

Terra Nuova

L'OSSERVATORIO
CENTRO DI RICERCA SULLE VITTIME CIVILI DEI CONFLITTI

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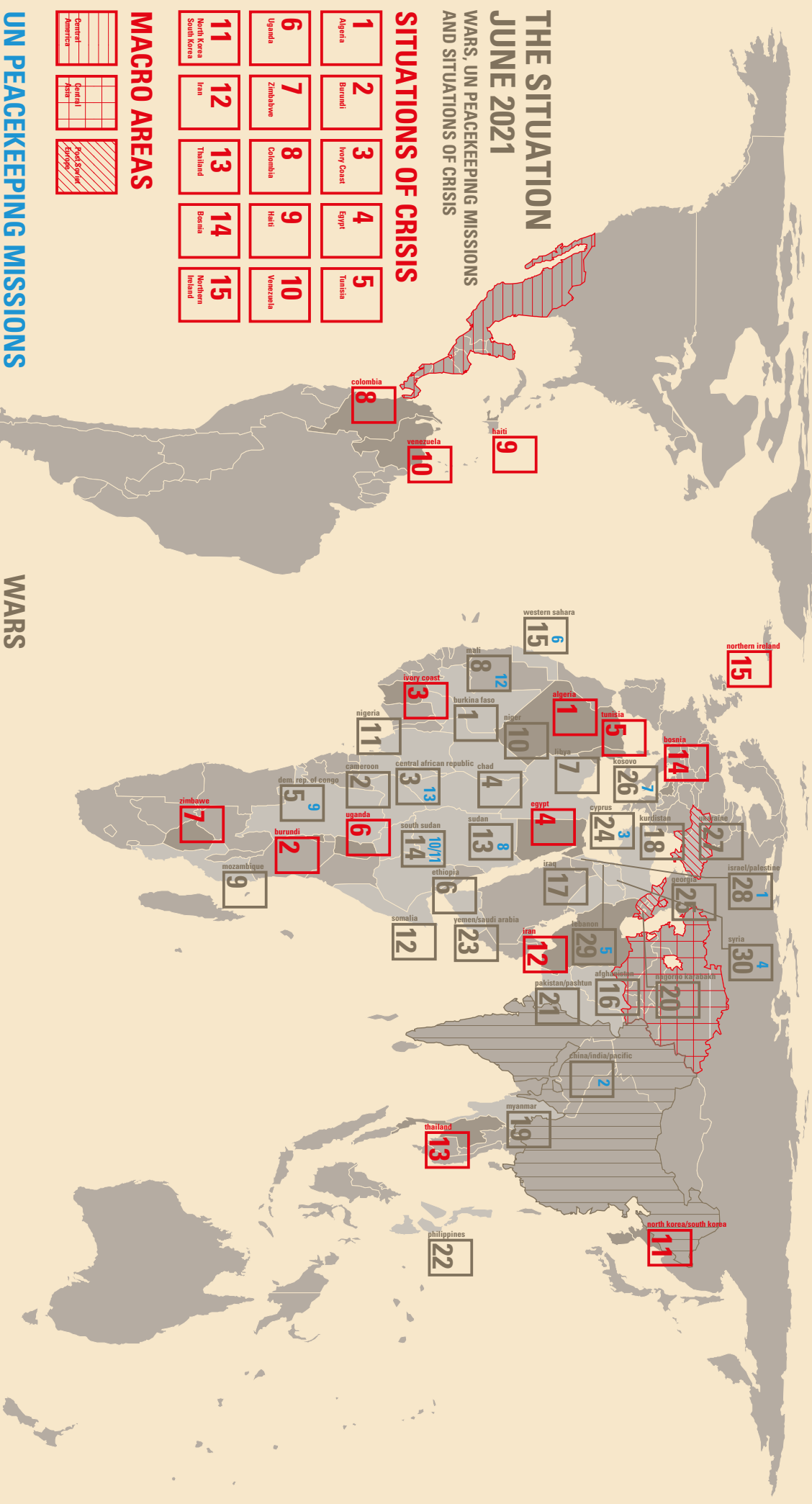
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ATLAS OF WARS AND CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD

Second Edition Supplement

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parallelo
associazione culturale



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Algeria	Burundi	Ivory Coast	Egypt	Tunisia

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Uganda	Zimbabwe	Colombia	Haiti	Venezuela

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North Korea South Korea	Iran	Thailand	Bosnia	Northern Ireland

Central America	Central Asia	Post-Soviet Europe
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UNTSO	UNMOGIP	UNFICYP	UNDOF	UNITIL

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MINUSO	UNMIL	UNAMIC*	MONUSCO	UNISFA

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UNMISS	SMUSMA	MINUSCA

* UNAMID
Closed on 1 December 2020
and is being collected.

ATLAS OF WARS AND CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD

Second Edition Supplement

To Gino Strada.
Thanks for everything.
To Patrick Zaky.
Forgive us for everything.

Terra Nuova

Associazione 46° Parallelo



**ATLAS OF WARS AND
CONFLICTS IN THE WORLD
Second Edition Supplement**

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A stretcher under a fresco in the
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A better World has not come Covid-19 has increased injustices

The numbers flow relentlessly before our eyes. As of June 2021, Covid-19 has caused nearly 4.5 million official deaths. There are a billion human beings who are starving to death. 270 million people are forced to emigrate to make sense of their lives. Yet, \$2 trillion is spent on weapons. These are the numbers of a world that does not want to heal, does not want to heal, and in the great Covid-19 pandemic has only uncovered more injustices and new reasons for conflict and war.

We had some hope. We thought we could come out of this nightmare as better people. This was an opportunity to redesign our lives and our shared rules, to learn not to exploit the environment, nor to destroy it. Instead, we are dealing with increasingly unfair wealth distribution, as human rights and democracies are crushed by the “need to manage the crisis”.

The World in 2021 continues to revolve around wars and injustices. We have identified 34 of them, which is too many. What we can, and must, continue to do is try to exorcise them, rendering them useless, while also seeking to understand them, engage in discussion, and explain the reasons they exist. In short, we need to provide information.

Adequate, correct information is the essential basis for any form of change and democracy. There is no democracy without widespread, free, correct, and shared information. This is one of the essential building blocks for a system of democratic coexistence; the others include being respect for individual and collective human rights, fair distribution of wealth and the correct and sustainable use of resources.

As in a construction game, this then becomes the cornerstone for achieving Peace, as there can be no Peace without democracy. Peace is not merely the end of a war: of this we are certain. It is a system of relationships, it is the essence and purpose of the history of humankind. It is, or it should be, the everyday life we all grow up in, live in, and thrive in, everywhere and always.

This is what the tenth edition of the Atlas of Wars and Conflicts in the World does: it informs. As it has always done throughout these long years, it weaves the plot to re-establish the idea of Peace. Better yet, it provides a real view of what Peace must be, without uncertainty and with clarity, while remaining partial and partisan always and unequivocally on the side of Peace and human rights.

Director
Raffaele Crocco

*The photo on the next page is by
© Laurence Geai*

On July 5, 2017, civilians flee to the old city of Mosul. Iraqi special forces (ICTS) soldiers are trying to verify that no one is wearing an explosive belt. The men are all naked. Some will be suspected of belonging to the Islamic State and massacred without trial.

New balances, old after injustices Here is the World of 2022

Let's start with the new scar on the world - a sharp, bad, painful scar. The war in Ukraine seems to mark a border in our time, signifying a before and an after. After all, one would think, it is only one of the 34 wars that human beings have had to endure in recent years. While many people died in Ukraine - about 60,000 soldiers and civilians between February and September 2022 - equal violence and deaths occurred in Yemen, Syria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Chad, to name a few.

Yet there was a difference in this "sign". The war of vanities fought in Ukraine has demonstrated, more so than the others, the new territories of international power and has better traced the profiles of the next protagonists on our planet. Was it a war that could have been avoided? Sure, just like all of them. However, no one moved the correct pieces, leading Ukraine to become the game table for great and medium powers. Thus, the new phase of the war in Ukraine, which began on February 24th, 2022 after eight years of fighting in the Donbass, has redesigned the balance, repositioned armies and fleets, and made real the danger of a clash between the United States and China. All this while, the world remains the same when considering widespread injustices, poorly distributed wealth, and unreasonable exploitation of raw materials. The world Earth Overshoot Day, which officially marks our debt to Mother Earth, fell on July 28th this year. As Global Footprint Network has been explaining to us for years, this day signifies that we have run out of the natural resources that Earth makes available to us and have started to use those that were intended to be used in 2023. We remain stubborn and compulsive debtors, capable of consuming resources without implementing a remedy. Overall it is as if we used 1.75 planets every year, however all nations do not rank the same. In reality, the United States uses 5.1 Earths per year to live, Australia 4.5, and Russia 3.4. Contrastingly, India, which has a population of more than one billion humans, only utilizes 0.80 Earths in a year. Even in the realm of overconsumption, there is no balance.

In the background, injustices are well distributed. 200 million human beings are restricted from the possibility of medical treatment or education, yet the rich tend to get richer and richer. Oxfam, an international NGO that monitors this issue and denounces wrongdoing, offers an explanation. In the coming months, more and more people will find themselves in a position where they have to choose whether to eat, stay warm, or face medical bills. Those who find themselves in other conditions will still be lucky, as the first world emergency will be global hunger due to acute malnutrition. Currently, 827 million people are at risk of death, mainly in East Africa, the Sahel, Yemen and Syria. Those who pay the costs of this world crisis will once again be the poorest: the increase in prices weighs 17% on families in advanced economies and 40% in poor countries. Meanwhile, wages are stagnating, not growing, and employment has returned to pre-pandemic levels for men only. For women, there is still 13 million lost jobs.

About 860 million women and men will have to survive on less than \$1.90 a day. This is contemporaneous with the net growth of the super-rich: those who control large corporations in high-profile industries, such as pharmaceuticals, food, logistics, and energy. They have seen their assets rise by \$453 billion, at the rate of \$1 billion every two days. Currently, the world's 2,668 billionaires, which is 573 more than in 2020, have a net wealth of \$12.7 trillion, demonstrating a growth of \$3.78 trillion since the pandemic. The multinationals are also earning more and more: the five largest in the energy sector- namely BP, Shell, Total Energies, Exxon and Chevron- make \$2,600 in profit per second. In pharmaceuticals, Moderna and Pfizer made \$1,000 per second in profit from vaccines. This is the World of 2022. Is it a disaster? Perhaps. Or maybe we are just in a phase of change, settling towards a new reality that we do not yet see. As always, it's up to each of us to help make it better and smarter.



The situation

**Raffaele
Crocco**



Too many injustices to hope for peace

Top photo
© Luciano Scalettari

One certainty hovers over Planet Earth. After the Coronavirus pandemic, everything started again as usual; this is a fact. If you had any hope, well, let it go. We've gone back to consuming natural resources, unequally distributing wealth, and protecting rights just as inefficiently as before the virus hit.

One only needs to read the figures to understand this. Let's begin from a classic, the Earth Overshoot Day, which marks how much we owe the Earth for our use of it. In 2020, with an ongoing general lockdown, we were able to delay this day for several weeks, until 22 August. For the very first time, it came three weeks after the time established during the previous year. This year, the day in which the Earth ran out of the natural resources expected for all of 2021 was 29 July. We were far too early.

Why is this figure important, let alone worth worrying about? Overshoot Day is calculated based on the ecological footprint of Earth's inhabitants. This is the amount of biologically productive land and water surface that each individual needs in order to produce all the resources they consume and absorb all the waste or emissions they produce.' In practice, it is akin to our yearly "expenses". This figure is compared to the global biocapacity, namely the Planet's capacity to regenerate natural resources for each of its inhabitants. This is equivalent to "the income", as such. As in every

family or company, the difference between the "expenses" and the "income" are evaluated to determine the profits or losses. We perpetually account for losses. It is not easy, but it is important to understand this mechanism. Our permanent debt towards the earth is leading us straight to failure.

This is because, even in this general indebtedness, the threads of injustice continue to provoke conflicts and war. Those responsible for causing this major ecological debt, in fact, are the wealthiest countries, even though they host a minority of the global population. Therefore, 14% of the well-off population of the Planet uses up 52% of the available renewable resources.

Overshoot Day points to two problems: the ecological one and that of global injustice: an injustice which the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated and deepened. The way the pandemic was managed has led to an overall impoverishment of the global population.

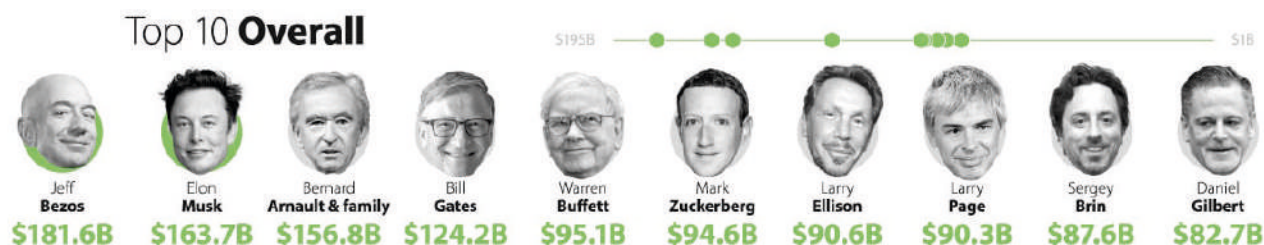
The border blockades (and the halt to migrants' remittances), the temporary or definitive closure of factories for contract manufacturing, and the imposed halt on informal markets have condemned millions of individuals to extreme poverty. If coherent interventions are not implemented, the World Bank foresees that by 2030, more than half a billion people will live in poverty, that is, with an income below \$5.50 USD a day.



Earth Overshoot Day 2020

While all this happened, the top thousand wealthiest people in the world recovered all their losses sustained during the Covid-19 emergency in just nine months. They even saw their wealth increase unreasonably, thanks to cautious investments in the sectors that became strategic when facing the crisis: logistics and healthcare. International agencies argue that the ten richest men have seen their wealth rise by \$540 billion dollars since the pandemic started. With that money, the entire global population could be vaccinated for free. Obviously, the issue has even more negative aspects. The richest men on Earth (they are all men) are also those who pay the most ridiculously low taxes. For example, Jeff Bezos, founder of Amazon and the richest man on Earth, with an estate of around \$190 billion USD, managed to pay absolutely no federal taxes on income in 2007 and again in 2011. Furthermore, when he does pay them, he only deposits a share close to 0.98%. Elon Musk, the owner of Tesla, did the same in 2018, and Michael Bloomberg, inventor of the biggest platform for financial information worldwide, who made a similar achievement in recent years. Let's be clear, it's all business as usual. They have not evaded anything, which makes the matter even more bitter, because it means that in almost all democratic countries in the world, the rich pay fiscal shares that are clearly much lower than those of the middle class, who pays a lot. The same goes for companies, to the extent that in the spring of 2021, the G7 countries reached a historic

Richest People in the World 2021



agreement to force multinational corporations to pay 15% of taxes on their profits, regardless of what they produce. This was an unprecedented decision.

wpquynews.com/

Will it be of helpful? We'll see. Meanwhile, an injustice within another injustice, women are paying the highest toll in a job market that is in crisis. 112 million women in the two-year period of 2021-2022 run the risk of losing their jobs, and hence their income, especially in the Middle East and Northern Africa. Employment losses due to Covid-19, according to estimates, will impact women's occupation as much as 40%.

While we continue contributing to more and more poverty, we are also doing nothing to interrupt environmental disasters. The Earth is becoming increasingly barren. Approximately 3 billion people live in dry areas, which by now covers 46.2% of the land surface. By 2050, this could reach 90%. Every year, about 4.18 million square km are destined for degradation, which, to be clear, is exactly half of the area occupied by the European Union. The result is that approximately 700 million individuals will be forced to migrate in the next 30 years, leaving their fields for urban areas. Cities will be stressed by global warming, leading to water shortages and habitat degradation. If rapid interventions are not made and temperatures increase by "only" 1.5°C in the forthcoming years - as predicted and hoped for by the Paris Agreement on climate - 951 million people will suffer from a similar impact. If global warming increases by 3°C, the number will increase to up to 1.28 billion; more than the total population of the United States, Indonesia, Pakistan, Brazil and Nigeria combined. In this melting pot, as always, we can find the underlying reasons for the many wars on the planet. The 34 wars that we illustrate can trace their origins to the lack of access to rights, the possibility of survival, adequate health care, hygiene services, water, food, or freedom. War finds its own matrix in the inevitable rage that all this fuels on a daily basis in thousands of women and men, as well as in some elites' ability to manipulate it, transforming them into soldiers, terrorists and killers.

Acting on the environment, reassessing the wealth distribution and ensuring health care, education, employment, freedom of thought, expression and life to all means laying the foundation for eliminating war and resolving conflict. This is not only the best route to take, it is also the smartest.

Afghanistan's Emergency

Emanuele
Giordana



Top photo
© Paolo Siccardi

Afghanistan - the chaos of evacuation and the absence of policies

The month of August 2021 was marked by the tragic images of the Kabul airport, which televisions around the world continued to broadcast for days. These images occupied the media scene, obscuring, at least in part, the more political aspect of what was happening in Afghanistan. A new regime had by now installed itself, thereby liquidating, in only 10 days, both a Republic that was thought to be fragile, although not at its collapse, and an army of 300 thousand men that clearly existed only on paper. Apart from the attitude of the United States, which appeared even more unprepared than other NATO coalition partners (and was mocked for), few European politicians had made any clear indications beyond the emergency evacuations and the humanitarian ones. The task at hand was to take care of at least 500 thousand displaced people, with more than half being in the first two weeks of August alone. Truthfully, serious reflection on the stance to take towards the Taliban should have started with the humanitarian emergency, hence demonstrating the undeniable role of the U.N. This was a very difficult decision, as, having concluded their military mission, the European embassies had also closed the doors of diplomacy, the art of politics par excellence. Once again, Europe proved unprepared to not only speak with one voice, but to even indicate a direction to move forward in. Evidence points to the fact that this has severely damaged relations between the EU and the US (and also between the UK and the US), which had seemed to regain momentum with the election of Biden.

An announced or unforeseen catastrophe?

The conquest of the country by the Taliban was just as rapid as it was unexpected. Some speculated that it had been long prepared with a subterranean skill that Western intelligence had eluded, while others imagined. A secret agreement between the US and the guerrillas to leave the Russians and the Chinese with a "hot potato." Furthermore, some people assumed that the US and its allies knew, but remained silent. Another theory holds that neither the US nor the Allies had foreseen such a catastrophe for the simple fact that, while closed in their offices and barracks handling a remotely managed war, they hadn't the faintest idea of what was happening on the ground- the underground advance of the Taliban, that most of the soldiers existed, or that the other soldiers had not received their salaries for months. Although the US had spent over \$80 billion on the Afghan army alone, this army simply existed on paper hence its rapid dissolution, in hindsight, was already conceivable based on this data. Nevertheless this remains a past to be investigated: a mirror of modern wars that are now being waged by proxy or, at most, from the sky to avoid mortal hand-to-hand combat and its collateral effects on the voters' vote. However, Afghanistan is a clear demonstration of how a war of aggression is never a solution, but only a vanguard of destruction, death and pain.

The "new" face of the Taliban. True or false?

Shortly after the capture of Kabul on August 15, the Taliban offered the world a first taste of the new facade that the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, in a renewed version, intends to offer: openness to education and women's right to work, respect for minorities and freedom of expression, economic development, security and eradication of the opium poppy. It may be a farce (after all, it is difficult to trust those who have managed to "cheat" the most powerful country on the planet), but it can also be a process of change with three main components. The first, concerns the search for an internal consensus that the Taliban needs just as anyone governs citizens, especially in urban centers. In



fact, the changes triggered by twenty years of military occupation - with all the defects attributable to the mission - have been the bearers of an irreversible "contamination" (in terms of rights), at least in the souls of many Afghan women and Afghans. The second point concerns the need not to isolate oneself, as the old Emirate of Mullah Omar did in the 1990s. It also points to international isolation (where they had no interlocutor other than Pakistan, the UAE and Saudi Arabia) that led to war and the defeat of an early rough state castle created by the Taliban. Today, the Taliban want a developed country with mobile phones, cars, jobs and washing machines, just as any ruler would want for its citizens, whether they are voters or just subjects. They must therefore come to agreements to obtain the help of UN agencies (to manage food, health and refugees) and money for the reconstruction that twenty years of military occupation never in fact carried out (considering that, with 100 as the military expenditure-cooperation ratio, the first component absorbed between 90 and 95% of the allocated funds). This need must not only be reflected in concessions, but also, as spokesman Zabihullah Mujahed carefully pointed out, "within the framework of the Sharia law".

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From a shadow government to a state

The third component is the economy. On the one hand, the Republic must recover its funds (after the freezing of \$445 million USD in IMF loans and the blockage of several billions of Afghan Central Bank money deposited in the US), and on the other, it must restart the state machine, which is in addition to co-opting the bureaucracy, the payment of wages, salaries and pensions. This means organising the fiscal machine of tax collection, shifting from an extortive regime to one of modern taxation. From this point of view (as an analysis of the Danish Overseas Development Institute explains very well), the Taliban were already well equipped in certain areas of the country where there was taxation above all on legal assets. This applied as well to taxation, as the vulgate would have it, on the proceeds of opium, which was largely controlled by warlords and bureaucrats of the now former Republic. "Sixteen years after the loss of power - the report writes - the Taliban have established a sophisticated system of parallel government in all of Afghanistan. Few would have foreseen the sophistication and geographic reach of their shadow government" (just as perhaps no one had foreseen the rapid fall of Kabul into their hands). If in certain areas the taxation on commercial goods could reach 80% against the Republic's 20%, the capacity of the Taliban shadow government was limited to less than a third of the 34 Afghan provinces: enough to give the idea of a model, but insufficient to maintain a modern and complex state machine. To move forward it will need time, reorganisation, framework and above all, loans.

The two souls of the Taliban

One of the problems that the Taliban will have to deal with, however, concerns the difficult balance between the two souls of a movement that is only apparently united. The real problem could in fact arise between the political summit (which we met during the Doha negotiations in traditional but well-made clothes, with well-ironed turbans and well-groomed beards) and the suburbs. The relationship between the Rahbari Shura - the summit led by a cultured elite with a vision - and the many rais, club leaders and military commanders who have fought on the ground for the political leaders is a difficult one. The latter can now both present the bill and apply the bloody version of a "vulgar" sharia coupled with the worst interpretation of Pashtunwali, the ancient tribal code of the Pashtun community. The current raids are not attributed to the political elite as much as to these gang leaders, whose troops were fed with conscripts recruited from prisons across half the country through house-by-house hunts that seem more like raids than selective political revenge. If combining the two souls of the movement is perhaps already a problem, it will not be easy to achieve a shared interim government and bring back the familiar faces of a Hamid Karzai or an Abdullah Abdullah; but nevertheless a good actor like Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, an unrepresentable character (known as the butcher of Kabul), but a good actor for all seasons. However, this operation could also be simpler than one thinks; with the Taliban's having the knife in their hand, the old tools of the Republic will have to grin and bear it. A quick solution, even if imperfect, would guarantee an initial stability, even if not a great exercise of democracy. Nor would the operation seem to be troubled by the unrealistic resistance of Amrullah Saleh, Ashraf Ghani's former vice president and former Head of services, perched without great hope in the Panjshir valley with his young and inexperienced son, Ahmad Shah Masood.

Isolate or deal?

Once the emergency is over, it will therefore be a question of deciding whether to go and deal the cards or to let Afghanistan throw itself into the hands of the Russians and the Chinese with the support of the Central Asian countries, Iran and, of course, the Pakistanis and the Saudis: all ready to capitalise on the exit (and setback) of the Americans and Europeans. We do not know, as we are writing, how the US and European governments will move, but we believe that the path of negotiation can instead favour a return to the European scenario that allows not only protecting as many rights and achievements of the Afghan people as possible, but also not letting go of a country which, as we can see, continues to be key in maintaining a regional balance and beyond. It is not only Europe or the US that has to roll up its sleeves: India, which has invested heavily in Afghanistan, now risks losing all the ground it has made and will have to start its marathon given that Afghanistan's

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stability or chaos is inevitably reflected on the Indo-Pakistani front. The Taliban could manage all this political-economic capital with political cunning (a gift they do not lack) despite the ruins of their blitzkrieg. Conversely they may choose the opposite, the easy way out, knowing that they run the risk of winning one table while losing the other. The next few months will tell what Mullah Omar's grandchildren decide, and also what direction the many registries will take, which for the moment, have closed their doors in Afghanistan.

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Ukraine
Emergency

Raffaele
Crocco



Ukraine invasion makes the world tremble

It's a war from which we will all come out bruised, the one being fought in Ukraine after the Russian invasion of February 24, 2022. Why? Let's line up the elements we have. Starting from the most basic feature, let's rewind the tape, going back to the end of 2013, where it all begins. It begins when the square rebels against the government's decision to withdraw from the race towards the European Union. Many Ukrainians want that entry: they see joining the Union as an opportunity to improve their future. However the big neighbor, Moscow, disagrees. In the Kremlin, Putin, who has already been in power for a long time, sees embezzlement in that entrance. Historically, Ukraine is in the Russian sphere of influence, part of that continental imperial horizon that has always been there, in which Putin seems to be part of the nature of things. In addition, he fears that joining the Union will be the first step for Kiev to join NATO, the pro-US military alliance that he has always perceived as an enemy.

The pressure on the Kiev government is strong. Viktor Yanukovich is the ruler of the Ukrainian capital. He is the President, and the one who, surprising the Ukrainians, blocks the integration process. It is the night between November 21st and 22nd, 2013. This is how the square breaks out: along with the protest, going down in history as Euromaidan, from the union of the words maidan, meaning square and euro, Europe. Thousands of people go to the square for weeks, months; They are asking for the integration process to restart, and that the President leave. It is a very tough fight,





resembling a civil war. The repression is violent and, in some cases, ferocious. Demonstrators always range between 50 and 200 thousand, with peaks of 800 thousand. They remain in the streets in the cold for three months, despite police repression, leading to more than 100 dead, and the increasingly harsh and liberal governmental laws. On February 24, 2014 there was a turning point: Parliament declared Janukovyč fallen and formally accused him of "mass murder". He flees and finds refuge in Moscow. Meanwhile, the square wins, moving towards new elections and the resumption of the European integration process, the Kremlin reacts.

© Paolo Slcardi

On the international political level, Putin feeds the rumor that this is an unacceptable coup d'état. Why? This is because the Parliament would not have followed the procedures provided for by the Constitution. On the military level, the action is more decisive, with military annexation of Crimea and war in Donbass. For what concerns Crimea, Ukraine is watching the military maneuvers and the popular referendum that effectively detaches the peninsula from Kiev and brings it back to Russia. As for Donbass, it reacts and sets up the army against the separatist forces. Thus begins a war which, despite repeated ceasefires, has never ended. It cost between 13 and 15 thousand deaths, hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people - so much so that Ukraine is the second country in the world for the number of internally displaced people -, and the blocking of any progress in the EU annexation procedures.

This is the situation on the eve of the Russian invasion. The war, let us repeat, was already there. It caused deaths, worsened the country's economy, and limited its horizons. The war was there for all to see, yet no one intervened or tried to find a solution. For clarity, something was tried. In 2015, the Minsk Protocol was signed between the representatives of Ukraine, Russia, the separatist republics and the OSCE which had drawn a "map for peace". The agreement provided for a constitutional reform capable of giving large autonomy to the two territories, while keeping them under Ukrainian sovereignty. Reform has never existed, but it is one of the responsibilities that Kiev has given for the current crisis. In 2020 the so-called Format Normandy, composed of Germany and France as mediators as well as Ukraine and Russia, had led to a new armed truce while maintaining the Minsk Protocol as a point of reference.

Could more have been done? Probably yes, analysts say. International forces could have entered the dynamics of the clash, trying to lead the contenders to find an agreement. Instead, they seem to have transformed Ukraine into the ground for a confrontation - for the definition of the new world order.

Could this massacre have been avoided? Yes. If on the international stage the forces had acted differently, this phase of the war would not have occurred and we would have probably avoided eight long years of fighting and death in the Donbass. On the other hand, everyone preferred not to

act, either for convenience or because they were too busy reiterating their role and strength with respect to others. But which nations are these forces?

Ukraine is the absolute protagonist, of course. Now, with the invasion in progress, it is the victim without ifs and buts- unjustly attacked without logic or justification by Russia. In the past years, it has had the responsibility of trying not to completely change its skin, becoming a complete democracy, which does not exclude political parties and eliminates corruption. It was also unable to find a solution with the separatists, an even more serious issue. Failure to implement the Minsk Protocol is among the causes of the war or at least potentially gave Russia the pretext to attack. This, of course, cannot and must not justify Putin's choice: it is not tolerable to justify one country invading another for its own interests.

Russia has used Ukraine to reaffirm that it has returned as strong and powerful, therefore having the right to sit with equal dignity at the table of the great world powers. This is a maneuver that began from afar: Putin had already waged war in Chechnya and Georgia in the early years of this century, an attempt to show the world its muscles and recreate that Great Russia that seems to be among his obsessions. Next, he filled the gaps left by the US in the Near East, allying with Iran and intervening militarily in Syria. Officially, this was to fight Isis, the Islamic state, but in reality it was to support Bashar al-Assad in his war against those who wanted to overthrow him. Finally, he sought a role in the Balkans, supporting Serbia and disturbing the European Union. It remains to understand how much the personal psychological component, need for affirmation, and vanity influenced Putin's decision to attack Kiev on February 24. On the political and diplomatic level, he already had the best cards in hand and Ukraine would not have entered NATO in the situation it was in. Putin's Russia has once again become dark, undemocratic, closed, and antagonistic: a world that sees Europe as an enemy and the United States as an antagonist to beat.

NATO has lived for thirty years, since the fall of the Soviet Union, with the belief that it won the Cold War. It has not realized that it is simply the survivor. It was history, with its changes, that brought down the USSR, dissolved in its own incapacity. NATO, boasting of victory, forgot that it had lost its reason to exist. A purely defensive military alliance, intended to avoid attacks from a single, specific adversary, has tried to redesign itself in recent decades without finding a real answer. The allies, no longer feeling in danger, did not seek common solutions, but thought that expanding their borders could be the key to lengthening and consolidating new markets. So off to the hunt for the former Warsaw Pact countries (the alliance of the friendly countries of the Soviet Union), which not surprisingly, almost always, also joined the European Union. An arrogant behavior, a mistress of the world, which played side by side with the United States and humiliated Russia's history and present role, not taking into account any possible consequences. The result in

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Ukraine is clear, making it possible for the country to join NATO has deluded Kiev and unleashed Moscow. Those who pay the pledge are the ones who die under the bombs.

The United States played on the bank with NATO. Indeed, they used it when they needed it and dropped it when their interests, to defend or reaffirm, were elsewhere. A “bossy” posture common to Washington since 1991, has led to great international tensions and a rapid regression of the levels of international cooperation between states. The vanity of feeling like “the empire” had led them, in the summer of 2001, to a broad debate on the possible need for an institutional reform, which would transform them into a sort of “new Rome”. 9/11 halted this phase but did not curb the crisis in the US system. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have been a costly fiasco both militarily and politically. The alliance with NATO countries has gradually loosened, with the almost total abandonment of interest in the Near East and the desire to focus on the Pacific scenario in order to counter China. A naval power, not a land one, the US has shifted its strategic axis through the new alliance with Australia and the UK (Aukus), but raised its voice in November 2021, when Putin’s threat to Kiev became concrete. They exposed the possible attacks in time, and they told the truth. However, too many years of lies, such as the fictional weapons in Iraq for the 2003 war, have made the world suspicious. Thus, few believed Biden while he was threatening the Russian president and beating his fists on the table. Most of all, Putin did not believe it, as he measured the weakness of the United States in the hasty flight from Kabul in August 2021. So, Washington appears in the corner, with frail political means to really play a role in the end of the war.

China is the real new protagonist of the scene. Beijing sided with Moscow: the agreement signed by Putin and Xi Jinping in early February 2022 links the two countries in strategic-military and economic ways. This is an important alliance because it looks far ahead. It looks, for example, at the Arctic route that is opening up to the north because of climate change, as the ice melting is making that stretch of sea navigable. The transport of Chinese goods to Europe, which is a large market, will pass through there, allowing a 40% savings in costs. Russia will inevitably control that route. The United States, with its obsessive control of ocean routes and the Panama Canal, will be overtaken and cornered. Beijing wants an alliance with Moscow, because it has made the East “the center of the world” again. However Ukraine was insignificant for Beijing: it has no time for the imperialist vanity of the West. China builds its own empire on the international markets. For this reason, after the declarations of support and friendship to Putin, Beijing’s interest really woke up in the days following the invasion of February 24, 2022. At that point, this war and the heavy sanctions implemented risked putting international markets in crisis. China, a country that produces everything, needs to sell abroad. Trade must go on and so began the slow turnaround towards a mediating role that could prove to be fundamental. Most of all, it could reiterate that China has become the real great power of the planet.

In this story, the European Union is the economic giant turned political dwarf by the international scene. Could it have done more to avoid this war? Yes, it could. It could have had a role in bringing Kiev to fulfill the provisions of the Minsk Agreements, subordinating the procedures of Ukrainian integration to the Union precisely, leading to the achievement of internal peace. It could have convinced Moscow to ease the pressure in the Donbass, avoiding doing business by finding useful political and economic tools to make Putin reflect on the search for an unarmed solution. It could have clearly said what it thought in terms of international law, on the principles of self-determination of peoples, or on the safeguard of the territorial integrity of recognized sovereign states. They could have done so without playing ambiguously on different positions as it did in Kosovo, where it supports the Kosovars’ demands for self-determination, or in Ukraine, where it embraces the thesis of territorial integrity to the detriment of the Donbass separatists. The European Union, which sells itself to the world as the “house of rights and democracy”, has played according to convenience for opportunism and business. Not surprisingly, some former European leaders sit on the boards of directors of large Russian companies. The Union behaved like any ordinary merchant, by using the Ukrainians. The recent attempts by French President Macron and German Chancellor Scholz have been more useful in trying to relaunch the European image than in finding a solution to the war. The time to really count for something had passed.

And finally, Turkey, with President Erdogan. Ankara joined the debate on the war by exploiting the absence of Europe and its desire to return to the table of the greats. Extremely active in the Mediterranean and in the Balkans, with the approximate intent to rebuild the idea of an “imperial Turkey” that died in 1918, Erdogan has historically dubious relations with Putin, but has shown that he understands him. Thus, despite being a NATO country, Turkey has begun to weave a plot that has led it to be a mediator between Zelensky and Putin. For the Turkish president, a man far from any idea of democracy exactly like his Russian counterpart, this could be an opportunity to “make up for himself” at the international level: an opportunity he does not want to miss.

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The long-term effects of explosive weapons

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Introduction

Explosive weapons are those conventionally used in war and included in national military arsenals. Such category includes aircraft bombs, artillery shells, mortars, rockets, grenades, missiles and improvised explosive devices (IEDs). Although they are activated differently (some of them are launched, others fired or dropped by air), they all work at the same manner, activated by the detonation of highly explosive substance around a detonation point, which creates blast and fragmentation waves affecting areas nearby, including people, buildings, and infrastructures.

According to International Humanitarian Law (IHL), civilian population must not be targeted in the conduction of hostilities, which includes the effects of the use of explosive weapons. Yet, when explosive weapons are used in urban areas, a tactic that has unfortunately become a feature of the new way of fighting, civilians represent the majority of the victims.

While modern conflicts are always becoming more urban and involving non-State armed groups, the use of explosive weapons in populated areas (EWIPA) has become a global humanitarian issue and a critical problem in the international community due to the difficult compliance to IHL principles.

As previously stated, IHL regulates the protection of civilians in warfare and indicates that attacks must be conducted while taking into consideration, case-by-case, the principles of proportionality, distinction, and prohibition of indiscriminate attacks. The new war scenarios, with the urban setting and the involvement of non-State armed groups, pose serious challenges to its objectives of protection, even when the rules are formally respected. More specifically, while there is no legal restriction of these weapons in war, the consequences of their use in populated areas affect civilians whereas the ultimate scope of IHL is to protect them from suffering.

Data on the impact of explosive violence suggest that current IHL principles represent a minimum standard of protection of civilians in armed conflicts. Stronger international standards must be set to limit the use of explosive weapons and, consequently, in order to prevent harm to civilian populations. According to Action on Armed Violence (AOAV), a British NGO that for ten years has documented the effects of explosive violence, when explosive weapons are used in populated areas, 9 out of 10 victims are civilians. This demonstrates a clear "pattern of harm" that has remained constant in any war of the last decades. Only in 2020, despite the call for a humanitarian ceasefire launched by United Nations Secretary General, the civilian victims of explosive weapons were 11,056, making up 59% of the total victims. The latest AOAV report says that the five countries where the civilian population has been most affected by explosive violence are those involved in the conflicts with the greatest media coverage: Afghanistan, Syria, Pakistan, Yemen and Libya. The same research adds that when explosive weapons are used in populated areas, 88% of the victims belong to the civilian population: a percentage that drops to 16% when looking at their use outside of urban settings. Compared to 2019, civilian victims of explosive weapons have decreased by 43%, also because of the effects of the pandemic, however it is still too early to confirm a change in this trend. The same can be said about the lower number of victims caused by the use of EWIPA by non-state armed groups (9,706 compared to 15,640 in 2019).

Civilian harm from EWIPA is further worsened when these weapons have wide area effects, de-



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iving from the presence of three factors (even in combination): radio of blast and fragmentation, accuracy in targeting, and number of munitions. Generally speaking, the wider the area impacted, the larger the number of civilians risking their lives, especially in towns and cities.

EWIPA cause deaths and injuries as a direct consequence of their use, but they can provoke harm to civilians in multiple ways. In addition to the "primary effects" (i.e direct impact to human bodies), there are "secondary effects", deriving from the interaction of the weapons with the surrounding environment (for example, an explosion provoking a building collapse). Needless to say, secondary effects are more complex to be classified and analysed because they extend their consequences in space (beyond the target of the attack) and time (in the case of the destruction and/or damage of civil infrastructures).

Talking about effects in time and space is not a mere academic matter. Understanding the civilian harm caused by EWIPA becomes mandatory in order to address its humanitarian impact. For this reason, the concept of reverberating effects has begun to be used by many international actors. Reverberating effects are defined as long-term consequences "that are not directly caused by the attack, but are a consequence of it", such as the lack of access to medical services and school facilities. Their duration also depends on the extent of the destruction and the time of reconstruction. For example, if a critical power infrastructure is damaged, this will create a correlated pattern of harm where medical facilities can no longer provide adequate health care and schools are unable to provide education. If a sewage system is damaged by severe bombing, lack of hygiene and access to clean water could cause epidemics.

In the next section, the reverberating effects on the civilian population will be further explored, with particular focus on the impact of EWIPA on health.

1. The reverberating effects

As shown by an AOA's research on reverberating effects of explosive weapons in the conflicts in Lebanon and Sri Lanka released in 2018, there is solid evidence that the use of EWIPA heavily limits the future economic and social development of a country, jeopardizing the full achievement of civil and social rights.

A clear example of the pattern of harm of reverberating effects can be summarized as the following. Explosive weapons kill and injure students, teachers, and doctors while also destroying civilian infrastructures such as schools, universities, hospitals, clinics, and homes. This causes immediate harm to individuals and communities (primary and secondary effects), creating long-lasting

consequences. With reference to schools, the damage and/or destruction of these infrastructures causes non-negligible long-term effects on students. The destruction of a school building involves the reduction of teaching hours and this, combined with the destruction of houses, leads the forces children and their families to escape in search of safety, thus interrupting their studies. The consequences on the education of minors are evident and not quantifiable only in the number of destroyed and/or damaged buildings or in the number of civilian victims, but also in the number of minors dropping their studies, in the reduction of teaching hours, etc. Furthermore, if electricity is cut off, children will not be able to do their homework even in those homes that are used as schools. In addition, there is the trauma of losing a family member, which often also affects children's ability to learn.

Despite many Civil Society Organizations and NGOs' initiatives advocating for a better knowledge and dissemination of reverberating effects as the core of the pattern of harm, there is still no clear and widespread understanding of reverberating effects. Since 2010, the UN Secretary General has addressed States, International actors, and NGOs, arguing that it is necessary to carry out systematic research and collect data of the human costs of EWIPA, as such is "fundamental to understand the humanitarian impact of these weapons and to inform the development of policies and practices that strengthen the implementation of International Humanitarian Law". On this matter, it must certainly be taken into consideration that the States in conflict are hardly able to accurately monitor the effects of explosive violence, but very often the political will to do so is lacking.

1.1 The humanitarian impact of explosive weapons on health

Although there has always been concern about the impact of conflicts on healthcare, studies and researches about the specific connection between health system and explosive violence are more recent, focusing on direct and indirect impacts as well as reverberating effects. Physical and psychological impacts, damage to infrastructures and medical personnel, and lack of access to medical service are not limited to the time of conflict, lasting decades after war ends.

In 2020 AOA carried out research about EWIPA impact on healthcare in Ukraine and Syria. Despite the difference between the countries, key findings were quite the same for both, confirming the existence of the pattern of harm directly linked to the use of explosive weapons in populated areas. The studies confirmed that injuries resulted by EWIPA require long life care that represents a burden totally borne by communities and families. Worsened living conditions resulting from the use

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of EWIPA equally affect the general health of individuals, furthering costs for the fragile (when one exists) health system.

Massive exposure to bombing and shelling is a cause of psychological distress and mental diseases. A study of Humanity and Inclusion found that in Syria, 80% of injured IDPs suffer from psychological distress, all while facing a community that is not equipped to address the problem due to the scarcity of qualified doctors.

There is a dramatic decrease in the level of health care available when hospitals and other medical facilities are bombed, along with restricted access to ordinary medical facilities due to the destruction of roads. In eastern Ukraine, for example, 40% population living along “the line of contact” in the Donbass region has experienced challenges in accessing basic health service since the outbreak of war in 2014.

Furthermore, over the last ten years, hospitals and medical infrastructures have been increasingly targeted, despite the clear prohibition by IHL. Between 2011 and 2019, AOA registered 221 attacks to hospitals and medical facilities in 23 countries. Besides becoming a terrible new norm, such violations also create conditions that can lead to a collapse or permanent malfunctioning of health systems. Data collected in Sri Lanka in 2020 suggests that, even after the end of civil war in 2009, the majority of hospitals targeted had stopped providing coordinated medical services and access to the most vulnerable individuals of population, particularly women. 'In this specific instance, it is critical to recognize that less access for women leads to a negative impact on pre-natal care, reproductive health, and maternal services: all of which will impact new births and generations. This connection was demonstrated by a study published in 2019 by Conflict and Health Magazine, which focused on the consequences of ongoing bombing in Gaza in 2008-2009.

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2. Towards the International Political Declaration

So far, 112 states and 6 groupings have publicly acknowledged the unacceptable harm caused by

EWIPA and its humanitarian impact. The UN General Secretary and the International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) called for States to urgently act in order to reverse the trend of explosive violence and reach an agreement on a common standard for use of EWIPA.

The 2019 Vienna Conference on the Protection of Civilians in Urban Conflicts started the process for developing an International Political Declaration to alleviate the humanitarian suffering caused by the EWIPA. Since the beginning, the process has been promoted, sustained, and supported by INEW, an international network of local and international NGOs and CSOs engaged on the protection of civilians in armed conflicts.

The formal consultations on the text of Declaration begun in November 2019 and are still ongoing under the leadership of Ireland. From 2019 to 2021, over one hundred country representatives and CSOs gathered in Geneva for three different rounds of consultations, with the aim of reaching an agreement on key commitments for States to strengthen protection of civilians.

According to INEW, in order to be effective and have a positive impact on civilians in conflicts, there are several key points and commitments to be included in the text: (1) a clear description of different types of impact (death and/or injury, physical injury, psychological trauma, social and economic discrimination experienced by victims and survivors); (2) the destruction of critical infrastructure (transport, housing, health facilities, water systems, etc.), including reverberating effects; (3) the contamination of the territories with unexploded war remnants and environmental degradation; (4) forced displacement and the inability to return safely to the places of origin; (5) the development of operational military policies practices based on the total avoidance of the use of explosive weapons in populated areas when they have wide area effects; (6) data collection and exchange; (7) victim assistance; and (8) development of monitoring framework.

Although it is not a binding legal instrument, the declaration seeks to influence State behaviour in the conduction of hostilities by setting up a framework of cooperation and monitoring to try to alleviate the suffering of civilian harm. Despite the general recognition of civilian harm and the need to take action accordingly, the agreement on other key points and commitments is still far from unanimous.

The last round of consultations took place on 6-8 April 2022 in Geneva, after two years on hold due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The long pause has deepened the gap between States in favour of Declaration and those not accepting either contents or commitments. Three topics are considered “too hot to handle” at the moment. Some states, like the US, Denmark, Canada, Israel, and Turkey, argue that humanitarian consequences of EWIPA come from violations of IHL and not from the urban setting. Generally speaking, there is a great resistance on their side because they consider

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the Declaration as an attempt to “create” new and more restricting rules of IHL. Despite scientific basis of the reverberating effects, the US, UK, and Israel refuse to accept the concept at all, as it isn't mentioned in the Geneva Conventions and its Additional Protocol. Moreover, there is no general consensus on the commitment of avoiding the use of explosive weapons with wide area effects. The presumption of avoidance, promoted by ICRC and INEW, still represents a big hurdle to the great majority of States. Even EU countries and the European Union, generally open to the development process and to mediate among all other States convened, show high resistance to it. This led to a hold-on in negotiation so that Ireland set up a new round, the most recent one, in early June 2022.

Despite the good will demonstrated by some States (Chile, Mexico, and African States from Maputo Communique to mention a few) in the attempts at reconciling different positions, at the moment there are currently still few chances that the Declaration would contain ambitious and brave commitments to address the humanitarian impact of EWIPA. While writing this article, a new draft of Declaration, the last one, is being worked by Irish representatives with the intention of officially presenting it in early June. The big question is whether achieving a general consensus will overcome the urgency of immediately taking effective action to protect civilians and addressing how much longer bombed populations can wait.





The World's Armies, the Paradox of Security

This paradox is formidable and would turn facts into something funny, obviously only if the facts were not so tragic.

It is evident that investing in defense leads a state to feeling secure. The more resources are invested in the armed forces, the greater the sense of security perceived by citizens. However, this leaves neighbouring countries immediately feeling more vulnerable, defenseless, and attackable. As a result, they invest more money in the armed forces too, creating a domino effect that will result in the general and complete insecurity of the area. In fact, each one will feel threatened by the other. Hence, the paradox lies in the fact that investing in military security actually generates insecurity.

Armed forces in the World

To start talking about the armed forces in the world, we can begin with a paradox to understand who the most powerful armies are as well as the logic behind them. Ironically, having the strongest army does not necessarily correlate to the ability to win wars.

We'll begin with the simplest data to interpret, that is, from the ranking of the most armed and strongest armies on the planet. Global Firepower, a specialised analysis website, compiles an annual global firepower ranking, evaluating over fifty factors to determine the PowerIndex ("PwrIdx") score of a nation. This is the index of military strength.

This index takes into account factors such as the availability and diversity of means and armaments (fighter aircraft, tanks, naval units, etc.), overall military personnel, defense budget, total population (as a key consideration, if concerning the potential of manpower in cases of need), the technological advancement of the country, and the geographical, logistical, industrial, and financial conditions. Nuclear weapons, however, are excluded. In total, 136 states are examined.

How data is used

Let's try to understand in detail the parameters used. The defense budget indicates the total expenditure of each country for the armed forces (navy, army, air force). Not all governments use the same measurement parameters; for this reason, the data should not be interpreted in absolute terms. Furthermore, the workforce tends to indicate the total workforce able to work. Military personnel indicate both armed forces and reservists. In some countries, paramilitary forces are also included.

Classification of means

Military vehicles, both those used for training or rendered unusable but still in storage, are excluded. When it comes to tanks, an explicit term, this refers to heavy tracked vehicles. Armoured combat vehicles indicate light and medium vehicles that are typically more useful in urban environments for patrolling and counter-guerrilla purposes and that tend to be more effective in open field clashes. Armoured vehicles for transporting troops or for other activities are not included in the category of military vehicles.

When talking about artillery pieces, we refer to both semi-moving artillery and fixed field artillery



pieces. Going forward, multiple missile launchers are vehicles equipped with tubes capable of firing multiple missile salvos at the same time, as they have a greater fire saturation capacity of the area than the conventional artillery and potentially devastating effects.

In aviation, fighters have the task of intercepting enemy aircraft or missiles and shooting them down. Fighter-bombers are air vehicles that play an important role in ground attack operations. Attack helicopters are those helicopters, usually fairly armoured, that are capable of conducting ground attack operations. This data does not include means of transport or reconnaissance.

Lastly, there is the navy. Aircraft carriers are large flat-deck ships that serve as take-off and landing runways for airplanes and helicopters. Their goal is to create air support in a relatively short time. Destroyers, which have an anti-submarine and anti-aircraft role, are relatively small ships escorting larger ships. The frigates, the dimensions of which are variable and whose roles are diversified according to the different countries, can be included in the category of the heaviest cruisers. They can accommodate short and medium-range missiles that can hit ground and air targets. For some European Countries, destroyers and frigates coincide, so there is not always a clear division between them. Submarines have a mostly anti-naval role. Some submarines can carry nuclear warheads. The corvettes have small dimensions and are equipped with light armament, with multi-role anti-aircraft and anti-submarine function, and can flank the larger ships.

Finally, the patrol vehicles. They are small, versatile, and fast. They are mainly used in patrol and reconnaissance missions.

The ranking

We have seen what the parameters used for the ranking are. Now, let's review at least part of it. The top twenty armies belong to the United States, Russia, China, India, Japan, South Korea, France, United Kingdom, Brazil, Pakistan, Turkey, Italy, Egypt, Iran, Germany, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Australia, and Israel.

The US' first place ranking confirms the data of previous years. Its military strength index is 0.0615, with 2 million and 141 thousand soldiers and an arsenal of more than 13 thousand aircraft, 6,287 tanks, and 415 naval units, of which 24 are aircraft carriers.

Immediately after the US is its Cold War counterpart, Russia (0.0639), with 3 million and 586 soldiers but fewer armaments than its overseas "rivals": 4,078 aircraft, 21,932 tanks, 352 naval units, and only one aircraft carrier.

On the last step of the podium is China (0.0673), with a military force of 2,693,000 units, as well as 3,187 aircraft, 13,050 tanks, and 714 naval units.

The other two countries are India, which, despite being less populated than China, has 3,462,500 soldiers with a PowerIndex equal to 0.1065, and France (0.1584), the first European country in the ranking. The difference between French military personnel and those of the countries preceding it in the rankings is remarkable: France has a little more than 388 thousand soldiers, plus 1,248 aircraft, 406 tanks, and 118 naval units.

Immediately after France comes the growing Japan, which knocks the United Kingdom from sixth place. The British crown has also been overtaken by South Korea and must settle for the eighth position.

Turkey and Germany complete the top ten, while Italy is just out, at the eleventh position.

Power does not mean victory

This is an undoubtedly interesting ranking. It is important to understand the amount of money that some countries pour into military spending, but this does not offer a correct picture of the "military reality". In short, it does not tell how wars can really go.

In the ranking we have seen, the power of a state is measured by a series of quantified "objective" factors. But do they really measure a Country's military capacity?

The military failures in recent history seem to tell us that they do not measure it at all. In the Vietnam War, which ended in 1973, the US' great military and technological power was dramatically defeated by the guerrilla tactics of the North Vietnamese army. Since 1979, military interventions in Afghanistan, both by the USSR and by the international coalition (since 2001), have shown that theoretical power can be defeated by the tenacity of resistance. This suggests that in a scenario like the military one, which is full of unexpected events and uncertainties, numbers are not enough to provide exhaustive explanations.

Knowing how tactical and strategic skills, combined with an overall view, plays a decisive factor in ensuring a nation's success, both on the battlefield and diplomatically.

Comparing doctrines

In short, being big and fat does not guarantee winning wars. At most, it offers the certainty of doing a lot of damage. However, the collected data tell us much, much more. For example, they explain what the military doctrines of the Countries are. In large-scale conflicts, The US bases its strength on aviation. The US command launches devastating attacks on the ground forces to annihilate them and weaken their logistical lines, decision-making, and displacement skills. Only at that point, the army, with the men on the ground, comes into play; but the result is not always as expected, as seen with the difficulties in Afghanistan.

Russia's view is completely different. It aims for high firepower. How? This is done with the combined use of artillery pieces and large quantities of armored vehicles, which they use as an overwhelming mass. Like Washington, Moscow aims for a strategy that can be useful in case of a traditional war, with a regular army. These doctrines seem to be less effective in contexts of asymmetric warfare, that is, against an opponent that is not a theoretically equal army (at least in terms of structure and organisation), but an enemy difficult to identify; one that adopts guerrilla techniques. Let's come to China, the third world power. The available data is difficult to interpret, which is typical when it comes to Beijing. This is because of uncertain estimates on the numbers, which are difficult to verify. Moreover, in recent decades (and especially since 1991, the year of the first war against Iraq), China has invested a lot of money in the modernization of its armed forces. By doing so, it modified its system, abandoning the strategy based almost exclusively on numerical power.

The army's workforce has been reduced by 300,000 units to take benefit from the new technologies. In fact, China is in third place as a world military power, and above all for its numerical ratio. Its army is huge and technological innovation advances rapidly. However, according to experts, Beijing lacks an essential element: experience in large-scale conflicts, which the US and Russia have to a great degree. Iraq and Afghanistan for the US, then Ossetia and Syria for Moscow, then theatres of war that allowed them to test and improve their operational doctrines. Beijing's armed forces have not been engaged in a full-scale war since 1979 when they invaded Vietnam. They were forced to withdraw within a couple of weeks under the formal justification that "it was a punitive expedition, not an attempt at conquest". Since then, the People's Republic army has been employed in police operations in the provinces that most rejected Chinese rule (Tibet,

Xinjiang, and Hong Kong), without experimenting with complex conflicts. Experts think that this factor must not be underestimated in the balance of power, especially in a theoretical theatre of confrontation such as the South China Sea, which has become a centre of local claims and global interests. If there is a collision, Beijing may not live up to it.

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What Europe is doing

France, the United Kingdom, and Germany are in the worldwide top ten, with Italy immediately behind. In short, Europe can deploy powerful armies, but it lacks any kind of unified vision of defense. Different weapons, different means, and distinct strategic visions create boundaries that are difficult to cross at the moment. For those involved in armies and weapons, the main problem is the low level of military spending on research and development in EU countries, which severely hinders its "strategic autonomy". However, something is moving. Discussions on the defense strategy that the Union will have to adopt in the coming years revolves around the Strategic Compass document, which defines strategies and methods of cooperation between States by identifying each country's efforts towards pre-established strategic objectives. The European Union aims to integrate and coordinate the various national armies, facilitated by the exit of the United Kingdom. London was historically against any form of integration. Paris and Berlin, together with Madrid and Rome, for example, seem to favour the development of a shared military industry, putting an end to the plurality of armaments and means of the EU. Here, in some way, we come back to the security paradox mentioned above; all this desire for cooperation among European armies worries the NATO. The Atlantic Alliance fears being excluded and replaced by an alliance of European states. Governments and senior officials hastened to reassure everyone are stating that the collaboration with NATO will not fail. Simply, a continental collaboration will address the problems affecting the Union, guaranteeing a greater margin of autonomy. Unfortunately, it is precisely this "margin" that scares NATO.

Position in the ranking	Country	Military strength index	Military personnel	Tanks	Aircraft	Naval units
1	The United States	0,0615	2.141.900	13.398	6.287	415
2	Russia	0,0639	3.586.128	21.932	4.078	352
3	China	0,0673	2.693.000	13.050	3.187	714
4	India	0,1065	3.462.500	4.184	2.082	295
5	France	0,1584	388.635	406	1.248	118
6	Japan	0,1707	303.157	1.004	1.572	131
7	South Korea	0,1761	5.827.250	2.654	1.614	166
8	United Kingdom	0,1797	233.000	331	811	76
9	Turkey	0,2089	735.000	3.200	1.067	194
10	Germany	0,2097	208.641	900	613	81
11	Italy	0,2277	357.000	200	831	143
12	Egypt	0,2283	920.000	2.160	1.092	319
13	Brazil	0,2487	1.674.500	437	706	110
14	Iran	0,2606	873.000	1.634	509	398
15	Pakistan	0,2798	1.204.000	2.200	1.642	197
16	Indonesia	0,2804	800.000	315	451	221
17	Israel	0,2964	615.000	2.760	595	65
18	North Korea	0,3274	7.580.000	6.075	949	967
19	Australia	0,3277	79.700	66	157	47
20	Spain	0,3821	139.500	327	522	46
21	Canada	0,3941	94.000	80	384	63
22	Taiwan	0,3956	1.890.000	1.855	837	87
23	Vietnam	0,3988	5.482.000	2.575	318	65
24	Poland	0,4059	105.000	1.100	469	83
25	Saudi Arabia	0,4286	230.000	1.062	848	55

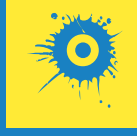


INFOGRAPHIC WORLD MIGRATION

DATA SOURCE

ONU - UNHCR - Italian Parliament

2020 DATA



ATLAS
OF WARS
AND CONFLICTS
IN THE WORLD

We live in a moving World, this we know. We are a migrating species, even though we have a hard time admitting it. On a global scale, economic conditions, climate change and wars are leading to an increase in migrations, although it is still a numerically contained phenomenon. Only 3.5% of the world's population is on the move a minimal percentage, in clear contrast with the fear that this phenomenon is generating all over the globe.

Key

< 2% 5.1 - 10% 15.1 - 20% > 40.1%

Trends of the impact of international migrants on country populations the World over

2.1 - 5% 10.1 - 15% 20.1 - 40%

FOCUS

**NUMBER OF
MIGRANTS UP TO
DECEMBER 2020**

281 million

migrants in the world (3.5% of
the world population).

In 2000 they were

173 million

FOCUS

**MONEY
TRANSFERS**

\$689 billion

US Dollars, constituting
a significant economic
element in many countries.

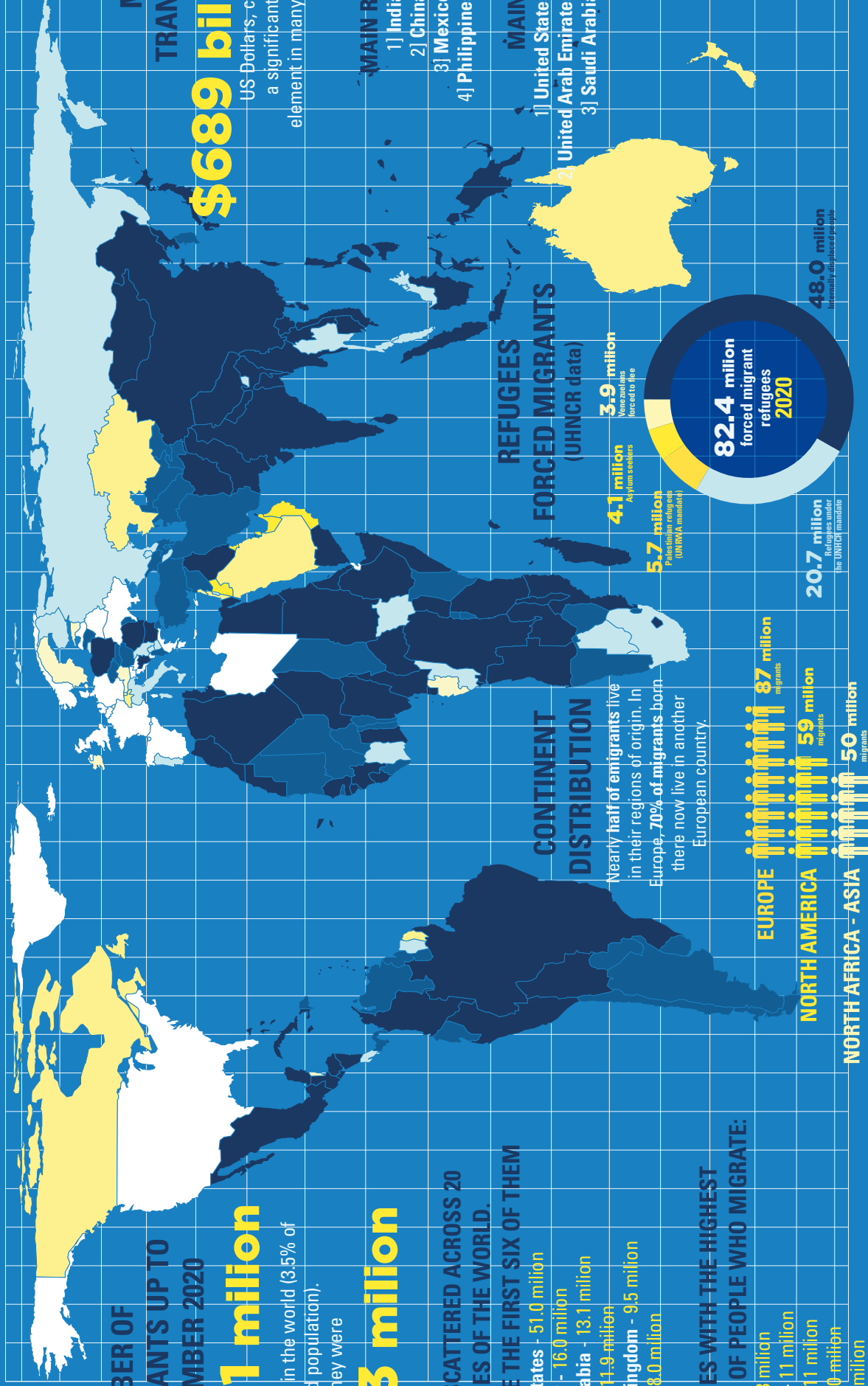
**2/3 ARE SCATTERED ACROSS 20
COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD.**

HERE ARE THE FIRST SIX OF THEM

- 1] United States - 51.0 million
- 2] Germany - 16.0 million
- 3] Saudi Arabia - 13.1 million
- 4] Russia - 11.9 million
- 5] United Kingdom - 9.5 million
- 6] France - 8.0 million

**COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST
NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO MIGRATE:**

- 1] India - 18 million
- 2] Mexico - 11 million
- 3] Russia - 11 million
- 4] China - 10 million
- 5] Syria - 8 million





INFOGRAPHIC

ATLAS OF UN MISSIONS

DATA SOURCE
UN

Data as of 30 June 2021

The number of wars is either growing or remaining stable. The number of Blue Helmets missions, however, is declining. There are currently thirteen ongoing missions all over the World to guarantee a ceasefire or the beginning of a peace process. The Countries of the UN General Assembly seem to be less willing to fund them. Thus, they are left stranded due to the lack of funding and political commitment. Yet, in many places, the women and men wearing blue helmets embody the only hope for survival for thousands of individuals. A reality that the international public opinion, strained between growing skepticism and elegant disenchantment, seems to be increasingly willing to ignore.



The budget approved for the
UN peacekeeping operations
for the fiscal year
1 July 2020 - 30 June 2021 is

\$6.58 billion

THIS SUM COVERS 11 OUT OF 13 UN
PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS,
(INCLUDING UNAMID, ALTHOUGH ITS
MANDATE ENDED IN DECEMBER 2020)



SOME DATA



Ongoing peacekeeping operations					
Mission	Start date	Troops	Military observers	Police agents	International civilians
UNTSO	May 1948	0	151	0	62
UNMOGIP	January 1948	0	44	0	21
UNCFYP	March 1964	759	0	64	36
UNDP	June 1974	1,035	0	0	46
UNFPL	March 1978	9,537	0	0	244
MINURSO	April 1991	20	210	0	72
UNAMK	June 1999	0	9	0	97
UNAMID	July 2007	3,341	7	829	672
MONUSCO	July 2010	12,286	162	1,606	769
UNISFA	June 2011	3,161	142	46	141
UNMISS	July 2011	14,222	217	1,633	854
MINUSMA	March 2013	17,865	0	1,732	895
MINUSCA	April 2014	11,024	150	2,036	953
Total		64,510	1,088	2,135	3,620

Mission	Local Civilians	UN Volunteers	Total Staff	Victims	Budget (US\$)
UNTSO	150	0	383	52	36,500,000 (2021)
UNMOGIP	47	0	112	12	10,520,000 (2021)
UNCFYP	115	1	1,206	183	562,010,000
UNDP	79	0	1,213	55	67,570,000
UNFPL	595	0	10,657	321	469,662,000
MINURSO	168	13	480	16	61,740,000
UNAMK	215	21	242	55	42,489,000
UNAMID	1,346	51	6,802	291	386,060,000
MONUSCO	2,201	320	17,079	271	1,180,000,000
UNISFA	76	33	3,715	45	288,110,000
UNMISS	1,414	388	19,315	93	1,220,000,000
MINUSMA	2,579	192	18,311	241	1,220,000,000
MINUSCA	577	253	15,602	143	1,010,000,000
Total	8,176	1,221	97,528	1,422	6,580,000,000

2020-2021 MISSIONS

TOP 10 CONTRIBUTORS TO UN
PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS:

1. United States (27.89%)
2. China (15.21%)
3. Japan (8.56%)
4. Germany (6.09%)
5. United Kingdom (5.79%)
6. France (5.61%)
7. Italy (3.30%)
8. Russian Federation (3.04%)
9. Canada (2.73%)
10. Republic of Korea (2.26%)

MILITARY STAFF

87,929

MEN AND WOMEN

Number of countries that contribute with
troops, police agents and military staff

120

FOCUS

THE STAFF EMPLOYED IN UN
MISSIONS ACT ACCORDING TO
THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES

- 1) Respect the local laws, customs and practices
- 2) Treat the citizens of the host country with respect, kindness and care
- 3) Act out of impartiality, integrity and sensitivity

Number of policemen
and women involved:
9,000
from 94 Countries.
The percentage of
policewomen is
30.6%

FOCUS

LIST OF ONGOING MISSIONS

- 1) UNTSO
 - 2) UNMOGIP
 - 3) UNCFYP
 - 4) UNDOF
 - 5) UNFPL
 - 6) MINURSO
 - 7) UNAMK
 - 8) UNAMID
 - 9) MONUSCO
 - 10) UNISFA
 - 11) UNMISS
 - 12) MINUSMA
 - 13) MINUSCA
- United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon
United Nations Disengagement Observer Force
United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan
United Nations Truce Supervision Organization
United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus
United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
United Nations Mission in the Sudan
United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic

UN MISSIONS PER COUNTRY

- Ongoing mission
- Completed mission
- No record of missions



ATLAS
OF WARS
AND CONFLICTS
IN THE WORLD



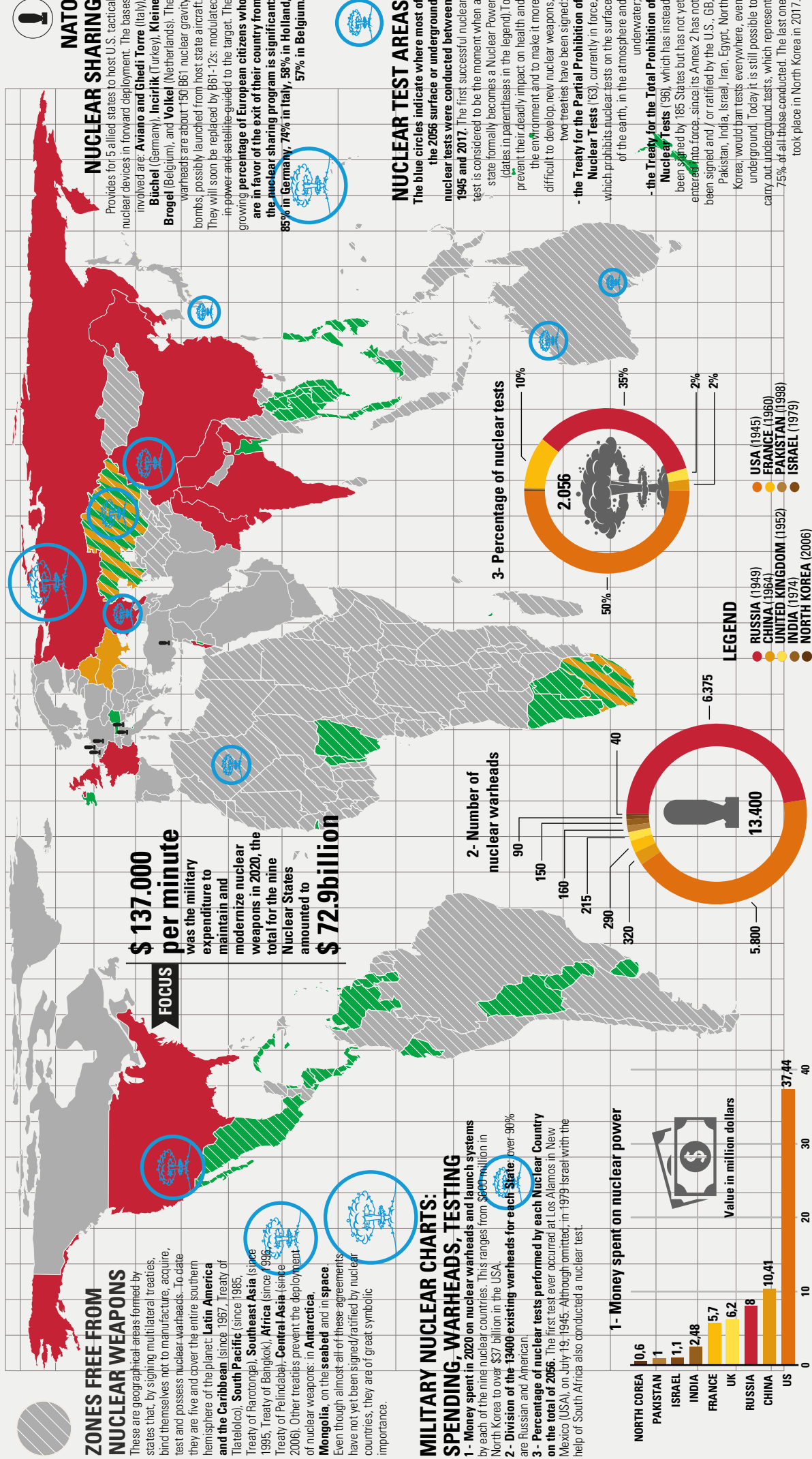
INFOGRAPHICS

ATLAS OF NUCLEWR WEAPONRY

Source of data
Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Cbto.org, Ican,
Sipri, Unoda, Arms Control Association.
2020



Nine states have nuclear capability. Five countries host US nuclear warheads in advanced deployment for NATO Nuclear Sharing. 27 are the states that support military nuclear power, as part of nuclear alliances (NATO) or as allies of nuclear countries. 54 are the countries that have banned the atomic bomb. The total number of nuclear warheads is 13400: 3720 deployed of which 1800 are ready for launch. More than 90% belong to the USA and Russia, the only countries to have constantly decreased their arsenals since the historical peak of 70300 warheads in 1986. China, India, Pakistan, North Korea and the UK are pursuing vertical proliferation (increase in warheads). Historically, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus have also controlled ex-USSR nuclear warheads, while South Africa is the only nuclear state that has denuclearized (1991).





INFOGRAPHIC

ATLAS OF EXPLOSIVE VIOLENCE

DATA SOURCE
Osservatorio - Anvcg
2011-2020



Every year for the past ten years, civilian populations have been the main confirmed victims of explosive violence. When explosive weapons are used in populated areas, civilians are particularly exposed to the increasing risk from year to year. Action on Armed Violence (AOAV) has documented the impact of these weapons over the past decade, noting that when they are used in populated areas, 9 out of 10 victims are civilians.

NUMBER OF ACCIDENTS INVOLVING EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS 2011-2020

0 - 100	100 - 300	300 - 500	500 - 1,000	1,000 - 3,000	3,000 - 8,000
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THE INTERNATIONAL NETWORK ON EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS (INEW)

The International Network on Explosive Weapons (INEW) was founded in 2011 as an international network of non-governmental organizations with the aim of putting an end to human suffering caused by the use of explosive weapons in populated areas. INEW specifically addresses the States and parties that are involved in conflicts in general to prevent the harm and deaths caused by the use of explosive weapons. It focuses mostly on the adoption of an International Political Declaration that promotes rigorous standards for the use of these weapons.

16.511
NUMBER OF CHILDREN KILLED AND/OR INJURED IN THE WORLD

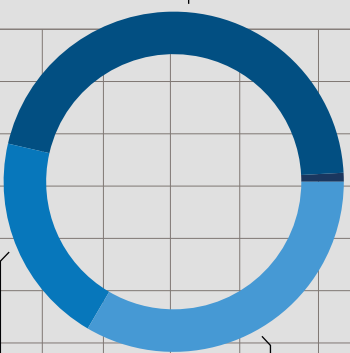
CIVILIAN VICTIMS BY WEAPON TYPE 2015-2020

Between 2015 and 2020, explosive weapons caused at least 143,898,000 civilian deaths. These weapons include air-launched weapons (48,117), land-launched weapons (29,011), improvised explosive devices (65,557) and anti-personnel mines (1,213).

*Source Aoav

1.213

65.557



- Air-launched weapons
- Land-launched weapons
- Improvised explosive devices (IEDs)
- Landmines

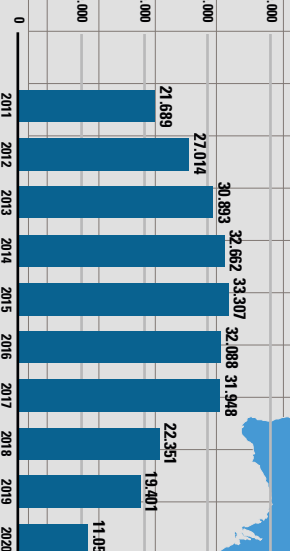
FOCUS

11.145
NUMBER OF ATTACKS IN UNPOPULATED AREAS

16.586
NUMBER OF ATTACKS IN POPULATED AREAS

CIVILIAN VICTIMS IN THE WORLD
The following data represents the number of civilians killed and injured each year in the world from 2011 to 2020 by explosive weapons.

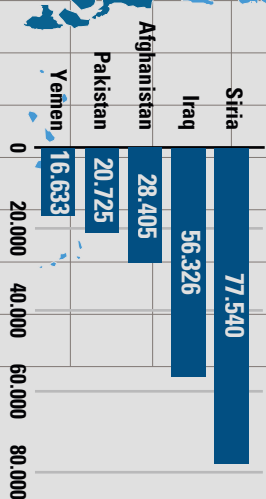
*Source Aoav



TOP 5 COUNTRIES BY CIVILIAN VICTIMS

Almost 200,000 civilian victims (dead and injured) of explosive accidents in just 5 countries in the last 10 years

*Source Aoav



ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY EXPLOSIVE WEAPONS IN POPULATED AREAS

Over 100 States and territories, including six groups of States, have publicly acknowledged the damage caused by explosive weapons in populated areas. Some UN actors and the International Red Cross Committee have also acknowledged this damage through public statements, calling for urgent action to address this humanitarian problem.

*Source New



INFOGRAPHICS

FREEDOM OF PRESS ATLAS

DATA SOURCE

Reporters sans Frontières

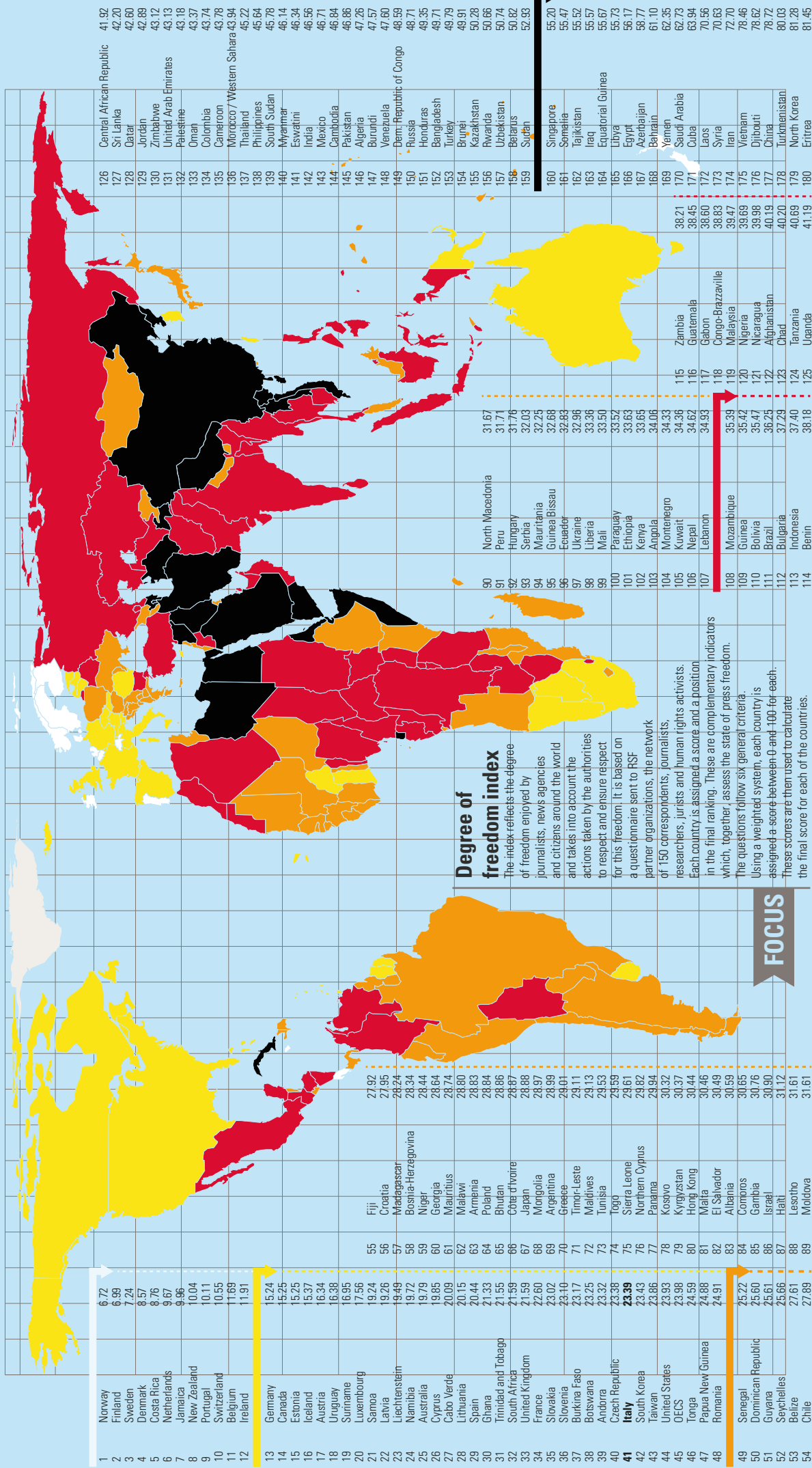
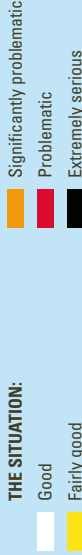
DATI 2021



ATLAS
OF WARS
AND CONFLICTS
IN THE WORLD

Journalism is severely hampered in 73 of the 180 countries analyzed in the RSF ranking. In 59 others it is severely limited. This leads to 73% of the countries evaluated. There is heavy air in countries traditionally not inclined to press freedom - China, Russia, Brazil, Venezuela, but also in many European countries. Covid 19 is worsening the situation, fueling citizens' distrust of journalists. 50 journalists were killed in the world in 2020. 387, however, those detained: the majority are women.

THE SITUATION:



Degree of freedom index

The index reflects the degree of freedom enjoyed by journalists, news agencies and citizens around the world and takes into account the actions taken by the authorities to respect and ensure respect for this freedom. It is based on a questionnaire sent to RSF partner organizations, the network of 150 correspondents, journalists, researchers, jurists and human rights activists. Each country is assigned a score and a position in the final ranking. These are complementary indicators which, together, assess the state of press freedom. The questions follow six general criteria. Using a weighted system, each country is assigned a score between 0 and 100 for each. These scores are then used to calculate the final score for each of the countries.

FOCUS



INFOGRAPHIC

ATLAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CLIMATE CHANGE

DATA SOURCE
CDCA
2021 DATA



ATLAS
OF WAR
AND CONFLICTS
IN THE WORLD

Climate change is the most dramatic emergency that has ever threatened the destiny of humanity. Its impacts, increasingly widespread and violent, endanger the enjoyment of all fundamental human rights. The right to life, health, water, food, housing and self-determination are just some of the rights for which the imbalances in the rights result in systematic violations. This applies to all latitudes and longitudes of the globe, albeit with different geometries. Often, in fact, the countries that have contributed least to greenhouse gas emissions are those most vulnerable and affected by climate impacts.

CLIMATE RISK INDEX 2021

The Global Climate Risk Index analyzes the impact of extreme climate events, such as storms, floods, heat waves, on countries and regions, calculating both the human impact (victims) and economic losses. The map refers to the period 2000-2019.



COUNTRIES MOST AT RISK

The ten countries most affected by the impacts of extreme climate events in the period 2000-2019 are all countries in the Global South (Global Climate Risk Index 2021):
Puerto Rico - Myanmar - Haiti - Philippines - Mozambique - Bahamas - Bangladesh - Pakistan - Thailand - Nepal

RIGHT TO LIFE

480,000 deaths due to 11,000 extreme climate events
between 2000 and 2019

250,000 deaths due to climate impacts

expected each year between 2030 and 2050 including:

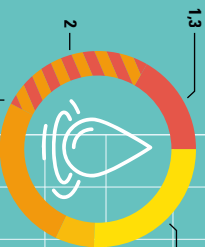


36,000 — due to the impact of heat waves on the older population
48,000 — due to diseases such as diarrhea
48,000 — due to malaria
60,000 — due to child malnutrition

2.9 million premature deaths of adolescents

caused in 2016 by air pollution

RIGHT TO WATER



Data are expressed in billions

1.3 — currently settled in areas of high water stress
2 — living in areas already characterized by water scarcity throughout the year
0.5 — face severe water scarcity at least one month per year
4 — the rest have no water problems

Estimation to 2025:

- WHO: half of the world's population will live in water-stressed areas
- UN: 2/3 of the world's population will live in water stressed areas (1.8 billion)



RIGHT TO FOOD

1981-2010 time frame
Reduction in global harvests due to climate change

- CORN (-4.1%)
- WHEAT (-1.8%)
- SOY (-4.5%)

2003-2013 time frame

25% of damages caused by drought, floods and hurricanes concerns the agricultural sector

821 million people

do not have access to adequate nutrition due to severe droughts



RIGHT TO HEALTH

5 million years of life lost on a global scale
from the mid-1970s to the 2000s due to climate change and specifically to the increase in diseases such as diarrhea

malnutrition and malaria, which affect especially children and developing countries

The number is set to double

by 2030 or with an increase of only 1°C in global average temperature

220 million people over 65 years old

exposed to heat waves in 2018



CLIMATE CHANGE AND CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

66.5 million children
affected by climate disasters 600,000 child deaths

1990

2010

2020

FUTURE ESTIMATES

CLIMATE CHANGE AND GENDER RIGHTS

Poor women are 14 times more likely to die as a result of a climate disaster



CLIMATE CHANGE AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' RIGHTS

80% of the world's indigenous peoples
live in areas that are particularly vulnerable to climate impacts (Asia, Pacific, Latin America)

370 million indigenous people
settled in the Americas, Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific (considered at risk due to climate already in 2008)

Droughts cause more deaths and displacement than any other natural disaster

883,000 new internal refugees

are displaced by floods and droughts.

90% of natural disasters in the last twenty years
are connected to climate change



more than 140 million people
will be forced to leave their lands by 2050, driven by climatic factors in sub-Saharan Africa, southern Asia and South America

SOURCES

- For a complete list of sources used, please refer to the sources section of the Atlas
- Germanwatch (2021)
 - WHO (2002, 2014, 2018, 2019)
 - Lancet (2019)
 - UN Water (2018 e 2019)
 - IPCC (2019)
 - FAO (2015)
 - WMO (2018)
 - CAFE (2020)
 - UNICEF (2014)
 - UNICEF (2019)
 - HRC (2019)
 - CRED (1995/2015)
 - ILO (2017)



INFOGRAPHIC

ATLAS OF RIGHTS AND COVID-19

DATA SOURCE

Amnesty International

2020 Data

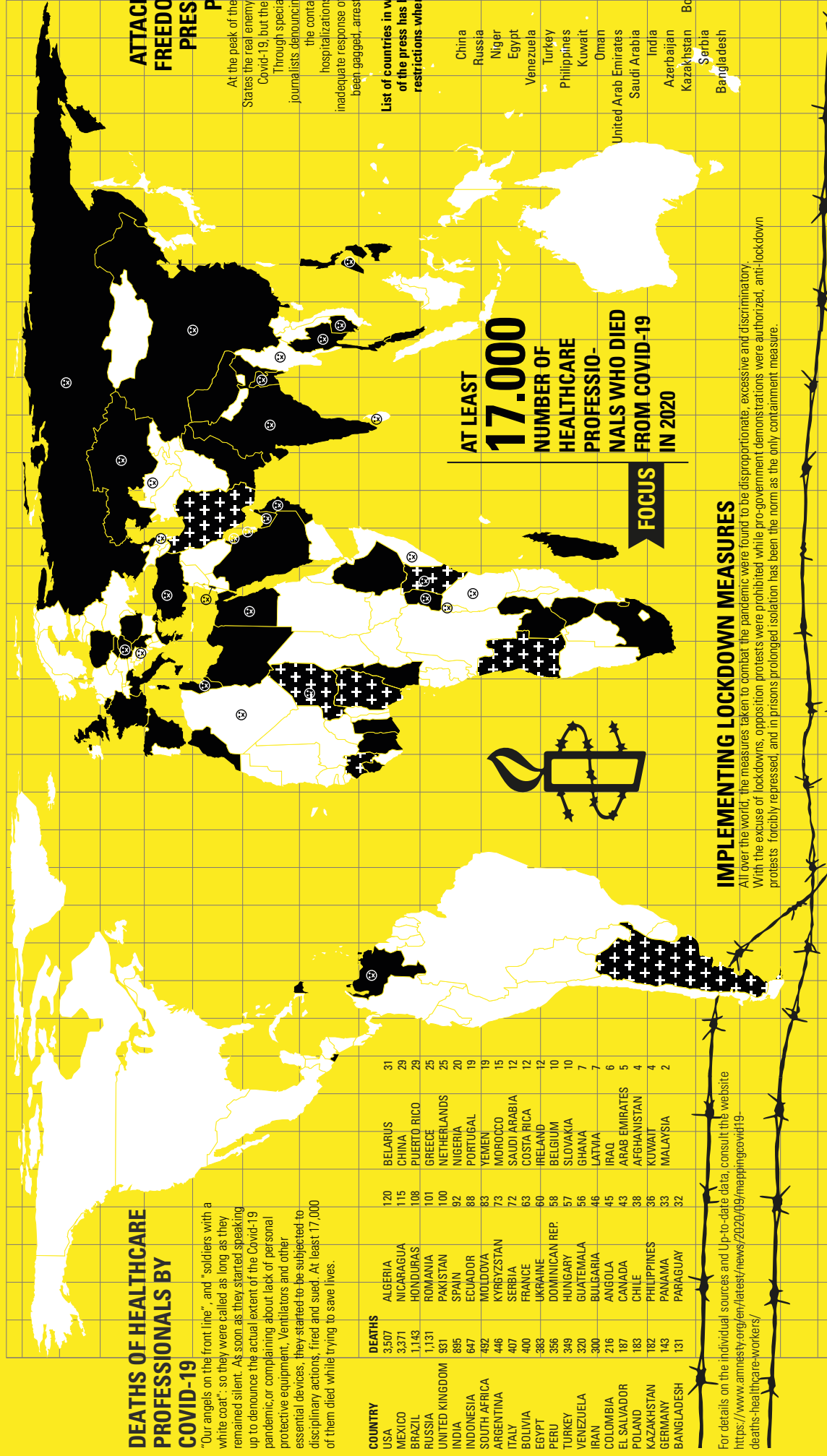


ATLAS
OF WARS
AND CONFLICTS
IN THE WORLD

For some repressive governments, the Covid-19 pandemic has really been a manna from heaven. Under the guise of countering the spread of the virus, dozens of states adopted measures to continue setting the score with their opponents and critical voices. Meanwhile, other countries took advantage of the fact that the public's attention was almost exclusively focused on the spread of the infection to pass oppressive laws that have nothing to do with fighting the pandemic. Consequently, many who were meant to save lives ended up being sent into battle.

Human rights violations in the context of lockdown enforcement measures such as excessive use of force, arbitrary detentions, and disproportionate and discriminatory practices.

Countries in which people were killed by security forces.



DEATHS OF HEALTHCARE PROFESSIONALS BY COVID-19

"Our angels on the front line", and "soldiers with a white coat": so they were called as long as they remained silent. As soon as they started speaking up to denounce the actual extent of the Covid-19 pandemic, or complaining about lack of personal protective equipment, Ventilators and other essential devices, they started to be subjected to disciplinary actions, fired and sued. At least 17,000 of them died while trying to save lives.

AT LEAST
17.000
NUMBER OF
HEALTHCARE
PROFESSIO-
NALS WHO DIED
FROM COVID-19
IN 2020

FOCUS

IMPLEMENTING LOCKDOWN MEASURES

All over the world, the measures taken to combat the pandemic were found to be disproportionate, excessive and discriminatory. With the excuse of lockdowns, opposition protests were prohibited while pro-government demonstrations were authorized, anti-lockdown protests forcibly repressed, and in prisons prolonged isolation has been the norm as the only containment measure.

For details on the individual sources and Up-to-date data, consult the website
<https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/09/mappingcovid19-deaths-healthcare-workers/>

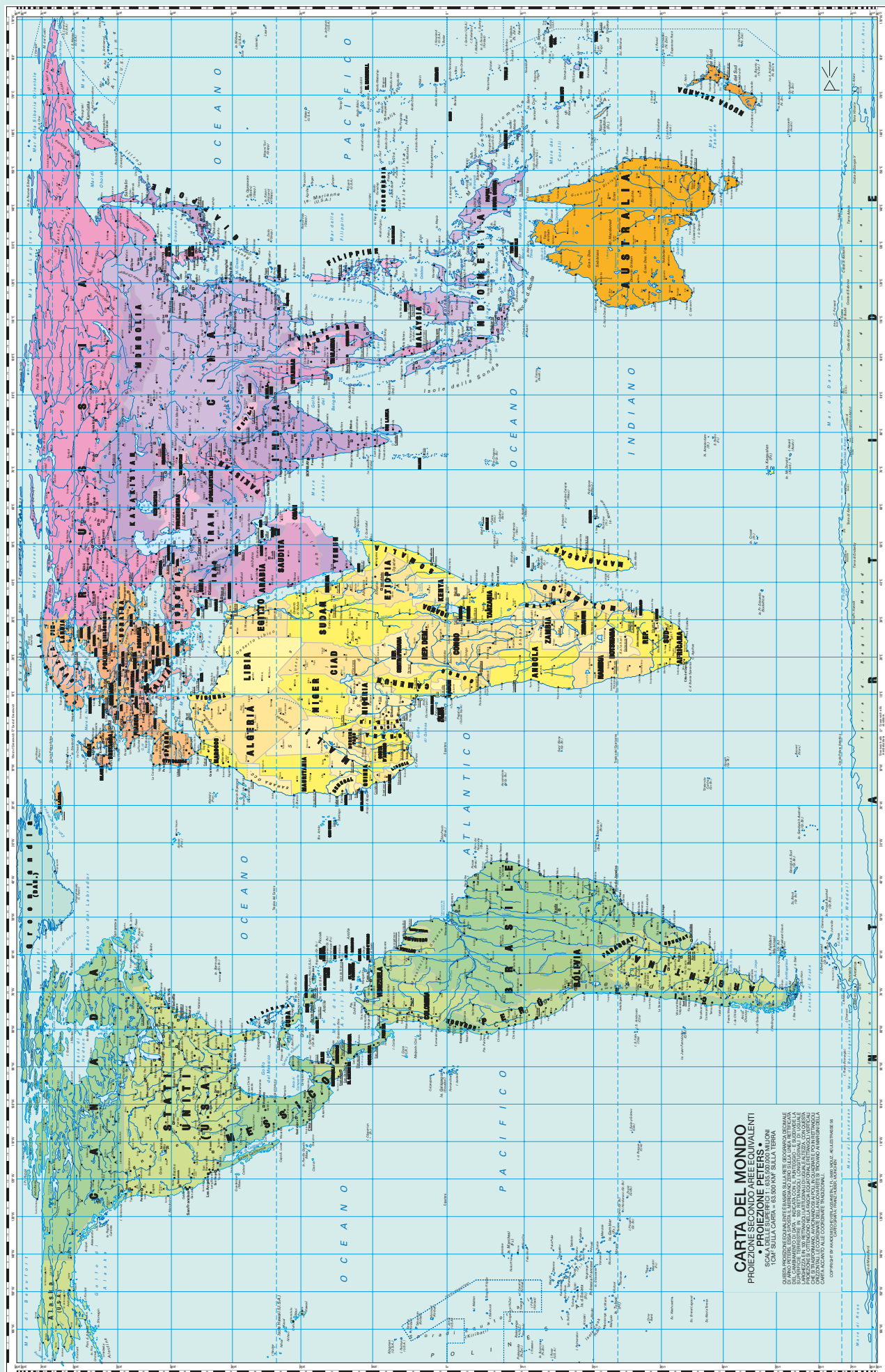
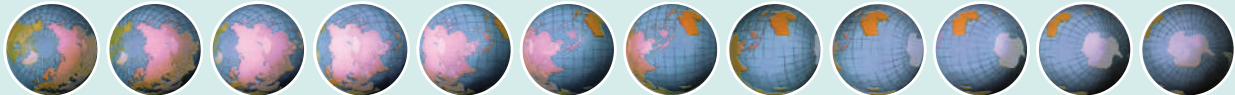


ATTACKS TO THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS DURING PANDEMIC

At the peak of the pandemic, in many States the real enemy appeared not to be Covid-19, but the independent press. Through special "fake news" laws, journalists denouncing the true extent of the contagion, the number of hospitalizations or deaths, and the inadequate response of governments have been gagged, arrested and prosecuted.

List of countries in which the freedom of the press has been subjected to the restrictions when reporting on the pandemic:

- Chir a
- Russia
- Niger
- Egypt
- Venezuela
- Turkey
- Philippines
- Kuwait
- Oman
- United Arab Emirates
- Saudi Arabia
- India
- Azerbaijan
- Kazakhstan
- Bosnia Herzegovina
- Serbia
- Bangladesh
- Cambodia
- Uganda
- Rwanda
- Somalia
- Tunisia
- Palestine
- Kenya
- Uzbekistan
- Algeria
- Hungary
- Sri Lanka
- Thailand
- Tanzania
- Bahrain
- Burma



CARTA DEL MONDO
PROIEZIONE SECONDO AREE EQUIVALENTI
PROIEZIONE PETERS
SCALA SULLA CARTA = 63.000 KM SU LA TERRA

Questa proiezione preserva l'area delle zone geografiche, ma distorce le forme. È adatta per mappe tematiche che mostrano la distribuzione delle risorse naturali e delle popolazioni. È stata sviluppata da Carl Friedrich Gauss nel 1805 e da Heinrich Christian Schlegel nel 1858. È stata adottata dall'Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite nel 1974.

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