

Current Concerns

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On gaining a humane stance in paltry times

What historical experience, natural law, anthropology, and psychology have to say – an approximation

by Moritz Nestor

Wars, imperial exploitation, and hunger still threaten world peace. The nuclear contamination is increasing and the danger of (nuclear) war is growing. The betrayed peoples of Europe have lost their trust in governments and politics, for the disregard of the will of the people by the political, monetary, and power elites has assumed an intolerable and cynical extent. Civil war-like conditions impend.

However, – this is not the whole world. Only a small part of humanity is planning these awful things. The vast majority of all people on our planet do not want and do not behave like that. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of all people want to live in peace, people bear their children out of love and educate them to decency and prowess, hoping that life will continue. And often they can hardly feed their families whom they love. They work for life, for the future of their children, even if they do not have it well. And they are far from harbouring hatred for other nations.

No wars without the propagation of false theories

The peoples, the common human beings do not plan wars. No people spontaneously pounces armed on another people. The “so called evil” is not an essential element of human nature. Nevertheless, we are affected propagandistically. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, so many and false theories were brought into orbit with propagandistic intentions, as never before in the history of mankind.¹ Since the fall of the Iron Curtain, the awe of globalisation has been hammered into the heads of European peoples. Media products of all kinds advertised the dissolution of the national states and the deregulation of the markets, and they urged us that we should have to jump on the bandwagon of globalisation, otherwise history would punish us. Fake works of history bragged and brag of the war-like fame of the “struggle against terror”, of the defence of the fatherland “at Hindukush”. From the centres of the mass media, the praise of subservience to globalisation was incessantly sermonised. The academic elites and “state philoso-

phers” acquainted the subjects with the art of seeing wars as “humanitarian interventions” and in their feelings of powerlessness a fate and that “those up there do whatever they want” – allegedly in the name of freedom and democracy.

Humankind is capable of doing the better – this is a realistic hope

However, what really needs to be done when we consider ourselves as people of our age and consider what should be done?

In Friedrich Schiller’s poem “Hoffnung” (Hope) we read:

*All people discuss it and dream on end
Of better days that are coming,
After a golden and prosperous end
They are seen chasing and running
The world grows old and grows young in turn,
Yet doth man for betterment hope eterne.*

*‘Tis hope delivers him into life,
Round the frolicsome boy doth it flutter,
The youth is lured by its magic rife,
It won’t be interred with the elder;
Though he ends in the coffin his weary lope,
Yet upon that coffin he plants – his hope.*

*It is no empty, fawning deceit,
Begot in the brain of a jester,
Proclaimed aloud in the heart it is:
We are born for that which is better!
And what the innermost voice conveys,
The hoping spirit ne’er that betrays.*

How much hope for a more equitable new beginning concerned the peoples after 1945 with the “No more war!” How much hope lay on the promulgation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948! And how much hope lay in the proclamation of the *UN Charter* and in the international ostracism of the war since the *Briand-Kellogg Pact* of August 1928, as well as in the humanitarian and international law, which had been further developed after 1945?

... however, hope without deeper insight does not prevent from new injustice

And how we were shocked when 1999 we had to witness how in the name of human rights again bombs were released in Europe, there where once the

SS marched. All rational concepts were absolutely the complete distortion of all natural and international law has been reached again. War was declared as “humanitarian intervention” by propaganda. There was war in the name of anti-fascism, bombs fell in the name of human rights – against the “Hitlers” in the Balkans, in Iraq and elsewhere. The anti-fascism and the horror of Auschwitz got the strength to call for arms. War was explained to us by “philosophers of state” as the obstetrician of the “world society,” lighting up on the horizon, and despotic centralism as “democracy above government level” (*Anthony Giddens*). And almost overnight, the differences between right and left, between capitalism and socialism, disappeared from political rhetoric. The Trotskyist-dominated Socialist International declared itself “Third Way” and proclaimed that there was no way but “shaping globalisation”. The conservative and Christian parties followed them.

So were all new beginnings after the Second World War in vain? Whence do we get the hope without which man can not live? As *Annemarie Buchholz-Kaiser* once said we humans can no longer live, without “human leeway”, if daily abysses of inhumanity threaten to take our breath away.

All life wants to live. Life carries in itself the will to live – also and particularly in times that can sometimes make you desperate – and even beyond death to a distant point of a better humanity. At the end of his life, the peasant plants his apple-tree, whose fruits not he himself will reap, but the next generation. And “I am life that wants to live, in the midst of life that wants to live,” wrote *Albert Schweitzer*.

Anthropological constants of human life

As these human beings who we are willing to live, we also know that we cannot realize life on our own, neither can we achieve what a human can be, nor what mankind can be: the child can not be-

Despotism of the parties in Greece and elsewhere

by Prof Dr Ilias Iliopoulos



Ilias Iliopoulos
(picture uk)

In his work “Sociology of the party system” of 1911, the epoch-making German-Italian political scientist *Roberto Michels* introduced the “iron law of oligarchisation,” which is, in the words of the great historian

and conservative theorist *Moisei Jakoblevich Ostrogorski*, also called “the gravitational law of the social order”. According to this “law”, every society without exception is governed by a system of oligarchy, be it a democracy or a state ruled by an autocrat – especially so if direct and unmediated democracy is disregarded.

But even under the strictest consideration of this empirical-historical conclusion, the crystallized oligarchical conditions of the nominal parliamentary democracy of modern Hellas remain inconceivable. The Greek state was opened to exploitation by its nominal “servants”, who in their turn have degenerated into a robber band, and this is a phenomenon which *St Augustine* already formulated long ago. This phenomenon may admittedly be explained in light of the historical, geo-cultural and socio-political framework, the conditions and codeterminants of the Greek political system in general, as well as of the deformed parliamentarism in particular.

The present parliamentary republic, which was established in 1974 and has since then been highly glorified and talked up by generously subsidised “organic intellectuals” and a countless number of their followers as the “best” or “most perfect” democracy since the beginning of the new Greek state, has long since become the synonym for the most serious financial, economic, political and ethical crisis that Hellas has had to experience since the end of the Second World War and the Civil War.

The trust of the people in the state and its representatives has been destroyed. Yet

democracy is based on this trust. Political action oriented towards the common good demands action by the people and for the people, as the American President *Lincoln* put it: Democracy is “government of the people, by the people, for the people”. But the people in Greece neither have a real say on matters, nor do their representatives always act for them. A large number of examples show how the population was time and again disempowered on the one hand, while on the other the political actors also failed in their actions for the people; instead, the state increasingly became the object of collective exploitation.

On closer inspection, the main objectives of the parties turn out to be: acquisition of power and money as well as the establishment of a state for the benefit of one’s own family or clique. It may well be the case that a “democratic deficit” has by now become the embarrassing consequence and side-effect of modern “representative” (sic!) democracy everywhere. In today’s Greece, however, this has been turned quite openly and impudently into a sophisticated euphemism to conceal the domination of the political bosses, the party machineries and clientele networks, as *Ostrogorski* might have been allowed to formulate.

The established parties tend to arrive at (express or implied) agreements on a cross-party basis, which constitute a kind of “political cartel” or “quasi-cartel” (according to *Otto Kirchheimer*’s terminology). In fact, the old Athenian parties have long ago formed cross-party political car-

tels, so that the citizen have no longer been able to fight back by means of his ballot paper: Whom ever he chooses, they are all involved in the cartel. A typical example for this is policy funding, as it still is today.

Precisely the most scandalous arrangements for party financing are consistently based on explicit or silent agreements between the government and the opposition. Over the decades, parties and organisations have grown like all-encompassing octopuses, and there is nobody who will draw the line to any effect. Namely in the last two decades there have in addition been the so-called non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

In the Federal Republic of Germany, “Politikverdrossenheit” (disenchantment with politics) was the word of the year 1992, according to the *Duden* editors. This disenchantment with politics is reflected not only in the decline of electoral participation or in the drop in membership of the established parties, but also in the fact that voters increasingly choose “extreme” parties – not necessarily because these parties correspond to their convictions, but because they want to show their protest. These symptoms are particularly pronounced in younger population groups.

All these observations can be verified by the Greek example of recent times. Representative inquiries and surveys confirm that the Greeks have become increasingly frustrated with their politicians,

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Parties in Switzerland

mw. The political parties in Switzerland are private law associations and part of the militia system of Swiss democracy. They are neither subject to state control, nor receive subsidies from the Confederation or the cantons. In the federation, parliamentary advances with the demand for transparency of the parties’ financing haven’t had so far a majority in the Federal Assembly. In the cantons, too, there are only isolated rules for the disclosure of political donations, such as in Geneva and Ticino. Attempts to obtain legal transparency with people’s initiatives failed in Basel-Land in 2013 and 2014 in the canton of Aargau at the ballot box.

In the Swiss policy a membership of a political party is privacy in the true sense: In order to stand for a seat in parliament or for a public office, it is not compulsory. Thus, a large number of local councillors and mayors (executive members) are independent across the country, and even in the National Coun-

cil and the Council of States there are individual parliamentarians without party affiliation.

In addition to this liberal handling of the parties, there are also a large number of parties in the cantonal and municipal parliaments, as well as in the Federal Assembly and in some cases parties that are only in one canton, such as the *Lega dei ticinesi* in Ticino or the *Mouvement citoyen genevois* in the canton of Geneva. There are no “coalition governments”, but the members of the governing councils elected by the people from different parties or the federal councillors, elected by the Federal Assembly, work together as a collegiate authority. It should also be mentioned that there is no party discipline in Switzerland in votes in the parliaments: It is often the case that the members of a party do not vote consistently yes or no, even sometimes they vote against the proposal of their party member in the government.

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come human without loving parents. The nascent ego is climbing up on the You, becoming the adult. Without mutual aid and solidarity, neither the individual nor the family, nor the state, nor the protective culture, nor all humanity, can learn to live in peace and justice. It is an ideal that unfolds itself with these ideas. If man thinks of mankind as if it were eternal, he will gain a new ethical standpoint, called "social interest" (Gemeinschaftsgefühl) by *Alfred Adler*: I know and then feel that I am part of the great stream of history which passes through me, of which I am a part. The infinite number of my ancestors' achievements received me when I was born. They helped me into my life. Without them I would not be the one I am. Therefore I see and feel a great gratitude that every human being is able to by nature, so that I want to "give back" something: to act like my ancestors, who did something for me. I will contribute my part so that future generations "*sub specie aeternitatis*" should once live a better life, even if I will not experience it myself. Just as I was able to reap the fruits of the seed grains that my ancestors laid. In reverence for the time it took, I then also know that we cannot imagine to solve the most difficult problem of mankind in one generation: that man has a better understanding of himself.

The standard of natural law: the inalienable rights of all

Ernst Bloch begins his book "Natural Law and Human Dignity" with the sentences: "*What is justice? – we cannot avoid this question; it always demands our attention; it forces itself upon us and points out a path for us. One school of thought that has taken up this question in principle and not just on occasion is characterised by its attachment to the idea of natural law. No matter what position on took with respect to this idea of natural law, whether critical or undecided, and no matter of how abstract it often was, what it referred to could never be a*

matter of indifference. Where everything has been alienated, inalienable rights stand out in sharp relief."²

With Bloch, natural law appears here from a different angle: as "concrete utopia". He even called it "docta spes" (the "taught hope"): the cultural creativity of the people in all areas of life and their historical insights and experiences affect us humans like a real utopia: cooperation, solidarity and finally "real democracy" are possible.

Natural law is also paper on which for mankind's memory, is recorded what the rights of men would be. If you tried to record the written testimony of all the attempts that were undertaken to achieve humans' rights before and against any naked power you would fill an impressive library trying to collect it in one place.

The freedom of the human person constitutes man's dignity

Before ever being put into writing, however, and before ever being codified, natural law was *«humanism in action»* as Ernst Bloch calls it. The *«establishment of [honesty and] uprightness [...] is a postulate from natural law.»*³ With this in mind, the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* of 1948 has been referred to as a metaphor of the *risen moral and legal consciousness of mankind*. This awareness of right and wrong – which has been formed by the rebellion against the injustice generated by two world wars and against the tremendous contempt of mankind by the despotisms of the twentieth century – incorporates the impulse of the will to freedom of the human person as a time-transcending and unchangeable element – here and everywhere and at all times. Embedded in it the social question: "*That human dignity is not possible without economic liberation and this, liberation is not possible without the cause of human rights which is beyond all forms of contract and contractors.*"

The concrete freedom of the human person has been the starting point and goal of the spontaneous protest of the tortured creature at all historical times. Where it was despised and injured, it became an ex-

plosive force against the power of the authorities - driven from within by the stirring up and protesting sense of injured humanity. Natural law was, at all times, natural law "from below," and always directed against the "tolerances" of despotisms of all political colors. With its spontaneous sense for the victim's violated humanity, natural law opposed the "Because I wish it" with which the absolutist *Louis XIV* signed his orders, with an absolute no: *Thou shalt not kill*.

Justice isn't *«pure reason»*, not a simple beautiful idea. It is of course also an idea. But in their historical times and as response to outrageous lawlessness and oppression, people have to reflect, recognize and actualize true and *living* justice. They have to resolve to *put into practice* more justice. From the indignation to which every person is capable, everyone understands that he has inherent rights – he understands his being created in the vision and likeness of god, which makes him equivalent to every human being he understands his natural dignity and freedom. His reason and his human thinking and feeling are raising, and he is compelled by a boundless decision to act, a decision which receives its firmness from the disgust at the injustice inflicted on himself or on others.

Justice needs our actions

True, meaning living justice is the result of a historical struggle, if necessary also of a combat. But a struggle preceded by rational thinking and desire and decision, all together determined by humanity. Neither mindless struggle – nor idle thinking. Seen in this way, all rights which have the power to shape a society more just, are the results of all the attempts made by this society to achieve social cooperation with one another a bit better, and that means to live up to what we can be as human beings: "*All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.*" This is only feasible in

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even angry with them. Three out of four citizens believe politicians to be unable to solve the "really important problems" – not just the economic crisis in general or unemployment, but also (and especially for the "little man in the street") the massive illegal immigration – together with the extensive criminality associated with it, which seems appalling when compared to traditional Greek social conditions. For years now, the established policy has

given the impression that it cannot solve urgent problems. Many important tasks of the community have not been tackled by the political class, but have been factored out, tabooed, or solved inadequately. Under the *Damocles* sword of the economic crisis, this impression has been reinforced – quite rightly: if a few years ago there was still talk of a problem-solving weakness, today every critical-thinking Greek observes a kind of state failure. The keywords are: bankruptcy – whether de facto or de jure is of no importance to

the countless "small people", who have been battered with completely arbitrary lump-sum taxes by a despotic system of *Ottoman* character for six years now, and who find it increasingly difficult to keep their heads above water.

It was not without reason that in his day, *Alexis de Tocqueville* thought it appropriate to deal with the question of "what kind of despotism do the democratic nations have to fear" in his work "On Democracy in America"!

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freedom. We as humans have to learn to see and realize the possibilities that holds the social nature of man better and better. This is sovereignty which we live. A social living together in real democracy, where human rights are socially guaranteed. Or as Annemarie Buchholz-Kaiser formulated in 1989:

"With what Adler calls social interest (*Gemeinschaftsgefühl*), that is, the fully developed ability of realizing interpersonal relations, the individual has a measure at hand with which to assess and weigh the effects of his actions for himself and the other one. One should look at people's hands, not at their mouths, Adler has often reminded. The way of acting shows how far the individual can perceive his or her own concerns in a healthy way, and realise them in a sensible way while simultaneously keeping in mind the well-being of the other person. Only independent and free individuals are able to develop a stronger social formation of personality and more empathy with the wellbeing of their fellows as their very own concern. Hence freedom is 'conditio sine qua non', i.e. an absolute necessity without which it will not work. Approaching this goal of personal development is the content of the psychotherapeutic process. However, this formation of personality does not develop by itself but has to be fostered and lived by us; it needs our activity. This is individual-psychological ethics and morality."⁴

How to gain a humane stance?

Since Greek antiquity, natural law has always been moved by the awareness of this necessity – especially in times of deepest injustice. When asked, «Do you think the brute [...] barbarian hears the voice of truth and humanity[...]?", *Iphigenia* in *Goethe's* drama of the same name answers: "It sounds to anyone born under every heaven, the source of life through his breast pure and unimpeded flows."⁵

So how can we gain a humane stance ?

All people are longing for peace. They love peace. That it is possible to live in peace and justice history shows manifoldly. We find the testimonials to this, and they affect us and encourage us.

But: history also shows us that the bare yearning for peace is insufficient. From the compassion with the tormented human nature, from the revolting feeling for law and justice, the European Enlightenment, together with the law of nature, which had matured during three centuries before, has created the model of the constitutional state with its separation of powers. It engendered a special treasure in the model of Swiss direct democracy. Enlightenment

trusted in reason. Rightly so. Wonderful achievements were made possible by reason that were never conceivable before.

Enlightenment on its own is not enough

According to the concept of the proponents of the Enlightenment the people will laugh and break free once they have been enlightened that the despot is not sent by God – exactly that did not happen. Even in places like Switzerland where real democracy was put into practice, we realise that freedom and justice do not automatically persist once they have been achieved.

In addition: man's mind did mischief whenever it acted without heart for people.

In 1784, Kant saw this problem when he wrote in his famous essay "What is Enlightenment": "Enlightenment is man's emergence from his self-imposed nonage. Nonage is the inability to use one's own understanding without another's guidance. This nonage is self-imposed if its cause lies not in lack of understanding but in indecision and lack of courage to use one's own mind without another's guidance. Dare to know! (*Sapere aude.*) Have the courage to use your own understanding, is therefore the motto of the enlightenment."⁶

In this passage Kant forebodes the psychological dimension: Why is courage lacking? Why is the subject missing determination of whom we, the enlightened – well-meant – think he should actually be able to understand that it is better when he acts as a free person? An answer to this question was only available later.

What personal psychology and anthropology can contribute

This was the fundamental idea of Alfred Adler, *Friedrich Liebling*, Annemarie Buchholz-Kaiser: Intellect alone is not enough. Rationality and science have achieved wonderful things. But only if intellect is complemented with human compassion, then it becomes reason. Only when people learn to think, to feel and to deal with compassion, the wish for freedom gets a basis and is not just a spontaneous feeling without knowing how to get there.

In reference to the question, how does the human learn to think and feel compassionately, individual psychology, neo-psychoanalysis and ego-psychology, modern developmental psychology and modern anthropology have created an enormous supply of findings and experiences. To understand this, to maintain it where it is possible and to build upon it, this is the responsibility of our time: without psychology it won't work. We do not need to repeat the mistakes of the past: the enraged citizen is just as little a humane escape out

of our 'self-imposed nonage' (Kant) as the hope for iron brooms and strong men or women who finally establish 'order'.

Schiller, *Condorcet* and others were horrified about the derailing of the French Revolution and without giving up the basic idea of the first phase of the revolution 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity' they warned: without examination of the matter of right versus power and without knowledge of the social dimension of human life political freedom is illusory. Freedom must be the actual and real possibility to exist as a fellow human being. *Humboldt* compared the Revolution to an anatomy lecture on a living body: "qu'il ne faut pas donner des leçons d'anatomie sur un corps vivant"⁷ ("lessons on anatomy must not be conducted on a living human body"). Schiller, Goethe and the German humanists knew that the education of the compassionate sensibility was the most important need of the time, because only the moral law that is approved by reason and emotionally-loved makes freedom and ethics possible. If the human being does not feel his own personal dignity he cannot respect that of others either. Or according to Schiller's warning words: "One will, in other parts of the world, respect the humanity in the Negro and in Europe disgrace that of the Thinker. The old principles will remain but they will wear the clothes of the current century (...)."⁸

Again and again the course of history has shown that real democracy, that freedom and dignity can be realised. Wherever people understood man and his nature, they were capable of creating social conditions which were more peaceful and more just. That concern – and what is necessary for its purpose – is explored by personal psychology and anthropology. Humane policy without an actualised psychological-anthropological education is just as endangered as a psychology in which the political dimension of our human living together doesn't matter. •

¹ vgl. de Waal, Frans. *Primaten und Philosophen. Wie die Evolution die Moral hervorbrachte.* (*Primates and philosophers. How evolution generated moral.*) Munich 2008

² Bloch, Ernst. *Natural Law and Human Dignity.* MIT Press, p. xxviii

³ loc. cit. p. xxix

⁴ Buchholz-Kaiser, Annemarie. Standortbestimmung. Zum Jahresbeginn 1989. In: Verein zur Förderung der psychologischen Menschenkenntnis VPM (ed.). *Jahresbericht 1988.* Zurich 1989, p. 23

⁵ Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, V, 3

⁶ Kant, Immanuel. *Was ist Aufklärung?* (*What is Enlightenment?*) 1784, Chapter 1

⁷ von Humboldt, Wilhelm: Brief an Friedrich Gentz vom August 1791. In: *Briefe. Band 2: 1791-1795.* Berlin/Boston 2015, Letter Nr. 206

⁸ Schiller, Friedrich. *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen*, (About the aesthetic education of the human being.) Letter No. 7, p. 30

The euro – a hostage of the continent

EU Finance Ministers repress the unresolved euro crisis

by Beat Kappeler



Beat Kappeler
(picture ma)

The euro is in an economic crisis, and it remains unresolved because of the character of the involved. Let us start with psychoanalysis of Dutch Finance Minister *Jeroen Dijsselbloem*, the chief negotiator of the euro-ministers in the

Greece-issue. For years, he had repeatedly announced final agreements of the creditors with Greece, endorsing support packages with many billions. But just after he had been voted out seven weeks ago in the Netherlands, he suggested that the Euro-South had squandered the money for “booze and women.” The words were even more subtle. He said: “I can’t spend all my money on booze and women and then ask for help.” But a few days ago, he again proposed a European Monetary Fund, which should give the South a hand. The voter can only punish such fickle politicians. *Dijsselbloem*’s political party vegetates now at 5.7% of all votes. The character of the German saviours of Greece and the euro is hardly more stable. Finance Minister *Schäuble* has repeatedly criticised Greek efforts as insufficient, he also suggested “a time out for Greece”, i.e. a temporary exit. But he always and immediately deferred to *Merkel*’s super-ego and promoted her support packages. In August 2015, in the German Bundestag, he advocated the now-running package of 86 billion euros, because it requires privatisation income of EUR 50 billion created in Greece. Still this spring, he wants to persuade the *International Monetary Fund* to inject new money, although virtually nothing has been privatised and even French Commissioner *Pierre Moscovici* admits that Greece has only implemented 2 out of 15 reforms promised. The sale of a large part of the Greek Railways to the Italians yielded just 42 million euros. Already in 2015, it was possible to realise that 50 billion EUR of privatisation income were pure illusion. But: “The Levantine negotiating tricks have arrived in Berlin”, one would have said earlier when political correctness was even less strict. Or did the members of the parliament thankfully accept to rationalise the illusion?

Greece’s debt

rt. Anybody, who would like to draw his pension today after 30 years of work as a salesperson in Greece or to have to finance a longer hospital stay? The living conditions have become unbearable for great many a people through the rigid austerity measures of the “troika”, consisting of envoys from EU institutions and the IMF. Due to the indebtedness of some corrupt politicians and bankers, the population has to pay billions of euros in interest and compound for years. As so often after a short time, the new political “bearers of hope” had also proven to be corrupt.

It is in the meantime known that the exorbitant indebtedness of the country has been arranged in connection with the accession to the EU and the then consultation by the *Goldman Sachs* House. At that time, the name of a *Goldman Sachs* employee, the current President of the European Central Bank *Mario Draghi*, was always men-

tioned. Appalling, how fast the debts that the Greek government received before 2010 from private banks (including *Goldman Sachs*, *Deutsche Bank*) were passed on to taxpayers in Europe, especially in Germany. Of the 326 billion (!) euro debt, for which Greece is to stand today – that is 180% of the Greek Gross Domestic Product –, since 2012, almost three-quarters of the private debt has been redistributed to the *European Central Bank* and the *European Stability Mechanism* *ESM* (226 billion euros) and the *International Monetary Fund* (13 billion euros).

Independent financial analysts had already proposed a debt cut to the Greek government before 2010. A debt relief is also being discussed today (cf. “*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*” from 8.5.2017). In the country itself, it is hoped that increased tourism because of the war conditions in the Levant will put a little more money into the coffers.

Last autumn, the other finance ministers repressed reality – in turn, they suspended the sanctions of the *Maastricht Treaty* against the far too high deficits of Portugal, Spain and France. No wonder, the quorums of votes for such sanctions are so high that the united debtor countries can block them at any time. Finally, the new EU ambassador in Switzerland, *Michael Matt Matthiessen*, has just stated: “The euro is a success.” *Sigmund Freud* would thus have to diagnose fierce repressions, delusions and rationalisations, as well as a Freudian slip by Mr *Dijsselbloem*. But these attitudes are economically devastating, because honest dealing with the euro problem remains impossible this way. And politically they are destroying the European landscape of the political parties as in the Netherlands and France.

This week a new reality came into play. Greece, after saving money in a self-strangling way, has achieved a budget surplus of 4.2% of the country’s domestic product – but before interest payments. Although some are a little disbelieving, the EU considers a surplus of 1.7% for the whole year 2017 possible. But this means, however, that Greece could leave the euro, stop the debt service and still could live as good – as bad – as today. There is no need for new money, the state is again self-sustaining when not paying interest charges. The

time out conditions are reached and conceivable. But nobody aims for it, not even the communists in Greece’s government. Rather a relief package than new loans, which in the form of interest payments flow immediately back to the North.

Also repressed is the real situation in other debtor countries. In France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, interest rates are mainly due to the government deficit, hampering the whole, pitiful annual growth of the economy. Everything goes to the creditors, not to new jobs. And one wonders that the debts increase due to compound interest, that in the domestic product the capital incomes increase more and more compared to the wage bill of those who work.

The politicians of the North and the South are Freudian repressors, they are unable to assess compound interest dynamics, they are ruining Europe. After the elections of this year, for sure after the elections in four years, they will surely not land on the chairs of ministers, but in the waste bucket of the political party history. Posterity will equate their veneering to that of the ancien régime, that of the tsar who suffered it exactly one hundred years ago. •

Source: *NZZ am Sonntag* from 30.4.2017; courtesy of the author

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Elections in France – the syndicate has intervened

Macron threatens to become expensive for Germany

by Prof Dr Eberhard Hamer



Eberhard Hamer
(picture ma)

Everyone is wondering how a political nobody like *Macron* was suddenly able to score the most votes in France – over proven politicians and established parties. But the secret of *Macron* is revealed, when one learns,

- that he is a *Rothschild* banker,
- that the French as well as the German press is directed by finance and big business,
- that French corporations and employers' associations (like the Germans) were fanatically campaigning for a united Europe and the further immigration of workers and were afraid that *Le Pen* might win,
- that, however, the French people as well as the syndicate of finance and economy are both thoroughly disappointed in the corrupt political officials of the old parties and have withdrawn their support from these people,
- so that – to prevent an electoral victory by *Le Pen* – the syndicate pulled a new man out of its magic hat, financed him, sent the mainstream press to help him and thus imposed him on France as the saviour of its own power position, its own interests in Europe, for further immigration and against the decline of the traditional parties.

All this clearly shows how the power syndicate of finance and big business has the political power over France and can enforce its own way beyond parties and popular currents. There was a gap between the economic syndicate and political France, and the decision fell in favour of the syndicate, by means of its own advocated candidate whom it pushed through using all its instruments of power.

In Germany the starting position is similar. Here, too, there has long been a gap between the financial and corporate industries, their press and the established parties on the one hand, and on the other the interests of the majority of the people,

who do not, for example, want to assume liability for all the states and banks of Europe or favour mass immigration into Germany. Anyone who represents these interests of the people is defamed as a “populist” by the corporations, the press, and through their policies; he is perceived as a threat to immigration and political centralisation of Europe, which the corporations press for, and he is increasingly pursued with hate articles in the press dominated by these forces, so that the representatives of the people now live dangerously and are socially excluded.

One thing is equal in Germany and in France: All established parties advocate the demands of the financial industry and the corporations, who rule from the background, and belabour the opposing opinion.

For Germany, however, *Macron* threatens to become expensive. His backers want Europe, contrary to all existing treaties, to be developed from a union of liability and debt to a transfer union and a fiscal union with its own minister of finance. In this way, Germany for example will lose its financial sovereignty, and our taxes, our export surpluses and our target balances at the ECB will all be lumped together in one common pot and distributed by the EU Commission according to the wishes of the southern European debtors. Then we will not only be liable for all debts, as we are already, but we will also have no surpluses, but only common and growing debts – “revelling in the common downfall”, as I already pointed out at the founding of the ESM.

Indeed, *Macron* has already announced that the debt brake (3%) is no longer valid for France, that contrary to all EU treaties, one would rather accumulate further debts without inhibition than save money, and that Germany's saving wishes would no longer block the EU, but rather be forced to submit to the will of the financial syndicate. In effect, this means the socialisation of all German export surpluses, credit balances and savings.

One could say: “Nothing is eaten as hot as it is cooked.” But since, as a result of Brexit, the southern European debt countries have a clear majority over the coun-

tries that save, the EU will become an uninhibited merry debt funfair, while the ECB will be the debt engine and the hedge fund of all European state debts, and by means of all this the euro will lose more and more of its value – until nobody wants the euro any more, or until, induced by one of our financial or social bubbles, the crash occurs even earlier.

It is not only *Macron* who has won, but above all it is the financial syndicate backing him in favour of euro-centralisation and continuation of the debt orgies – all those developments that Germany did not want and for which it will now have to suffer together with the others. •

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

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A kind of *gleichschaltung* towards Angela Merkel's politics

“Fifteen guiding principles on cultural integration and cohesion”

by Karl Müller

On 16 May 2017 the “Initiative kulturelle Integration”* [Initiative cultural integration] within the “Deutscher Kulturrat” (German Cultural Council) has presented “Fifteen guiding principles on cultural integration and cohesion”. The principles venture to formulate the basis for the coexistence of different nationalities and cultures in Germany, going beyond what is required by law. At the same time the principles are an extending and correcting response to the German Minister of the Interior's insistence on a “deutsche Leitkultur” [German core culture] which he had presented a few weeks before. The authors of the 15 theses include all Germans claiming socio-political leadership. The following article ranges the guiding principles and their publication in German politics and pursues the question to which purpose the guiding principles have been formulated.

No political decision of the past decades has contributed to polarisation in Germany as much as Angela Merkel's migration politics in summer 2015. Almost two years ago within a few months about one million people from other cultural spheres have come to Germany, nearly all of them uncontrolled, very many not officially registered and all of them disregarding German and international law.

The majority of these people came from refugee camps in Turkey or through Turkey and then through the so-called Balkans route, that is from Turkey to Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, Hungary or Slovenia or Croatia, finally to Austria and the destination country Germany. In the previous months many governments including Germany had ignored appeals for help from the UN and other international organisations to urgently provide more money – some tens of millions Euro – for the refugee camps in Turkey and the Middle East. After the large number of migrants had come to Germany, however, the German government was able to allocate tens of billion euros.

* The “initiative cultural integration” was founded in December 2016 and was initiated by the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and the Media, the Commissioner for Immigration, Refugees and Integration, the Federal Ministry for Labour and Social Affairs, the Federal Ministry for the Interior and the German Cultural Council. The constituting session was on 15 December 2016 in the Chancellery.

“The ‘Fifteen guiding principles on cultural integration and cohesion’ are part of the ‘formed society’ of 2017. They are presented with the claim – hence so many signees – that nobody should contradict. The aura of ‘alternativelessness’ that for years has been surrounding German politics under Chancellor Merkel is meant to drive things to a head. It is only a small step from today's ‘formed society’ to ‘soft-totalitarianism’”.

Migration politics with a political agenda

Meanwhile it is known, also through a book by Friederike Beck (“Die geheime Migrationsagenda” [The secret migration agenda. How elitist networks are trying to destroy Europe with the help of EU, UN, rich endowments and NGOs], 2016), that the German migration politics was governed not only by humanitarian motifs. Many hints and evidences suggest that there was a political agenda involved.

And of course there are the very concrete daily problems suppressed in well-formulated proclamations (see below). But of course they are connected with the migration politics. All who are confronted with the local situation know what that means: from only slowly improving language issues, nearly endless toils with tens of thousands of minor immigrants unattended by adults to the prognosis – conceded also by the German government – that even in five years from now half the migrants will be without regular work. To say nothing of the fact that all those coming to Germany used to have another home.

This politics and the polarisation that came with it have changed the political landscape in Germany for a short time. The Chancellor's party suffered a number of resounding defeats and a new party won seats in a number of state parliaments with remarkable successes. Consequently, Mrs Merkel has touched up her politics of summer 2015. But she has never questioned it. Meanwhile it seems like she has prevailed. Results of federal state elections in Saarland, in Schleswig-Holstein and in North Rhine-Westphalia seem to prove this.

Assonance of elites in politics and society ...

The reasons for this development include that, yes, there was substantial dissatisfaction among the citizens, but not among the upper level of elites in politics, economy and society. They have supported Mrs Merkel's line from the beginning which also suggests that the Chancellor, while acting without consulting the responsible state bodies, has enjoyed full backing. Why she had and has this backing cannot be answered here in full. It is very likely that Merkel's future role in global politics (even more so after the US presidential elections) has to be considered. It seems like Germany is destined to play a leading role in the dissolution of the European array of states as we know it and in the conflicts that are deemed necessary for this – against the states resisting the development towards “global governance” and “global citizenship” which still consider international law and the UN Charter as relevant.

Now, nearly two years after the Chancellor's decision and only a few months ahead of the federal elections which will decide her political fate, the “Initiative cultural integration” within the German Cultural Council has presented “Fifteen guiding principles on cultural integration and cohesion”. In presenting the guiding principles on 16 May 2017, all organisations claiming socio-political leadership are lined up:

ARD [public TV channel], *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Freien Wohlfahrtspflege* [federal association of welfare organisations], *Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Immigrantenverbände* [federal organisation of immigrants], *Bundesministerium des Inneren* [Federal Ministry of the

Dialogue instead of confrontation – Switzerland leads the way

National Council delegation held political talks in Moscow and St. Petersburg

by Eva-Maria Föllmer-Müller

From 15 to 19 May 2017, a delegation of the Swiss National Council with representatives of all parliamentary groups visited Russia for one week. *Jürg Stahl*, President of the National Council, on his trip to Moscow and St. Petersburg was accompanied by seven colleagues. This was the first visit to Russia by federal officials since the beginning of the Ukraine crisis in spring 2014. In Moscow the national councillors spoke with Deputy Foreign Minister *Gennady Titov*, with Deputy Prime Minister responsible for sport *Vitaly Mutko* as well as with representatives of civil society, political scientists and members of the opposition. In St. Petersburg, *Jürg Stahl* spoke at the “VII. St. Petersburg International Legal Forum”, an annual international conference that was established in 2011 on the initiative of the Ministry of Justice of the Russian Federation and is supported by the President of the Russian Federation. It is a platform for discussion between politicians, lawyers, economists, and academics. There, *Jürg Stahl* could have lunch with Prime Minister *Dmitry Medvedev*.

The invitation had already been issued a year ago. Hosts in Russia were Duma spokesman *Wjatcheslaw Volodin* and the Chairwoman of the Federation Council *Valentina Matvienko*. She had been invited to Switzerland in 2016.

In the run-up to the trip there had been criticism due to the EU sanctions list, on which are both hosts, and also due to alleged instrumentalisation attempts on the part of Russia. However, as *Jürg Stahl* said ahead of his trip: “Russia is and remains an important partner for Switzerland. We all need the dialogue.” The dialogue had a great tradition in Switzerland, he added in Moscow.

The Swiss delegation and their Russian interlocutors discussed political issues about Ukraine, Crimea, Syria, on economic and medical cooperation and about Sion’s [Swiss capital of the canton of Valais] Olympia candidature.

The National Council delegation was satisfied with the result of the trip even if there are divergences in some respect. Their Russian interlocutors had clearly shown that Switzerland was a welcome partner. There had been a warm-hearted atmosphere, *Stahl* told the news agency *sda*.

Sanctions harm Russia and Switzerland

Russian lawmakers hoped for closer economic cooperation with Switzerland, regardless of the EU’s sanctions, *Vladimir Gutenev*, first deputy chairman of the economic policy committee of the Russian State Duma lower parliament house, said to the Russian news agency *Tass* (17 May 2017). He said: “The sanctions are doing harm to both Russia and Switzerland.” After a meeting with representatives of Swiss companies at an international exhibition, National Councillor *Adrian Amstutz*, chairman of the SVP group of the Federal Assembly stressed: “It is in our mutual interests to remove these barriers. We have certain interest in further development of our trade and economic relations.”

Switzerland never joined in the sanctions which the EU had imposed in 2014 and later extended. However, it took measures against attempts to bypass. Being referred to the sanctions, *Jürg Stahl*, according to a *Tass* report of 12 May 2017, said before his trip to Russia: “Switzerland is not an EU member and did not impose sanctions against Russia. [...] Still, Swit-

zerland has taken measures to prevent the usage of its territory for the purpose of bypassing international sanctions. [...] With regard to the country’s neutral status, the Swiss Government decided, apart from that, to widen the existing ban on exporting military equipment in Russia and Ukraine, by adding some defence industry products to it.” He also said: “Parliaments play an important role in bilateral relations [...]. Being people’s representatives, MPs contribute to cultivating understanding and trust through direct contacts. I am confident that both parties will benefit from the growth of parliamentary cooperation.”

Maintaining dialogue even under heavy pressure from Washington and Brussels

In Russia, they showed understanding for Switzerland’s position. The Swiss “*Luzerner Zeitung*” of 18 May wrote about the Russian position: “We understand that Switzerland due to its location in Western Europe and the EU was forced to adopt restrictions to Russia.” Then National Councillor *Amstutz* is quoted: “A Russian representative said: ‘You yourself have not imposed sanctions. But you also take care so that nobody can bypass the sanctions through Switzerland.’ For a neutral State, that is a pragmatic solution.” Russian’s Foreign Ministry confirmed that “relations between Russia and Switzerland have not been held hostage to the unfavorable global political environment as Berne maintained dialogue with Moscow even under heavy pressure from Washington and Brussels.”

One can only congratulate Switzerland that it represents the Swiss position in these matters. An important contribution to the urgently needed peacekeeping – and worth following!

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Interior], *Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales* [Federal Ministry of Work], *Bundesverband Deutscher Zeitungsverleger* [federal association of newspaper publishers], *Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände* [federal association of employers], *Deutsche Bischofskonferenz* [conference of Catholic bishops], *Deutscher Beamtenbund und Tarifunion* [association of civil servants], *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund* [central as-

sociation of unions], *Deutscher Journalisten-Verband* [association of journalists], *Deutscher Kulturrat* [German cultural council], *Deutscher Landkreistag* [association of counties], *Deutscher Naturschutzbund* [association for the protection of nature], *Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund* [Olympic sports association], *Deutscher Städte- und Gemeindebund* [association of cities and communities], *Deutscher Städtetag* [association of cities], *Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Kultur und Medien* [federal government’s commissioner for culture and media], *Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für*

Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration [federal government’s commissioner for migration, refugees and integration], *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* [Evangelical Church], *Forum der Migrantinnen und Migranten im Paritätischen Wohlfahrtsverband* [forum of migrants in a welfare association], *Koordinationsrat der Muslime* [coordination council of muslims], *Kultusministerkonferenz* [conference of state ministers of education and cultural affairs], *Neue Deutsche Organisationen* [an association of progressive organisations], *Ver-*

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31 May in the National Council

Leniency notice à la USA or just punishment according to Swiss law?

by Dr iur Marianne Wüthrich

In the US and some other states the law enforcement authorities can assure a criminal of impunity if he is prepared to testify as “principal witness”, i.e. the main witness of the prosecution against his accomplices. In the legal understanding and the sense of justice of the population in Switzerland and in many other states such “deals” with dangerous criminals are seen as strange. However, there is currently a discussion in the National Council and in the Council of States on whether to apply in the criminal prosecution of criminal organisations a leniency notice that would go further than the already existing approach called “minor leniency notice”. On 14 December 2016, the Council of States ratified the Motion “Janiak” as the first council, which instructed the Federal Council to draft such a regulation. In a memorable statement, the Federal Council warns

to observe legal and anchored principles. On 6 April 2017, the Legal Affairs Committee of the National Council (LAC-N) approved the Motion Janiak by a majority, and launched as a variant its own motion, which would be better suited to the Swiss legal system. In the first week of the coming Summer Session, on 31 May, the National Council will decide on the two motions.

This is to briefly state what the two parliamentary initiatives are about and how they can be judged from a legal and ethical point of view.

Anyone who has committed a crime should also stand up for it. It follows from the principle of equality before the law (Article 8 (1) of the Federal Constitution) and from the prohibition of arbitrariness (Article 9) that, in principle, every delinquent must be punished equally, weigh-

ing the severity of his guilt in individual cases. On this legal basis, the criminal law is based in a state under the rule of law, as it is in the Swiss Criminal Code (StGB). In order to do justice to every perpetrator, the Criminal Code also recognises the mitigation of punishment, for example, “if the perpetrator acts with sincere remorse, and he has, in particular, compensated for the damage as far as he could be expected” (Article 48d).

The minor principal witness regulation in Article 260ter of the Criminal Code

With the increased incidence of criminal organisations also in Switzerland, a new criminal standard was adopted in 1994, which punishes the participation in such

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band Deutscher Zeitschriftenverleger [association of journal publishers], Verband Privater Rundfunk und Telemedien [association of private radio and TV media], ZDF [public TV channel], Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland [central Jewish council].

... and a good-humoured Chancellor

A press release from the Federal Government shows an obviously good-humoured Chancellor receiving the guiding principles’ paper from numerous representatives of the associations and institutions. No wonder: This is about confirming her politics.

There is no need to discuss the guiding principles here in detail. Most of it is obvious for all German citizens adhering to the constitution, even if the guiding principles give it a different weight and a certain spin. But polemic points against all those who have criticised the Chancellor’s migration politics and the guiding principles’ political aim cannot be missed.

The 15 guiding principles’ political aim

It only takes to really read the phrasings. In the preamble we can read: “Germany is a diverse country. For centuries people from many different countries are living here. The majority of those who had come to Germany from abroad feel here at home; many of them have become Germans.” ... But what about the 63% of the Germans living in Ger-

many who have voted for the new Turkish constitution and, hence, indirectly against the German “Grundgesetz”? ... “Immigration changes a society and requires openness, respect and tolerance from all sides. [...] The stirring up of fears and hostilities is not the right way – we stand for a cosmopolitan society.” ... Who now is stirring up fears and hostilities? Couldn’t some apprehensions be justified in face of the many problems connected with immigration on a large scale? And who defines the term “cosmopolitan”? ... “The European integration process is not only a guarantee for peace in Europe [...], it also stands for cultural convergence as well as for common European values – we want a united Europe.”... They are speaking about the messed-up EU and forget that it is not Europe.

The guiding principles include statements like the following: “Manners, cultural practices and traditional customs are [...] not static but subject to change. They have to prove and to develop themselves in social discourse in order to uphold their justification.”... “Constructive negotiation processes require the readiness to compromise. They are the opposite of populism whose representatives only accept their own view.”... “Integration is a process challenging both sides – the receiving society and the migrants. This includes viewing immigrants as a natural part of the German society. Germany is an immigration country.”

From a “Formed Society” to “Soft-Totalitarianism”

During the mid-1960s, in face of a beginning crisis in economy and politics, the former German Chancellor *Ludwig Erhard* (CDU) wanted to turn the Federal Republic of Germany into a “formed society”. His concept meant to accept only those interests and opinions that can be derived from “shared” ideas. Opposing tendencies, a contemporary encyclopaedia states, should be curbed by strong state authorities.

A statement in a book review nearly 20 years ago published in the German weekly *Die Zeit*, is interesting: In the 60s the concept of a “formed society” had “stirred tempers rather on the liberal or left side.” They “saw the formed society as return of the German authoritarian temptation, as a wishful harnessing of the pluralistic society.” Well, exactly these circles are now setting the tone... and turn out to be implementing exactly the ideas they had criticized in the 60s and which could not be implemented then. *Herbert Marcuse’s* disciples call it “repressive tolerance”.

The “Fifteen guiding principles on cultural integration and cohesion” are part of the “formed society” of 2017. They are presented with the claim – hence so many signees – that nobody should contradict. The aura of “alternativelessness” that for years has been surrounding German politics under Chancellor Merkel is meant to drive things to a head. It is only a small step from today’s “formed society” to “soft-totalitarianism”. Who still likes to contradict? •

“Leniency notice à la USA or ...”

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organisations and also contains reasons for a mitigation of the punishment.

Article 260ter provides for participation in organisations¹, which have the purpose of committing crimes of violence or of making them financially beneficial, imprisonment of up to five years or a monetary penalty. The “minor leniency notice” is contained in paragraph 2 of the article: “The judge can mitigate punishment if the perpetrator attempts to prevent further criminal activity of the organisation.”

This rule is compatible with the Swiss understanding of the law: the offender is to be punished more leniently if he cooperates with the law enforcement authorities in the interests of the common good and is committed to the prevention of further offenses.

Motion Janiak (16.3735):**Impunity for cooperative violators?**

By the *Motion 16.3735* by the State Councillor, *Claude Janiak* (SP Basel-Landschaft, Social-Democratic Party in Basel-country-side), the Federal Council is to be commissioned to submit to the Parliament “a regulation [extending beyond current] for the introduction of crown witnesses in Swiss criminal law”. The Motion aims to ensure “effective and efficient criminal prosecution of criminal organisations and other serious crimes”. “Examples abroad, particularly in Italy and the USA, prove the effectiveness of leniency regulations.”

For legal reasons, but also for ethical reasons, a wider privilege of a member of a criminal gang, in particular his complete impunity, would be extremely problematic. Should the prosecutor’s office and the courts “deal” with a violent offender to make him talk? Do we citizens really want to have our law enforcement agencies go to such a level, thus overriding the principles of law (equality of law, prohibition of arbitrariness, sense of justice)? In addition, the alleged “effectiveness” would have to be scrutinised more closely. Undoubtedly, the prospect of impunity will lead a criminal to “unpack”. But even the most careful review of his testimony would not guarantee that not the wrong people will be condemned to high punishments and that the real villains are laughing. Especially in the US so-called “legal errors” are frequent, innocent people are again and again condemned to decades of imprisonment (or even to death), while the gangsters go unscathed. If we want to keep our rule of law, we can certainly not agree to a similar procedure.

Convincing statement of the Federal Council of 23 November 2016 on Motion 16.3735

“As far as crown witnesses can be rewarded for their co-operation even with

impunity, the Federal Council rejects the motion: Such a far-reaching regulation would, in particular, run counter to the basic principles of equality of law and the culpability principle, it includes the risk of misleading justice and decreases the willingness to observe the norm. [...] It is also hard to understand by the population, if such perpetrators, which have committed the most serious offenses (e.g. terrorist attacks) and potentially have killed many people, can reach impunity by a cooperative behavior.

Because the motion can also be understood as a desire to introduce an extensive leniency regulation, the Federal Council considers it to be rejected.”

There is nothing to add.

Justified concerns of the National Council Committee

On the basis of these considerations, it is difficult to understand that the Council of States has agreed the Motion Janiak in the first round. It is also difficult to understand that Legal Affairs Committee of the National Council (LAC-N) is asking the National Council by 15 to 8 votes and 2 abstentions, to accept the Motion Janiak (Report of the Legal Affairs Committee of the National Council, 6 April 2017, p. 1). This is due to the almost naive argument that the earliest possible deal with a member of a criminal organisation or a terrorist organisation could have positive consequences: “Thanks to such a principal witness regulation, confessed culprits could be pledged for their information mitigation of punishment or impunity even at an early stage of the proceedings by the law enforcement authorities (and not only afterwards by the Courts). This could help them to cooperate with the law enforcement agencies.”

The Committee also incorporates serious reasons against the exemption from punishment of dangerous criminals: “On the other hand, there is a risk that the prospect of the best possible ‘deal’ with the law enforcement authorities is also an incentive for interesting sounding but false statements. A further critical point could be that the assurance of mitigation of punishment or impunity at an early stage of the proceedings would limit the scope of the court and therefore make it impossible to punish comparable offenses on the same basis.” (Report of the LAC-N of 6 April 2017, p. 3f.)

Here, a new important argument arises: If the prosecutor promises a mild judgment to a criminal during his criminal investigation, the court would have to adhere to it later, even if it comes to the conclusion that the “key witness” is more heavily guilty than an accomplice, which is more strictly punished. Or should his punishment be reduced also for reasons of

equality, so that both get away too well? It is even clearer that the whole construction of the principal witness regulation can not be sustained by the rule of law.

Motion LAC-N (17.3264):**Extension of the so-called****“minor principal witness regulation” to members of terrorist organisations**

On 6 April 2017, the “Legal Affairs Committee of the National Council (LAC-N)” had launched its own motion as an addition to Motion Janiak and taking into account the opinion of the Federal Council. The latter intends to extend the provision on the mitigation of punishment of Article 260ter (2) of the Criminal Code to the “Federal Law on the Prohibition of the Al-Qaeda and Islamic State Groups and related Organisations of 12 December 2014”. According to this Act, the participation or support of these terrorist organizations in Switzerland or from the territory of Switzerland is punishable.

The LAC-N wants to examine in concrete terms a draft of the Federal Council “whether the extension of the scope of the ‘minor principal witness regulation’ is suitable to combat terrorist organisations more effectively” – without, however, going as far as Motion Janiak.

The motion of the LAC-N is thus confined to the possibility of a reduction of the punishment more justifiable according to our legal understanding, “[...] if the perpetrator tries to prevent the further criminal activity of the organisation.” This standard is to be extended to include IS or al-Qaeda supporters in Switzerland.

In view of the fact that any individual case is to be assessed separately before the court, this initiative of the National Council Commission can be approved.

Conclusion: Motion Janiak is to be rejected. The motion of the LAC-N can be assumed – if it is designed with a view to the common good.

It is difficult to see any reason for why Switzerland should adopt a practice from the USA, which is incompatible with our legal understanding and can lead to serious injustices. For their negative effects (rewards of criminals washed with all waters on the one hand, destruction of the confidence of the population in the justice of jurisprudence on the other) can not justify a – perhaps! – improved clarification of individual crimes.

Penalty reduction in individual cases and taking into account all facts and circumstances – yes. Negotiation of penalty reduction or even exemption with members of criminal groups already in the investigation phase with obliging effect for the judging court – no. •

¹ Committing such crime can of course be punished even harder.

“How the West wreaked havoc on Syria”

A new book by Michael Lüders

by Carola and Johannes Irsiegler



Michael Lüders is a Middle East expert and was for a long time Middle East correspondent for the German weekly newspaper *Die Zeit*.

He has already published various books on Middle East issues and will be known to many readers of *Current Concerns*. As the title suggests his latest book entitled in German “Die den Sturm ernten. Wie der Westen Syrien ins Chaos stürzte” (Those, who reap the Whirlwind. How the West wreaked havoc on Syria) is linked thematically to his earlier work “Wer den Wind sät. Was westliche Politik im Orient anrichtet” (He, who sows the wind. The consequences of Western Politics in the Orient): He, who sows the wind, shall reap the whirlwind. Published in 2015, in his penultimate book Lüders focuses on the political and strategic implications of the West throughout the Middle East and on the contribution of the West under US leadership to the current misery. In his brand-new book, Lüders concentrates on developments in Syria.

Another story than Nato biased reporting

Lüders starts his book with the remark that wars are “told like other stories” and this is what he will be talking about. He wants to look on the other side of the story, the one that is deliberately omitted or distorted in Nato biased reporting of our leading media. He compares the story of “values” for which Western policy supposedly stands, and which are said to be defended in Syria, with the strategic and economic “interests” of the actors. A hundred years ago, the exploitation of whole earth regions by European powers was justified in bringing the blessings of “civilization” to the “natives”. Today, in the name of so-called Western values, entire regions are destabilized by means of soft- and/or hardpower, in order to rob their resources and exploit them for own hegemonic interests. If “values” are an alibi for hegemonic policy, they cease to be values.

Michael Lüders clearly states that the war in Syria could never have triggered the greatest refugee movement since World War II without massive intervention from outside. The acts of terrorism in different European countries as well as the refugee crisis are direct consequences of a violent intervention policy. “Without the mistakes of the West, especially the US in Iraq, ‘Islamic State’ would not have arisen.” [Translation of all quotes *Current Concerns*]

“Lüder’s book helps to guard oneself against the permanent manipulation attempts of the war party. It helps to develop an own inner position on the question of war and peace, on the question of right and wrong, and on the question of equality of all people. In the end, the author invites us to renounce the logic of power and dominance, and to think us differently, with all those who are of good will. Perhaps it requires ‘indeed a fundamental change in consciousness, the realisation that we have no choice but to create our future ourselves’.”

A history of coups, coup attempts and clientele regimes

To understand current developments and to guard oneself against the propagandistic war cries of the Nato media, one has to look at the historical background. This is illustrated by Lüders in detail. It starts with the intrigues of the imperialist powers England and France after the First World War, and continues with the American hegemony struggles after the Second World War. It is a history of constructed coups, coup attempts and clientele regimes; and it is a history of discouraging any development towards an independent policy based on one’s own traditions. In the Middle East, there have been concepts towards such a policy – a policy, which is committed to the interests of its own people; these concepts would still exist today if only the people could be left in peace and thus could exploit their intellectual and cultural potential. But, according to Lüders: “Given the social and political conditions of today’s Arab world, conditions of poverty, lack of freedom, state collaps and terror, there is no room for reform theories. People are fully concerned with their own survival.”

A peaceful development would be possible if intervention from outside stopped

A peaceful development in the region would be possible if intervention from outside stopped and the people were given the necessary time. According to Lüders, for such a renewal the faith of those who live there must also be taken into account: “From Morocco to Indonesia, faith in God plays a central role in the life of the individual as well as of society. Anyone who thinks the region could be renewed without the factor Islam thinks in western categories”. Islam and Islam-

ism are not the same. The fact that at first the latter was cultivated by the West in order to fight it then “for the joy of armaments industry”, and probably also in order to create a pretext for permanent intervention policy, should always be emphasized with regard to today’s low intellectual level in our countries. “Ultimately, no one has a real interest to defeat ‘Islamic state’ once and for all. It provides the lowest common denominator of all intervention powers [...]”

Information and education instead of guided propaganda

Michael Lüders does away with almost all narratives, being endlessly repeated in our leading media. For example, with the narrative that in Syria there is a struggle of the people against an evil regime. “The Western narrative, that the entire Syrian population, or at least the overwhelming majority, had arisen against *Assad*, is clearly false [...] neither the religious minorities, [...] nor the Sunni traders” have joined the uprising to this day. About half of the Syrians still stand behind *Assad*. “Western perception of a Syrian ‘opposition’ representing the whole or even numerous parts of the Syrian people lacks any factual basis. This does not reduce the value of the opposition’s criticism of the regime – but even in free elections, they hardly would have any chance of victory”. Most Syrians prefer the rule of the present government with all restraints to the rule of jihadists. They, like the persons responsible in the West, are aware that the rule of the jihadists would be the alternative if *Assad* had to go.

Moreover, the reader gets a lot of background information about the various war

""How the West wreaked...""

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parties, which help to get a better understanding of the sometimes contradictory developments. Interesting in this context is the role of Britain with its striking bellicist and interventionist tirades throughout all the Syrian conflict until today. Incidentally, the reader gets to know that Great Britain has become the second-largest weapon supplier of Saudi Arabia, where it is doing big business with death. Furthermore, Great Britain is leading and coordinating the illegal international air raids on Yemen. So much to the values which Foreign Minister *Johnson* regularly recalls for himself. The fact that those who "declare being committed only to human rights" cry out loudly in Syria but are silent on Yemen is a different chapter.

Who is responsible for the poison gas attacks?

Especially topical are Lüder's comments on the poison gas attack on Ghouta near Damascus in 2013: "The poison gas attack on Ghouta and the reactions to it are a lesson, how easily the public can be manipulated in such an elementary question as war and peace [...]." Even today, the blame for this crime is put on the Assad government without any proof.

How loud were the cries in favor of US bombing Damascus, especially then, as now again, from *Hillary Clinton* and her contact man with the jihadists *John McCain*, who finally made possible the transfer of weapons from the Libyan arsenal into the hands of Jihadist fighters.

Lüders points out: "Evidence suggests that it is not the Assad regime who was responsible for the gas attacks on Ghouta, but the Nusra front, directed by the Turkish government." Considering the latest events, once again we can see how reasons for war are created and how an unsuspecting population is manipulated by means of mass media for mere political interests – here in the West as well as in the countries of the Middle East.

Establishing a world order endeavoring to balance and compromise

Michael Lüders concludes his book with the call to establish a "world order endeavoring to balance and compromise among the various actors and leading a dialogue at eye level". The legal foundations for peaceful coexistence on our earth exist,

Campaigns refer to people who have to say interesting things

km. The new book by *Michael Lüders* has triggered very different reactions in Germany. A few widely disseminated German leading media have sharply polemicalised against the author and tried to question his seriousness. But that was not the end-to-end response. Michael Lüders is invited to numerous readings and lectures throughout Germany. The ARD's cultural magazine, "titel, thesen, temperamente", acknowledged the author and his book on 30 April. Conclusion of the programme: "Lüders' book is important, you should listen to him and talk to him." The University of Trier, despite a protest letter, support the book author as a guest professor. And the commentary of two university lecturers responsible for the lecture series speaks for itself: "The authors [of the protesting letter against Michael Lüders] are obviously concerned with obstructing the freedom of science at university by calling for the unburdening of someone who represents uncomfortable opinions." Impressive also the report and commentary of *saarland-fernsehen.de* after the first lecture by Michael Lüders in Trier: "He unmasks the narrative of Western politics, – primarily to do good –, as a cover for geopolitics led by interests and power. [...] The great pow-

ers are not led by humanitarian benevolence but by geopolitical consideration. [...] If we follow Michael Lüders' lecture, it [the Middle East] is extremely close to the West when it is about its interests there. But its also very afar, if people and their well-being should be the centre of attention."

Although the *Deutschlandfunk* [German public broadcasting] had, above all, lectured the criticism concerning Lüders, they also let him speak himself. After that the author characterised this procedure: "Basically one must say that someone who is opposed to the mainstream and who questions prevailing certainties in politics, but also in the media report, must of course be prepared for the fact that he meets with resistance. It naturally does not please everyone that there is somebody questioning an official reading that is perceived as right." And: "I notice, that those who share my view, or generally the people who do not serve a certain mainstream line, are often criticised as a person and not in the substance."

However, apparently many people in Germany are no longer impressed by that. The mistrust of "mainstream" has grown very much, campaigns refer to people who have to say interesting things. That's all around.

indeed. They could be relied on, if there was the will.

What can each individual do? Lüders argues for distrusting official pronouncements and for critically reading of media publications. It is frightening how little it takes to "produce political enemy concepts or keep them alive".

Renouncing the logic of power and dominance

Lüder's book helps to guard oneself against the permanent manipulation attempts of the war party. It helps to develop an own inner position on the question of war and peace, on the question of right and wrong, and on the question of equality of all people. In the end, the author invites us to renounce the logic of power and dominance, and to think us differently, with all those who are of good will. Perhaps it requires "indeed a fundamental change in consciousness, the realisation that we have no choice but to create our future ourselves".

It is a book worth reading, a book that informs, that encourages discussion and that is an emotional antidote to war propaganda. It should be widely spread among

the many fellow citizens who, like us, are committed to a world of peaceful coexistence.



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Impressions – Azerbaijan in the spring of 2017

by Barbara Hug

A small country, nestled in between Great Power Russia and Iran, confined by the Caspian Sea, on the verge of a permanent conflict with its Western neighbour Armenia – the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict – a small stretch of border with Georgia: this is the geostrategic position Azerbaijan presents itself in. Due to its richness in oil, the former Soviet Republic was both a target of *Hitler* as well as Britain.

Today, for the most part, oil extraction takes place offshore, although there are still some small oil pumps stoically continuing on in the steppes. Natural gas is found close to the surface and winning it is not too costly. A couple of years ago, Switzerland negotiated trade agreements regarding the sought after energy resource with *SOCAR* as well. Oil shaped the steppes and the mountain landscape. Glittering Baku may not be to everyone's taste. The ostentatiously displayed riches make it easy to guess who the real profiteers of the oil boom are.

Some distance away from the capital, one gets acquainted with quiet, rural regions whose population enjoys but a very low standard of living. In the mountainous highlands, herds of goats and cows provide the livelihood. Time and again, small facilities for fish farming emerge, with the necessary water being diverted from the swelling rivers of Caucasus. Bricks of moist clay and hay are preformed in wooden molds and dried in the sun.

Proud to be Azerbaijani

That way, every village is capable of producing its own bricks. In the mountains, where wood is a scarce resource, dried cow and sheep manure is used as heating material. In Caucasus as well as in the regions situated in the Talish Moun-

bha. The system of *Islamic banking* is not practised in Azerbaijan. Islamic banking might eventually create a social balance between the social classes.

Basis of Islamic banking are the Koran and its interpretation by Muslim scholars. Among the basic principles is the prohibition on interest, as it was the case for the Catholic Church up to 1986, the prohibition of speculation and the prohibition of gambling-like transactions. Islamic banking is also intended to strengthen people with small deposits and to allow no influence from the surrounding society. These principles make them resistant to crashes. The prohibition of interest does not allow extreme accumulation of funds.



Valley of Ataçay close to the village Findigan. (picture npa)



ains to the South bordering Iran, in isolated Zuvand, the friendliness of the poor mountain farmers is overwhelming. One is proud to be Azerbaijani. Unfortunately, since the 1990s, students in school are taught English instead of Russian which could possibly alienate them from the older generation. However, it is not noticeable yet.

On the contrary: family provides the centre of daily life, older people are highly respected, children are well protected and emotionally integrated, be it while shepherding the sheep out to the pasture with the father or at home with the moth-

er. Usually, the children are accompanied to school by their father or they go in groups of three or four other children, all without screaming, brawling or bullying. Xinaliq, a mountain village situated at 2,300 metres above sea level, has a population of 2,000, 300 of which are school children.

The Russian government has established a “green corridor” that – reminiscent of conditions in the former USSR – guarantees the steady export of vegetables and fruits to Russia. Strawberry

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bha. Supporters of the Peak oil theory call the petroleum "fossil fuel", Ukrainian scientists such as *Kra-juschkin*, showed that oil from greater depths does not have a fossil but an abiotic origin. Without the findings of Ukrainian scientists to abiotic petroleum any discussion of new energy sources is only half the story. It leads to nowhere. This is known in Azerbaijan.

"Impressions – Azerbaijan ..."

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ries, apples, spring onions, parsley and the mountain tea – Azerçay – are of exquisite quality. The vast improvement of relations between the countries is palpable. Russian truck convoys make their way into Iran, Iranian trucks drive north. Azerbaijan is a friend of Turkey. Should Turkey join the Eurasian Union or strive to have a longlasting strategic partnership with Russia, Azerbaijan would be affected too.

Occasionally, a slight indignation towards Europe rears its head

Occasionally, a slight indignation towards Europe rears its head, as was the case with the recent treatment of Turkey. Let's let *Rafiq Aliyev* speak. He's the founder of the *Centre for Islamic Studies* and a member of the *World Peace Academy* within the *International Interreligious Committee*. In his 2011 book "New Europe without Capitalism", he analyses Europe's failure, a failure brought upon by a completely out of control capitalist system: Western as well as Eastern Europe were taken hostage by the false selection of a liberal economic model. The caring way of balancing out injustice was abandoned. Europe has been plunged into a deep crisis and so far, it has not found a way out of it. *Rafiq Aliyev* expects social changes as well as very hard times for Europe. There are – of course – unsettling ways to deal with the crisis



Air-dried bricks in the highlands – completely ecological. (picture npa)

"The fruits of evil and hate may even-om the whole Europe where capitalism has reached a deadlock. While Europe and we are mourning for the people killed in the Norwegian island, *NATO's* soldiers, say, many young *Anders Breiviks*, are killing tens and hundreds of people in various regions of the world, and the European and world 'democratic free' mass media are keeping silent about that. The papers and TV channels of the so-called civilized states do not speak about, or misrepresent evident facts about human tragedies in the states, where the *NATO* soldiers and aviation, including, unfortunately, Norwegian soldiers, too, are coolly shooting peaceful populations, humil-

iating killed young women, prisoners in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantanamo. The whole world knows that Norwegian Air Forces, together with British, French and American fighters and bombers are still bombing Libyan cities, civil facilities – hospitals, schools, TV buildings, the sovereign state leader's palaces. [...]. Unfortunately, the prospering Europeans, in this case the people of Norway do not have compassion upon and protest against all this. Is not this cynicism? [...] All are equal before death. We cannot change this rule of life. The same should be during the life, too."

Source: Aliyev, Rafiq. New Europe Without Capitalism. The Irshad Center. Baku 2011, pp. 72

as well, such as embroiling European nations in regional wars. According to his historic experience, politicians start wars in order to maintain their power whenever they have run out of means to establish peace. Europe, he alleges, is rich in its intellect, despite not using it.

Azerbaijan protects its society and its borders by extraordinary vigilance.

Every attempt to infiltrate by supposedly religious extremist groups has – until now – been thwarted. Acts of sabotage against bridges or barrages are sought to be prevented by a strong, sustained building surveillance. They want to know exactly who and what the "tourist" is. Which, in turn, guarantees his safety.

Shaping education consciously and strengthening children

by Dieter Sprock

Asking ourselves how to strengthen our children, means to ask the question of education. Here, I assume that parents only want the best for their children; they are willing to give their heart and soul. I have already seen fathers who, after talking to their already adult children, cried bitterly because they had the impression that they had done everything wrong in education.

It is in the social nature of man that parents love their children and wish them a good life.

There are, of course, also tragic cases of neglect and serious depravity, often associated with alcohol and drug use, and most recently with parents becoming lost in the artificial world of the Internet and about that “forget” their children.

In addition, a kind of “affluent neglect” has developed, where expensive care and support facilities take up the place of the family. But neither ambitious support programs nor material pampering are able to replace the loving human backing of the family that children need to grow into adults who are able to cope with life with a sense for the needs of social coexistence.

Good will alone is often not enough

In everyday life it becomes apparent, that good will alone is often not enough, because in real life everyone who has to deal with children is repeatedly faced with challenges, which, in addition to goodwill, can only be mastered with a certain degree of psychological knowledge. This can help parents to better understand themselves and their children, and prevent certain, often unfavorable developments for both sides, or dissolve already existing entanglements.

Here is a small example: A father overhears me giving his eleven-year-old son a compliment for the correctly solved calculations. The class had calculated together some tasks the day before, but it was only him who had noticed that an error had crept in, and who had written down all the results correctly. When I added benevolently: “You could have told us,” the father interrupted, and angrily said, “You see! Earlier we already talked about the fact that one should talk to each other.”

Here we have the whole problem of education: On the one hand the father, who is not pleased with his son and who is annoyed because the son does not meet his expectations, and on the other hand a very nervous boy who is driven and who has to be the best one everywhere, but who can never meet the father’s high demands.

I am sure the father would not have made the remark if he had been aware of



“Children grow and stretch until they can reach the doorhandle and open the door alone.” (picture Evelyn Richter⁵)

the fact that his anger had really little to do with his son, but more with his own unconscious demands on himself. He did certainly not want to harm his son.

Alfred Adler and Individual Psychology

The discoveries of *Sigmund Freud* and *Alfred Adler* have laid the foundations for the understanding of the human inner life and given decisive impulses to the idea of education. Today, after more than a hundred years of in-depth psychological research around the globe, we know for certain that the groundwork for the later

development of character, intelligence and life-style is laid in the first years of life. Here, it is worth highlighting that we owe the knowledge about the importance of childhood experiences, and especially of education, first and foremost to the findings of Alfred Adler and his *Individual Psychology*.

Among the pioneers of depth psychology Viennese physician and psychologist Alfred Adler (1870–1937) was undoubtedly the one who gave the greatest attention to education and the consequences

"Shaping education consciously..."

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of educational errors. After having recognized already as a young doctor that physical illnesses of his patients often had psychological causes, which could often be traced back to early childhood, he expanded his medical activity to the study and treatment of mental illnesses and to his commitment to teacher training and educational counselling. He was convicted that without improving education there is no effective prophylaxis and, in addition, no cultural development. Adler even went so far as to pit the value of psychology against its benefit for child education.¹

In contrast to the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud, Adler called his theory individual psychology, thus emphasizing the "indivisibility" and "uniqueness" of the individual. At the same time he combined the demand to understand and appreciate every human being as unrepeatably and unique. The focus is on the "Gemeinschaftsgefühl" (feeling of community, social interest, social feeling or social sense).

For Adler, man was a free being determined mainly by his culture and not by impulses and instincts. He opposed the determination of man by believing in a fateful determinacy of human life.

Adler drew attention to the final goal of human acting, thus adding an aspect to the consideration of human manifestations which must also be observed when raising children; thinking, feeling, wanting and acting are targeted to a final goal. "Where do you roll, apple?"

In the period between the First and the Second World War, Adler, with his staff and pupils in Vienna, founded numerous educational counseling centres, which were actively used by parents, teachers and interested persons. Adler himself gave numerous lectures throughout Europe until the emerging ideological and political dictatorship no longer tolerated the spread of his liberal ideas. His disciples were persecuted by the authoritarian rulers and had to flee. Adler continued his work in the Anglo-Saxon countries, but dictatorship, war and the subsequent political and cultural developments prevented psychological knowledge of the human being from becoming a commonplace, a deficiency under which the education and the culture of living together still suffer.²

Children act independently and goal-oriented

All life urges to light. Children also are born with the urge to develop themselves. We do not have to tell them to walk. They grow and stretch until they can reach the doorhandle and open the door alone.

Children are independent individuals, equipped with their own sensitivities, both

physically and mentally. They depend on parents' care for a long time, and develop their own distinctive "style of life", their very own way of reacting to the challenges of life, only when they are dealing with their living conditions.

Children – and not just children – act on their own initiative, they have their own will and pursue their own goals. Human behavior is goal-driven, even if the goal is not always as apparent as in the following small example: At the beginning of a two-week representation activity in a fourth primary class, a boy attracts attention on the first morning because of his great nervousness. At twelve o'clock in the morning, when I'm saying good-bye to the students at the door being able to call him by name, he beams with joy and says: "You have memorised my name, haven't you." He had reached his goal and was hardly striking any more.

The development of the child's personality does not follow any compelling causality: a child which is overprotected and kept small and whose parents constantly have little confidence in it can become both passive and lacking in motivation when subject to overprotection, but also oppositional or hyperactive, when it rebels against it; each child handles the external influences in its very personal subjective way.

Insecure parents tend to feel responsible for the mood of their child and to look for mistakes in their own persons when the child is not satisfied. They are constantly trying to make their child happy, which usually only leads to the fact that their child will make them and subsequently all the world responsible for its bad mood.

Instead of spoiling, ...

If parents want to strengthen their children, they should avoid spoiling them. To prevent misunderstandings, this is no appeal for less love and more detachment. Without love and security a child cannot develop confidence, neither in himself nor in other people. The psychologists and attachment researchers *Karin* and *Klaus Grossmann* speak of "psychological security," which originates from "human affection,"³ and Alfred Adler, who throughout his life warned of the consequences of spoiling. In the lack of love he saw the reason for many human lapses.

Pampering is not about the excess of affection, but about attitudes that limit the development of the child's personality and that lead them in the wrong direction.

Pampering attitudes include all forms of overprotection, such as permanent concern and doubt, constant warning of dangers, underchallenge, little confidence in the development possibilities of the child, as well as a willingness to relieve the child of tasks which it can manage itself, to expect no effort and to remove all

difficulties for him. It also includes inadequate admiration and exuberant praise, or the over-crowding with gifts, toys, and with exaggerated affections and promises, and not least the lack of clear boundaries and the tendency to fulfill all wishes of the child and allow to be blackmailed by it.

In his book "Die Droge Verwöhnung" (The Drug Spoiling) *Jürg Frick* writes "spoiling" ultimately means putting an end to the logic of human coexistence. [...] Spoiled children and young people plainly skip the needs of their fellow human beings. All they know is, 'I want', 'now', 'this minute'. To wait is alien to them."⁴

... strengthen the children

It is the task of education to enable children to actively cope with their lives and thus connect them with their fellow human beings so that they become ready and able to jointly contribute to the common good. It is important to adequately encourage and promote them. Children have to learn to deal with challenges and face them. This requires courage and confidence in the own abilities.

Children are strengthened if they are in a position to take responsibility for small tasks at an early stage. Age-appropriate demands provide an opportunity to train one's own skills. With each successful effort strength and confidence are growing.

If the success is not easy to achieve little encourages such as "you have learned a lot already," "you'll be successful," "try again," or other encouraging words can help children regain endurance. These are signs of attention that every child is in need of. But careful, to encourage does not mean to take over!

From the outset, children need binding rules and limits and certainly not only in protection of danger. Rules, boundaries and a clear valued stance by the parents give them orientation and promote the development of the personality. They help children to a realistic attitude to life.

Parents who want to strengthen their children should not deprive them of this important experience. ●

¹ Liebling, Friedrich. "Die Bedeutung Alfred Adlers für die moderne Psychologie" (The importance of Alfred Adler for modern psychology). In: Friedrich Liebling, *Aufsätze* (Essays). Zurich 1982, p. 13f.

² Bottome, Phyllis. *Alfred Adler portrayed in proximity*. London 1939, German Berlin 2013. The book is suited to get acquainted with Alfred Adler and the individual psychology.

³ Grossmann, Karin and Klaus E. *Bindung – das Gefüge psychischer Sicherheit* (Attachment – The Structure of Mental Security), Stuttgart 2014⁴, p. 19

⁴ Frick, Jürg. *Die Droge Verwöhnung* (The Drug Spoiling), Berne 2005³, p. 27

⁵ Schmidt, Hans-Dieter and Richter, Evelyn. *Entwicklungswunder Mensch*. (The Human Being, Wonder of Development). Berlin 1981², p.37