbook published by Oxford University Press. It is a compendium of cutting-edge information and analysis on developments in armaments, disarmament, and international security.

What emerges is that despite a decrease in the number of warheads in 202, the next decade will see a sharp increase in nuclear arsenals by the nine atomic weapon states, namely the United States, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, France, the People's Republic of China, India, Pakistan, Israel, and North Korea. It should be borne in mind that the number of existing warheads is still frightening about 12,705 warheads at the beginning of 2022, of which about 9,440 are in military stockpiles for potential use and, of these, about 3,732 warheads deployed with missiles and aircraft.

Why will it all rise again? In part, the Report explains, because of the end of the post-Cold War effect, the confrontation that pitted the United States against the Soviet Union and its allies until 1991. Then, because the global trend is toward a return to nationalism and imperialism and, therefore, to a progressive rearmament. China, for example, is building 300 new missile silos. In early 2021, France launched a program for the development of a third-generation nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarine (SSBN). India and Pakistan are, of course, working separately on new nuclear systems, as is Israel, but it does not publicly acknowledge that it has nuclear weapons. Then, North Korea is developing a nuclear military program as a central element of its national security strategy:



it is estimated to have assembled about 20 warheads and possess enough fissile material for a total of 45-55 warheads. Finally, the United Kingdom, which, in 2021, after announcing its decision to increase the ceiling on its total stocks of titles, has declared that it will no longer publicly reveal the number of titles.

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Climate and War File

Cdca



War as a "threat multiplier"

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In recent years, we got used to using the expression "threat multiplier" referring to climate change. However, the same function (that of accelerating changes, exacerbating vulnerabilities, and intensifying dangerous trends) is inherently applicable to armed conflicts as well.

Certainly, this applies to the war waged by Russia against Ukraine, which, in addition to abruptly reversing the course of European history, is having deep implications not only in humanitarian terms, but also in economic, energy, and food-related aspects. Consequently, the conflict also carries significant geopolitical and socio-environmental implications.

The upheaval in the energy sector (far from being resolved), the intensification of the global food crisis, systematic violations of human rights, the removal of climate issues from the political agenda, the existence of tangible threats to international security with the specter of a nuclear war, and the arms race, are some of the most significant repercussions of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict.

The only winner: natural gas

One first possible consideration is that, for now, the true winner appears to be natural gas. The challenging geopolitical moment we are experiencing confirms that, despite the resounding rhetoric, a future free from fossil fuels and the influence derived from their control is very distant.

In other words, Putin's invasion has further highlighted the geopolitical implications of the fossil fuel energy model: a system that heavily relies on the exploitation of coal, oil, and gas, largely controlled by despots and regimes who employ these resources as weapons for international economic blackmail and internal dissent suppression.

Upon closer examination, it is also due to the enormous dependence on Moscow's fossil fuels (which has grown disproportionately over the past 20 years) that Europe has for far too long turned a blind eye to the Kremlin's aggressive military policies, including the physical elimination of internal opposition and systematic violation of human rights within and beyond its borders.

Moreover, the emergency linked to war and the energy crisis risks erasing, as an additional effect, those hesitant and already insufficient attempts to implement policies to fight climate change. In fact, the logic of emergency associated with the conflict is causing a setback in the progress toward radical climate action, which cannot be further postponed. This setback poses a risk of condemning Italy, Europe, and the entire world to additional decades of dependence on fossil fuels, starting with natural gas.

Energy as a geopolitical weapon

The beginning of the upward trend in energy prices dates to the second half of 2021. The analyses of the International Energy Agency (IEA) had already considered before the outbreak of the war that this increase could be partly attributed to the reduction in flows by Russia. Reuters estimates that in 2021 alone, revenues from oil and gas exports brought a staggering 240 billion dollars to the Russian coffers.

The prices of gas and oil then experienced a further surge following the invasion of Ukraine at the end of February 2022. This raised significant concerns about the security of supplies, particularly for the EU, whose dependence on Russian gas has gradually increased to 155 billion cubic meters in 2021, accounting for 45% of imports and 40% of total consumption (IEA data). Russia's central



role in the energy sector, however, has its roots in far-off times: European contracts for the import of Russian gas date back to the 1960s. Starting from the following decade, agreements with the former USSR became a viable alternative for Europe to counter the rising prices of supplies from the Middle East.

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Since the beginning of the new millennium, under Putin's leadership, gas has become a true weapon of coercion used on several occasions by the Kremlin, such as during the Russian-Ukrainian crises of 2006 and 2009.

This also holds true in the ongoing conflict: the invasion of Ukraine was partially financed by the surge in energy prices that preceded Moscow's military move. The role played by Russian fuels in the European energy mix may, through intensive lobbying (a report by Greenpeace France, for instance, revealed the relentless pressure exerted by players in the sector such as Gazprom), have influenced the inclusion of gas and nuclear in the European taxonomy of sustainable investments. Considering the evidence provided, if the war in Ukraine has any "merit", it is that of having clearly revealed the undeniable centrality of the energy issue both in the stability of national economies and in geopolitical balances and imbalances. For example, it shed light on how short-sighted and unsustainable – not only from environmental and climate perspectives but also economically and politically – it has been for all European governments to never truly question their dependence on fossil fuel energy sources.

However, the Old Continent is not the only one concerned by this guilty delay. In terms of primary energy consumption, the global energy mix is still 27% coal-based, 31% oil-based, and 25% gas-based (BP data, 2021). In other words, it is firmly reliant on the combustion of fossil fuels for 84% of the total.

And yet, from a scientific, technological, and economic point of view, alternatives have long existed. Photovoltaics, for instance, have transitioned in just a decade (from 2009 to 2019) from being the most expensive energy source to the most competitive and accessible one. However, the path being resolutely taken to respond to the current crisis goes in a completely different direction. A stubborn and contrary direction.

The consequences of the conflict on food security

The Russian military aggression in Ukraine has had a significant impact on global food security, as the agri-food sector has also been dramatically affected by the conflict.

Since mid-2020, markets were already anticipating a situation of rising food and fertilizers prices, a condition further exacerbated by the outbreak of the war. Russia and Ukraine accounted for over 25% of global wheat exports, about 12% of the global calorie consumption. Ukraine is the world's fifth-largest exporter of wheat. The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimates that 50

countries cover 30% of their grain needs through imports from Russia and Ukraine, a percentage that reaches 50% for 26 countries. The European Council has calculated that in Africa and the Middle East alone, over 750 million people depend on exports from the two countries involved in the conflict for over 50% of their food supply.

Russian military operations have blocked twenty million tons of grain in Ukrainian ports, preventing their export and causing a sudden increase in prices that had severe repercussions in terms of food insecurity and economic accessibility to basic food items. Food prices have increased by 50% between January 2020 and August 2022. In just one month, in March 2022, the FAO cereal price index recorded an increase of approximately 17% compared to February, the highest level ever registered since 1990. At the same time, the price of fertilizers has increased by over 200% between December 2019 and March 2022.

This massive upsurge in cereal and fertilizers prices is at the root of the escalating national and regional food crises occurring for the most part in the Middle East, North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, and South Asia. Among the countries with the highest number of people experiencing food crises, there are some historically vulnerable states in terms of socio-economic conditions: the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Yemen, Nigeria, Syria, and Sudan.

Food crisis: a growing emergency since 2015

The number of people facing food insecurity has been steadily increasing since 2015. After a period of improvement, the number of individuals suffering from hunger worldwide has been on the rise again for years. In 2016, the number of individuals in a condition of food crisis, emergency, or famine, exceeded 100 million. Between 2018 and 2021, this number almost doubled, reaching 193 million. The causes are multiple, including ongoing conflicts, the effects of the pandemic, and the increasingly pervasive impacts of climate change.

The future outlook is even more concerning due to the conflict in Ukraine, which has resulted in a 20-30% reduction in the normal winter crop area. Overall, it is estimated that global cereal production in 2022 will be 30% lower than the previous year.

However, these data require retrospective consideration. How did we reach a point where two countries export 28% of all wheat, around 30% of barley, and 15% of maize? The reason is at the same time simple and dramatic: cultivating wheat for human consumption has not been profitable for a long time. Its production entails high energy and labour costs, variable yields, and low and volatile prices paid to farmers. The profit margins for farmers are so narrow that an increasing number of them are shifting from food crops to the production of biofuels or cereals for cattle feed. As a result, the food we consume is produced in an ever-decreasing number of locations. This is why a conflict involving only two countries risks translating into a global food emergency.

Carlo Petrini, the founder of SlowFood, stated in recent months that "food sovereignty is dead,"



warning that, if we do not return to addressing food issues with policies that value agricultural work and detach food production from global markets, tying it as closely as possible to the local context, the situation can only worsen.

In Europe, the food crisis has also been used as a battering ram by agribusiness players who push for derogations (or weakening, or the postponement) of agricultural policy choices linked to ecological transition. Faced with the food price crisis, lobbyists for the agri-food industry immediately seized the opportunity to demand a substantial softening of what is provided for by the European Union (starting from the two Green Deal strategies,

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"Farm to Fork" and "Biodiversity 2030", and the Common Agricultural Policy) regarding pesticides, GMOs, and biodiversity protection. The paradox is that these requests are being made by representatives of large transnational corporations – among the main economic actors in the sector – who have systematically taken advantage of low prices through speculative maneuvers for years.

The arms race: a spreading short-sightedness

The complex scenario resulting from the conflict in Ukraine should push toward a radical economic and political transformation, starting from the energy and food systems. What is needed is an investment in measures supporting peace and human rights, radical environmental and climate policies, social and labour policies, the retraining of workers employed in polluting sectors, and the fight against inequalities. Diplomatic mechanisms should be rethought, and the universalist dream of the United Nations should be given central importance, as it has never been more in crisis.

Instead, funds allocated to military spending are rapidly increasing. In 2021, the global budget allocated to the military sector exceeded the record figure of 2.1 trillion dollars, equivalent to \$5.8 billion per day. The arms race continues despite a shred of solid evidence: wars, even those supported by the West, have consistently failed over these long recent decades. The Taliban have returned to Afghanistan; Libya is far from pacified after the military intervention of over a decade ago; there is no peace in the Middle East; Syria continues to burn; Yemen is facing a humanitarian emergency, partly due to the sale of Western weapons.

Where to look

The conflict has already caused a dramatic humanitarian crisis and will also exacerbate the climate crisis, inequality indexes, levels of poverty, and malnutrition worldwide.

If, instead, the opportunity will be seized to initiate decisive transformation – starting with the energy sector –, this would bring about a significant change in global geopolitics. For example, the fossil power of certain countries like Russia would be substantially reduced.

In May 2022, the UN Secretary-General referred to the energy transition as the "peace project of the 21st century." What he meant is clear: renewable energy is not only a tool for energy democratization, wealth redistribution and decarbonization of the economy, but also a choice that undermines the economic and political influence of those who possess and control fossil fuel resources (many of which are not exactly democratic countries), in this way laying the foundation for lasting peace and cooperation.

Disarmament, energy transition, diplomacy, radical social and environmental policies – this is the only recipe that can reconcile peace, social justice, and the fight against climate chaos. Rejecting the rhetoric of "inevitable war" is the first step, which must be followed by others, to fight the underlying causes of this war and many other conflicts, namely nationalism, militarism, and extractivism.



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DATA SOURCE UN

DATA as of 30 June 2022



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JN MISSIONS PER COUNTRY

Ongoing missions Completed missions

