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of
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Editorial

Francesco Bernabeu Fornara

Dear reader,

As we step into a new year, reflecting on 2024 might evoke a sense of disempowerment, given the increasingly chaotic state of our world. Wars and conflicts, backsliding democracies, discouraging election results, intimidating technological advancements, inflation, economic downturns, misinformation, environmental neglect, social unrest—the list seems endless. At first glance, it's easy to feel powerless in the face of such daunting challenges.

Ironically, though, 2024 was also a year of unprecedented freedom to shape national destinies. Over 4 billion voters, half Earth's population spanning more than 70 countries, were eligible to cast their ballot in national elections, with around 1.6 billion choosing to exercise their right to do so. In what is now considered the largest election year in human history, voters took centre stage, grasping the keys to shape the world's destiny more than ever. Regardless of the results—disputed or not, contested or unquestioned, rigged or fair, right or left, populist or liberal—voting remains one of the most empowering rights we possess; a privilege offering a freedom to shape our futures that must be actively protected and never taken for granted.

Admittedly, freedom takes many forms extending well beyond the right to vote. Indeed, freedom does not merely connote the ability to choose our leaders, but to define our beliefs, exercise our individual autonomy, express ourselves, shape our social surroundings, and more. As you flip through the pages of this first Eurovisie edition of the academic year, you'll be met by many forms of freedom:

In contemplating the farthest reaches of freedom, Davide takes us on an exploration of the dichotomy between anarchic utopia and duty-driven democracy. By reflecting on her own experiences, Sophie contemplates whether too much freedom through direct democracy is truly the best for society. By reflecting on the drastic policies suppressing women's reproductive freedoms that are gaining a foothold in the United States, Christina provides an empowering take on today's abortion rights against the backdrop of Donald Trump's re-election. Similarly, Rocio examines how Trump's victory could embolden far-right rhetoric in the EU, threatening the freedoms and rights that the Union stands for. By examining the paradox of how neoliberal market forces exploit the freedom of consumer choice, Emma sheds light on how modern capitalism, in its pursuit of profit, has turned a blind eye to human rights.

Angèle and Jonathan explore how Portugal's peaceful revolution and Spain's tense transition to democracy reshaped their paths to freedom, while grappling with the lingering legacy of authoritarianism. In questioning whose freedom is truly protected in a system shaped by money and corporate influence, Kathya explores the dangerous intersection of political investors and human rights. Riccardo explores the paradox of smartphones in modern life, highlighting how they offer unprecedented freedom while also posing challenges to privacy, mental health, and autonomy. Benedetta examines how Sartre's *No Exit* portrays freedom as both empowering and terrifying, as characters' refusal to embrace it traps them in torment. And in times of global instability, Twan urges hope and collective action to shape a better future.

No matter what 2025 unveils, *libertas perfundet omnia luce*.

Libere,

Francesco Bernabeu Fornara, editor-in-chief.



The paradox of freedom: Navigating between anarchist utopias and democratic ideals

Davide Distaso

Since time immemorial, the concept of freedom has been evoked by human beings spanning the most diverse contexts: economics, politics, culture, sex, and so on.

Especially in modern times, this term echoes more and more, though echoed by different mouths, attributing varied meanings to it.

In politics, the different interpretations of freedom often clash, proving that the nature of this idea is not absolute and universal, but rather changeable and subject to constant evaluation, especially in the face of societal shifts.

If we think of the past, be it 2000 years ago or just the last century, the idea of freedom that was defended and prophesied was certainly different from that of today. A slave in Rome in 200 B.C. would never have even dared to imagine a life as a free man as we understand it today, precisely because the idea of individual freedom was not even remotely considered a right.

As centuries passed, the idea of freedom as a manifestation of self-determination became more and more popular. In particular, the anthropocentrism proposed by the Renaissance, or the Enlightenment idea of human reason as the measure of all things, stand as milestones in the history of freedom in the Western mindset, providing a solid theoretical basis for it.

The practical expression, on the other hand, is certainly enshrined in events such as the French or American Revolution, which paved the way for the achievement of the specific type of freedom we understand today.

However, this metaphorical path that freedom has taken throughout Western history is not linear but has branched out in multiple ways. Given its changing and interpretable nature, the concept has often ended up in ideological realities that have as their pillar the idea of absolute freedom, such as

anarchism.

Configured as an even more radical response to the historical experience of revolutions such as the French one, anarchism, from the Greek *anarkos*, meaning "lacking in government", stems from the rejection of all forms of power in favour of total individual freedom.

Mikhail Bakunin, 19th century Russian philosopher and revolutionary, and one of the most influential figures in anarchism, wrote: 'I am truly free only when all human beings, men and women, are equally free', assuming an ideal society in which no man rules over the other, where everyone is free to self-determine and act without restrictions.

Sounds like a dream, doesn't it? A world where freedom reigns supreme, and everyone acts according to their own principles.

Or it might equally sound like a nightmare; a world without rules and institutions, where chaos and disorder reign supreme.

By making absolute individual freedom its warhorse, the anarchism assumes a disproportionate trust in humanity. Such trust, unfortunately, has never been properly repaid as no real manifestations of anarchism have arisen throughout history.

That said, in order to give a concrete example of a historical experience which aligns more closely to anarchism, we can refer to the experience of the Paris Commune.

Founded in 1871, the Paris Commune represented an experiment in popular self-governance in which certain anarchist ideas found practical expression, such as local autonomy, the abolition of traditional state hierarchy and the collective management of resources. However, the Commune retained some governmental structures and thus failed to establish an anarchist society.

The Parisian experience and its early end, therefore, is emblematic in demonstrating the ineffectiveness of a self-regulating and profoundly idealistic system that, while maintaining a weak governing apparatus, ended up clashing with reality.

"So, having reached this point, the question is begged: to what extent can freedom be absolute in a society?"

I think a valid answer lies in this sentence I came across some time ago:

Freedom without obligation is anarchy; freedom with obligation is democracy.

This phrase contrasts the anarchist's idea of freedom with that of democracy, suggesting that true freedom coexists in the balance between rights and duties.

To understand it, let's play a little game of imagination. Take a country, the Netherlands for example, and imagine absolute freedom in transportation. In a self-respecting anarchist society, there should obviously be no trace of traffic lights, road codes or even a driving license at this point, since there is no state apparatus that recognizes you as able to drive. Here, what would probably come out would be a constant collision of cars, bikes, and pedestrians, with people ending up swimming in the canals.

Instead, back to reality, every citizen in the Netherlands is free to move where and how he or she wishes.

However, he or she also has the duty to respect rules so that their freedom of movement can coexist safely with the freedom of all other citizens. Well, what this little imaginative world shows us is a confirmation of the starting premise, that freedom is not an absolute concept, but one which covers society according to its changes.

In all, anarchism, despite its fascination, is only a utopia, while democracy, being real and tangible, guarantees the freedom of all those who are a part of it.



Should Europeans be voting in more referenda?

Sophie van Tiggelen

Do you feel the democratic systems in Europe listen to you? Since the 60s, there has been a growing move towards direct democracy. But do referenda achieve their goal of giving citizens more control over government decisions? There have been mixed reactions to direct democracy and referenda on a local, national and continent-wide scale.

"From the disasters of Brexit to the uselessness of EU Citizens' Initiative to intentionally confusing local referendums – We have seen it all."

Since moving to Amsterdam, I've participated in one referendum, which exemplified many problems associated with referenda. Held in 2024, it was Amsterdam's first referendum in 20 years, titled Referendum Hoofdgroenstructuur or "Main Green Structure", which already gives you an idea of the vague nature of this referendum.

In the Netherlands, we get mailed a 'stempas' (voting pass) a few weeks before the election, which is proof of eligibility to vote. Based on this, I found out there was a referendum, so I did my research. As my friend and I aimed to figure out what we were voting on, we found ourselves struggling to find any details on both sides of the argument. The voting pass led us to the municipality website, to little avail in terms of information. Eventually, after more websites and further googling, we realised the referendum was a motion against the municipality of Amsterdam.

The municipality created a new so-called 'Green Structure' which would replace the rules on what could be considered 'green space'. Accusations emerged that the new 'Green struc-

ture' would count artificial grass as 'green space', enraging many green activists in Amsterdam into demanding a referendum. However, when it came time to vote, the ballot's wording was so unclear that I had to double-check with my friend in the voting booth to ensure I was voting as intended. This, for me, fostered a sceptical view of referenda, as I couldn't be the only person who found it very difficult to inform oneself on what both sides of the debate argued.

Yet there were positive aspects of this referendum. The results afterwards showed that the vast majority of Amsterdam voted against the municipality's wishes, with the counter-initiative winning by a large majority, showing the ability of referenda to change local policy. Despite the non-binding nature of the referendum, the main parties in the city council voted in line with the voters. The referendum also took place simultaneously to the 2024 European Parliament elections, which proved decent turnout, as it required less effort, seeing as many were already planning on voting for the European Parliament. It proves that referenda, despite their potential information crisis, are still a valuable tool in bringing policymaking directly to the people, and despite the referendum not being binding, most of the city council voted in line with the people. This dual outcome, a process marred by informational shortcomings but yielding meaningful results, raises a crucial question: Should this be an encouragement for EU-wide referenda?

The EU has taken steps towards incorporating direct democracy at European-level decision-making, as was the case with the EU Citizens' Initiative introduced by the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009. Though the Initiative allows citizens to call on the European Commission to propose new legislation, it required the reaching of a high threshold. Indeed, a million signatures are

needed across more than a fourth of all Member States to get the Commission to consider an Initiative proposal.

However, despite the many calls for more direct democracy, concerns have been raised about referenda, including those mentioned before. Exemplary of the failure of referenda is the Brexit referendum, which impacted the EU massively, with the UK becoming the first country to leave the Union. The infamous 'We send the EU £350 million a week' bus was all the talk during the referendum campaign. Misinformation promulgated throughout various media platforms, with media platforms owned by wealthy foreign nationals influencing the outcome based on what suited them best, instead of what's best for the country.

Indeed, misinformation poses a serious threat to the positive potential of referenda. In Brexit, it polarized the country to a dangerous extent, with its ramifications still felt in the UK today, 9 years later. Since 2015, the UK has had 6 Prime Ministers, while between 2000 and 2015 there were only 3. Parties have become divided from a simple 'yes' or 'no' question. Further, it divided the nation. A whole country suffering from having to avoid politics at the dinner table.

Do we wish that upon Europe? Brexit is no exception, Australia had a recent referendum that has since divided the nation. The Indigenous Voice referendum divided Australians about giving aboriginal people an advisory body. Dividing the country between 'racists' and 'the woke'. Do we wish this division upon Europe?

Deep consideration on both sides of the argument should be made. But despite these concerns, there is a raging democratic deficit in the EU, providing a reason for why many alternatives are debated.

Freedom under Siege: Her Body, His Choice

Christina Govaerts

It truly is a scary time to be a woman in America. The United States, the 'land of the free'. Freedom. It seems to set the very foundational value of today's western democratic societies, a beacon that shapes our principles of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But what happens when half of the population's autonomy over their own bodies is stripped away? Can we still say we live in a true democracy then? How free are we really, when women's bodies are legislated into subjugation? In the United States and in parts of Europe, we are witnessing the erosion of women's rights and freedoms over choices that directly affect their bodies and their lives.

With every year that has passed since 1973, we are one step closer to making Margaret Atwood's dystopian fantasy *The Handmaid's Tale* our reality. Since its ruling, *Roe v. Wade* has faced many challenges that have narrowed the scope of its restrictions on legal abortion, but never has it been overturned until 2022. This decision sent shockwaves all over the western world, letting conservative states pull back reproductive rights back half a century. Now with Project 2025, and the re-election of a convicted felon, alleged rapist, and open racist Donald J. Trump, across the Bible Belt and beyond, abortion has been banned, leaving millions of women in legal and medical limbo. Doctors are now hesitant to perform life-saving procedures in fear that they may be prosecuted.

Rape survivors are denied abortions, forced to carry pregnancies borne out of violence. The irony? Many of the legislators who promote less government intervention in society are the very same who are enforcing these policies that imprison women in their own bodies. Freedom, it seems, only extends to the powerful.

In 93% of cases, abortions occur before the first trimester, so before 13 weeks. For those that choose to have abortions after this period, most are expecting to carry their baby to term and raise a family, but unexpectedly they hear terrible medical news about the mother's life or health. Here stands the incredibly hard decision and the last thing an expecting mother wants is anyone else dictating how she should make this decision.

What seems to be the main issue facing the topic of abortion, is that abortion has become so heavily discussed and debated in modern politics that many fail to recognise this hard truth: abortion is not an easy choice for any woman. No woman dreams of having to choose whether or not to have an abortion. Facing that crossroads is not a fantasy, it is a fear, one which many women take action to avoid at all costs, yet unplanned and unwanted circumstances arise. Whether it be through an abusive relationship, financial instability, medical emergencies, or simply not the right time to raise a child, each woman's situation is uniquely and privately her own,

and it is precisely because of this complexity that the decision to continue or terminate a pregnancy must rest in her hands alone.

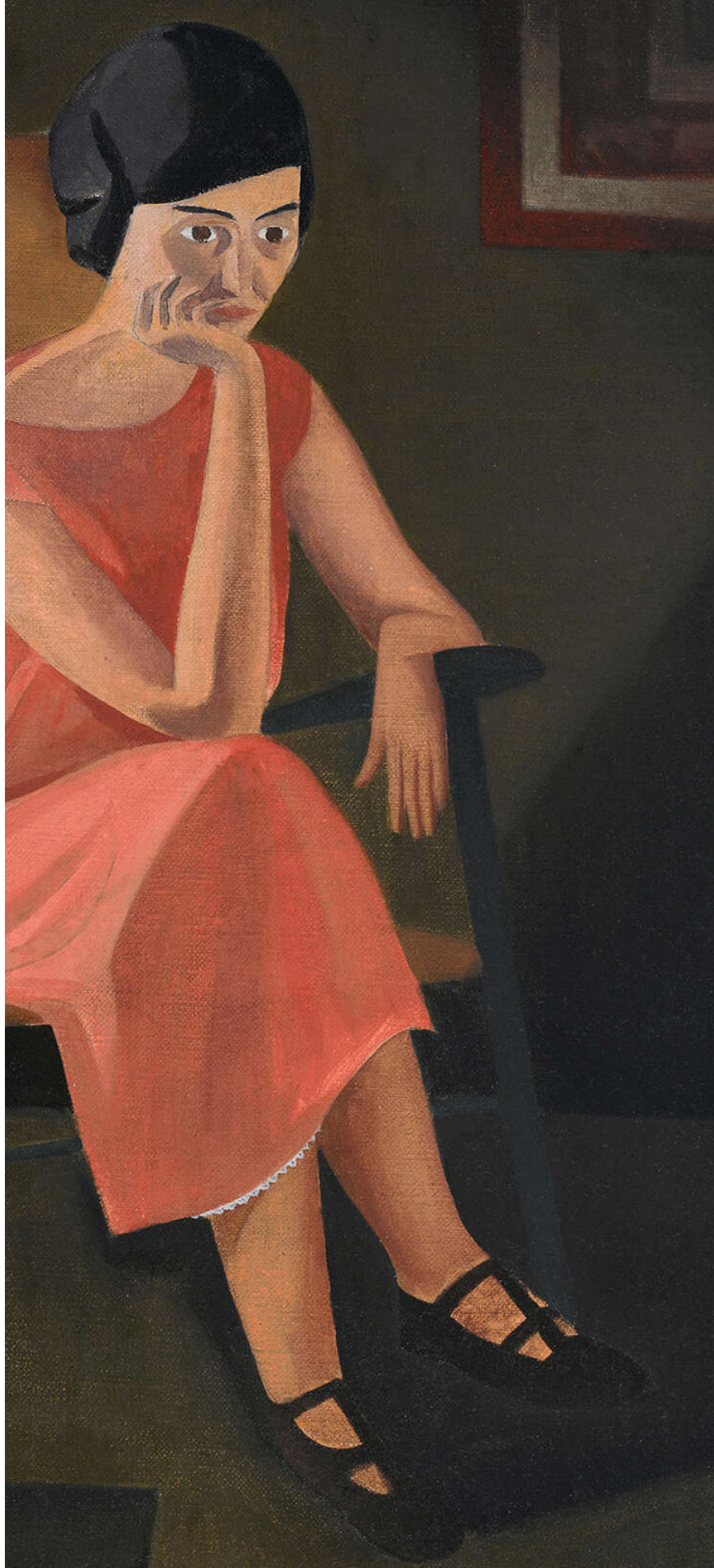
The people supporting these laws disregard completely the emotional heaviness that comes with this decision. A woman, married or unmarried, young or old, single or taken, who finds herself in a situation where she is unexpectedly or unwantedly pregnant should not be shamed or stopped for taking the medical and safe option to have an abortion. Instead, this woman, whoever she may be, must be protected. Having an abortion weighs on the mind. Not just the 'what ifs' but the 'whys.' Why did I walk home alone that night? Why didn't I go to the bathroom with a friend? Why did I go to that party? Why did I go on that date? Why did I trust that family member?

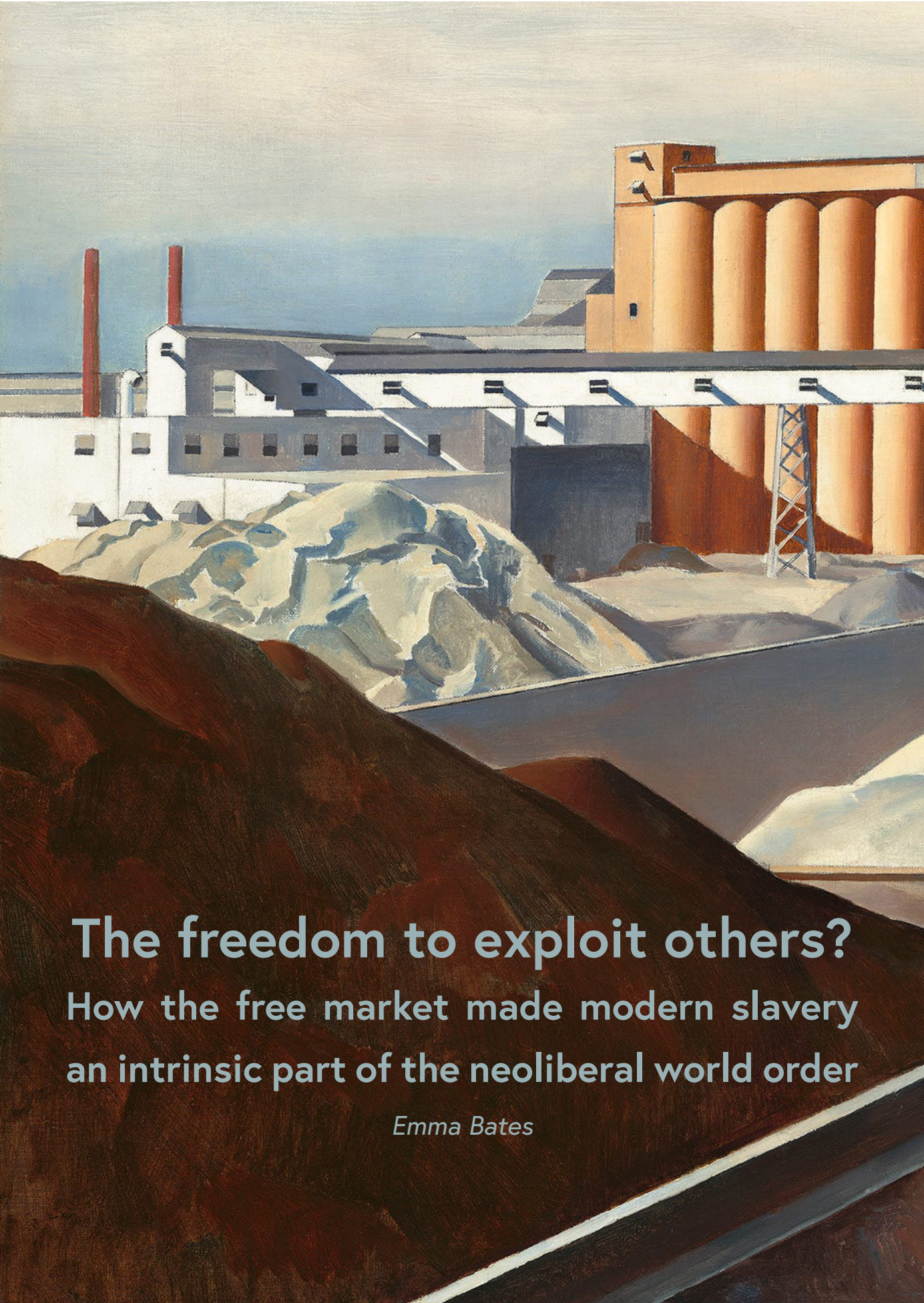
"Enough is enough."

To those who argue against pro-choice, consider this: if you do not believe in abortion, you do not need to have one. But your beliefs, religious or political, should not dictate the choices of others. In all aspects of a democratic government, we separate religion from matters of state - why should laws on abortion be any different? It comes down to this—the choice is not a privilege, it is a right, one which women should have the ability to choose to exercise or not. To force birth reduces women to mere reproductive vessels with no voice and no privacy. Even now

UN experts say that the encroachment on women's reproductive rights is being accompanied by the erosion of the right to privacy, as law enforcers are relying more and more on personal electronic data to track those seeking abortions or anyone helping them.

It can no longer be denied that these laws were never about protecting fetus viability, they are about controlling women. Stripping women of their right to choose sets a dangerous precedent, especially in the Western world. Even now, the erosion of freedoms is seen to be spreading to Europe. In countries like Poland, there have been near-total abortion bans implemented, forcing women to seek unsafe and illegal procedures or travel across borders. A society that denies women the right to make decisions about their own bodies, their own lives, cannot in good conscience call itself free. Women are not incubators, their lives do not exist in the service of hypothetical futures. Women are human, women have dreams, struggles, they have their own real and unique futures, and they should have the right to shape those destinies how they wish.





The freedom to exploit others? How the free market made modern slavery an intrinsic part of the neoliberal world order

Emma Bates

Sitting in my break room at an unnamed luxury fashion company, I realised that what I had believed to be the exception was, in truth, the rule. "Oh, I don't worry about toxins too much; I only wear it once before I throw it away." my coworker responds, laughing, when I ask whether he's concerned about toxins in the products he's just boasted about buying from the Chinese company SHEIN for only a few euros. I felt that I was, for the first time, understanding how the modern global economy had distorted Adam Smith's invisible hand of the market; not only were my coworker's actions not in the public interest - they weren't in his, either. Seeing this caused me to re-examine a question I had asked before: when we order things from amorphous Asian-based e-commerce retailers, are the items we pay for truly the only things that come neatly packaged?

SHEIN and its cohort represent the evolution of direct-to-consumer e-commerce companies that began with AliExpress: websites which aggregate thousands of sellers that ship directly from factories in China, cutting out the usual middlemen that are used by Amazon and other more traditional retailers. Sales for these companies have reached record levels in recent years and, with no signs of slowing down, their influence in our homes, our smartphone usage, and our ways of consuming are incalculably vast. To understand better how these platforms became so pervasive, we need to take a step back to the ideologies that drove their creation.

The story of their rise is a deceptively two-sided coin, one born out of the Enlightenment moral philosophy of liberalism: declarative neoliberalism and covert illiberalism. Since the 1970s, neoliberalism - the promotion of free-market capitalism with few regulations - has led the dismantling of trade unions in developed countries, the globalisation of the international economy, and the outsourcing of many of the productive industries that once drove the GDPs of countries in the global north. Illiberalism, in contrast to anti-liberalism, is not an open rebellion against liberal western values, but is instead the subversion of liberalism's tenets of freedom, liberty, and human rights. E-commerce companies find their success in the shadow that neoliberalism, in its pursuit of economic optimisation, casts over human rights; by capitalising upon underregulated labour markets in China and low trade barriers with the EU, NA, and Oceania, they make an unconscious place for illiberal values in even the strongest bastions of liberalism.

Just as banal nationalism (small, often unconscious expressions of nationalism in daily life) influences the behaviour and mentality of citizens, the consequences of what I term "banal illiberalism" should not be overlooked. Neoliberal ideologies and policies emphasise the right of consumers to freely engage with the market to maximise their own welfare, but does not consider the external influences they may be exposed to in pursuit of material satisfaction. The human rights concerns associated with, for example, SHEIN, are well-documented, but this did not stop a group of influencers, flown out and pampered by the company, from ebulliently declaring that they saw excellent working conditions, paying little heed to the fact that the factories they toured were as artificial as many of the fakes that SHEIN produces - the reality is a network of contracted, poorly regulated factories with workers making mere pennies a day.

The products also pose risks after they have left the factory: journalist and researcher Alden Wicker has shown that dangerous and prohibited levels of chromium, lead, and other chemicals are present in clothing imports to North America and the EU. The ubiquitous justification online for consuming SHEIN products is that it caters to underprivileged and underrepresented groups: the impoverished, the plus-sized, the disabled, and those who dress alternatively - in other words, to expand our freedoms and increase our enjoyment of the ones we have. However, at least one of these claims is disproven in a study of SHEIN consumers by Sollwedel and Bak that illustrates the irrelevance of economic status - income has little to do with the rate or amount of consumption. This rang true for me, as I saw the coworkers that made more than a living wage (and often still living with their parents by choice) declaring SHEIN their only option. Even more tellingly, the research shows that the average SHEIN customer checks their awareness at the door and makes their purchases in wilful ignorance of the circumstances of their manufacture. Regarding the matter with this in mind, the companies somewhat lose their banality;

"If customers can turn a blind eye to forced labour, environmental pollution, and a myriad of other concerns overseas, what may go unnoticed at home?"

When we, as consumers, utilising the market and economic freedom that has been granted to us, are unwittingly discussing how far our dollar can

stretch at the cost of human safety and dignity, the question arises of whether this international apathy is related to the turn to the right that Europe has experienced in past election cycles, to the spread of endemic selfishness spreading across society, the NIMBYism that says my wants above all else, even my own health. When political regimes turn away from liberalism, their impacts are often felt upon those marginalised in society. Without empathy, we risk repeating mistakes of the past; without empathy, we cannot see the tide coming until it laps at our door. The social and ideological impacts of hyper-fast e-commerce companies have not yet been studied in great depth, but it offers a concerning glimpse of how our future relations to one another may look. The debate until today has been how to improve the conditions under which goods are produced. What we must now ask ourselves is this: do we want to?



The Iberian Peninsula's path back to democracy

Angèle Bokeis and Jonathan Hernandez

The 1930s was a tough period for democracy and it without a doubt hit the Iberian Peninsular countries the hardest. Before WWII, democracy became unpopular and authoritarianism went on the rise. This was especially the case in Spain and Portugal. In 1933, the Estado novo regime under Antonio de Oliveira Salazar took over Portugal. Then the Spanish Civil war started in 1936. The war was long and grueling and led to the National-Catholic regime under Francisco Franco to come out on top in 1939. Just like that, the Iberian countries went from free democracies to strict dictatorships. The Iberian Dictatorships then had a bigger issue on the horizon, as world war two would complicate Franco's and Salazar's plans.

Although the Iberian Peninsula was not on the central stage of World War Two, both Spain and Portugal were significantly affected by the outbreak of the war. Both countries were, for most of the war, considered to be non-belligerent, but where they differed in their definition of "neutrality" made a difference in the outcome for the Iberian countries.

Throughout World War Two, in order to ensure its recovery after the costly Spanish Civil War, Francoist Spain walked a very delicate tightrope between gratitude to the Axis powers for their contributions in the Spanish Civil War and placating the Allies to ensure that they sent aid to

a recovering and impoverished Spain. The Spanish stayed out of the war to appease the allies and sent military aid to appease the axis.

Conversely, Portugal remained a neutral power during the war. Portugal had ties to both sides during the conflict, but did not have the same obligation as Spain towards the Axis powers. Salazar put an emphasis on maintenance of sovereignty through neutrality. Portugal sent raw materials to both the British and Germans, but when this generated geopolitical tensions, Salazar severed aid to both sides to ensure Portugal's continued sovereignty and neutrality.

After the end of WWII, Spain and Portugal took a path of autarky, away from the rest of Europe. Autarky became an imposed idea for the Spanish in the '50s, as Spain was ostracized for its contribution to the Axis war effort. On the other hand, Portuguese autarky was self-imposed, despite enjoying economic benefits from the Marshall Plan and British post-war debt repayment.

"The autarkic period in the Iberian Peninsula in the 50s set the stage for the fall of the dictatorships and the return of democracy."

The Estado Novo regime in the 50s can be characterized as financially stingy and an entity that swam against the tide. While the

western countries were attempting to more closely cooperate, Portugal limited foreign cooperation. In the 1960s, as Western Europe began to decolonize, Portugal stubbornly fought for their colonies; the fight to maintain the Portuguese colonies became a problem for the Estado Novo as the war effort to maintain a modernized military on the back of a weak economy became a strain quickly. By the time 1968 came around, the need for a change in direction was felt in the air.

By the latter half of the 1960s and early 1970s, both the Estado Novo and Francoist regimes were on their last legs. Salazar retired from office in 1968 and Francisco Franco died in 1975. Both of these leaders being separated from office played a crucial part in the downfall of their regimes; however, their roads to democracy in the latter half of the 1970s were complete opposites.

After Salazar retired in 1968, it became apparent that the Estado Novo's legitimacy in Portugal was in freefall. Despite the significant economic growth under Marcello Caetano in succession of Salazar (1968-1974), there were still labor shortages due to emigration and military conscription. In addition, the regime under Caetano was widely unpopular politically due to the lack of change coming from the growing sentiment of liberalization in the 70s. All of the problems with the Estado Novo accumulated and eventually overwhelmed the government. In 1974, the Carnation

Revolution overthrew the Estado Novo and completely changed the Portuguese trajectory towards democracy which had begun overnight.

Contrary to the Carnation Revolution, the Spanish Transition has been a tedious process that lasted from Franco's death in 1975 until the 1982 election of Felipe González, leader of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español, one of the losing parties of the Civil War. There was no revolution but a top-down program of reforms led by former Francoist officials.

In 1969, Dictator Francisco Franco had designated Juan Carlos de Borbon as his successor, a monarch contested by the FET most conservative wing opposition. After the transfer of power, Juan Carlos I expressed his democratic ambitions and swiftly nominated Adolfo Suárez, a Francoist, as head of government to dismantle the dictatorship, in 1976. The same year, Spain was proclaimed to be a democracy and a monarchy, a sovereign state that acknowledges and protects the rights and freedom of its citizens in the Political Reform Act. Another text could be regarded as a pillar of the Transition and the 'Pact of Forgetting': the 1977 Amnesty Law. Its aim was to move forward, and forget the past under Franco's regime by granting amnesty to those who committed crimes of rebellion, acts of expressions of opinion and conscientious objectors, as well as letting slip "the offenses and faults that could have been committed by the authorities (...) with the motive or occasion of the investigation or persecution of the acts included in the law" and those committed "against the exercise of individual rights"(Ley 46/1977). This law was voted on by the Cortes Generales after

hundreds of demonstrations, violently repressed by the public order, shook the entire country demanding the release of political prisoners. In reality, the Amnesty law only benefitted slightly fewer than eighty political prisoners; as before the law's approval, pardon measures had already been put in place for the condemned. In June 1977, there remained no Euskadi Ta Askatasuna members in Spanish detention centers. The Suarez government had negotiated, with the Basque separatist group, the extradition of prisoners to Belgium, in order to avoid an abstention record in the first general elections. A few months before these elections, the Partido Comunista Español along with other opposition parties in exile was legalized in exchange for recognizing the monarchical power. In the meantime, Suarez brought together all political forces and unions to find a solution against the ongoing economic crisis by implementing a raise of wages and getting rid of state censorship. This marked the beginning of the Democratic Transition. And in 1978, the Constitution refers to Spain as a Parliamentary Monarchy and Democracy, subject to the rule of law, and paves the way for Regional state-building by acknowledging the country as a decentralized state with seventeen autonomous communities that have independent powers over certain sectors such as education or economy. These new administrative divisions occur after years of the Francoist regime's refusal to recognize the country as a patchwork of ethnic groups, languages and cultures.

Nevertheless, this transition to democracy cannot be regarded as a peaceful and consensual process. In reality, many former Francoist senior officials, military men, and far-right activists op-

posed democratization. This political friction and the social climate of the time was the cause of many acts of violence, coming from both far-right and far-left armed groups, as well as then reformist state. The change of state didn't stop terrorist groups from striking across the country. Assassinations and hostage situations increased. Spain was the theater of tensions and all kinds of violent events, namely the 1977 Atocha massacre, which was the assassination of five communist activists by neo-fascists. Later on, in 1981, the Congress of Deputies was stormed by the attempted coup d'Etat of Lieutenant-Colonel Tejero and neo-Francoist rebels, who held parliamentarians and ministers hostage for several hours. However, despite the social crisis, the Spanish population didn't support this final attempt to revert to the Francoist regime. King Juan Carlos I refused to endorse the coup and confirmed his approval of democracy on television. From that moment on, the coup was understood to be a failure. And monarchical power gained legitimacy and emerged as a symbol of peace and unity among the Spanish nation.

The return to freedom also appeared through significant rupture with past mores and customs. This change was initiated in the 1960s, a decade of unprecedented economic development and flow of tourists that changed the mentality of a rather religious and conservative population and enabled the country to catch up with the rest of the Western world. Eager to access more rights and freedoms, the Spanish youth fought a battle without mercy against the sacrosanct Catholic and Francoist values and morals during the Movida, a countercultural movement featuring punk

rock and synth pop music, transgressive cinema, openness regarding sexual expression and drug usage, and emergence of anti-establishment media and literature. The phenomenon coincided with the decriminalization of homosexuality, contraceptives, and the resurgence of feminism and atheism in society.

The Transition forever changed Spanish society and its political system, putting an end to more than four decades of authoritarianism and state violence. Nonetheless, many debates and issues regarding the remembrance of the postbellum seem to challenge a Spanish democracy that has yet to deal with the ghosts of the past. Although several laws have been enacted to end the *omertà* (2007 Historical Memory Law; 2022 Democratic Memory Law), the country is still divided into two groups: those who want to repair the crimes of the dictatorship and those who still believe that forgetting is the best way to prevent more division within the population. Francoism still dominates public space, in spite of laws designed to eradicate it.





Far Right-America, a Threat Against Freedom in the EU?

Rocio Castro Rivera

On November 5, people all over the world watched as U.S. citizens went to the polls to cast their vote for their next president. While many were hoping that the victory would go to the democratic candidate, Kamala Harris, on November 6 it was announced that convicted felon and former President Donald J. Trump, had won the elections and would be returning to office in January 2025. Known not only for his racist and discriminatory comments, but also for his involvement in the attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6 of 2021, his unprecedented victory came as a surprise for many people around the world.

Having Donald J. Trump, a right-wing extremist, as the president-elect of one of the most consequential and powerful countries in the world, it's important to analyse the consequences and effects this might have not only on U.S. citizens and their freedom, but similarly for countries and people outside of the U.S. The case of the European Union, specifically, is a rather important one, not only because of the close relations held between the U.S. and the EU, but also because some countries in the Union themselves have been witnessing a rise in right-wing speech over the last couple of years. This is the case of Hungary, Italy, and the Czechia, some of the EU countries who have elected far right governments, with Germany and France holding right-wing parties as strong contenders.

The last couple of years, the European Union has struggled with the rise of the far right in different Member States, trying to promote the so-called European values of freedom, democracy and human rights, among others.

"As such, Donald Trump's recent election now serves as an inspiration for like-minded far right political leaders in the EU to promote a speech that goes against the values represented and promoted by the Union."

Exemplary of this is Hungary's Prime Minister, Viktor Orban, who was quick to congratulate former President Trump on his victory with a video where Trump praises Orban's anti-migration policies and recalls moments when he received support from the Hungarian Prime Minister. Another example can be seen with one of Czech Republic's most known politicians and former Prime Minister, Andrej Babis. The founder of the far-right political party ANO, openly voiced his support for Donald Trump on the day of the election and excitedly congratulated him once the results were in,

assuring that his victory will ostensibly bring peace to the world.

Having political alliances and friendships is not something worrisome by itself. In fact, it's necessary to sign treaties and strengthen relations between countries. However, Trump's campaign policies include "[cutting] federal funding for any school or program pushing Critical Race Theory or gender ideology", "strengthen qualified immunity and other protections for police officers", and limiting access to refugees and asylum seekers to the U.S., among others. Furthermore, he also promoted the ban on abortion that took place in the U.S. after *Wade v. Roe* was overturned in the U.S. These narratives not only promote hate towards migrants or members of the LGBTQ community, but also pose a threat to people's freedom and liberty.

A lot of these policies go against what the European Union stands for. For many years, the EU has considered itself a beacon of freedom and safety, as well as a defender of human rights, which include women's and the LGBTQ community's rights. The Union has also expressed its stand against racial discrimination and police brutality on more than one occasion. Furthermore, the EU has been a safe haven for many migrants and refugees over several decades. Even if the New Pact on Migration and Asylum seeks to secure the EU's external borders and guarantee the safety and security of their people, it still seeks to guarantee and ensure the defence of human rights.

Overall, while the European institutions are actively fighting to guarantee the freedom of their citizens, by protecting their rights to freely express themselves, their reproductive rights, or the human right of migration, far-right political leaders from European member states might take inspiration from Trump's victory or even feel bolder and seek to further promote this kind of rhetoric within the EU. While this would not imply a fundamental change on the values of the Union, it could create a breakage within, promulgate fragmentation, as well as promote nationalist policies that could push for different countries to exit the EU, that even if they don't take place, they would weaken the EU as a whole as well as its stance as a defender of freedom.

The actual effects and implications of Trump's victory on the world and on the EU are yet to truly materialise; however, it will be important to remain vigilant and make sure that such anti-freedom speech is not perpetrated by European politicians in a way that could not only weaken the European Unions as a whole, but equally damage the freedom, liberties and human rights of European citizens.

Democracy for Sale: The Impact of Political Investors on Human Rights

Kathya Bianchi

I am going to tell you a secret: Rights don't just disappear for "someone else". When we accept that people don't deserve dignity or fairness, the system that protects us begins to crumble simultaneously. The freedoms you count on every day – your safety, your voice, your future – are only as strong as the rights of the most vulnerable.

In political terms, Human rights are the legal and moral frameworks that protect and uphold our ability to exercise our freedom, such as access to education, health care, a clean planet, fair work, housing, and a future shaped by opportunity—not exploitation nor oppression. But what happens when the laws that uphold our rights become a

currency traded in political backrooms?

Political campaigns do not run on ideas alone; they run on money. Modern political campaigns are high-stakes, multi-million-euro ventures. Today, politics are a business of spectacle and strategy: designing flashy advertisements, running data-driven social media campaigns, organising massive rallies, hiring top-tier strategists, and conducting detailed voter research. All of this comes with a hefty price tag usually covered by wealthy individuals, corporations, and lobbying groups called 'investors'.

Across the European Union, the interpretation and application of Human Rights are not done through



the lens of justice, fairness, and equity. Instead, they are calculated through power and profit, in this way political discourse is no longer about what we, the people, need but what the investors want in return.

This creates a dangerous dynamic. Policies that should serve the common good—addressing inequality, climate change, or access to healthcare—are diluted or sidelined if they threaten the profits of major donors. Instead, parties champion causes that align with their investors' interest; tax cuts for corporations, deregulation of industries, and leniency toward environmental violations often take precedence over social welfare.

"This raises an unsettling question – whose freedom are we really voting for?"

Nowhere is the influence of investors more visible than in the fight against climate change and the formulation of migration policies. Despite the EU's ambitious Green Deal and its commitment to achieving net-zero emissions by 2050, many member states continue to lag behind on climate goals. Why? Because of the outsized influence of powerful industries like fossil fuels, agriculture, and manufacturing. Take Poland, for example, which has a long history of resisting stricter climate policies, citing its reliance on coal as a critical factor. Behind this resistance lies the coal industry's significant political sway, which has historically influenced both national and EU-wide policy discussions.

Similarly, migration policies in the EU are often painted as moral imperatives or national security measures. Beneath the political speeches about borders lies a powerful economic engine driven by investors and corporations. Migration, for many, isn't a crisis—it's a business opportunity. Italy, for example, has agreements with Libya, which have become a cornerstone of its migration strategy. Since 2017, Italy has poured millions of euros into funding the Libyan Coast Guard, tasking it with intercepting migrant boats in the Mediterranean and sending them back to Libya. On the surface, this might seem like a response to voter anxiety about migration. But follow the money, and a different story emerges. Who profits from these arrangements? Private companies that supply surveillance equipment, drones, patrol vessels, and detention facilities. Giants like Leonardo, Airbus, and Thales are at the forefront, securing lucrative contracts

funded by EU taxpayers. For them, the more "crisis" headlines dominate the news, the better the investment return is.

But, where does that leave us as voters?

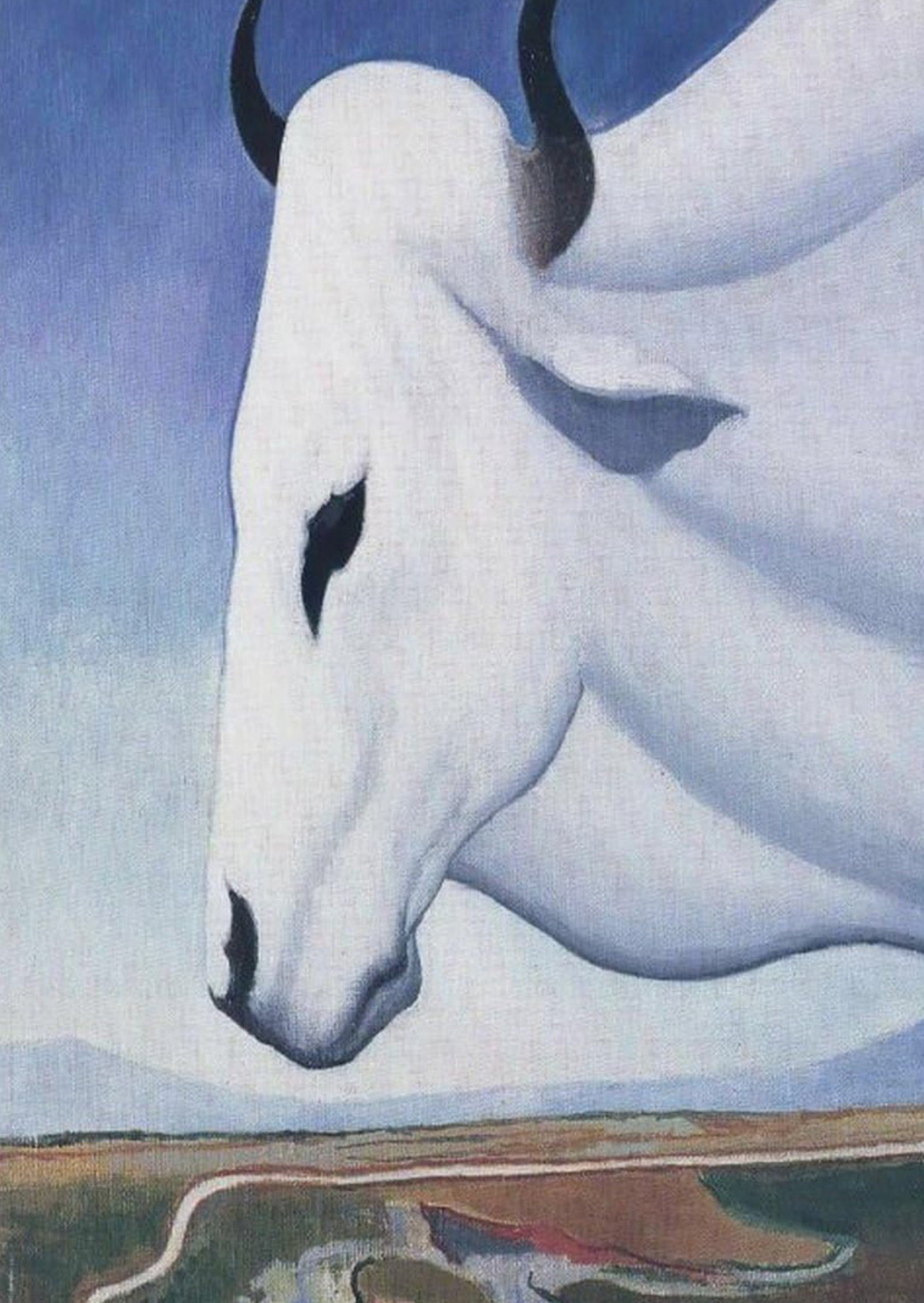
It is clear that for the investors freedom means lower taxes, fewer regulations, and unchecked influence over political discourse. For the rest of us, it means a slow erosion of protection that ensures our safety, equality, and opportunity.

Many of us step into polling booths believing we are choosing the leader who will best represent our values and interests. But in a system where political agendas are shaped by the highest bid, the choices we're offered may be little more than illusions. When parties rely on corporate backing to stay afloat, their policies inevitably reflect the priorities of those with the deepest pockets. This leaves voters with a narrow spectrum of options—none of which truly prioritises the freedoms that matter the most.

If freedom is to mean anything, it cannot be a privilege reserved for the wealthy and powerful; it must be a right guaranteed to all. To achieve this, we must systematically change. We, the citizens, must demand strict regulations on campaign donations and lobbying efforts to ensure that policymaking reflects the will of the people – not the wallet of the investors. Moreover, we must reimagine the role of Human Rights in political discourse. Instead of treating them as abstract ideas, we must frame them as tangible protections that benefit everyone. When we fight for the rights of the most vulnerable, we strengthen the scaffolding that holds up our freedoms.

Finally, change begins with us. Educate yourself, engage in conversations that challenge the status quo, and hold those in the seat of power accountable. Freedom thrives when citizens unite to demand a better system – one where rights are not commodities but a guarantee. Together, we can create a future where justice and human dignity prevail over the influence of wealth and power. The question isn't whether change is possible — it's whether we are ready to demand it.

The next time you hear a politician speak about freedom, ask yourself: Whose freedom are they really protecting? The answer may determine not just the future of vulnerable communities but the future of freedom itself.



The Open Door of Hell: Sartre's "No Exit" and the Paradox of Freedom

Benedetta Di Martino

What happens when the door to freedom is open, yet no one leaves? Sartre's *No Exit* masterfully explores the human condition, unraveling the tension between freedom and self-imposed confinement, as three souls discover that true torment lies not in fire and brimstone, but in the unrelenting gaze of others—and their own refusal to escape it.

As the sun warms my skin, I stay still. I can't seem to move my gaze away from that crow. The sun warms its skin too, and the wax that kept it trapped starts to melt. There's a light breeze, I move a lock of hair from my face. The wax is now all melted, loose on the ground. But still, the crow doesn't move. It had been trembling and fidgeting for a while, and now that it's free, it stays still.

I woke up from that strange dream, and I kept wondering about the bird. Why didn't it fly away? It's like thinking of being locked in a room that has always had an open door.

That is the thread of one of Sartre's most renowned works: "No Exit".

No Exit, or "Closed Doors", is an existentialist thought-provoking one-act play, telling the story of three souls trapped in Hell. Hell is not a burning place of tortures, but a spare room with nothing but couches, an empty space that will be the cradle of their interactions.

Garcin, Estelle, and Inez are absentees (a euphemism for dead), whisked away to that doomed place of fire and brimstone; trapped in a room, there's no escaping each other, there's no escaping the truth. Initially strangers, their attempts at polite conversation dissolve into a harrowing exploration of guilt, self-deception and judgment. As their darkest secrets and true natures emerge, they realize their torment comes not from external punishments but from their relentless need for validation and the inability to escape each other's gaze. Leading to

a climax: exasperated by his torturous interactions with Estelle and Inez, Garcin pronounces the famous "Hell is other people."

The room in *No Exit* functions as a microcosm of the existentialist condition. The absence of mirrors forces the characters to rely on one another for self-perception, creating a cycle of judgment and dependency that mirrors the dynamics of bad faith. Their inability to leave the room symbolizes their refusal to confront their own freedom and responsibility.

"As Sartre demonstrates, the true nature of hell lies not in physical suffering but in the psychological torment of living inauthentically and refusing to embrace one's freedom."

For Sartre, freedom is inextricably linked to self-definition. Existentialist freedom is not merely the capacity to act without external constraints but is instead an intrinsic quality of human existence. However, this process becomes fraught in the presence of others, whose perceptions threaten to confine us within fixed identities. Garcin, for example, struggles to establish himself as a courageous man, yet he cannot achieve this self-image without Inez's recognition. Similarly, Estelle, obsessed with her appearance and desirability, seeks validation through Garcin's attention. Inez, on the other hand, asserts her dominance by manipulating the vulnerabilities of the other two characters, claiming, "You are your life, and nothing else." This dynamic illustrates the existentialist tension between self-perception and the gaze of others, highlighting the ways in which interpersonal relationships complicate the pursuit of freedom.

Throughout *No Exit* the characters are shown to be trapped not only physically but also psychologically, as they repeatedly deceive themselves to avoid confronting their responsibility for their actions.

This self-deception, or bad faith, manifests in their unwillingness to accept their past choices and the moral consequences of those choices.

Garcin, for instance, rationalizes his cowardice and betrayal as products of external circumstances, refusing to acknowledge his agency in shaping his fate. Estelle denies her infanticide, clinging instead to superficial concerns about her appearance and desirability. Inez, although more self-aware than the other two, also manipulates others to maintain a sense of control and superiority, deflecting attention from her own flaws. These patterns of bad faith illustrate Sartre's assertion that freedom can be terrifying; rather than embracing it, individuals often retreat into comforting lies about themselves.

But how can the idea of being free be terrifying? Isn't it what we all aspire to? It seems like a paradox. I think about that crow, scared of flying after being stuck in the wax for who knows how long. Rousseau would say that "the man is condemned to be free," and certainly Rousseau's work echoes in Sartre's thoughts. His philosophical doctrine rejects the notion that human beings possess any inherent identity which precedes their existence. We create our own identity and values through our consciousness

and our free choices.

Sartre elaborates his theories during the postwar years, in a world without any certainty.

In what could a man believe? Not in a gGod, announced dead years ago by Nietzsche. Not in a country or politics, that could not guarantee any safety as the wars showed. Not even in yourself, a fragmented and fragile entity, as Freud's psychoanalysis demonstrated. In the void, the man gets lost. And the road to freedom, to escape from absurdity, from meaninglessness, from *La Nausée* so, is through choice and action. The freedom that Sartre talks about is a commitment, a responsibility, and mostly it is not an individualistic one. It depends on others and influences others; one chooses for humanity when one chooses for oneself. Just like in *No Exit* all of the choices made by each character affected the others; every decision we make is linked to something bigger. Within the confines of nothingness, Sartre realized that a person indeed possesses freedom to choose.

At the end of the play, Garcin, Estelle, and Inez realize that the door of Hell has always been open, yet they decide to remain inside. Just like my crow.





Through the Darkness: Navigating Uncertain Times and Finding Hope for the Future

Twan Hover

The time of the year has dawned when the trees seem almost bald, and the days grow darker—almost as if we are living in a time of eternal darkness. This darkness is reflected in global politics, as we currently live in very insecure times.

Just a few days ago, headlines reported that Netanyahu is willing to send planes to Amsterdam in response to football rallies stemming from tensions between Maccabi and Ajax. Such headlines evoke a sense of foreboding; my mother even remarked that this could be the beginning of a Third World War. Another sign of the uncertainty in global politics came days earlier when Donald Trump was re-elected in the United States. For many, his presidency represents a source of instability in international relations.

During Trump's first term, he was widely criticized as an unreliable partner on the global stage. His withdrawal from agreements like the Paris Climate Accord and the Iran Nuclear Deal alienated allies and weakened global commitments. His erratic actions, from trade wars to questioning NATO's relevance, created uncertainty among allies. Decisions such as the sudden troop withdrawal from Syria and ineffective diplomacy with North Korea further eroded U.S. credibility. His administration also undermined international institutions, like the WHO, and disrupted multilateral agreements.

In this climate of mistrust, Europe faces increasing insecurity. The rise of radical-right governments across the continent has deepened divisions, leaving nations reluctant to cooperate. Yet, not all hope is lost. As the saying goes:

after rain comes sunshine, after winter comes spring. Nonetheless, we must endure this "winter" of political uncertainty and find ways to navigate its challenges.

One might ask: how can we bear the consequences of such turbulence? The answer is not in bearing, but in enduring. In times of disparity, it is crucial not to lose hope. We, the younger generation, hold the power to shape the future. Whether we agree with current politics or not, our leaders are democratically elected representatives. This doesn't mean we should remain passive—we can influence change through activism, dialogue, and collective action.

"Many hands make light work, but many minds make great achievements." While individual efforts may seem small, united, we can

shape a better political landscape. True wisdom comes from experiencing failure. Just as societies rise after their falls, so too must we rise after facing political and social hardships.

Looking back at history, we see that humanity often learns through adversity. Without the devastation of World Wars, we would lack the advancements in medicine, human rights, and international law we have today. The Holocaust, for instance, spurred the creation of international laws against genocide and the establishment of global frameworks for justice.

However, warfare is inherently unequal. The vulnerable—civilians, marginalized groups, and the poor—bear the heaviest burdens, while those in power remain insulated. The disparities in resources, technology, and strategy often exacerbate these inequalities. This reflects broader societal imbalances that persist even in peacetime.

While wars may lead to advancements and reforms, the cost is immense, with human suffering, economic destruction, and lasting trauma. Whether warfare yields positive outcomes depends on how societies address its aftermath.

"Healing, reconciliation, and prevention are key to ensuring progress from hardship."

Historically, challenges have driven societies to innovate and advance. For instance, Ancient Egypt's irrigation techniques and Mesopotamia's early writing systems emerged to manage natural challenges. Hardship spurs progress, as "what doesn't kill you makes you stronger."

In times of darkness, even small joys—like snowfall or sunlight—can restore hope. Snowfall brings peace, while sunlight boosts energy, offering complementary ways to uplift the spirit. There is light at the end of the tunnel, and change, whether for better or worse, is inevitable.

History teaches us that progress often arises from turmoil. Perhaps, as things deteriorate, they pave the way for renewal and improvement.





Do Smartphones Make Us Free?

The Paradox of globalisation and alienation

Riccardo Bortolan

Smartphones have never been so... smart! In the last couple of decades, our phones have become an essential part of our daily lives. In an unprecedented way, they give us immediate access to information, communication, and commodities. Yet it is hard to draw a line to define how much technology can be, well, too much. However the question remains: do smartphones actually make us free, or do they merely confine us in a world of digital addiction and privacy compromises? While on one hand they may offer freedom, on the other one they undeniably come with significant drawbacks that challenge our sense of autonomy.

Smartphones have indeed revolutionized communication by enabling us to stay in touch with anyone, anywhere, at any time. They have helped us overcome geographic and political barriers that once separated peoples. Now we can send messages, do videocalls, build relationships and be part of entire communities.

Their significance as a tool for social change is, moreover, undeniable. The Arab Spring and other global movements have heavily relied on smartphones to document events, organize protests, and spread messages worldwide. Social media platforms allow people to share their stories beyond the reach of traditional media, giving a voice to all, including the oppressed.

Smartphone freedom has given us immediate access to an unlimited amount of information, at the edge of our fingertips. They put the world's knowledge in the palm of our hands, giving us access to educational apps, podcasts, news outlets, and online courses. Democratizing of information empowers people, regardless of location. It gives us equal opportunities to educate ourselves.

Smartphones, likewise, help us streamline our daily routine: we have access to apps that simplify tasks like managing schedules, banking, and even ordering food. Such conveniences make us more independent in our daily routines, as we can pretty much handle our entire life from a piece of technology no larger than a pint.

In such a fast-paced society, smartphones respond to our need for control over our time and resources, enhancing our autonomy.

However, like most things, even things that bring us benefits, come at a cost. The most noticeable is the impact they have on our mental health. If on one hand, smartphones keep us connected, on the other they isolate us from the "outside world". An exaggerated use of can lead us to less face-to-face interactions, making us feel disconnected from our surroundings.

Social media platforms, like Instagram or Tik-Tok, exacerbate the problem by exposing us to unrealistic standards of life. They bring us to where we use such standards as a method of comparison, lowering our self-esteem or, in extreme cases, lead us to anxiety. In this vicious cycle, this constant search for external validation can make us feel even more distanced from our real-life relationships and, ultimately, from our true self.

On top of that smartphones constantly monitor our actions. From our location to our search history, every single action we take on the phone is tracked and used by companies to personalize advertisements, along with much more. Is the lack of privacy on our phone, and the selling thereof, a trade-off worth enough? Well, it can be quite hard to find one straight answer.

For example, location tracking offers us services like GPS navigation, but it equally means that we are perpetually retraceable. Our personal data is often collected without consent or complete transparency – recent studies found out that around 65% of websites ignore it when you press "reject cookies", leading to dangers such as data spill, identity theft or even worse. Despite the apparent freedom smartphones offer, they also trap us in an environment where our personal data is constantly processed and managed.

In fact, as we rely more and more on smartphones, we risk losing some of our self-sufficiency along the way. Even the simplest things like remember-

ring phone numbers, orienting ourselves, or even building genuine offline relationships are becoming harder as we let our phones do them for us.

The "always-on" culture of smartphones now pressures us to be constantly reachable. We now have the expectation to be available at all times – either for work, uni, or even our social lives –, leading us into not being fulfilled by our own company. The importance we give to our online presence can make it hard to disconnect, being less present in the moment, and paradoxically, making us feel less free.

Though panic may in sew when realising all this, we have to remember that our smartphones are ultimately made to better our life, we just have to learn to tame it and use it more consciously to regain control of our routine. The key is to be mindful. Rather than just scrolling through our socials, we should concentrate on curating our digital environment in light of what actually has a positive impact on us. Limiting our screen time can also be very effective. "Digital detoxes", for instance, have fortunately been on the rise, a phase where one disconnects from technology and reconnects with people. Having time off smartphones helps us to better invest our time and improve our mental health. In a world

subsumed by technology, it is essential to rein in a balance between the digital world and our physical, social, and emotional lives.

In all, do smartphones truly make us free? Again, there is no easy answer. On one hand, smartphones offer us incredible opportunities for connection, knowledge, and autonomy. They break down barriers of communication and give us unlimited access to intangible resources – they offer opportunity for those that could not have it otherwise. On the other hand, smartphones have led people to feel isolated, they are a threat to our privacy, and are ultimately a tool that can be potentially addictive. Ultimately, the freedom smartphones provide depends on how we choose to use them. With the right boundaries, mindfulness, and awareness we can harness the potential of smartphones without losing our autonomy in the way.

"True freedom lies not in being constantly connected, but in our ability to choose how we engage with the digital world."



SES Calendar

Cookies, Cocoa, and Christmas Classics - December 10th

SES's lovely Activity Committee has organised this event to have SES's members get together for a lovely afternoon of community with a hot chocolate station, a "secret santa" decorated cookies gift exchange, decorating gingerbread houses, and unwinding with a classic Christmas movie.

Study Trip Reveal Borrel - December 10th

SES invites everyone to join them and their Travel Committee on the 10th of December for the Study Trip Reveal Borrel at Onder de Ooievaar from 20:00 onwards. This year - things are going to be a little bit different, everyone will participate in a sort of pub quiz which will reveal their exciting destinations!

Study Sesh with SES - December 13th

SES's Educational Committee is hosting its first "Study Sesh with SES" and invites everyone that needs a little bit of help before Exam Week to stop by and ask their questions to students who've already done the exams.

Lustrum's Ski Trip - January 31st - February 9th

Every 5 years, SES celebrates their Lustrum year, which means that SES is busier than usual this year. As per tradition, SES's Lustrum year will again include a Ski Trip this year. 36 ambitious skiers will hit the slopes in France's Saint-Sorlin d'Arves from January 31st to February 9th.

SES Think Tank - February 11th

On the 11th of February, SES is hosting its second Think Tank of the year, where members gather and talk about the inner workings of the association and its events, what went good, what went bad, and what could go better.

Valentine's Borrel - February 11th

Like every year, SES's Party Committee is organising a Valentine's Borrel where members are invited to gather and can buy roses for their friends and loved ones. Like every year, all the profits of the rose sale will be donated to charity.

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