

Current Concerns

The international journal for independent thought, ethical standards, moral responsibility,
and for the promotion and respect of public international law, human rights and humanitarian law

English Edition of *Zeit-Fragen*

Obama urged to show restraint on Ukraine Memorandum to: The President

From: *Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS)**

Subject: Russia, Ukraine, and the U.S. National Interest

Dear Mr. President:

We the undersigned are veteran intelligence, military, and law enforcement officers. Taken together, our years of service to our country total nearly 200 years. Unlike many experts and advisers who base their arguments on abstract

* Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS) is a group of current and former officials of the United States Intelligence Community, including some from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the U.S. State Department's Intelligence Bureau (INR), and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). It was formed in January 2003 as a coast-to-coast enterprise to protest the use of faulty intelligence upon which the US/UK invasion of Iraq was based. The group issued a letter before the 2003 invasion of Iraq stating that intelligence analysts were not being listened to by policy makers. In August 2010 it issued a memorandum to the White House warning of an imminent Israeli attack on Iran.

notions about the international scene, our insights are drawn from a depth of hands-on experience inside the U.S. government – here and abroad.

Given this background, we share a profound understanding of the great responsibility that accompanies great power. We feel an obligation to lay our views on Ukraine before you – the more so, inasmuch as the airwaves, TV, and newspapers are giving a great deal of space to the same pundits and academics who got Iraq so wrong just over a decade ago.

A number of us, in our government roles, were involved with policy relating to the then-Soviet Union and also with its successor state, the Russian Federation. We have observed the recent slide of Moscow toward a more authoritarian form of government and have also been concerned over the playing-out of great power rivalry over Ukraine.

Our still-vivid memories of the Cold War and the harm it inflicted on the

world's security prompts us to argue that the troubles in Ukraine should not be permitted to usher in a return to a bipolar world in which two heavily armed superpowers confront each other at every level, including on a global scale.

We are particularly concerned over what appears to be a largely unfocused yet virulent mood among members of Congress and the mainstream media to “do something” about Russia — a sentiment that is both ill-advised and quite the reverse of what this nation should be doing to nurture a constructive and ultimately beneficial relationship with Moscow and the rest of Europe.

While we support U.S. efforts to aid the development of a pluralistic democracy in Ukraine, including assistance in conducting free and fair elections, we believe that military support and direct involvement by U.S. troops is a step that will virtually guarantee

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The result of the referendum on primary health care means one thing above all: the people want a good family doctor – the opposite is planned

The referendum about the counter-proposal on primary health care raises – once again – fundamental questions in terms of democratic policy. The information which was directly accessible to the voters or submitted to them respectively does not say anything about what is actually planned with this act. Those citizens who are already sceptical because of earlier experience can at best read between the lines of the explanatory statements that something is wrong here. The fact is that only the background and strategy papers (mainly from the Federal Office of Public Health FOPH, but also in several messages on different acts or in other papers) provide information about what is on the agenda based on this constitutional article. Above all it becomes evident that the Yes-voters' intention – i.e. a good medical treatment by one's own family doctor, a strengthening of a good medical health care by the family doctor and more well-trained family doctors – is exactly not what the new constitutional provision aspires. However, it

is not the first time that explanatory statements are formulated in such a PR-manner that the voter is brought into a “positive mood” about the desired result.

The same applies to the media, mainly the national radio and TV channels SRF – whose mandate is laid down in the federal constitution – and the national news agency sda. The latter at least claimed in its basic principles that the “basic service” secured “an independent source of information for the Swiss media” with which “the sda completes a task of national and political interest by contributing to the democratic opinion forming.” But: de facto they have suppressed the arguments of the bill's opponents. Why does an sda-journalist make a 10 minute-interview with a representative of the No-committee, promises her to broadcast some sentences and to submit them for scrutiny before – and after all nothing happens? This has nothing to do with free press and free opinion forming.

Already in her comment concerning the Revised Act on Epizootic Diseases the author wrote: “At this point at the latest we have to reclaim what has gone more and more lost in the last twenty years: honesty and probity as basis for all state action. Those who want to seduce the voters to something with PR-dressed-up information disrespect the principle of good faith which is indispensable in dealing with each other but primarily for the authorities' dealing with the sovereign. It is part of human dignity not to be made the object of another person – not even in the intellectual debate and not even by the intentional arousal of emotions without providing the necessary information. An honest debate requires the factual weighing of pros and cons. If we do not want to arrive at where an American author located his country when he wrote a book entitled “The Best Democracy Money Can Buy”, we must reclaim this very urgently once again.”

Erika Vögeli

Press release on the referendum result of 18 May 2014 concerning the Federal Decree on primary health care

Now more than ever!

sli. Today's referendum result means: Now more than ever!

You will certainly agree that we want to remain and be active in the future. The committee will grow, and the first interested parties have already registered. The proposed steps of Federal Councillor Berset and his Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH) away from the human being towards a utilitarian redesigned health care will require our continued activity. Certainly everyone will feel appealed to contribute and to win many alert citizens to cooperate.

From Federal Councillor Berset we require the disclosure of his plans and an honest and frank discussion with the people.

Today's referendum result came about only because of the deception of the citizens by the Swiss Federal Councillor Berset and the Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH). The new constitutional provision provides the federal government with new opportunities for centralistic measures from above. If the population had been informed truthfully about the fundamental changes that are planned under the label of primary health care and which will ultimately lead to a complete breakdown of the domestic health care, they would have rejected this constitutional amendment by a majority. Nobody wants that non-medical and non-physician staff replace the family doctor. Nobody wants, in case he and his family are sick, to be treated according to utilitarian cost-benefit trade-offs of the "gatekeeper" who will in the end decide on the patient's life. This is an attack on the dignity of man. This may not

be allowed in our country. The deceptive package which was submitted for a vote today is a fraud on the people. We require from Federal Councillor Berset the disclosure of his plans and an honest and frank discussion with the people. If he does not, he will no longer be acceptable as Federal Councillor and must resign.

We will do everything to ensure that our sophisticated Swiss healthcare system with its good and careful medical care for all the people in our country remains. This includes the proven liberal and federalist structure. The planned laws which are to restructure this system profoundly must be prevented with full commitment. The expensive central control institution worth 32 million Swiss francs with the nice-sounding name "Quality Institute", presented by Federal Councillor Berset, is only one of these inhuman bills which will not save lives but have the opposite effect. This is unethical and out of question. We will work together with many more watchful citizens against these unspeakable plans with all available democratic means.

It remains to be stated: A careful and conscientious medical diagnosis, treatment and monitoring of each patient by his family doctor or specialist doctor are also required in future. This saves a lot of suffering and also causes the lowest cost.

*Dr med Susanne Lippmann-Rieder,
Prof Dr David Holzmann,
Members of the 'No-Committee on the
Federal Decree on primary health care'*

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Media release

Complaint against the Federal Decree on primary health care

Why filing a complaint?

The main reason is that in the context of the implementation of the Federal Government's decision on 14 May 2014, the Federal Government, four days prior to the referendum, published a draft bill with the purpose of creating a Federal Institute for Quality Assurance. According to the draft bill, it provides budgeted costs amounting to a total of 30 million francs plus new premiums for the insured. Hence an important criterion for the voters in their decision.

Nothing can be read about this in the explanatory statement of the Federal Council, which means that the Federal Council and the FOPH behaved in a completely intransparent manner, whereby the constitutionally protected voting freedom was limited illegally. The complaint was filed in five Cantons, and this within a deadline of only three days. The complaint may be taken to the Federal Court.

Hans-Jacob Heitz, lawyer

"Obama urged to show ..."

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escalation of the conflict, possibly leading to direct confrontation between two nuclear-armed great powers — a situation that should, and can, be easily avoided if the interests of all countries, including Russia, are taken into account.

To put it in stark terms, Russian engagement with Ukraine — a country that is on Moscow's doorstep and which is, in part, ethnically Russian — does not threaten vital U.S. interests; nor does it threaten any U.S. allies. Washington's response should be a measured one, based on the actual risks versus possible gains. Sanctions should be employed with considerable restraint, as their effectiveness is questionable and they

frequently serve only to harden adversarial positions. Significant military moves, whether unilateral or in conjunction with NATO, should be avoided as they can be seen as provocative while providing no solution to existing disagreements.

We argue for more, not less, diplomatic engagement, based on our own experience as witnesses to many missed opportunities over the past 50-plus years, in which the United States — to our regret — has found itself all too often on the wrong side of history. The Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961 entrenched communism in Cuba; indiscriminate U.S. support of anti-communist groups and political parties in Europe both weakened fledgling democracies and strengthened corruption; overtures by former Soviet President *Mikhail Gorbachev* for complete nuclear disarmament

were dismissed, encouraging nuclear proliferation among other states.

When the Soviet Union finally fell, specific agreements not to expand into the former Warsaw Pact states were promptly ignored, with both NATO and the European Union quickly moving eastward. The rape of the Russian economy in the 1990s, engineered by Western "entrepreneurs" working with local oligarchs followed. It was described as "shock therapy" at the time, but most Russians more accurately view the events as wholesale pillage, fueling much of the current mistrust of the West.

Russia could hardly have been expected to ignore Washington's de facto en-

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„Merkel and Hollande should not take part in cornering Putin“

by Willy Wimmer, former State Secretary in the German Ministry of Defence



Willy Wimmer
(picture ma)

With great dedication, European countries performed the so-called “Geneva meeting” with actually de-escalating decisions for Ukraine. However something happened of the kind we had experienced on the night of the Yanukovich overthrow in Kiev.

In unbridled hatred of all that is Russian in Ukraine, Maidan forces intended to start off on in direction Crimea and Eastern Ukraine with their Russian nuclear weapons. We still remember the consequences for the Crimea. There was no bloodshed and we all know why this could be prevented. It could not be a good omen for Ukraine when, on the

eve of Yankovich’s overthrow, former Georgian president Saakashvili showed up in Kiev. Note that on the Peking Olympic Night in 2008, Mr. Saakashvili was the first who thought that he could strike against Russia and alleged Russian weakness without any consequences. He did not reckon with Moscow. And only because of the prudent and courageous action on the part of former French President Sarkozy, Georgia did not suffer the fate of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Geneva, those were the honourable efforts of the Central Powers France and Germany and possibly Great Britain, not to let it come to the worst in Europe. But the immediate visit of the CIA head in Kiev and, unfortunately, that of the American Foreign Minister, John Kerry as well, right after the Geneva meeting definitely showed a clear connection between their visits and the military strike of the Kievan rulers against the protest movement in eastern Ukraine.

Geneva and the considerations on site did not interest anyone in Kiev. In Europe, it is an unprecedented event to go against

protesters and squatters with tanks, artillery and warplanes. The fragile explanations of the German Chancellor, Dr. Angela Merkel, and her guest, French President Francois Hollande on the island of Rugen, in direction Kiev aiming at moderation, clearly show that the Kiev Junta act deaf when Paris and Berlin send a reminder to respect the Geneva Agreement.

There is no doubt that „his mater’s voice“ sits in Washington and if need be, the alleged Senator John McCain shows up in person. If EU-Europe took its values seriously, this gentleman would long since be on the list of those who should be punished with entry bans. The proceedings of the junta forces against eastern Ukraine – as shows clearly – serve only one purpose. A civil war situation is to be created in eastern Ukraine that will cause local Russian potentates to create the form of defence which is particularly remembered these days for reasons dating 69 years back. The pattern is well known from

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much more than a formality since all areas of the USSR danced to Moscow’s tune. The transfer of Crimea to Ukraine began to matter significantly in 1991, when the Soviet Union imploded and Crimeans found themselves no longer citizens of Russia. President Vladimir Putin addressed this directly in his major speech of March 18 when he recalled that Russia had “humbly accepted” the situation in 1991. He explained that Russia “was going through such hard times then that realistically it was incapable of protecting its interests.” Today, Russia is capable of protecting its interests in the areas it calls its “near frontier.” It will not accept the incorporation of Ukraine into NATO. Attempts to force that issue will not make Europe more secure; rather, it will increase the danger of war. There is an important step you can take, Mr. President. We recommend that you ask NATO to formally rescind the following part of the declaration agreed to by the NATO heads of state in Bucharest on April 3, 2008: “NATO welcomes Ukraine’s and Georgia’s Euro-Atlantic aspirations for membership in NATO. We agreed today that these countries will become members of NATO.”

Meanwhile, let cooler heads prevail. Sending significant numbers of military forces into countries bordering Ukraine amounts to pouring gasoline on what are now relatively isolated and limited

ed outbreaks of fire, mostly in eastern Ukraine. The fragile accord reached in Geneva on April 17 can still provide the basis for discussion among mature leaders and prevent the kind of provocation, machismo, and escalation that 100 years ago launched the war that was supposed to end all wars. Two short decades later came the Second World War.

In the wake of that carnage, Winston Churchill made an observation that is equally applicable to our 21st Century: “To jaw, jaw, jaw, is better than to war, war, war.”

Respectfully submitted for the Steering Group, Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity:

William Binney, former Technical Director, World Geopolitical & Military Analysis; co-founder, SIGINT Automation Research Center (ret.)

Thomas Drake, former Defense Intelligence Senior Executive Service, NSA

Philip Giraldo, CIA, Operations Officer (ret.)

Larry Johnson, CIA & State Department (ret.)

David MacMichael, former Senior Estimates Officer, National Intelligence Council (ret.)

Ray McGovern, former chief of CIA’s Soviet Foreign Policy Branch & presidential briefer (ret.)

Tom Maertens, former Foreign Service Officer and National Security Council Director for Non-Proliferation

Elizabeth Murray, former Deputy National Intelligence Officer for the Near East, National Intelligence Council (ret.)

Todd E. Pierce, US Army Judge Advocate General Corps (ret.)

Coleen Rowley, former Chief Division Counsel & FBI Special Agent (ret.)

Source: consortiumnews.com of 28 April 2014

“Obama urged to show ...”

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couragement and achievement of “regime change” in Ukraine – resulting in the unseating of the duly elected (though thoroughly corrupt) government in Kiev. Moreover, continued efforts by the West to draw Ukraine into NATO would guarantee Russian hostility for many years to come. Both of these are existential issues for Moscow; may we remind you of the U.S. parallel in the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine in our own “backyard.”

In our view, the situation need not spin out of control. The door is still open to enforcing the measures agreed upon on April 17 in Geneva. Russia’s willingness to continue to work with us on destruction of Syria’s chemical weapons and on the Iranian nuclear issue remains encouraging and could foster cooperation on other mutual interests.

Perspective

As for Crimea, with all the misleading rhetoric filling the air waves, we want to remind you that Crimea became part of Russia in the late 18th Century. Sixty years ago, Ukrainian Nikita Khrushchev, who was then head of the Soviet Communist Party, simply gave Crimea to the Ukraine – one of the 15 “republics” comprising the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). There was no referendum at the time; it appeared not

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Peace In Europe – “We just need to want it.”

by Karl Müller

On May 16 and 17, two former chancellors of the Federal Republic of Germany, *Helmut Schmidt* (SPD) and *Helmut Kohl* (CDU) have again given their view on Ukraine and the relation of the western nations to Russia. They have done it in a situation of permanent escalation – and in the most widely read newspaper in Germany.

Helmut Schmidt criticized the EU's politics towards Ukraine. Brussels was interfering too much with global politics. “The latest example is the EU commission's attempt to affiliate Ukraine.” Schmidt labeled the EU's global ambitions with the word “megalomania”.

Responding to a question regarding the danger of war, the former chancellor stated “I do not think it is a good idea to tempt fate and speak of World War III. But the danger that the situation is exacerbating, as in August 1914, is growing every day.”

And, most important: These days there was “nobody making constructive proposals regarding Ukraine's future.”

Helmut Kohl's statements correspond to those of his predecessor: “I am very worried about the development. This is a very serious situation. Now we need to start talking to each other soon. My life experience tells me that this is possible. We just need to want it.”



Three former German chancellors have urgently warned NATO and EU against a policy towards Russia aiming at confrontation and have called for a diplomatic solution of the conflict. (pictures ma)

We just need to want it...

Part of this is to understand reality and to take it seriously.

Those, for example, who study the accessible sources and statements, not only those in the west but also the Russian media and official statements from Russia, will realize that the Russian side is arguing much more factual, less polemic and not as aggressive as the western side, that it is performing rather defensive; but the Russian side also acts confidently, with their heads held high. Just read the statements of the Russian Foreign Ministry that are available in German language and

compare them with those of most western politicians and officials.

Those who have seen the long queues in front of the polling stations in Eastern Ukraine on 11 May and have closely watched the people and listened intently to the statements of the people, also towards western media, could only be left with one impression: These people have taken part in the vote with great earnestness. The reactions of the rulers in Kiev, the NATO and the EU have not done justice to these people and their concerns. Instead, the violent confrontations go on. Especial-

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“Merkel and Hollande should ...”

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former Yugoslavia, when, to the dismay of Belgrade, local gang leaders or other potentates had risen to defend the Serb cause in Croatia; phenomena of decay as they can currently be observed in Ukraine, inevitably call such forces on the scene. The example of Croatia has sufficiently taught us. At that time, president Milosevic was left with the only choice as being regarded traitor of the Serbian cause, if he had not stood by the gang leaders in Croatia.

In the eyes of those in the West who wanted to see him in that corner, he became the aggressor, if he had decided to stand by these gang leaders. That is what they want to achieve in eastern Ukraine and the aggressive actions of the Kiev junta forces in this region serve this goal only. They are not alone, the “Bild” newspaper reports, referring to latest findings of the Berlin Chancellery, after some weeks ago, corresponding pictures had already been published.

Hundreds of American mercenaries of the infamous American private armies undertake everything in eastern Ukraine in order to create a “boiling point of confrontation”. Why do the German Chancellor and her French

guest not call for sanctions against those in Kiev and Washington who brought the situation in Ukraine about and who were responsible for it? The so-called “West” placed a deadly explosive charge in the Russian Federation's front yard and now clamours in direction Putin to make him trample out the fuse which was laid out between Scientology and the Adenauer Foundation.

In the days before the referendum of 11 May this could be clearly be observed. While the German Chancellor, all of a sudden discovered her love for international law, after all those years, when it would have been appropriate, Russian President Putin had appealed to postpone the referendum and to call for a dialogue among all Ukrainian forces first. It could not have been done more sensibly. That is why those in power in Kiev did not only rile against these considerations, but also shot full throttle militarily.

Putin has made the only proposal which could prevent the fatal development. After this and ironically on a WDR forum in Berlin, a former Polish president took the microphone and blustered about the fact that the crisis-ridden development in Ukraine is of long-standing Russian planning. President emeritus Kwasniewski, however, knows better than many others since he has trained

the forces of the “national socialist campus” in Poland. How the American planings for Poland dated back, he could have perceived alone from the fact that the day after his announcement US forces were moved to Poland.

The US are capable of many things, but logistic preparations for such an action take many months. The idea that Russia could have set the initial spark for the overthrow of a legitimate government in Kiev can arise only in the Warsaw of global strategists a la Brzezinski. President Obama is not likely to give up. Instead of supporting Russian President Putin in his approach in eastern Ukraine, including the potentates, Chancellor Merkel and President Hollande act in a way that is not only due to their lack of imagination.

For the sake of Europe, however, Merkel and Hollande should not take part in cornering Putin, since his corner is bigger than may be dear to both of them. Instead they should continue to urge Obama, since he is quickly losing his European friends. If, as press reports say, President Obama refuses meeting with President Putin on D-Day in Normandy, he raises 6 June 1944 as such to question. •

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

"Peace In Europe – ..."

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ly alarming are reports that the US have already, with covert violent operations, taken part in the Ukrainian conflict.

Now, in order to stop the violence and to work towards a peaceful solution, the head of OSCE has, also in consultation with the Russian President, proposed a round table for all parties involved in the conflict in Ukraine. The rulers in Kiev have so far not been willing to agree to this proposal. And what do western political circles do? There is no clear statement on this; it is more or less always backing Kiev's politics.

There are many more examples which unfortunately all indicate that it is mainly the West that is pursuing an escalation, even if there are abundant official statements that we should maintain a dialogue and that there is no military option. At the same time there are attempts to put the blame for the escalation on Russia and its president. But we should remember the saying that one should rather watch a person's hands than his mouth if we want to know what he really does.

"We just need to want it", former chancellor Helmut Kohl has stated. He would not have said this if he had got the impression that it was already the case. These are

admonitory words, just like those of former chancellor Helmut Schmidt and – no less clear – from former chancellor *Gerhard Schröder*. What might be the motives for these three persons who have governed Germany for 30 years? That they have no idea? That they are dishonest lobbyists for German economic interests? That they are dependent on Russia? This is nonsense! If three former German chancellors are warning in unison, then there is a reason to listen and to think.

We just need to want it ...

This does not just concern our politicians but every citizen. The leading media in our states are of no use here. This is obvious. But who is relying on that these days?

In order to prevent the imminent World War I, people from all over Europe had planned to meet on August 1-3, 2014 in Constance on the occasion of 500th anniversary of the Council of Constance. But it was already too late. Mobilizations in Europe had started on 30 and 31 July.

We may not wait so long. Helmut Kohl is right. We just need to want it. This is the idea that should be spread and realized.

And everybody should know what is most probably the issue: Russia is meant to be brought to its knees by all means. Not because of all the things that can be read in the mainstream media but because it interferes. It is interfering with the west-

ern project "Globalia". *Jean-Christophe Rufin*, former vice president of "Doctors Without Borders" and former undersecretary in the French Ministry of Defense, has in 2004 aptly described the scenario in his *roman a clef*. It is a sinister world with the total claim for power for a few supposedly chosen, a glass bell jar of veneer for a few on our planet and a miserable fight for survival for the majority. There is no humanity, no charity, no individual freedom, no self-determination of peoples, no cultural variety and no peaceful coexistence of people.

The circle of those involved in the sinister plan for "Globalia" is powerful and has acquired an aura of sanctity. This includes not only national and economic actors and their lobby groups in the media but also UN circles like the representatives of the Council of Human Rights in Geneva which on 15 May have issued a completely biased report on the human rights situation in eastern Ukraine. This also includes desktop criminals like *Timothy Snyder* who has organized a respective conference in Kiev and who was allowed to disseminate his crude theories about fascism in Russia and the "Right" in Europe under the leadership of the Russian president *Vladimir Putin*. •

(Translation Current Concerns)

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No credible security on the ground without the support of a powerful air force! After the “No” to the Gripen the opponents bear a responsibility!

by Konrad Alder

Now the Social Democratic Party under the leadership of their dishonestly acting Security Policy Committee members *Galadé* and *Alleman*, the GSwA (Group Switzerland without an Army) and the Greens with kind help of the *glp*-led liberal Committee “No to the Gripen” as well as the CVP women Switzerland with Ms *Meier-Schatz* managed to make a majority of our citizens deny our air force the long-overdue renewal of our fighter aircraft fleet and thus to inflict irreversible damage to our proven, coherent and sovereign security policy.

In contrast to the notorious army liquidators of the Group for a Switzerland without an Army (GSwA) the disappearing circles under the dominance of *Martin Bäumle* and his Green Liberal Party have repeatedly stressed that they did not oppose our national defense and the air force, but considered a combat aircraft procurement at present as premature and fiscally unjustifiable. Thus, these politicians are now in the great responsibility to show valuable alternative solution proposals for the future of our air force and make it capable of obtaining a majority. The following conditions should, however, may make their work a very intricate and difficult venture:

1) By 2025, the F/A-18 will have reached the end of their operational capability and working life. From then on our air forces will no longer have fighter planes for the air police service, the protection of our air space in the event of a crisis and for our defense. To prevent this unacceptable situation, an F/A-18-successor must run by 2022 at the latest. This is the only way to

guarantee that we will have reached an operational readiness by 2025 and to ensure seamlessly the air police service as a statutory order.

2) Within the coming years, our air force will run the risk of losing the human resources. With the uncertain future prospects created by the ‘no’ to the Gripen, the DDPS will have trouble in keeping in line our highly professional fighter pilots and other urgently needed specialists on the labor market in the operation and maintenance area.

3) A next selection process will be a very expensive matter for Switzerland. With the rejection of the Gripen procurement by the people, the small number of aircraft as well as expected referenda or initiatives of army opponents, no aircraft producer will be willing to invest his own resources for our follow-up evaluation. In this context, Boeing’s abandonment to participate with their model F/A-18E/F Super Hornet in our last evaluation speaks a clear language. In addition – as the situation on the market for combat aircraft presents itself today – with utmost probability the Gripen is likely to make the race again.

4) Leasing solutions of high quality combat aircraft that meet our current military requirements are unaffordable. The repeatedly ported idea of the Green Liberals to delegate the tasks to a third country will fail for neutrality reasons alone, but also because of the problem of the state’s monopoly on the use of force. The cost of such “outsourcing” would be indeed at least as high as the expenses for an own air force.

5) Moreover, life-prolonging measures for the approximately 30 year-old F/A-18 are no effective solution because of their miserable cost-value ratio. They would only extend the period of aviation use, but create no contemporary weapon system, meeting our specifications.

6) No support can be expected by GSwA, Social Democrats and the Greens. We are rather likely to face further left-ideologically colored headwinds in the form of referenda and initiatives as well as unfair counter-arguments.

In the referendum campaign, opponents of all kind could influence the Gripen purchase with their unqualified slogans. However, after the campaign it would be in the interest of Switzerland to quickly clean up the mess in our security policy, so that no unwanted, further damage can be done. *Martin Bäumle* and his *glp* are now obliged to show the Swiss people how things shall proceed as far as the control of Swiss airspace and the “security network of protection, rescue and defense” are concerned. All military conflicts in recent history have impressively shown that there is no credible security on the ground without the support of a powerful air force! The entire Federal Council as well as all bourgeois parties are responsible. They did not realize the strategic dimension and significance of this security policy issue and therefore supported the Yes campaign with little commitment and passion, too late and at a completely inadequate extent! •

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

We could have bought more than 600 Gripen!

Even in ancient times people joined forces in order to ensure their safety. Many of the old city walls do still testify that today.

Many other tasks were added in the course of the centuries. But the external and internal security is still ranking on top. Does the insecurity (among other things) not cause streams of refugees with millions of people in so many countries?

The Federal Councillors and all other parliamentarians take an oath on the Federal Constitution. Article 2, paraphrasing Switzerland’s purpose, reads in paragraph 1: The Swiss Confederation protects the freedom and rights of the people and safeguards the independence and security of the country. (Note: These rights include the worldwide unique right to be able to vote, for example, on the acquisition of combat aircraft.)

In paragraph 2 the other tasks of the Confederation are laid down: the promotion of the common welfare, sustainable development, maintenance of internal cohesion and the promotion of cultural diversity.

One commentator on my last Gripen article pointed to some other large sums of money that one could compare to the cost of the Gripen. I have added these few examples. This results in the following picture: Additional contribution to the International Monetary Fund to help Greece: 10 billion + rescue of UBS: 60 billion + development aid: 11.5 billion + financing of railway lines in Italy and Germany: a few hundred million: CHF 82 billion = about 600 Gripen.

Note that for the purchase of such a large number the price per unit would be substantially lower, so we could have pur-

chased even 700 or more Gripen with those funds issued for other purposes.

I do not argue here, whether these expenditures are justified or not, all I want to do is demonstrate by using these few examples, which huge resources we spend or have approved of on other tasks that have nothing to do with the main tasks of Switzerland, according to Article 2 of the Federal Constitution.

Neither do I set the about 320 million, which should have been annually provided in the fund for the purchase of the Gripen, against the 21.5 billion that we annually spend on social welfare, the 7 billion for education, the 8.5 billion for transport and further spending positions of the Federation, I merely want to demonstrate the proportions.

Gotthard Frick, Bottmingen

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Swiss democracy and the problems of freedom in the European Union

Speech of 25 April 2014 given by Václav Klaus during an event at the Liberal Institute, Zurich



Václav Klaus
(picture wikipedia)

Thank you for the invitation to Switzerland, especially for the opportunity to be back again here in Zurich, one of my favourite cities. Above all, I thank you for the opportunity of being able to speak here, today.

Last year in January, 15 months ago to date, I presented my book entitled "Europe needs Freedom" here in Zurich, in this beautiful hotel. That meeting was organized by *Avenir Suisse*. Today, it is an honor for me to address the well-known *Liberal Institute* and its audience. I have known your President *Robert Nef* for a long time. Two years ago I was very pleased when I was asked to make a contribution to his "Festschrift", published on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

My book with the Czech title "European Integration without Illusions" has not been written by me as an expression of my current disappointment about the development of the European integration process. I have never had any illusions in this regard. One thing which has recently concerned me, is the fact that in spite of many obvious problems that cannot be concealed, and in spite of serious criticism that all of us living in Europe, can see, hear and feel almost every day, Europe continues to march into its hopeless deadlock. It seems that the Europeans couldn't care less.

More and more deteriorating economic data, gradually decreasing respect for Europe by the rest of the world, accelerated deepening of the so-called democratic deficit, increasing frustration and other characteristics that cannot be denied in the Europe of today, did not attract massive attention. This irritates me. You can start the debate on Europe from many sides and many angles. Allow me to take the EU's response to the Swiss referendum as a starting point of my discussion of European issues. It was almost a "controlled experiment", of course an unplanned, but an expected one.

We really followed it with interest. Czechs, who are very sensitive to the ongoing weakening of democracy and freedom in Europe, – without allowing themselves to interfere – respect the application of the referendum, the specific aspect of the Swiss constitutional system. They did

not think that they have the smallest possible right to comment on the referendum's question and its results. Czechs have respected the Swiss people's freedom of being able to choose. We are not blind victims of political correctness. The era of communism is not completely forgotten.

The question that was asked in the referendum, has long been overdue. The movements of people across borders of sovereign countries, which have radically increased in recent years and decades, are systematically undermining the coherence and governability of these countries. Thus life there is not more pleasant, but less enjoyable and less comfortable than before. That is – I suppose – the feeling of many Swiss, including my sister, who has lived here since August 1968.

The current wave of migration in Europe builds on the undermining of the importance of frontiers, on growing acceptance of the ideology of multiculturalism and on the dissemination/expansion of the generous welfare state. These three points represent important parts of Europeanism, of this not explicitly formulated ideology more and more influencing the thinking and the behavior on our continent in recent times.

Switzerland as a rich, traditionally democratic and open society, became the destination address of many non-political immigrants. That is the reason why this subject is more important here than for example in my homeland, where the number of persons being born abroad, is still small. Throughout the communist era we have lived in a partially closed up country where not only did we have frontiers, but also something more important and more threatening – the Iron Curtain. Communism forbade almost everything, including immigration.

From my point of view, the Swiss referendum has provided only one surprise: the small figure in favor of the yes answers. The problem's dimension seems to be larger than the small gap between yes and no votes. Nevertheless, the referendum was badly misinterpreted in Europe and especially in Brussels. I have not seen it as a saying No to immigration, but as a message: Let us do the immigration to Switzerland a little more carefully and slower. Each sovereign state should have the right to say such things.

The new European elites, the irresponsible multi-culturalists, the enthusiastic globalists and the Europeanists, incapable of listening, unfortunately see things differently. It does therefore not come as a sur-

prise that the referendum has led to consternation and panic in Brussels. Some of us have known for a long time that the EU is a post-democratic and post-political entity.

After ten years (less five days) of membership in the EU, we in the Czech Republic feel the following very strongly: We, I mean the ordinary people, have no motivation to celebrate this anniversary. The "cost-benefit analysis" is not clear. We are not sure that we have gained much.

The EU leaders see things differently. They also have repeated experiences with the results of many referenda being carried out in the past in various European countries, often bringing un-European, politically incorrect results for them. They want us to think in a continental mind, they want to suppress the national state, they want to dissolve the role of state borders. They want to weaken the current consistency and coherence of nations. All this leads to the promotion of massive and unrestricted migration. I expected that they would be frustrated by your referendum.

Today's meeting was organized by the *Liberal Institute*. I suspect that this audience knows more than anyone else that this debate is about nothing but freedom. One could expect that the traditional defenders of freedom, the European liberals (it is necessary to say traditional liberals in order to distinguish them from the American *Obama*-like liberals), understand and are able to interpret this subject matter correctly, that they know where they should stand and which position they should adopt. I am disappointed that some European traditional liberals are confused in this point. They understand all liberties a priori as positive and so interpret the unlimited liberty of immigration as desirable. I don't understand this.

Nearly 50 years of my life I lived in communist Czechoslovakia and was barred from travelling to the West. In this period I spent a few hours in Switzerland when I travelled through it by train to France. After that I first came here again in 1990 when I took part in the *World Economic Forum* in Davos as Finance Minister of Czechoslovakia that was free at last.

My experiences forced me to distinguish between the terms emigrate and immigrate. We were disappointed that we were not allowed to travel abroad and possibly emigrate but I never considered immigration into a certain country a right of mine.

This was – to my deep regret – not understood by some of my liberal colleagues.

A plea for citizenship and democracy

Withdrawal from the labour battle – instead of fighting over the minimum wage

by Ivo Muri, entrepreneur and researcher of actual topics, Sursee

With a bit of luck, a teacher in Hungary earns 300 euros per month. A teacher in neighbouring Austria already gets at least 3,000 euros. In turn, neighbouring teachers in Switzerland receive 6,000 francs or more. There is nothing wrong with that because teachers in Switzerland do socially highly valuable work. They work for the welfare of our children and for this purpose also invest a lot in their own training. You certainly agree on that. However, the question is: Does it not also apply for teachers in Hungary and in Austria? The teachers in Hungary also make an important contribution to a successful life in their homeland.

Why should a teacher in Switzerland – since we have free markets – earn more than a teacher in Hungary?

After all, we have the principle of free market economy.

One might argue that a teacher in Hungary also has lower living costs than a teacher in Switzerland. By the way, the same applies to politicians and government officials. They, too, earn much more in Switzerland than in Hungary. And they also have higher cost of living in Switzerland.

The unions refer to exactly this cost of living, when they demand a minimum wage of CHF 4,000 for all employees.

The so-called “employers’ associations”, however, are horrified. In the canton Jura, people have other costs of living than in Zug or Zurich. One could not guarantee such a high minimum wage in Switzerland – they say. However, managers’ salaries were not a problem! They have to be paid simply because of the global manager market.

Many seem to agree with this argument, too.

However, what is wrong and where does the dispute between employers’ as-

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“Swiss democracy and the ...”

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They supported every way of weakening the European national states which in its effect could lead to a very anti-liberal development. That is an example for *Frédéric Bastiats’* famous phrase: “What is Seen and What is Not Seen?”

I am concerned about that. The shift of competences from single states towards EU level is in most cases not a desirable weakening of the institution state, but the unwanted strengthening of the European super-state, of the EU, which is less democratic than each European state. European integration in its current manifestation does not increase freedom and democracy in Europe but weakens it. It is a pity that even some of the “Mises and Hayek”-fellow believers do not see that.

The question of freedom in Europe has become relevant again in connection with today’s development in Ukraine. I am strongly convinced that we are facing a misinterpretation of events in this country as well as a new wave of strong brainwashing. Some politicians and activists in Europe (and America) have tried to use the Ukraine as a tool to start the hostile confrontation between Russia and the West, once again. Ukraine, with its long-existing fragility in both the political and the economic sense, was forced into the role of an instrument. Forcing this country to take an immediate decision as to whether it should belong to the West or the East, is a certain and guaranteed way to destroy it.

In late February, a public statement of my institute – the Institut Vaclava Klause – phrased resolutely: “Forcing the Ukraine to a decision to choose between West and East would destroy the country... It would lead the country into an irresolvable conflict, which can only end tragically.” I sin-

cerely regret that this is exactly what is now happening right before our very eyes.

The mainstream media and politicians use Orwellian methods – the well-known “Newspeak”. They are trying to convince us that they are interfering in Ukraine with the attempt to save freedom and democracy. This is not the case. Saving freedom and democracy would require something else. Ukraine should have the opportunity to solve its own problems without foreign intervention. Neither from the West nor the East.

I expect that someone will now remind me of the Russian annexation of the Crimea, or compare the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 with what happened a few weeks ago in the Crimea. I insist that the vast political destabilization of Ukraine was not a real internal political popular uprising but an imported revolution that did not come from Russia. The organizers had other plans and ambitions than introducing freedom and democracy in Ukraine. They wanted to incite a confrontation with Russia. Again, we are dealing here with the Orwellian confusion of causes and consequences. In the second public statement of my Institute on this subject (at the beginning of March), we put it as follows: “The sequence of causes and consequences is evident – first there were the events on the Kiev Maidan and then in the Crimea. We must not begin at the end.”

The artificial creation of a new era of rising tension in Europe and around the world to destabilize the international status quo and switch back to the Cold War rhetoric is a dangerous method to distract the public attention away from the obvious failures of the European integration process, from the euro, from the unsustainable debt to geopolitical maneuvers, which are – for normal people – difficult to understand.

The victims of these ambitions are the Ukraine and the people who live there.

They have no need of this development, and they have not deserved it, even if the responsibility lies with the Ukrainian politicians who are responsible for not solving the long-running Ukrainian problems. This is unforgivable, more than two decades after the end of communism. Ukraine has failed to make the necessary political and economic transformation.

Other victims of today’s events are the European democrats, which means all of us. The atmosphere of confrontation, danger and fear is being used to quickly accelerate processes of European unification and to create a centralized European super-state with limited civil rights. Democracy in Europe is going to be sacrificed.

Today’s atmosphere will bring us closer to the “Brave New World”, as it has been excellently described by *Aldous Huxley* 80 years ago. We Czechs got rid of a form of “Brave New World”, namely communism, 25 years ago and know quite a bit about it. We are not naive and did not expect that our accession to the EU would be the same as an entrance into Paradise. But the reality is worse than we expected.

We knew, or at least some of us knew, that the accession to the EU would bring along new problems. We wanted to have a truly free, liberal society, but the accession to the EU has brought about – after our radical phase of liberalization in the nineties – an unexpected turn: from deregulation to growing regulation, from elimination of subsidies to their re-launch, from withdrawal of the state from the economy to growing state interference, from gaining the individuals’ self-responsibility of to their growing dependency on the state and its social systems. We are afraid that the Ukrainian crisis is being used to accelerate this process even more. •

Source: <http://www.klaus.cz/clanky/3563>

(Translation Current Concerns)

"A plea for citizenship ..."

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sociations and trade unions in fact come from, if they actually are both right?

Well, you know it, I know it, and we all could have known it for long.

What is wrong is the economic theories that have been taught in our universities and colleges since 1989.

Let us start with a remarkable sentence from the book "Volkswirtschafts-lehre" (Economics) by *Rolf Dubs*, which all graduates of the *Higher Economic and Administrative School* (HWV) in the colleges of economy in Switzerland still have to memorize:

"So the free market economy remains an ideal. Due to a misjudgment of man, it always carries tendencies of self-destruction", Dubs noted in his book in 1982, and he has not changed this statement in the most recent edition of his book.

What has happened since then? Why do we still deregulate, globalize and privatize?

Employers' associations and trade unions, left and right-wing politicians believed that life for everyone would become better in Switzerland and all around the world if we established free trade. Free trade makes us free – they believed.

All economists who warned that free trade has never worked in the history of mankind, were put on the sideline. They were laughed at publicly and described as backward and unworldly and were labelled as "communist", "nationalist" and at worst "neo-Nazi".

The debate about the minimum wage, however, makes clear: there is no permanent minimum wage with no minimum prices. And since companies cannot achieve minimum prices in a globalized, deregulated and privatized market, they can no longer guarantee minimum wages. All the countries with the highest social and environmental standards like Switzerland will be the losers in this increasingly brutal price competition and thus destroy their own social institutions. Old-age pensions are no longer secured and health care costs are exploding. Price levels and wage levels are extremely different both within the EU and worldwide, that no country can guarantee the wages and thus a secure income for its population in the long run – if free trade prevails. However, this knowledge is not new.

This had already become evident a few years ago. The tradesmen of Sursee still remember when the Sursee city councillor for construction explained during a recep-

tion in 2006: "There is no more homeland security for domestic industry". At that time nobody obviously realized that over the years the salaries of officials, teachers and others might also come more under increasing pressure.

It is becoming increasingly clear, however: As we can no longer guarantee the homeland security for domestic work due to globalization, we can no longer guarantee minimum wages and other important social issues to the population, as we were used to in Switzerland in times of social market economy.

Specifically: We are still called citizens – but can no longer go bail for each other. Today, this should be done – in a centrally-controlled Europe – by all Europeans for each other. Hence we are responsible for all Europeans in Europe – and at the same time we are responsible for nobody.

Even more specifically, in Switzerland we have abolished self-determination and thus direct democracy.

Save yourself if you can – is the motto.

But what could we do to save direct democracy in Switzerland?

Is everything hopeless?

No, it is not – but we must not continue like this on the bilateral way, if we want to leave to our children a direct democracy in which they can maintain a secure economic livelihood for themselves and their fellow citizens.

What could the unions do?

The union bosses might consider that it would be nice for them even though, to ensure working for justice all over Europe in Brussels as officers of the international unions. The fact that in terms of our direct democracy it could perhaps be more meaningful if we took care here locally for homeland protection for our local industry and its employees. Unionists could see that the property right of the small-scale businesses also protects their own clientele – i.e. the workers – better than the uncontrollable movement of goods, money and people.

What could employers' associations do?

Employers' organizations could realize that it may be nice to be active around the globe. And that it may also be nice to achieve dream margins by manufacturing everything in low-wage countries and then import the goods to Switzerland. Then they could realize that it hurts their soul when they have to watch the young people here in Switzerland are sent in an increasingly brutal labor dispute with young people from all over the world. A labor dispute in which our children can only lose because we have

completely different fixed cost structures here in Switzerland due to our strong social insurances than the young people in low-wage countries that are willing to work like slaves for a pittance.

What do I mean by that?

Let us end to stir up the labor dispute here in Switzerland. In a joint effort, let us tackle the task to rebuild the structures of the social market economy that we still had within the EFTA and that we have recently destroyed. Let us again have free trade in a democratically tolerable degree by ruling us ourselves again instead of letting us be governed by the invisible hand of the market via international capitalism.

Let us again take over personal responsibility for our well-being here on the spot, rather than delegating this responsibility to an anonymous entity that refers to the global financial and politicians' guild as "the market".

So what do we need to get out of the labor dispute performed increasingly polemically with which we increasingly destroy our common livelihood?

We do need capital controls instead of free movement of capital.

We do need protective tariffs instead of free movement of goods.

We do need labor quota instead of free movement of persons.

And we do not need all this because we are afraid of the economically stronger countries. We also do not need this because we are underdeveloped nationalists or even selfish pluckers of the choicest fruits.

We Swiss are still today the only UN member with direct democracy. And we have the right as citizens here locally to go bail for ourselves – hence govern ourselves instead of letting us being governed by international capitalism.

In today's system of international capitalism all world citizens try to go bail for all world citizens. However, we increasingly notice: that does not work, because it is demanding too much of us all. The idea of a world citizenship is too far away from the human dimension and thus too far away from the sphere of influence of each individual. A confederated Europe along the lines of Switzerland – that is what we had in the EFTA and what we should re-establish.

Or, as President *de Gaulle* once said, "We need a Europe of Nations and Regions". "It is never too late to (re)create it." •

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

If oil and gas no longer flow and power supplies fail – then what?

Lessons from the Swiss history of energy: a plea for a small-scale, sustainable energy policy and renewable resources – a small state's feasible contribution to peace

by Tobias Salander, historian

*In crisis situations like the present one in the Ukraine, the issue of energy gains top priority, once again. Be it a region-wide power blackout or the throttling or capping of oil or gas supplies: what is to be done in such a situation, in particular, as a small state which is not always surrounded by friends and where – as people know – there is no such thing as friendship between states, merely interests! A situation in which we have even been threatened by the cavalry? In which we may be surrounded by a one-sided wartime alliance faster than we can imagine? In case NATO Treaty Article 5 becomes operative, whether provoked by a false-flag operation such as the one that is currently discussed in Turkey (see "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of 29 March 2014: *Wie man einen Krieg mit Syrien provoziert – irrwitzige Planspiele in Ankara* [How to provoke a war with Syria – insane simulation games in Ankara] by Inga Rogg), or by an effective attack on a NATO member – be it a terrorist attack like 9/11 when for the first time in NATO history the mutual defense guarantee case was evoked – in this case a small state like Switzerland, which has to bear all the rights and duties of a neutral state, would be in a rather uncomfortable situation. Should we grant flyover rights? And what if the pilots are involved in a war of aggression that violates international law? As the former German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder now frankly admitted with respect to the Kosovo war in 1999? (see "St. Galler Tagblatt" of 1 May 2014 p. 6, "As chancellor he once acted this way [violating international law]. In the conflict in Yugoslavia Germany had sent planes to Serbia – without any previous agreement of the Security Council and therefore illegally under international law.") Shall we make our own airfields available? Could we protect them at all without a strong air force, without the Gripen? How would the country get the necessary energy? Could the transit of oil and gas be subject to pre-conditions?*

During the First and Second World War, Switzerland rapidly lost her energy sovereignty and her economic freedom and was left to some dictators by the Allies and the Nazis. During the Cold War, among others, the overthrow of Mossadegh in Iran in 1953 was observed in this country with great concern: Obviously, the Western victorious ally and superpower did no longer hesitate to overthrow even

presidents elected by the people, when it was about their large corporations' access to the oil fields. One or the other in this country was glad that Switzerland was not floating on a sea of oil. The fact that we have the second largest water reservoir on this planet, however, conveys an uneasy idea for the 21st century: It will be left to the readership to draw their consequences as citizens and to seek the political discussion about how a small state can secure its survival at a time in which might seemingly makes right – if we do not vigorously oppose, involving all other spheres of life!

This small Swiss history including the energy issue is linked to the article in Current Concerns No. 9 of 3.5.2013 (<http://www.currentconcerns.ch/index.php?id=2281>). Based on the excellent research work of the Basel historian Daniele Ganser "Europa im Erdölrausch" (Europe in the oil rush), the Suez Crisis of 1956, the oil crises of 1973 and 1979 and the Gulf War are traced back with a special focus on the resources of history. If the reader himself reads through Ganser's book, he can get a more profound idea of whether and why an energy revolution might be urgently needed.

Suez crisis revealed Switzerland's fatal dependency on oil

Although the Suez crisis in the autumn of 1956 with a temporary closure of the Suez Canal did not result in a real shortage of oil in Europe or Switzerland, it showed quite clearly how little Switzerland was prepared for effective blockades. Hence the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" found that three-quarters of the oil required in Switzerland came from the Middle East. Above all, the army would have quickly run out of gas in an emergency. Additionally, since Switzerland itself possessed no refinery, it would also be dependent on those in Italy, Belgium and Holland. The four Sunday driving bans that the Federal Council imposed, although only at the end of the Suez crisis, were of a more symbolic character, aimed at making people aware of the problem.

Swisspetrol without any major oil discoveries – a lucky day for Switzerland

Although the Swiss press described oil as a dangerous liquid, because it awakened desires and affected landscapes, Swiss-

petrol still tried to find oil. Above all this was to reduce the dependency that had become evident in the Suez Crisis. Let us recall: Swisspetrol, founded in 1959 with a Swiss majority of shares, was the holding company which should control petroleum research and production in Switzerland.

Professor Werner Niederer, president of AVIA, the Swiss Association of Importers of Petroleum, accompanied this oil search of Swisspetrol with the anxious remark that they should always be aware that oil was extremely dangerous and had been behind almost every international conflict since the Second World War. He could say this without being vilified as a conspiracy theorist – different from what had happened to the critics of the Bush wars for oil since 2003 ...

In the summer of 1957 it was done: A subsidiary of Swisspetrol, the Swiss Petroleum AG (SEAG), began to carry out a seismic survey of the subsurface of the Swiss Central Plateau. However, the majority of the Swiss population showed no enthusiasm for oil production. When the deep drillings were unsuccessful, many people were happy because they, together with Werner Niederer, were convinced that oil always involved war.

Between 1960 and 1970, 17 deep drillings took place in Switzerland, where quite a bit of gas and oil were found: So 300,000 m³ of natural gas were found near the St. Urban Monastery (Canton of Lucerne), which could not be used, however, and therefore had to be burned off. In 1980 the search proved successful in Finsterwald in the Entlebuch region: 74 million m³ of natural gas could be produced subsequently. For comparison: this corresponds to 2.5% of the Swiss annual consumption of 2004. In 1994 the well of Finsterwald was closed because it no longer proved to be productive. The Swisspetrol Holding was liquidated. On balance Finsterwald resulted in a loss of 27 million francs.

Cheap oil promotes squandering

Until 1973 crude oil was cheap, a barrel cost less than \$ 2. This caused a real frenzy. By 2000 still less than \$ 20 had to be spent for one barrel. In the years from 1950 to 1970, Switzerland experienced a real economic miracle. Economic growth was more than 4 percent most

Oil companies with illegal price dictatorship?

ts. Oil prices have been increasing enormously since 2000, which has washed large amounts of dollars in the tills of the large companies. *ExxonMobil* proved this in 2005 with its profit of 36 billion dollars – according to CNN this was the largest profit in the history of a US company at all. In 2008, their profit was already at 42 billion! *BP* and *Shell*, however, earned in the double digit area as well. In 2008, *Shell* made a profit of 31 billion dollars. These numbers aroused suspicion, not only in Europe but also in Switzerland. *Shell Switzerland*, *Esso Switzerland* and *BP Switzerland* fell under the suspicion of having formed a cartel without anything being proven against them. Earlier investigations that the Federal Council had launched in the years 1968, 1975 and 1985, were without result and were compelled to be stopped by the cartel commission. Market experts spoke of oligopolies but they did not want to exploit their position as market leader. Very early, these companies had found it necessary to meet prevalent suspicion

by founding a PR organisational division. In 1961, the "Oil Association" was founded which represented 27 companies among which were subdivisions of the large companies. This *Oil Association* had a Swiss chairman but was clearly only the mouthpiece for foreign enterprises. Another manoeuvre to conceal the dominance of large companies on the Swiss market was to make the large companies tolerate Swiss companies like *Migrol* and *AVIA* for political reasons...

"Switzerland surrendered to the oil multinationals"

The large companies hardly pay taxes in Switzerland because they can upstream profits to foreign countries. Despite repeated requests, they do not openly show their books – from the drilling platform to the filling station. The calculation of prices thus had to remain absolutely invisible – while in the 70s they made profits in the millions and not in the billions as they earn today. At that time, the return on equity had already

been more than 20%, according to *Beat Kappeler*. A situation which strongly smells of cartel!

National Councillor *Walter Biel* (LdU) had already requested in the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" in 1975, that the cartel commission should be able to examine the headquarters of the companies in foreign countries – which at the time was not possible by law and is still not possible today. The left newspapers call this situation by its name: Switzerland surrendered to the oil multinationals.

When in 1978 the three companies *Esso Switzerland*, *Shell Switzerland* and *BP Switzerland* did not show any cent of profit on the books, and hence did not have to pay any taxes, protests were occurring up and down the country according to *Monika Weber*, the then president of the consumer forum. In their home countries, however, the companies taxed profits amounting to the billions at the same time. (cf. *Ganser*, pp. 156)

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of the time, the gasoline was five times cheaper in terms of wages between 1950 and 1990. Everywhere, "plastic", i.e. a petroleum derivative, began to replace wood and metal.

Since oil was cheap, people did not have to deal with alternatives, but lived affluently and lavishly. Problems such as dependency on imports, wars on resources, pollution or greenhouse gases were not mentioned in the media: People regarded things positively. This changed with the report of the *Club of Rome* in the 1970s, a fundamental critique of the idea of growth, which pointed to the finite nature of oil resources - with any possible kind of hidden agenda.

Dollar crisis was the true cause of the 1973 oil crisis

In the winter of 1973 – senior readers may well remember – the price of oil rose by 400 percent, from 3 to 12 dollars per barrel. This was a price that makes us smile today, but back then it triggered a shock. Therefore Sunday driving bans were enacted in many developed countries. In Switzerland as well, there was almost no traffic on Sundays.

Today, we know: It was not an oil amounts crisis, but a crisis of prices! The stocks were full to the brim, there was no shortage anywhere to be seen – however, felt it to be different at that time. The result? In 1974 the world economy engulfed in a recession, the shares lost 50 percent of their value. It was the big-

gest crisis of the postwar period. In Switzerland, 10 percent of all jobs got lost, 300,000 jobs at the time. Now, economizing was the watchword, according to the motto: less heating, less illuminating, less driving.

In his book *Daniele Ganser* meticulously proved that the central cause of the oil crisis had been the previous dollar crisis! (see also *Current Concerns* No. 1/2 of 14 January 2013)

No supply bottlenecks – but price increases nevertheless

In the middle of the oil price crisis, in November 1973, the Federal Council called on the Swiss population to save energy, recommended restriction of driving, more effective heat insulating of houses, not heating rooms to more than 20° C, bathing less and sharing bedrooms. November 1973 was the energy saving month par excellence all over Europe.

Then, on 13 November Federal Councillor *Ernst Brugger* indicated that so far there had not been any bottleneck of supply. The Delegate of the Federal Council for economic preparedness in wartimes, *Otto Niederhauser*, as well said there was no shortage, the compulsory stocks would be sufficient for half a year. However, the price supervisor had to bargain vigorously with the corporations, otherwise petrol prices would have increased even further.

On 14 November 1973, the Federal Council decreed a top speed of 100 km/h on motorways. And on 21 November 1973 car-free Sundays were ordered

for the rest of November and the following two Sundays – although there was no shortage of fuels. In addition, oil was rationed to achieve reductions of up to 20 percent.

Federal Council: "This international oil market is not very transparent"

It is amazing today that the Federal Council acted this way, as today's research clearly shows that in November 1973 more oil was imported than ever in the previous two years. It amounted to additional 8%: So there were no shortages! Federal Councillor *Brugger* later admitted his misjudgment, saying that he himself was surprised and had been unable to understand the development of the global oil market.

Ganser's conclusion: The international oil trade is intransparent indeed. Thus, it is indeed questionable whether the embargo against the United States had actually been carried out, since US tankers were refueled in Saudi Arabia, as the British newspaper *The Economist* reported in November 1973.

The Netherlands as well, the second country which was exposed to an official OPEC (*Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries*) oil embargo, did not suffer; in Rotterdam the oil trade ran as smoothly as ever.

The Swiss newspapers, too, expressed their distrust: The international corporations and the United States themselves had a strong interest in an oil price in-

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crease, they wrote! The shortage had been artificially incited. A view that was also represented in the USA by union leader *Charles Levinson*. *Werner Flachs*, however, a general manager of *Shell Switzerland* and president of the *Oil Association*, regarded this thesis as absurd. No approval did he achieve from some Swiss parliamentarians, however. The PdA National Councillor *Jean Vincent* was sure that there had been no oil crisis at all, but all the more "criminal practices of the oil monopolies". CVP National Councillor *Edgar Oehler* spoke of a double blackmail by the Arab sheikhs and the corporations. And SP National Councilor *Otto Nauer* maintained that the sovereignty of a country was becoming a farce in view of the corporations' price dictates.

The Federal Council, finally, drew a self-critical balance: In December 1973, Ernst Brugger admitted his mistake and made the point to the fact that "the international oil market is not very transparent, it is indeed a science in itself". Even the US did not see through it, the magistrate said.

Result of the 1973 crisis: Diversify energy supply ...

An allowance you may make the crisis of 1973, despite all the inconsistencies, is the following: it had drawn the people's attention to the problem of limited resources. This was also stressed by the experts appointed by the Federal Council in the Overall Energy Concept (OEC).

The situation was as follows: In 1973 oil covered 80 percent of Switzerland's energy needs – in 2012 it was still 57 per-

cent. From the viewpoint of energy self-sufficiency, the situation was considered even worse than during the Second World War, because oil came from outside Europe, in contrast to coal at that time. The Federal Council drew the following conclusions of the 1973 crisis: a diversified energy supply was necessary, so Federal Councillor *Willy Ritschard* in 1974, both in terms of the a diversification of raw materials as well as of reference countries.

... and rely more on nuclear power

Since uranium was easier to import than oil, the expansion of nuclear power plants had to be pursued among other things from then on. At the time of the oil crisis, Switzerland had three nuclear power stations (NPS): *Beznau I*, built in 1969, the first nuclear plant in Switzerland. It was followed by *Beznau II* and *Mühleberg* in 1972. Then, in 1973, a fourth one was under construction: *Gösgen*.

However, large parts of the population did not agree with this alternative to oil. So in 1974 there was a major demonstration against the construction of the NPS *Kaiseraugst*. The planned nuclear power plants not only in *Kaiseraugst*, but also in *Rüthi*, *Graben*, *Inwil* and *Verbois* had not been build at that time. Today five NPS operate in Switzerland; thanks supply contracts with French NPS our country has adequate power supplies – namely nuclear power.

In 1978, GEK demands the extension of renewable energy resources, among other things

The *Association of Swiss Electricity Plants* drew its conclusions from the oil crisis. Their findings: In the heating segment oil was to be replaced by electricity from nuclear power and by hydropower.

In addition to uranium and water, the Federal Council also bet on the import of natural gas. Today gas is behind oil and hydropower the third most important source of energy in Switzerland, ahead of nuclear power.

In order to pool all efforts on achieving energy security, on 23 October 1974, the Federal Council put the *Commission for the Overall Energy Conception* (OEC) into operation. Federal Councillor *Ritschard* appointed *Michael Kohn* President of the Commission – a known proponent of nuclear energy. Since two thirds of the members came from the electricity industry, the Oil Association was not pleased at all. It turned especially against an oil tax to subsidize other fuels.

After four years of work, the Commission then presented its final report in 1978, "The Swiss Energy Concept". It concluded the following demands:

- Oil was to be replaced by other energy sources ,
- Petroleum sources were to be diversified,
- Public transport was to be promoted,
- Greater storage of petroleum products were to be established,
- Renewable energies were to be expanded,
- Above all the expansion of nuclear power would have to be enhanced
- And: the Federal Government was to be enabled to intervene in the energy policy of the cantons.

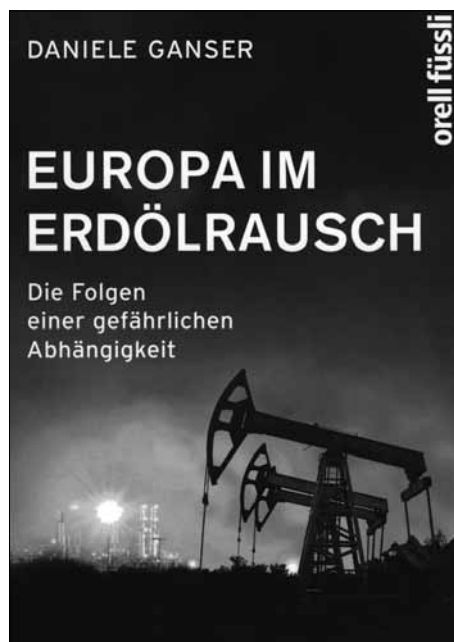
It took quite a while until some of these demands were accepted by the people. So the sovereign refused the energy Act in 1983, which provided full capabilities of the Federation and the promotion of alternative energies – with a 'no' from the cantons. Only one year later, in 1984, the popular initiative of the Swiss Energy Foundation "for a safe, economical and environmentally friendly energy supply" was rejected. In 1990, voters rejected the phase-out of nuclear energy, but favored a ten-year moratorium on the construction of NPS. And now, the Energy Act was adopted, whereby the Federal Government was granted the power which the Final Report of the OEC had demanded in 1978.

Second oil crisis: oil companies make exorbitant profits ...

The twelve years which elapsed between the final report of the OEC and the adoption of some of its recommendations by the people in 1990 had brought about more turmoil in the resource-rich Middle East: The Overthrow of the Shah by *Ayatollah Khomeini* was followed by the first Gulf War, i.e. the eight-year war between Iran and Iraq from 1980 until 1988. The fact that the US supported both sides corresponded to their geo-strategic power play, which aimed at weakening of the oil-producing countries, with the transparent aim of being able to take advantage of the black gold for oneself, if possible for free.

The fall of the Shah and the military events had massive effects on the price for oil: From 1979 to 1980 the amount that had to be paid for a barrel of oil rose from \$ 13 to \$ 34: Even if this figure appears quite low today, this was a shock to the world economy then.

Again there was no real shortage in this second oil crisis, because Saudi Arabia, the central strategic partner of the US, had already increased its production from 8.5 to 10.5 million barrels per day in 1978 at the request of the Empire, which could replace half of the lost Iranian oil.



Haggling for the upstream and downstream business

Federal Councillor Willy Spühler warned in 1965 against the oligopoly of large corporations

ts. The big oil companies distinguish two business units: upstream and downstream. The stream denotes the virtual oil flow from the wellhead to the consumer. Upstream means all activities leading to the establishment of a wellhead, i.e. the actual search for oil fields and the production from the well. Downstream includes all the activities from the wellhead to the customer such as loading of the raw material tanker, transport by pipeline to refineries, but also the refining of oil and delivery to customers.

Petroleum refineries – a privilege of large companies

In 2010, there were 660 refineries worldwide that, in part, specialized on various products. The processing takes place in 50 meter high vessels which are filled with the supplied crude oil. The processing of oil into various products is achieved by heating the whole mass. At the bottom there is the highest temperature. The different boiling points then lead to the separation of the products: available for sale in the vessel is the coldest part at the top, where 20 to 150

degrees Celsius are reached: This produces gas and gasoline. At 200 degrees kerosene can be extracted, at 300 degrees diesel and light fuel oil, at 370 degrees heavy oils and at 400 degrees heavy oils and bitumen. Out of a barrel of crude oil it is possible to extract 25 percent gasoline, 20 percent diesel and light fuel oil. The remains can be used for lubricants, bitumen and gas.

The large or so-called "integrated" oil companies such as Shell, BP, Exxon

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"If oil and gas no ..."

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... and are dubbed by CVP and PdA parliamentarians as "gangsters"

As to Switzerland, the Federal Council quickly realized that there was only a price crisis, but not a quota crisis. Although the state government still rated the supply situation as good, on 6 March 1979 it recommended to save energy by, for example, not exceeding 20 degrees of room temperature, driving no faster than 80 km/h on motorways etc.

Already in March 1979 a partial all-clear signal could be emitted, as the strong man in Iran, Khomeini, boosted the oil exports again to 3.5 million barrels per day – this was only a million less than before. Thus, the crisis was overcome.

Interestingly, however, the distrust in Switzerland against the international oil companies was even stronger than that against Khomeini. It was clear to many that the corporations owned an oligopoly, and since they still not granted an insight into their pricing, people had to assume that they took advantage of every opportunity to maximize their profits. This reinforced the call for reduction of oil dependency and the promotion of renewable energies.

CVP and PdA parliamentarians characterized the corporations even as "crooks" and "gangsters", who had benefited from the Iran crisis.

In an emergency war economic measures such as rationing, bans etc.

In September 1980, Federal Councillor Fritz Honegger pointed out that a closure of the Strait of Hormuz would be dangerous for Europe and Switzerland, because a quarter of the oil demands from the West would break away. Switzerland was

indeed prepared for such a case, however war economic instruments would have to be used such as enacting rationings, driving bans etc.. And *Werner Flachs*, the Delegate for National Economic Supply, commented the Iranians were not so irrational as to clip the oil route. Otherwise, Switzerland would probably have to rely on the western leading powers, which would certainly open the Strait of Hormuz again – a proposal which was at least controversial when considering the policy of neutrality!

The state government's warning of March 1981, that it was now really high time to take serious steps to reduce the one-sided dependence on oil, fizzled out into space, as oil prices slumped dramatically in November 1985, from 32 to 10 dollars. This happened because the US ally Saudi Arabia had begun to flood the markets – a process which showed once again that the price development of oil continued to be manipulated by the empire at will in this phase of history – all those who had long championed sustainable and renewable resources were left standing.

Right must come before power – not only for the benefit of the small states, but of all people on this planet

On 20 March 2003 the Federal Councillor *Pascal Couchepin* strictly condemned the US-led war against Iraq: the attack had not been approved by the UN Security Council and constituted a dangerous precedent that the US and the coalition had disregarded the UN Charter. However, it was of enormous importance that the UN Charter would be more respected in future. Switzerland declared its solidarity with the Iraqi civilians who had been suffering from the sanctions of 1990. Switzerland found support in this clear condemnation of the Unit-

ed States by the UN Secretary-General *Kofi Annan*, who clearly declared the Iraq War illegal with regard to international law on 16 September 2004. The fact that those responsible were therefore not brought before the ICC only shows that it is still so that power comes before right – a fact of which we hope that it is likely to change in a multi-polar world in the future.

This way into a world of (international) law, in which the UN Charter will be taken seriously again, could be crucially supported by a serious energy transition, away from fossil fuels and towards renewable forms of energy. By this a way of living together might be adopted, in which conflicts might be resolved through dialogue, without war, violence, and (state) terrorism.

With this concern the head of SIPER, the *Swiss Institute for Peace and Energy Studies*, *Daniele Ganser*, is fortunately not alone. A wide distribution is to be wished for his fundamental work "Europa im Erölrausch" (Europe in the oil rush) which provided the basis for this article, since it sharpens the perception and strengthens the will to work together with all those human beings striving for peace and supporting a fairer world. Simply because we know that we only have one life and only one planet. And it would be ridiculous if homo sapiens sapiens in the 21st century was finally not able to learn the lessons from history and to decide on the return: Starting with the energy transition is probably not the worst idea, or rather an essential step towards peace. •

Literature: Daniele Ganser. *Europa im Erölrausch. Die Folgen einer gefährlichen Abhängigkeit.*

Zurich, 2012. ISBN 978-3-280-05474-1

"Haggling for the upstream ..."

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Mobil, Chevron Texaco and Total cover the upstream as well as the downstream sector. *John D. Rockefeller* knew that such monopolies can yield enormous profits. So he bought almost all refineries in the United States in the 19th century. Reluctant sellers were ruined by predatory pricing.

In Germany, in the early 1930s, there were only refineries in operation, which could process intermediate products. The processing of crude oil had been the privilege of large companies.

Today there are about 100 refineries in Europe, at least one per EU member state with the exception of Luxembourg. The majority is located in Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain. However, the largest part is not controlled by domestic firms, but by the large international corporations. A fact which raises the issue of sovereignty – if it is possible at all to speak of national sovereignty in the corporate leaders' EU and in NATO member states!

Collombey: "Swiss" refinery founded by ENI ...

Now, how does Switzerland come into its various crude oil products? In 2010, two-thirds of the total need were imported in the form of finished products. One-third was imported as crude oil and processed in the Swiss refineries Collombey (VS) and Cressier (NE).

In 1960, Esso, Shell and BP Switzerland controlled 17 percent of imports in Switzerland each. The AVIA Association (Association of Swiss importers) –

founded in 1931 – controlled 11 percent, Total of France 5 percent and Migros, the Migros subsidiary, 2 percent.

Enrico Mattei of ENI, who was probably murdered later, built a refinery in Collombey for its pipeline in 1963. As there was no need in Switzerland for heavy oil, he had built a thermal power plant to generate electricity. Due to environmental concerns, the plant was built 450 meters elevated above the valley floor. The Chavalon power plant was supplied with a pipeline. In 1999 the plant had to be closed as oil prices were too high and the operation became unprofitable. The large corporations Esso, BP and Shell, after initial grumbling, started in the mid-60s to open a fierce price war against ENI to eliminate Collombey. The call for help from the ENI directors to the Federal Council remained unheard.

Captured by large corporations captured through price war

In this difficult situation ENI sought help from the Soviet Union. An unheard proceeding as the world was still in the midst of the Cold War. *Mattei's* call was answered: in 1965 *Leonid Brezhnev* granted the supply of cheap oil, so prices of US and British firms could be undercut. Unfortunately, this chance could not be used for a political thaw to soften the rigid fronts between East and West. In Switzerland, the fear of the "red oil" grew. Only the publisher "Vorwärts" was backing this move and showed the dependence on large western corporations. However, this position had no acceptance by a majority at that time. And ENI? On 1 June 1966, the Italian group had to ca-

pitulate in the price war. The laughing winners now took over the refinery Collombey: Esso took over 35 percent, BP 22 percent, AGIP – a subsidiary of ENI – held only 20 percent.

The critique of "Vorwärts" now was also joined by Migros founder *Gottlieb Duttweiler*: Rightly, they pointed out that the prices after eliminating competition would rise again!

In the longer term, the refinery in Collombey proved to be unprofitable and was sold by Esso to Total, to be in turn sold in 1990 to the Libyan state oil company National Oil Corporation NOC. NOC created the brand name Tamoil Suisse and invested about one billion Francs in Collombey. At the same time, a network of 300 service stations in Switzerland and 400 more in Germany were built.

Migros had to surrender to large corporations as well

In the 1950s, *Gottlieb Duttweiler's* Migros went into the downstream market. The Migros cooperative, by then had a wealth of experience in the undercutting of prices.

And so in 1954 Migros established the first gas station under the name Mig-

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"Petro Suisse" should have traded directly with oil-producing nations

ts. In 1931, the Swiss oil importers merged in a federation to be in a better position against the "Seven Sisters", the big seven, at that time market dominating multinational oil companies. They called the Association AVIA, following the term "Aviatik", because kerosene was traded as well. To date, AVIA has 85 members (SMEs = small and medium sized enterprises), 3000 gas stations in 14 European countries, 700 in Switzerland alone.

However, since AVIA was only active in the downstream business in the first decades after its foundation, there was a clear dependency on the already market-integrated oil companies. What could make more sense than to establish their own Swiss oil company, which would be able to integrate the upstream portfolio as well, as the big corporations did.

They could have entered into direct negotiations with the producer nations

and keep everything in their own hands, from the tanker to the refinery and gas station. So there were attempts directed to the Parliament in 1972 and especially after the crisis of 1973. Even the name had already been found: the integrated Swiss oil company should be called "Petro Suisse".

The Federal Council had a positive attitude towards the suggestion. The Council was extremely concerned about energy independence of the country. Member of the Federal Council *Ernst Brugger* noted, that oil was increasingly used as a political weapon. However, after a thorough examination of the matter he had to come to the following conclusion: Unfortunately, the suggestion is simply not affordable. And: The oil problem is one of the most difficult and delicate businesses which one can imagine. (See *Ganser*, pp. 163ff.)

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“... and your own emergency stock? Considerations in a politically unstable time

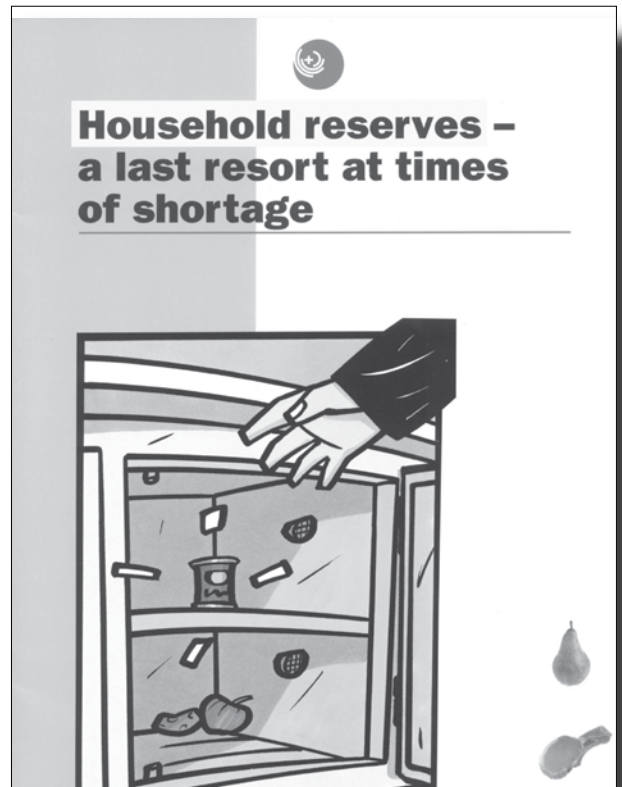
rt. The dangerous global political escalation that we are observing in Ukraine, urges us to reconsider the possible consequences for our lives. Warlike activities can be quickly expanded into the region equipped with 15 Ukrainian and 12 Russian nuclear power plants. Irregular combat units, of whatever stripe can trigger an international confrontation within hours which may lead to an open war. The possible effects of such a scenario are ranging from temporary supply shortages to a longer-term nuclear pollution with all its dangerous long-term consequences. Many people may feel reminded of the Chernobyl reactor accident and its continuing consequences to this day.

In mid-April the head of the Swiss army, André Blattmann, called the need for a domestic emergency stock to mind in regard to the current crisis situation. Although some media tried to downplay this advice, they were taken seriously in wide circles of the population.

Is your supply sufficient? Is it sufficient for your relatives, your neighbors? Depending on the assumed scenario, a possible emergency stock can vary. It might help you to get through a difficult time. You can get information about a short-term 7-day emergency supply (Kluger Rat – Notvorrat. BWL. www.bwl.admin.ch) by the Federal Office for National Economic Supply (BWL) or you can get advice about a possible power failure (www.bwl.admin.ch/dienstleistungen).

In addition to the actual instructions of the BWL, which are relatively scarce and apparently date from the times of the so-called “peace dividend”, it is really recommended to use older information. Therefore we have printed the list of goods from the brochure “Haushaltvorrat – Damit der Fall der Fälle nicht zur Falle wird” (household emergency stocks – to prevent that the emergency case does not become a trap) of the BWL from 1997 (see page 16), which is valid for a period of a fortnight. You will also find advice for a reasonable management of the stock.

Our supply situation with electricity requires further considerations. Electricity supply has been increasingly internationalized and has thus become more prone without considering sufficiently the aspect of a secure supply of the country. Many necessary facilities for living have been converted to electricity in the past decades. Just think of warehousing, health care, water pumps, transport, etc. The novel, “Blackout. Tomorrow will be too late,” by Marc Eisberg (2012. ISBN



978-3-442-38029-9) draws a possible scenario.

Let us hope that the conflict in Eastern Europe will come to a peaceful ending and also that it will lead to new possibilities of a peaceful conflict resolution. We are called up to take adequate precautions for the future.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

“Haggling for the upstream ...”

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rol. Its low price policy led to an actual gasoline price war, as the large corporations started to lower their prices as well. Migros’ attempt to get a foothold in the upstream business failed, however. The newly founded Migros refinery in Emden was the first refinery worldwide, which did not belong to large corporations. The oil was brought from Iran with their tankers when the rumour made the rounds that the British would sink the ships. Although this did not happen, the deficit-making refinery in Emden had to be sold in 1965. After that, Migros limited its activities to the downstream business, but remained in their criticism of the pricing policies of large corporations.

The Cressier refinery and the warning of the Federal Council on oligopolies

On 24 May 1966, Shell Switzerland and Gulf Oil Switzerland inaugurated the Cressier (NE) refinery. This meant that Switzerland had a second refinery, which also disposed of the biggest private railway station in the country. Cressier was supplied by a tap of the SEPL pipeline, the Olédud du Jura, which led from Besançon via the Vue des Alpes to Cressier.

Through the operation of the two refineries Switzerland experienced a real oil rush. While in 1953 Switzerland had imported 3 million tons per year which covered 47 percent of the country’s energy consumption, this rate had risen to 9 million tons in 1967 and a coverage of 72 percent and to 13 million tons and 78 percent coverage in 1970.

But the joy was limited as the risk of dependency was well-known. Federal Councillor *Spühler* warned on the oligopoly of large corporations. On the other hand, only imports of finished products could reduce this dependency.

In May 2000, Cressier was sold due to tight margins by Shell Switzerland. The company Petroplus, which operated in part from the Bermudas, bought refineries throughout Europe at the time until it finally went bankrupt in January 2012. This shows developments, which a population of a country that wants to remain sovereign, would have to take increased care of. Who wants to depend on crucial energy deliveries of dubious financial conglomerates? This, too, is a strong argument for the turnaround in energy policy!

List of items for the household reserves (basic reserve, supplementary reserve including emergency reserve, drinks reserve)

Food	Quantity	Examples	Storage time weeks	Storage time months
5. Milk products	2.5 kg	1 packet milk powder 1/2 l UHT milk 1 tin unsweetened condensed milk 1/4 l UHT coffee cream 1/4 l UHT cream	2-4	6-12 3 12
-Sources of protein*	2.0 kg	1 packet soft cheese* 1 bag fondue mixture, ready made 1 packet custard powder	10	6 6 6
2. Meat	2.0 kg	1 tin ham* 1 tin corned beef* 1 tin Vienna sausages hard sausages (salami, smoked sausages, raw ham etc.) 1 tin spam* 1 tin pâté* 6 eggs tin each of tuna-fish, sardines, or mackerel* pulses (lentils etc.)	2	12 12 12 4-6 4-6 4-6 12 12
3. Fruit	2.0 kg	3 x 1/2 tin of tinned fruit* stewed apples apricots peaches etc. dried fruit* sliced apples, plums, apricots, raisins		12 12 12 12 6-12 6-12
-Sources of minerals and vitamins*	2.0 kg	3 x 1/2 tin of tinned vegetables* carrots peas salsify mushrooms dried vegetables* beans, mushrooms salad* celery, maize, beetroot - in glasses - in aluminium bag		12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 6
5. Potatoes	4.0 kg	1 kg potatoes, fresh 1 packet potato flakes 1 packet wholemeal bread 1 packet rusks* 1 packet crispbread* 1 packet pasta* 1 packet rice or maize 1 packet oat/cereal flakes 1 - 2 kg flour (for bread add extra quantity) 1 packet biscuits (no filling)* 1 packet salt biscuits*	8-12	12 6-12 6-12 12 12 12 4-6 4-6 3-6
-Sources of energy*			6-12	3-6
6. Fats Oils	1 - 1 1/2 kg	1 bottle sunflower, maize or rapeseed oil* 1 bottle groundnut oil (heatable)* 1 tin clarified butter* 1 cube margarine*	4-12	9 12 4-6
-Sources of energy*	2.0 kg	1 kg refined sugar for preserves* 1 glass honey 1 glass jam* 1 packet artificial sweetener 1 packet chocolate without nuts*		over 12 over 12 over 12 over 12 over 12
7. Sugar Honey Jam Chocolate	2.0 kg			
-Sources of energy*	1.0 kg	1 glass instant stock or stock concentrate 1 packet salt-containing iodine dried vegetable soup powder dried kitchen herbs and spices as desired mustard, mayonnaise, tomato puree, ketchup 1 bottle vinegar 1 packet baking powder 1 packet dried yeast		over 12 over 12 over 12 over 12 6 6 12 12 3
8. Spices	1.0 kg			
9. Drinks	9 - 12 l	6 l mineral water 3 l fruit and vegetable juices 1 bottle concentrated lemon syrup 1 packet vacuum packed ground coffee or instant coffee 1 packet tea 1 packet herbal tea 1 packet chocolate powder 1 packet breakfast drink	6	12 6 12 12 12 6 6
10. Prepared meals	to taste	"Berner Platte" goulash with potatoes ravioli lasagne (aluminium packed) stew röschli with bacon (in aluminium bag) torrefilled, dried soup packages possibly with reduced salt content, quick lunch coffee filters, bottle opener, rubbish bags, camping stove with accessories, matches, candles, tooth paste, soap, toiletries, cleaning and laundry articles, pet foods, batteries (radio and torch), woollen blankets, documents (easily accessible), vitamins, emergency medicines		12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12 12

This list shows you how to make up your household reserves per person for 14 days (drinks for at least 2 days). Quantities refer to the packaging units habitually found in shops. This means that in some cases the examples given when added together exceed the recommended quantity.

Key: Basic reserves*, emergency reserves*

The different colours in sections 1 to 6 indicate the food groups. To make up your body's daily requirement of all the necessary foods and fibres, all main meals as well as additional meals every day should draw on all groups. Foods in the same group are exchangeable.

Source: "Lebendiger kein 'eiserner' Vorrat" (A fresh, not an iron reserve) Basler Konsumenten Vereinigung, © Renate Bühmann.

