

October 2009

No 19

ISSN 1422-8831

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# 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

## Looking for the Common and Connecting Grounds instead of the Separating and Instigating Ones

**Switzerland as a protective power – an island of peace serving the nations**

*It already belongs to history and is at risk to be covered by the flood of media information or sink into oblivion: the state visit of the Russian President Dmitry Medvedev in Switzerland. This should be reason enough to remember the process of deepening the friendship between our two states which was successfully accomplished during the two days of the visit and to have a short glance into the impressive history of our country, much appreciated by Medvedev. Above all, the choice of visited locations brought back various memories to quite a few Swiss people.*

Terms like "Cold War", "confrontation of the two power blocs East against West" or also the extremely frightening "mutual assured destruction" might have come to one or the other Swiss citizens' minds when Medvedev visited Switzerland. Twenty years have passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union, however. Since then, Russia is confronted with enormous, not only homemade problems, while the West under the guidance of the only remaining superpower USA led the world again into a period of various blazing wars. One war after the other was started, all of them in violation of international law, severely violating the Nuremberg principles, the UN Charter and since 1999 the statutes of the International Criminal Court. None of the responsible individuals in the West was ever held accountable. All this was accompanied by the USA's and NATO's illegal raging in ex Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq together with a sharp propaganda against the former rival of Cold War times, Russia, with President Vladimir Putin and today with Dmitry Medvedev.

A flood of colored revolutions under the guidance of western secret services was to completely destabilize Russia – the main power in Eurasia – a schedule designed by the former security advisor of Jimmy Carter and today's shade behind Obama, Zbigniew Brzezinski. As early as in his book *The Grand Chessboard*, Brzezinski had openly demanded to divide this country, which is rich in resources, into three parts. We have to be aware of this juggernaut of propaganda managed by highly paid spin-doctors in US-American PR-agencies, if we want to have an impartial view on the relationship to Russia in 2009, or deal with all aspects of Medvedev's state visit in Switzerland and its historical meaning.

### Chingiz Aitmatov as a bridge builder between the East and the West

Reagan's propaganda term "Evil Empire" still resounds in some people's ears. How-

ever, how did the people in Russia and the former Soviet Union, people like you and me feel and how do they feel today?

People in the West forget too soon that in 1944 it was the population of Russia, although rather isolated, who defied Nazi barbarism. People in the West forget too fast that Stalin's offers to establish a pact against Hitler were disgracefully rejected, in the hope that the two dictators would tear each other apart, so that the West could then get hold of the estate. People in the West forget too often that only after that the non-aggression pact between Hitler and Stalin was settled. People also forget how many millions in Russia lost their lives, how the necessary defense against Hitler forced them, mostly against their convictions, to gather around Stalin. For too long a time, people in the West looked down on the Russians, ignored their suffering and put the person of Stalin into the foreground. A different perspective we owe the great Kirgiz Chingiz Aitmatow who dealt with all aspects of the former multiethnic state Soviet Union in his unprecedented novels. He honored the Russians as people living under terrible conditions and did not perceive them merely as Communists.

The exchange of ideas between the Russian President and his Swiss hosts served this peace work, this looking for the common and connecting grounds instead of separating and instigating ones.

### Placing the connective elements into the foreground

In the present time of baseless, power-political agitation against Switzerland steered by monetary interests, the Russian President – like hardly anyone before and in profound expertise of Swiss history – paid tribute to the model of direct democracy. He also paid tribute to the everlasting armed neutrality and the efforts of the Swiss population to commemorate the people who exactly 210 years ago had entered Swiss territory under their general Suvorov in the fight against Napoleon.

Medvedev's visit to the Schöllenen-schlucht (Schöllenen Gorge) was not about the glorification of war, as had been falsely spread here and there unaware of the historical truth, but about the acknowledgement of human beings, who had had to escape their enemy across snow-covered alpine passes in the uniform of soldiers. The fact that thereby Swiss civilians were hurt by the foreign troops will never be forgotten; it worked to the effect that our forefathers put even more pressure on the fact that they were spared the passage of foreign troops in the future. The determination to the everlasting armed neutrality, which was confirmed as a vested right at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 with Russian support and, was guaranteed in a declaration of the European superpowers.

The visit of the Russian President and his reception by Swiss authorities and the population was not characterized by resentment, but by a common human solidarity recalling those distant shared sufferings. In exactly the same way as veterans of the Second World War on either side visit each other as seniors and shake hands as a symbol of reconciliation, the Swiss population in reverence for the young Russians, who had died far away from their homeland.

Should we not learn from Medvedev's reception and the visit to the Schöllenen-schlucht to abstain from prejudices, prop-

aganda and warmongering and place the connective grounds first? Medvedev honored Switzerland for its distance to the large power blocs like the European Union and NATO. This is a model, which other states might also strive for.

However, how many statesmen, including the Swiss, are nowadays able or willing to appreciate our peace model Switzerland?

### War as a condition in which mankind is "despoiled of the treasure of the soul"

Today, people also know what the alternative to a peaceful co-existence is: massacres, misery, despair, pain and hate. Who else but the great German poet Andreas Gryphius expressed this in a more moving way. Gryphius had to experience the terrible Thirty Years' War in Europe. His words are not outdated: In 1636 he created the poem "Tears of the Homeland":

We are now wholly – nay more than wholly – devastated!  
*The band of presumptuous nations, the blaring trumpet,  
the sword greasy with blood, the thundering cannon  
have consumed everyone's sweat and industry and provisions.  
The towers are on fire, the church is cast down,  
the town hall lies in ruins, the strong are maimed,  
the virgins raped, and wherever we look  
there is [nothing but] fire, plague, and death that pierces heart and mind.  
Here through the bulwarks and the town ever-fresh blood is running.  
Three times six years ago the water of our rivers  
slowly found its way past the corpses that almost blocked it;  
but I will say nothing of what is worse than death itself,  
more dreadful than the plague and fire and famine –  
that so many have been despoiled of the treasure of the soul.*

(Penguin Book of German Verse)

In this poem, Gryphius shows that war always means a loss of the "treasure of the soul", i.e. that people are barbarized and brutalized by war, and that it takes a long time until all the mental scars will have been healed. The Peace of Westphalia ending the Thirty Years' War brought relief to the maltreated population in Central Europe, even if many municipalities needed decades to recover and some of them were never rebuilt.

### Actively "sitting still" in the Thirty Years' War ...

This peace agreement granted the Swiss the acknowledgment of their sovereignty by international law. Besides, they were marked as "island of peace", as the Swiss were "sitting still" despite many Swiss mercenaries on European battlefields because of their neutrality. This successfully operated policy of neutrality and this sparing the country the war which the Russian President so much appreciated, particularly strengthened the feeling of solidarity in Switzerland. However, how did the model of today's actively "sitting still" develop in the case of conflicts? Moreover, which aspects of the model may other nations take over?

Compared to the later state maxim of the everlasting armed neutrality, the above-mentioned old neutrality of the Swiss federation was only weakly developed. It included the integration of religious refugees and attempts to mediate (e.g. in 1636 in the Thirty Years' War) and the organizing of peace conferences. (1714 Peace of Baden, 1795 Peace of Basel)

After the occupation by Napoleons' troops in 1798, Switzerland had to enter into an offensive alliance with France. Thus, neutrality was given up and as a consequence, our country became a theater of war and marching-through area during the Napoleonic Wars. That none of warmongering powers, i.e. neither France nor its allies respected Swiss neutrality and that sovereignty got lost, was deeply engraved into the minds and memories of our ancestors. The later born generation should take good heed of that, particularly as they are today witness to worldwide wars with their mass misery.

Homelessness, hunger, traumatization, war orphans, as we can see them on TV screens from today's theaters of war, that was then a part of everyday life in Switzerland. Among others, the great artist Albert Anker captured this in his paintings for future generations. His heart-moving painting "Die Länderkinder" depicts the fate of the orphans from Nidwalden, whose parents had been slaughtered by the Frenchmen, because they had revolted against foreign rule. In an act of friendly Swiss federal solidarity the population of Murten accepted the scared orphans, cared for them like for their own brood and thus strengthened the internal Swiss federal co-operation. The Swiss population did, however, not only render this service to their own children in emergency, but also granted help during the world wars when they accepted children from theaters of war. The "Swiss donation" became famous, which enabled starving children from the former enemy's country Germany to recover – fed by a Swiss population, who during World War II had likewise been suffering from food shortages.

### ... to the everlasting neutrality of 1815

Considering all the misery, which war brings to a country, it is the more understandable that our forefathers, on the occasion of the Congress of Vienna, (1814-15) insisted on a warranty of our neutrality. It was a great moment not only in Swiss history but also in European history, and the Russian President Medvedev fully appreciated this with his visit to Switzerland. He rightly referred to the participation of his country Russia, when in the heart of Europe a model was shaped how to behave in case of conflicts: as a neutral mediator, averse to any idea of attack. Thus the great powers Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia and Russia issued the "Acte portant reconnaissance et garantie de la neutralité perpétuelle de la Suisse et de l'inviolabilité de son territoire", on 20 November 1815. This first acknowledgment of the everlasting neutrality of Switzerland under international law had been formulated in all substantial points by the Genevan Charles Pictet-de Rochemont. It was particularly important to the Swiss that the great powers were not allowed to derive – from this warranty of neutrality – a right to intervention.

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Albert Anker: "Die Länderkinder", 1876. Anker's impressive picture which shows the reception of the war orphans of central Switzerland in Murten is exhibited in the Musée d'art et d'histoire in Neuchâtel. In the magazine "revue suisse des beaux arts" from May/June 1877 Anker's picture was described as follows: Children driven from their homes by hunger are received and accommodated by citizens of a Swiss city. The children are gathered on a public square, they are surrounded, questioned and led away by the inhabitants who had been roused from their peaceful lives by the event. Serenity and motion can be read in the citizens' faces, fatigue and amazement in the young refugees' faces; the picture conveys the general impression of great simplicity and truth.

#### "Looking for the Common and ..." continued from page 1

##### **Republican thorn in the side of the monarchies**

Thus strengthened, Switzerland succeeded in refraining from participation in the wars of agreement and liberation as well as from the French-German War (1870 to 1871). Seen as the republican thorn in the side of all surrounding monarchies, Switzerland was now strong enough to fight off the pressure and threats to intervention.

By its armed neutrality, Switzerland was reputed as a predictable, stabilizing and peace-promoting element in the European balance of power. In 1815 the great powers had therefore explained that the neutral independence of Switzerland corresponded to the true interests of the policies of all of Europe.

In the following, the Swiss population was grateful for its neutrality, and assigned Swiss diplomats to make their good services available. So for example, Swiss envoys organized the evacuation of the civilian population from besieged Strasbourg during the French-German War.

And when Switzerland had accommodated, vetted and fed Austrian troops from Italy and the *Bourbaki* Army from France in 1871, it succeeded in turning its experiences into an acknowledged set of rules for the internment of foreign troops on neutral ground at a conference in Brussels in 1874.

For the first time in 1870, Switzerland offered its good services as a protective power representing the interests of belligerent states and its members. Likewise, Switzerland helped with the development of arbitral proceedings for a peaceful settlement of controversies and granted hospitality to international organizations and conferences.

The probably best-known contribution was the founding of the Red Cross. And on the occasion of an international conference in 1864, the foundation stones for the Geneva Convention and the Humanitarian International Law of War were laid.

##### **Good services of Switzerland today**

And what about the good services of Switzerland today? Let us listen to the words of

political scientist Alois Riklin in his contribution about neutrality in the historical encyclopedia of Switzerland: "Until today Switzerland has accommodated the European head office and numerous special agencies of the UN. It mentored the conferences of states for the advancement of the Geneva Convention of 1949 and the Additional Protocols of 1977 and, among others, as protective power it took on the representation of the US interests in Cuba starting from 1961 and in Iran starting from 1979. Furthermore, important conferences (in 1954 Indo-China Conference, in 1955 Geneva Summit Conference, 1960-61 Conference of Algeria, SALT and START negotiations, in 1985

summit meeting between Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev) took place in Switzerland. Despite Switzerland's non-membership, the UN entrusted the Swiss with high-ranking mandates. In peace-keeping operations of the UN, Switzerland confined itself to material help, contrary to the other neutral states."

The list could be continued any way you like, for example by the protective power mandate of Switzerland for Russia and Georgia as well as for Iran and the USA which are now fortunately approaching each other. Moreover, it was Geneva again, which offered Iran and the Western powers room for discussions outside the city area last week.

##### **Mankind – a family**

If these lines reminded the reader what the terror of war actually consists of, and of the importance of a conciliatory attitude between former opponents, of a small neutral state's invaluable services for the world peace, of the fact that wars always leave mental scars, and of the fact, that actually everything concerning war and peace has already been said and reflected, we could only come to one conclusion: Wake up mankind, change your mind. Learn from the teachings of history, and establish peace – here and now, for you and your kind, but also in other places and in the future, for all human beings, because they are your brothers, members of one family, the family of man.



Albert Anker: "Heinrich Pestalozzi and the orphans at Stans". Oil on canvas, 1870. The picture is exhibited in the Kunsthaus Zürich.

**Current Concerns** is an independent journal produced by volunteers that is not supported by advertising. Any financial contribution is greatly appreciated.

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Subscription details:

published regularly

annual subscription rates: SFr. 72. –

€ 45. – / £ 28. – / \$ 66. – (incl. postage and VAT)

Account: Postscheck-Konto: PC 87-644472-4

Printers: Druckerei Nüssli, Mellingen, Switzerland

The editors reserve the right to shorten letters to the editor. Letters to the editor do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of *Current Concerns*.

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## “A World without Nuclear Weapons”

### President Obama’s Speech at the UN Security Council Summit on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament, 24 September 2009

[...] I wish to warmly welcome the distinguished heads of state and government, the General -- the Secretary General, the Director General of the IAEA, ministers and other distinguished representatives present in the Security Council chamber. Your presence is an affirmation of the importance of the subject matter to be discussed.

[...] I want to thank again everybody who is in attendance. I wish you all good morning. In the six-plus decades that this Security Council has been in existence, only four other meetings of this nature have been convened. I called for this one so that we may address at the highest level a fundamental threat to the security of all peoples and all nations: the spread and use of nuclear weapons.

As I said yesterday, this very institution was founded at the dawn of the atomic age, in part because man's capacity to kill had to be contained. And although we averted a nuclear nightmare during the Cold War, we now face proliferation of a scope and complexity that demands new strategies and new approaches. Just one nuclear weapon exploded in a city -- be it New York or Moscow; Tokyo or Beijing; London or Paris -- could kill hundreds of thousands of people. And it would badly destabilize our security, our economies, and our very way of life.

Once more, the United Nations has a pivotal role to play in preventing this crisis. The historic resolution we just adopted enshrines our shared commitment to the goal of a *world without nuclear weapons*. And it brings Security Council agreement on a broad framework for action to reduce nuclear dangers as we work toward that goal. It reflects the agenda I outlined in Prague, and builds on a consensus that all nations have the right to peaceful nuclear energy; that nations with nuclear weapons have the responsibility to move toward disarmament; and those without them have the responsibility to forsake them.



*UN Security Council in New York. “All the heads of state were sitting at the family table in the Security Council’s room.” (Ban Ki Moon on 5 October 2009 in Geneva) (picture reuters)*

Today, the Security Council endorsed a global effort to lock down all vulnerable nuclear materials within four years. The United States will host a summit next April to advance this goal and help all nations achieve it. This resolution will also help strengthen the institutions and initiatives that combat the smuggling, financing, and theft of proliferation-related materials. It calls on all states to freeze any financial assets that are being used for proliferation. And it calls for strong

safeguards to reduce the likelihood that peaceful nuclear weapons programs can be diverted to a weapons program -- that peaceful nuclear programs can be diverted to a weapons program.

The resolution we passed today will also strengthen the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We have made it clear that the Security Council has both the authority and the responsibility to respond to violations to this treaty. We've made it clear that the Security Council has both the authority and responsibility to determine and respond as necessary when violations of this treaty threaten international peace and security.

That includes full compliance with Security Council resolutions on Iran and North Korea. Let me be clear: This is not about singling out individual nations -- it is about

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**“All of us can make our own contribution. And I am sure that together we will be able to create a kind of political mass of political will to make sure that the new nuclear disarmament agenda becomes real and irreversible progress.”**

*Mikhail Gorbachev, at the UN in Geneva, 5 October 2009*

## “Jointly Address the Challenges”

### President Dmitry Medvedev’s Speech at the UN Security Council Summit on Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Nuclear Disarmament, 24 September 2009

*Ladies and gentlemen,*  
I expect this session of the Security Council, invoked through an initiative by President of the United States *Barack Obama*, to contribute to resolving a variety of international problems, first and foremost in nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear disarmament.

I believe it is evident to everyone today that security is an indivisible concept. Security is influenced not only by tension in conflict areas around the globe, but also by instability within some nations. If we want the global community's joint efforts to be effective, we must discuss the problems that have accumulated, openly, thoroughly, and profoundly; we must analyse their every aspect and offer well-balanced common decisions. That is precisely the purpose of the Security Council resolution that we have just approved. The measures contained therein make up a realistic action plan for the international community to respond effectively to nuclear threats of general concern.

Russia has always been a reliable and predictable partner in promoting nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. Russia and the United States have undertaken an unprecedented reduction in strategic nuclear arsenals within the framework of Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). At the

same time, we have repeatedly stated that we are ready to go even further, to reduce our arsenals of strategic offensive arms carriers more than three-fold. I now again confirm such an intention. At the moment, this proposal is under discussion and is being negotiated between us and our American partners. As we have agreed with the President of the United States, we are also ready to jointly address the challenges of missile proliferation. We expect that all interested states will get involved with the matter as well. Today's session is the prologue to large-scale, serious work, which should have a major effect on improving the global situation. It will involve a summit on nuclear security that is scheduled for next year, as well as a conference where we will look into the performance of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and sign a new, legally-binding Russian-American Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. We are doing everything possible to be ready to sign this document by December.

Our common goal is to resolve problems of non-proliferation and disarmament. Clearly, this cannot be done instantaneously as there is too high a level of distrust between states. However, it must be done. I particularly want to emphasise that the non-proliferation

situation is improving less rapidly than we would like. We see that the long-standing, traditional threats have not gone, while new threats are arising. As the other national leaders who have already addressed this session mentioned, one of the most dangerous potential threats is the threat of nuclear components falling into the hands of terrorists. I think you would all agree that the current system of security in this field needs modernisation, and we must brainstorm together on ways to make it updated and effective.

We also need to give some serious attention to the issue of peaceful nuclear energy. No doubt, new nuclear power plants are critical to the resolution of many problems, first and foremost in developing nations; they can stimulate economic growth in entire regions and improve living standards for millions of people all over the world. But nations implementing such programmes must strictly observe nonproliferation agreements. I am specifically emphasising this issue here, at the Security Council.

I would like to talk about what we perceive to be the priorities for international cooperation in this very important area. There are several. First, it is imperative to continue improving and strengthening the global regulations on non-proliferation and disarmament. They should be based on international mechanisms and, most importantly, on the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. We should also improve the International Atomic Energy Agency's system of safeguards and ensure its universal application.

Second, we must strive to urgently sign the Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and see it ratified by the major nations, which

### Nobel Peace Prize for Obama

“The Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided that the Nobel Peace Prize for 2009 is to be awarded to President *Barack Obama* for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples. The Committee has attached special importance to Obama's vision of and work for a world without nuclear weapons.

[...] The vision of a world free from nuclear arms has powerfully stimulated disarmament and arms control negotiations. Thanks to Obama's initiative, the USA is now playing a more constructive role in meeting the great climatic challenges the world is confronting.

[...] Democracy and human rights are to be strengthened. Only very rarely has a person to the same extent as Obama captured the world's attention and given its people hope for a better future. [...]

Extract from the Nobel Prize Committee's substantiation of the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to *Barack Obama*.

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*Radio DRS: The strategy expert Christoph Bertram has been studying conflicts and conflict solutions for years. He has been director of the Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik (Foundation Science and Politics) in Berlin. I asked him for his reaction to the announcement of the Oslo Nobel Prize Committee.*

*Christoph Bertram:* I am surprised and at first I was full of doubts. What is this all about? The man has been in office only for eight months. What has he actually accomplished? And then I told myself: How cynical have we become by now? This man has made a series of very surprising statements. He has declared that he was going to commit himself to the first steps to attaining a world without nuclear weapons. A world without nuclear weapons! Since the first days of his presidency he actually has opened his hand towards the Islamic world. He has tried to achieve a new relationship with the Islamic world and this remains an important topic for him which he wants to continue. From the very beginning he said that the settlements on the Westbank have to be stopped so that the peace process may go on. And he has abolished the hindrances in the relationship to Russia, the planning of the rocket shield in Poland and Czechia. All these are astonishing steps and we would probably not have trusted in any other president to act like that. And now he must show whether he is able to go on with this. However, he has already changed the world's atmosphere, there is no doubt about that. [...].

*Astonishing steps, you said. But all this is rhetoric so far, these are merely declarations of intention in all these fields.*

Well, we cannot be so naive as to believe that the world is going to change that rapidly. But someone comes and says: I am going to do it. Maybe the awarding of the Nobel Prize will strengthen his will and help to drive it home to him that his words must now be followed by deeds [...].

*The Nobel Prize Committee's change of course is interesting. It is no longer the past merits that are rewarded, as it used to be, but future hopes. How is this to be assessed?*

Well, I have a diverse opinion here: I believe that there are existing merits. Just think how the attitude towards America has changed internationally; how all of a sudden people nourish hope that it is possible to get on by agreement; that the whole range of threats that Bush used to play on has been abandoned; suddenly there is hope that the good old multi-lateral method of diplomacy is also being supported by the most important power of the world -- all these are real changes... And to repeat the question over and over again: well, when is all this going to be put into practice? Did we really believe that this is possible so rapidly? No, we should not be so resentful, we should congratulate the man and we should hope that this prize has strengthened his intentions to go on with what he has begun.

Source: *Radio DRS 1, “Echo der Zeit”, 9 October 2009*

#### Medvedev Congratulates Obama on Winning Nobel Peace Prize

“I think this Nobel Committee decision is evidence of a realistic vision of the dynamics of global development. I hope that it will serve as an additional impetus to our joint work to create a new climate in international politics and promote initiatives of crucial importance for global security [...]”

*Source: <http://news.xinhuanet.com>*

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## Resolution 1887 (2009) Adopted by the Security Council on 24 September 2009

*The Security Council,*

Resolving to seek a safer world for all and to create the conditions for a world without nuclear weapons, in accordance with the goals of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), in a way that promotes international stability, and based on the principle of undiminished security for all,

Reaffirming the Statement of its President adopted at the Council's meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government on 31 January 1992 (S/23500), including the need for all Member States to fulfil their obligations in relation to arms control and disarmament and to prevent proliferation in all its aspects of all weapons of mass destruction,

Recalling also that the above Statement (S/23500) underlined the need for all Member States to resolve peacefully in accordance with the Charter any problems in that context threatening or disrupting the maintenance of regional and global stability,

Reaffirming that proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and their means of delivery, constitutes a threat to international peace and security,

Bearing in mind the responsibilities of other organs of the United Nations and relevant international organizations in the field of disarmament, arms control and non-proliferation, as well as the Conference on Disarmament, and supporting them to continue to play their due roles,

Underlining that the NPT remains the cornerstone of the nuclear non-proliferation regime and the essential foundation for the pursuit of nuclear disarmament and for the peaceful uses of nuclear energy,

Reaffirming its firm commitment to the NPT and its conviction that the international nuclear non-proliferation regime should be maintained and strengthened to ensure its effective implementation, and recalling in this regard the outcomes of past NPT Review Conferences, including the 1995 and 2000 final documents,

Calling for further progress on all aspects of disarmament to enhance global security, Recalling the Statement by its President adopted at the Council's meeting held on 19 November 2008 (S/PRST/2008/43),

Welcoming the decisions of those non-nuclear-weapon States that have dismantled their nuclear weapons programs or renounced the possession of nuclear weapons,

Welcoming the nuclear arms reduction and disarmament efforts undertaken and accomplished by nuclear-weapon States, and underlining the need to pursue further efforts in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, in accordance with Article VI of the NPT,

Welcoming in this connection the decision of the Russian Federation and the United States of America to conduct negotiations to conclude a new comprehensive legally binding agreement to replace the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, which expires in December 2009,

Welcoming and supporting the steps taken to conclude nuclear-weapon-free zone treaties and reaffirming the conviction that the establishment of internationally recognized nuclear-weapon-free zones on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the States of the region concerned, and in accordance with the 1999 United Nations Disarmament Commission guidelines, enhances global and regional peace and security, strengthens the nuclear non-proliferation regime, and contributes toward realizing the objectives of nuclear disarmament, Noting its support, in this context, for the convening of the Second Conference of States Parties and signatories of the Treaties that establish Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones to be held in New York on 30 April 2010,

Reaffirming its resolutions 825 (1993), 1695 (2006), 1718 (2006), and 1874 (2009),

Reaffirming its resolutions 1696 (2006), 1737 (2006), 1747 (2007), 1803 (2008), and 1835 (2008),

Reaffirming all other relevant non-proliferation resolutions adopted by the Security Council, Gravely concerned about the threat of nuclear terrorism, and recognizing the need for all States to take effective measures to prevent nuclear material or technical assistance becoming available to terrorists,

Noting with interest the initiative to convene, in coordination with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), an international conference on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, Expressing its support for the convening of the 2010 Global Summit on Nuclear Security, Affirming its support for the Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material and its 2005 Amendment, and the Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism, Recognizing the progress made by the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, and the G-8 Global Partnership, Noting the contribution of civil society in promoting all the objectives of the NPT,

Reaffirming its resolution 1540 (2004) and the necessity for all States to implement fully the measures contained therein, and calling upon all Member States and international and regional organizations to cooperate actively with the Committee established pursuant to that resolution, including in the course of the comprehensive review as called for in resolution 1810 (2008),

1. Emphasizes that a situation of non-compliance with non-proliferation obligations shall be brought to the attention of the Security Council, which will determine if that situation constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and emphasizes the Security Council's primary responsibility in addressing such threats;

2. Calls upon States Parties to the NPT to comply fully with all their obligations and fulfil their commitments under the Treaty,

3. Notes that enjoyment of the benefits of the NPT by a State Party can be assured only by its compliance with the obligations thereunder;

4. Calls upon all States that are not Parties to the NPT to accede to the Treaty as non-nuclear-weapon States so as to achieve its universality at an early date, and pending their accession to the Treaty, to adhere to its terms;

5. Calls upon the Parties to the NPT, pursuant to Article VI of the Treaty, to undertake to pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to nuclear arms reduction and disarmament, and on a Treaty on general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and calls on all other States to join in this endeavour;

6. Calls upon all States Parties to the NPT to cooperate so that the 2010 NPT Review Conference can successfully strengthen the Treaty and set realistic and achievable goals in all the Treaty's three pillars: non-proliferation, the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and disarmament;

7. Calls upon all States to refrain from conducting a nuclear test explosion and to sign and ratify the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), thereby bringing the treaty into force at an early date;

8. Calls upon the Conference on Disarmament to negotiate a Treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices as soon as possible, welcomes the Conference on Disarmament's adoption by consensus of its Program of Work in 2009, and requests all Member States to cooperate in guiding the Conference to an early commencement of substantive work;

9. Recalls the statements by each of the five nuclear-weapon States, noted by resolution 984 (1995), in which they give security assurances against the use of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon State Parties to the NPT, and affirms that such security assurances strengthen the nuclear non-proliferation regime;

10. Expresses particular concern at the current major challenges to the non-proliferation regime that the Security Council has acted upon, demands that the parties concerned comply fully with their obligations under the relevant Security Council resolutions, and reaffirms its call upon them to find an early negotiated solution to these issues;

11. Encourages efforts to ensure development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy by countries seeking to maintain or develop their capacities in this field in a framework that reduces proliferation risk and adheres to the highest international standards for safeguards, security, and safety;

12. Underlines that the NPT recognizes in Article IV the inalienable right of the Parties to the Treaty to develop research, production and use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes without discrimination and in conformity with Articles I and II, and recalls in this context Article III of the NPT and Article II of the IAEA Statute;

13. Calls upon States to adopt stricter national controls for the export of sensitive goods and technologies of the nuclear fuel cycle;

14. Encourages the work of the IAEA on multilateral approaches to the nuclear fuel cycle, including assurances of nuclear fuel supply and related measures, as effective means of addressing the expanding need for nuclear fuel and nuclear fuel services and minimizing the risk of proliferation, and urges the IAEA Board of Governors to agree upon measures to this end as soon as possible;

15. Affirms that effective IAEA safeguards are essential to prevent nuclear proliferation and to facilitate cooperation in the field of peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and in that regard:

a. Calls upon all non-nuclear-weapon States party to the NPT that have yet to bring into force a comprehensive safeguards agreement or a modified small quantities protocol to do so immediately,

b. Calls upon all States to sign, ratify and implement an additional protocol, which together with comprehensive safeguards agreements constitute essential elements of the IAEA safeguards system,

c. Stresses the importance for all Member States to ensure that the IAEA continue to have all the necessary resources and authority to verify the declared use of nuclear materials and facilities and the absence of undeclared activities, and for the IAEA to report to the Council accordingly as appropriate;

16. Encourages States to provide the IAEA with the cooperation necessary for it to verify whether a state is in compliance with its safeguards obligations, and affirms the Security Council's resolve to support the IAEA's efforts to that end, consistent with its authorities under the Charter;

17. Undertakes to address without delay any State's notice of withdrawal from the NPT, including the events described in the statement provided by the State pursuant to Article X of the Treaty, while noting ongoing discussions in the course of the NPT review on identifying modalities under which NPT States Parties could collectively respond to notification of withdrawal, and affirms that a State remains responsible under international law for violations of the NPT committed prior to its withdrawal;

18. Encourages States to require as a condition of nuclear exports that the recipient State agree that, in the event that it should terminate, withdraw from, or be found by the IAEA Board of Governors to be in non-compliance with its IAEA safeguards agreement, the supplier state would have a right to require the return of nuclear material and equipment provided prior to such termination, non-compliance or withdrawal, as well as any special nuclear material produced through the use of such material or equipment;

19. Encourages States to consider whether a recipient State has signed and ratified an additional protocol based on the model

additional protocol in making nuclear export decisions;

20. Urges States to require as a condition of nuclear exports that the recipient State agree that, in the event that it should terminate its IAEA safeguards agreement, safeguards shall continue with respect to any nuclear material and equipment provided prior to such termination, as well as any special nuclear material produced through the use of such material or equipment;

21. Calls for universal adherence to the Convention on Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials and its 2005 Amendment, and the Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism;

22. Welcomes the March 2009 recommendations of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1540 (2004) to make more effective use of existing funding mechanisms, including the consideration of the establishment of a voluntary fund, and affirms its commitment to promote full implementation of resolution 1540 (2004) by Member States by ensuring effective and sustainable support for the activities of the 1540 Committee;

23. Reaffirms the need for full implementation of resolution 1540 (2004) by Member States and, with an aim of preventing access to, or assistance and financing for, weapons of mass destruction, related materials and their means of delivery by non-State actors, as defined in the resolution, calls upon Member States to cooperate actively with the Committee established pursuant to that resolution and the IAEA, including rendering assistance, at their request, for their implementation of resolution 1540 (2004) provisions, and in this context welcomes the forthcoming comprehensive review of the status of implementation of resolution 1540 (2004) with a view to increasing its effectiveness, and calls upon all States to participate actively in this review;

24. Calls upon Member States to share best practices with a view to improved safety standards and nuclear security practices and raise standards of nuclear security to reduce the risk of nuclear terrorism, with the aim of securing all vulnerable nuclear material from such risks within four years;

25. Calls upon all States to manage responsibly and minimize to the greatest extent that is technically and economically feasible the use of highly enriched uranium for civilian purposes, including by working to convert research reactors and radioisotope production processes to the use of low enriched uranium fuels and targets;

26. Calls upon all States to improve their national capabilities to detect, deter, and disrupt illicit trafficking in nuclear materials throughout their territories, and calls upon those States in a position to do so to work to enhance international partnerships and capacity building in this regard;

27. Urges all States to take all appropriate national measures in accordance with their national authorities and legislation, and consistent with international law, to prevent proliferation financing and shipments, to strengthen export controls, to secure sensitive materials, and to control access to intangible transfers of technology;

28. Declares its resolve to monitor closely any situations involving the proliferation of nuclear weapons, their means of delivery or related material, including to or by non-State actors as they are defined in resolution 1540 (2004), and, as appropriate, to take such measures as may be necessary to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security; 29. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

Source : [http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc\\_resolutions09.htm](http://www.un.org/Docs/sc/unsc_resolutions09.htm)

# Europe Has to Take Over Responsibility for Peace

**UN lecture “Resetting the Nuclear Disarmament Agenda” with Michail Gorbachev in Geneva**



Ban Ki Moon and Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva. (photo thk)

The Assembly Hall was almost filled up to the last seat when the Director-General of the UN office in Geneva (Unog), Sergei Ordzhonikidze, opened the meeting in the context of the Geneva Lecture Series on 5 October 2009. On the panel were the Secretary-General of the UN, Ban Ki Moon, the former President of the then Soviet Union and founding president of Green Cross International, Mikhail Gorbachev, as well as the director of Unitar (United Nations Institute for Training and Research), Carlos Lopez. After the proposals on the disarmament of nuclear weapons, made by President Obama before, the following topic could not be of greater importance: “Resetting the Nuclear Disarmament Agenda”. After a short introduction by Sergei Ordzhonikidze about the explosiveness and relevance of this topic Ban Ki Moon walked over to the lectern and appreciated the main speaker of the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev, as a “visionary”, who had contributed “in Reykjavik more than 20 years ago to the vision of a world without nuclear weapons”.

After the statement of the Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon Mikhail Gorbachev delivered his speech.

## Resetting the Nuclear Disarmament Agenda

**UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon at Geneva 5 October 2009: Excerpts from the Statement to the Geneva Lecture**

[...] After many years of laying dormant, that goal is back where it belongs: at the top of the global agenda. One year ago this month, I proposed a five-point action plan for nuclear disarmament, including a special summit meeting of the Security Council. Last week, the Security Council convened its first-ever Summit on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. I am very encouraged and pleased that the first ever Security Council meeting on nuclear disarmament was convened last week. As you know, the Security Council convened this meeting and adopted a landmark historic resolution. It was a remarkable event, only the fifth time in United Nations history that heads of state met around that familiar table in the Security Council Chamber, including the President of China, Hu Jintao, attending for the first time ever. U.S. President Barack Obama presided as you well know. He and the President of the Russian Federation, Dmitry Medvedev, have set an

ambitious course of action to reduce nuclear arsenals and delivery vehicles.

[...]

There are five central challenges we must confront to get there.

The first, transparency. More than 60 years after the first General Assembly resolution, and more than 30 years since the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), there are reportedly over 23,000 nuclear weapons still in existence. I say “reportedly” because no one knows how many such weapons exist. No one knows how much fissile material is currently available that could be used in making such weapons. The world needs facts and figures to help define the scope of the challenge of disarmament, to monitor and ensure its achievement, and to promote accountability.

Number two challenge, that is the issue of irreversibility. There can be no stable or permanent disarmament if there are worries about cheating or open re-armament.

Third, verification. This includes specific legal and institutional measures to ensure that states are complying with their obligations in this field.

Number four, any commitment to eliminate the world’s deadliest weapon can only be achieved with the most binding of all legal obligations. This could take the form of a multilateral nuclear-weapon convention. It could emerge as a framework of separate, mutually reinforcing instruments. Whatever the form it may be, the commitment must have the force of law.

All of these challenges relate to substantive issues of disarmament.

But there is the fifth and perhaps even greater importance and greater challenge that precedes all the others: the challenge of exercising much needed political will. [...]

[http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/sg-speeches/statements\\_full.asp?statID=613](http://www.un.org/apps/news/infocus/sg-speeches/statements_full.asp?statID=613)

Thank you very much Mr Secretary General of the United Nations (and) Mr Director General. I am very pleased to have this opportunity to meet with you, with such a representative gathering. I have been travelling a lot, meeting with all kinds of people but not always with such a large and representative audience and so I would like to convey my greetings to the representatives of the UN member states, of the public, of the academic community, and of the media.

This very representative gathering demonstrates interest in the subject of the new agenda of nuclear disarmament and also interest in searching for multilateral collective approaches to this problem. Here in Geneva where one of the most important centers of UN activities is located and where the principal multilater-

al disarmament mechanism of the UN Disarmament Commission is working, such an approach is particularly appropriate.

I am one of those who has always been a determined supporter of the United Nations, and I believe that the global financial and economic crises which is still, I believe, very far from its end, has reminded us of the fact that in the world in which we live only multilateral approaches are effective and they will be needed not only to respond to the immediate crisis but also in order to move toward a new model of development which the world needs. Because the old model based on super profits and hyper consumption and on social and ecological irresponsibility, has run its course and it has become dangerous for mankind.

And the same certainly is true of the old model security. And to an even greater extent, the concepts or doctrines on which that model is based have become outdated and are becoming increasingly dangerous. The weapons that emerge from those doctrines are being produced, tested, improved, are becoming increasingly deadly and very often are actually used.

The militarization of international politics is the onerous legacy of the twentieth century. And as a result of militarization, instead of addressing the urgent social economic problems, governments spend their resources on acquisition of weapons. The weapons business, with its propensity for corruption, of which we learn increasingly often from the media, is flourishing and is continuing to ruin

### “A World without Nuclear Weapons”

continued from page 3

standing up for the rights of all nations who do live up to their responsibilities. The world must stand together. And we must demonstrate that international law is not an empty promise, and that treaties will be enforced.

The next 12 months will be absolutely critical in determining whether this resolution and our overall efforts to stop the spread and use of nuclear weapons are successful. And all nations must do their part to make this work. In America, I have promised that we will pursue a new agreement with Russia to substantially reduce our strategic warheads and launchers. We will move forward with the ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and open the door to deeper cuts in our own arsenal. In January, we will call upon countries to begin negotiations on a treaty to end the production of fissile material for weapons. And the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in May will strengthen that agreement.

Now, we harbor no illusions about the difficulty of bringing about a world without nuclear weapons. We know there are plenty of cynics, and that there will be setbacks to prove their point. But there will also be days

like today that push us forward – days that tell a different story. It is the story of a world that understands that no difference or division is worth destroying all that we have built and all that we love. It is a recognition that can bring people of different nationalities and ethnicities and ideologies together. In my own country, it has brought Democrats and Republican leaders together – leaders like George Shultz, Bill Perry, Henry Kissinger, and Sam Nunn, who are with us here today. And it was a Republican President, Ronald Reagan, who once articulated the goal we now seek in the starker of terms. I quote:

“A nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. And no matter how great the obstacles may seem, we must never stop our efforts to reduce the weapons of war. We must never stop until all – we must never stop at all until we see the day when nuclear arms have been banished from the face of the Earth.”

That is our task. That can be our destiny. And we will leave this meeting with a renewed determination to achieve this shared goal. Thank you.

[...] I shall now invite the distinguished Secretary General, His Excellency Ban Ki Moon, to take the floor.

Source: <http://www.cfr.org/publication/20277/>

### “Jointly Address the Challenges”

continued from page 3

would finally allow for it to go into effect. This is a task of top priority.

Third, we must be more active in employing new non-proliferation mechanisms. I refer to, first and foremost, the UN Security Council Resolution 1540 on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism, both proposed by Russia and the United States.

And finally, it is clear that the adequate resolution of many of the above problems depends on the active and constructive participation of all parties. We count on the Russian-American efforts in this area to be supported by all nuclear states. Non-nuclear states must continue performing their non-proliferation obligations, thus contributing to making the international situation favourable for practical nuclear disarmament.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasise that Russia is ready to continue its energetic efforts in the interests of peace on earth and in the interests of our civilisation’s future. Thank you.

Source : [http://eng.kremlin.ru/speeches/2009/09/24/2311\\_type82912type82914\\_221846.shtml](http://eng.kremlin.ru/speeches/2009/09/24/2311_type82912type82914_221846.shtml)

the economy and the society. We have recently read in the media, information to that effect about corruption, which is really on an amazing scale.

So that is just a broad outline of this generally unsatisfactory picture. And in the forefront of this picture, in terms of the danger to mankind, is of course nuclear weapons. Its their arsenals, the danger of their proliferation, the danger that they would be seized by terrorists, the danger of technical failure or an explosion as a result of an accident. All of this should be of enormous concern to us. I will say more. Knowing all this, we really should not sleep quietly.

In the mid-1980s there was a combination of extreme tension in relations between the nuclear powers and the size of the nuclear arsenals. That led the world to a very dangerous point. And it was at that very dangerous moment that the leaders of the USSR and the United States were able to transcend the obstacles, the prejudice, the old stereotypes and to initiate a process of real reductions of nuclear weapons in 1995.

In 1985, in Geneva, President Reagan and I declared that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. Less than a year after, in Reykjavik, we declared the need to eliminate nuclear arsenals. That was the next step. And I still value what we did in Reykjavik. Because this is when we looked beyond the horizon. And even though the path to an agreement at that time was blocked by the U.S. plans to create a global ballistic missile defence system, the movement toward that goal started. Two classes of medium range missiles were eliminated. A treaty was signed to reduce by one half, that is to say thousands of weapons, to reduce by one half all strategic arms, and then in October 1991 we agreed on decommissioning and liquidating - eliminating a large portion of tactical nuclear weapons.

We agreed on an enormous set of verification and confidence-building measures. We started military to military contacts and we started to review our military doctrines and all that we agreed at that time has by now been implemented. However, after the Soviet Union left the political scene, the movement toward nuclear disarmament stalled, despite the fact that the ending of the confrontation seemed to create better conditions to accelerate that process.

In effect, what we have now in terms of reducing nuclear weapons is the result of agreements, of implementing agreements that were signed at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. After 20 years, after the end of the Cold War, thousands of nuclear warheads are still in the arsenals of the nuclear powers.

The nuclear weapons are still deployed in the European continent, and the pace of nuclear arms reductions has slowed. There are new nuclear weapon powers and the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons has become increasingly urgent. The verification mechanisms have been weakened. Instead of the system of on-site inspections, we have seen a rather doubtful, questionable idea of taking on faith the implementation of commitments on nuclear and biological weapons.

The favourite Russian proverb of Ronald Regan “trust but verify” has been conveniently forgotten. The treaty on the complete ban on nuclear tests has not come into force. The nuclear arsenals of the United States and Russia still far exceed the arsenals of all other nuclear powers taken together and that makes it more difficult to get those powers involved in the process of nuclear disarmament.

There is a real threat of a new arms race and of the weaponisation of outer space.

It is only recently that we have seen signs that the leading nuclear powers are becoming aware that the current situation is intolerable. The Presidents of the United States and Russia have agreed to conclude by the end of this year, a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms, a verifiable treaty on strategic arms reduction. They also reaffirmed their commitment to Article 6 of the Non-Prolifer-

continued on page 7

**"Europe Has to Take Over ..."**

continued from page 5

ation Treaty. Their joint statement also calls for a number of steps to reduce the nuclear danger, including ratification by the United States of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

Those are positive and encouraging steps. Nevertheless, we have to state frankly that there are more problems and dangers than achievements. The road to a nuclear-free world is being blocked by multiple obstacles, and if we don't want a nuclear-weapon-free world to remain "a mountain-top covered in fog", then we must talk about those obstacles very frankly and honestly.

The erroneous assessment of the events associated with the end of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War was the main reason of the stalling of the arms control process. Those events were seen in the United States and in some other countries as victory for the West, as a green light for unilateralism instead of creating a new architecture of international security based on real cooperation, as envisioned by the Paris Charter for a new Europe signed in 1990. Attempts were made to impose, to enforce on the world the monopoly leadership of the sole remaining super power and of institutions and organizations such as NATO that we inherited from the Cold War, that were not reformed after the end of the Cold War.

The use of force, including so-called pre-emptive use of force and the threat of the use of force, which by the way is also inadmissible according to the United Nations Charter, once again were regarded as a normal way of solving problems.

Official documents call for the need for U.S. military superiority, contempt for international law, and for peaceful ways of solving disputes. Contempt for the United Nations and for its Security Council became a kind of government policy.

And as a result, we have seen military conflicts in Europe, something that seemed inconceivable. Instead of the walls that were torn down, we have seen dividing lines in Europe and in the world. We have seen also a deterioration, a long-term deterioration in the Middle East. We have seen the war in Iraq, we have seen an extremely difficult situation in Afghanistan. And what is particularly important in the context of our subject, we have seen a worsening of the situation in terms of nuclear weapons proliferation.

Let me emphasize that nuclear arms proliferation is a problem that should not be seen, per say, just in the context of Iran and North Korea. The root of this problem is the non-implementation by the members of the nuclear club of the obligation under Article 6 of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. That is to say, to move toward the elimination of nuclear weapons. While this situation continues there will be a continued danger of the emergence of new nuclear powers.

Today, as we know, dozens of countries are technically capable of it. Indeed, absolute security for some ultimately means insecurity for everyone else. If 5 or 10 countries are allowed to have nuclear weapons as their ultimate security guarantee, then why not 20 or 30 countries?

As we know, there are at least 40 threshold nuclear powers now. This is a question that has been repeated again and again, but repetition doesn't make it irrelevant. This is an issue that is becoming increasingly urgent. In the final analysis, we can only eliminate the nuclear danger by eliminating nuclear weapons.

But can we regard as realistic the prospect that in the end one country would remain with the numbers of nuclear weapons, with the arsenals of conventional weapons that would exceed the arsenals of conventional weapons of all the other countries taken together? That is to say that this country would have absolute military superiority in the world. We should bear this in mind. This is a situation, let's say very frankly, that would be an insurmountable obstacle on the way of ridding the world of nuclear weapons.

While giving credit to my colleagues, the veterans of U.S. politics – George Shultz, Henry Kissinger, Sam Nunn, and William Perry, whose article in the *Wall Street Journal* in 2007 reminded the world of the goal of eliminating nuclear weapons, I thought it was

important, it was necessary to put this question in a broader context.

If we do not address the need to demilitarize international politics, to reduce military budgets, to put an end to the development of new weapons, to prevent militarization of outer space – then the talk about a nuclear weapon free world will be just a lot of hot air.

Now, there is an opportunity to break the vicious circle of the past few years and to start moving in the right direction. Over the past weeks we have seen serious steps and breakthroughs on the nuclear issues. The President of the United States, Barack Obama, announced changes in the U.S. plans in missile defence. This is a decision that was positively perceived by the leaders of Russia, Germany, France, and a number of other countries and by the Prime Minister of Poland.

It certainly makes a more favourable atmosphere for nuclear arms talks, even though some issues remain. The best forum to discuss those issues would be the joint consultations on the Joint Assessment of Missile Threats that are being proposed by Russia. We have seen also some positive steps in the

elimination of chemical and biological weapons is a promising idea. I believe that in the process of the preparation of this, (the) Commission could play a more mobilising role in getting a broad range of countries involved in the nuclear disarmament process and in reaching agreements.

It is within the United Nations that we should raise issues such as getting the so-called second tier nuclear powers involved in nuclear disarmament. After the United States and Russia conclude an agreement on new legally binding and verifiable major reduction of nuclear arsenals, and ratification by the United States of CTBT, this issue will become particularly relevant and important.

I believe after that other nuclear powers, both the official members of the Nuclear Club and others, must at the very least declare the freeze of their nuclear arsenals and also declare their readiness to get involved in the negotiations on reductions and limitations of nuclear arms.

If those who possess the biggest arsenals of nuclear weapons start real reductions, the others will no longer be able to sit on the

**"It was a great illusion that the nuclear weapons have helped to maintain the security in the world."**

Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN in Geneva, 5 October 2009

negotiating process on the Iranian Nuclear Programme, and we may expect that recent contact with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea will not be fruitless.

Those are first steps. They must be consolidated and further developed. As we move forward, there will be setbacks and disappointments, but it is clear that constructive multilateral approaches are beginning to bear fruit. In this regard, the role of the United Nations is of fundamental importance.

With all due respect for bilateral efforts of the leading nuclear powers, who are responsible for the arms race in the past, and therefore of course responsible for curbing it now. Still, the United Nations is indispensable as regards to all important issues.

I have said many times that attempts to sideline the UN and its Security Council and attempts to supplant it with other organizations and bodies such as NATO, G-8, or even the emerging G-20 – such attempts should be rejected.

And incidentally it is because of this that from the start I suggested that there should be a link between the G-20 and the United Nations by means of the G-20 submitting regular reports to the General Assembly for consideration.

Paraphrasing the words of Winston Churchill, we might say that the United Nations may be imperfect. It needs reform. But no one has been able to invent anything better and will not be able to invent anything better because there is no other universal world organization. And that means that it should play a more important role in disarmament issues.

The recent Security Council Summit on Nuclear Disarmament and Non-proliferation was an important step in this direction. The resolution that it adopted is a strong and balanced document that reflects the urgency of the problem and that considers the questions of disarmament and security as an interconnected complex and that's the way it should be.

The fact that top leaders are paying attention to these issues makes it possible to expect that there will be the kind of political will that is necessary in order to overcome the selfish interests and parochialism that often derailed disarmament initiatives.

I welcome the reinvigoration of the UN Disarmament Commission and also appreciate the initiatives of Secretary General Ban Ki Moon, his five-point programme in particular, which is a kind of agenda both for the members of the Nuclear Club and for other countries that are capable of contributing to disarmament, to demilitarization of international politics, and creating a new security architecture.

I believe that the idea of developing, building a United Nations Arms Convention, similar to the conventions on prohibition and

of efforts to resolve regional conflicts, to reduce conventional arms, to prevent a new arms race, whether on earth or in space, and through a combination of bilateral and multilateral efforts.

To move further to this goal, the importance of multilateral efforts will be growing. The United Nations is the indispensable forum for harmonizing the efforts of big and small states. And it must. It can and it must play a key role in this process.

I hope that all of you gathered here will work actively for this goal. All of us can make our own contribution. And I am sure that together we will be able to create a kind of political mass of political will to make sure that the new nuclear disarmament agenda becomes real and irreversible progress.

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*In the ensuing discussion Gorbachev pointed out how important it had been back in 1985 that mutual prejudices could be dissolved and the way was paved for disarmament negotiations. Answering the question whether the collapse of the Berlin Wall had been a result of the disarmament talks, Gorbachev answered decidedly: "That was much more." It had been the "great hope" for a "new peaceful world", which he had always believed in. It had been the "necessary precondition for a European security structure and thereby for a long-term peace in Europe". But this had changed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The establishment of a "European security architecture" had been a failure. A "European security council" would have been required in order to secure peace in Europe. But against the arrangements with the US, NATO had expanded into the East, according to the principle "keep the Russians out and the Germans down". NATO was for him "an obstacle" on the way to global peace. Today we stood at the cross-roads, we could decide if we wanted to get rid of the horrible weapons and establish peace.*

*With respect to Obama's politics, Gorbachev commented on it with cautious optimism, saying "as a simple citizen, I nourish hope". The US had undergone a process and recognizing her illusion had led to a change of her politics. He recommended to the US to go through "its own Perestroika in order to refurbish the errors of the past", as the Soviet Union had done before. He classified Rumsfeld and Cheney as extremely dangerous politicians and marked any kind of imperialism as an illusion.*

*Concluding, Gorbachev summoned Europe insistently to take on "its responsibility for peace". Europe must lead the way and accomplish a positive change in the world. Applauding and believing that a better world is not only necessary but also possible, the numerous and committed audience left the Assembly Hall of the UN in Geneva.* ●

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human rights and humanitarian law

## UE muestra un alto grado de maquiavelismo

por Karl Müller



*V. Klaus: «Yo creí que esto pertenecía al pasado, que vivimos en democracia, pero en la UE funciona realmente una posdemocracia. Habló sobre valores europeos. Los valores europeos son sobre todo libertad y democracia, y esto es lo que los ciudadanos de los estados miembros de la UE quieren en primera línea, y que hoy están desapareciendo dentro de la UE.» (foto reuters)*

es el grado de amistad con el Sr. Ganley (el jefe del partido irlandés Libertas, quien, con su campaña, influyó de manera decisiva en el NO de los irlandeses a Lisboa, en la primera votación en mayo de 2008). ¿Cómo puede encontrarse con una persona de la que no sabe quién le paga? Dentro de su función Usted no debe encontrarse con él.»

El presidente checo reaccionó de una manera comprensible: «Debo decir, que nadie ha hablado en ese tono y de ese modo desde hace seis años (desde que Klaus es presidente). Aquí no está Usted en las barricadas de París. Yo creí que esos métodos habían tenido un fin para nosotros después de 19 años, pero veo que me equivoqué.»

Y posteriormente en la conversación: «No me imaginé que algo así fuera posible, no he vivido algo similar desde hace 19 años. Yo creí que esto pertenecía al pasado, que vivimos en democracia, pero en la UE funciona realmente una posdemocracia. Habló sobre

valores europeos. Los valores europeos son sobre todo libertad y democracia, y esto es lo que los ciudadanos de los estados miembros de la UE quieren en primera línea, y que hoy están desapareciendo dentro de la UE.»

Hacia fuera se dice: «En el conflicto sobre la ratificación del contrato de Lisboa, la Unión Europea no quiere ejercer presión sobre la República Checa. Se debe respetar el proceso de ratificación en ese país», dijo el presidente del Consejo Europeo, Reinfeldt, antes del encuentro con el ministro presidente checo Fischer en Bruselas (*Deutschlandfunk* del 7 de octubre).

Pero incluso el «*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*» de Suiza, país no perteneciente a la UE comentó: «El último acto de la tragedia sobre el contrato de Lisboa con Václav Klaus en el rol principal, va llegando al final. Si el presidente no quiere aceptarlo, la renuncia sería la consecuencia lógica.» (6 de octubre).

## Europa debe perseverar en el principio fundamental de la democracia

Defender su identidad y hacer frente al centralismo

por Dr. Titine Kriesi

*Después que en Irlanda, un año después del primer referendo, se dió a conocer que los poderosos de la UE obligarían a los irlandeses a una segunda votación, todos los europeos que respetan la libertad y el derecho estaban escandalizados. La diferencia entre el «no» de hace un año y el «sí» de éste, es el espiral descendente de una brutal recesión. Los irlandeses no han cambiado su opinión con respecto al tratado de Lisboa, pero han votado a favor por miedo al aislamiento dentro de la UE y a la desocupación. Un «sí» les da nuevas garantías sociales «en cambio si Irlanda vota por un «no» corren peligro de ser despedidos» – esto lo dijo más de un patrón. Nigel Farage, miembro británico del parlamento europeo, habla de un «triunfo del gran dinero, un proceder sin escrupulos, una burla a la democracia». En Irlanda se habla de un referendo sin par entre los 30 referendos que se hicieron desde 1937, a causa de su procedimiento antidemocrático e ilegal y los costos de 22 millones de libras para el gobierno irlandés y aún más para la UE, es decir, para sus contribuyentes: una vergonzosa vejación, manipulación, intimidación y propaganda mentirosa (prohibida por el Tribunal Superior de Irlanda desde 1995). La democracia en Europa ha sufrido un grave contragolpe. El déficit democrático de la UE, puesto de manifiesto por el Tribunal Federal Constitucional, se haría mayor aún con la ratificación del tratado. Por eso es tan necesario defender la democracia en Europa.*

Más que nunca es necesario resistir a las tendencias dictatoriales contenidas en el contrato de Lisboa. Todavía está presente el tono en

el que habló el diputado europeo verde Daniel Cohn-Bendit, el 5 de diciembre de 2008 en el castillo de Praga, frente al presidente checo, Václav Klaus, con respecto al contrato de Lisboa (ver arriba). Tendencias en esa dirección, corren peligro de degenerar y violan la democracia y la libertad individual. Todos sabemos que en tiempos no lejanos fue demasiado tarde cuando los hombres realizaron lo que estaba pasando.

### Cardenal Bertone: resistencia contra el centralismo es lógico

Hace unas semanas, los obispos irlandeses, bajo la presión de la UE, dijeron que no habría reparos éticos para el apoyo al tratado de Lisboa. Muy distinto es lo que dijo el cardenal Tarcisio Bertone, jefe diplomático y secretario de estado del Vaticano, días antes del referendo en Irlanda, el 28 de septiembre, en un comentario en el diario checo «Czech Daily MF Dnes»: «Los distintos países de Europa tienen una identidad propia. La Unión Europea les ordena leyes y opiniones que tal vez son contrarias a sus tradiciones y a su historia. Algunos países lógicamente se resisten – por ejemplo Irlanda [...]. La iglesia quiere alejar a los países para que resistan frente a ese proceso.»

En una aclaración de prensa difundida en la víspera de la votación proveniente de Declan Ganleys, un opositor al tratado de Lisboa, se citó y se apoyó el comentario del cardenal Bertone. En la aclaración figuraba además: «Ese comentario (del cardenal Bertone) debería poner fin al debate sobre cómo la iglesia interpreta ese tratado. El representante oficial del Papa considera «lógica» la campaña contra el centralismo del poder en Bruselas, y el

secretariado de la Santa Sede dijo que la iglesia quiere «alentar» a los estados para que sostengan ese criterio.»

### La libertad de los pueblos y los derechos de los ciudadanos no deben ser entregados

A través del tratado de Lisboa la libertad de los pueblos y los derechos de los ciudadanos están en grave peligro.

- El principio democrático y la libertad individual no deben ser ignorados o destruidos en ningún país europeo;
- los pueblos de Europa no deben permitir que se les quite sus derechos;
- el orden económico neoliberal del mercado libre y la competencia, ignora que la economía debe servir a los hombres y funciona a costa de los principios sociales y la libertad de los ciudadanos;
- los pueblos de Europa no deben perder su calidad de estado y exponerse a la explotación, la codicia, manipulación, control masivo e injusticia;
- los principios de libertad, igualdad, hermandad y solidaridad deben mantenerse;
- los derechos fundamentales, como la protección del derecho a la vida, la protección de la familia, el derecho de los progenitores, y el derecho a establecer una constitución no deben ser sacrificados;
- la soberanía fiscal de los diversos países debe conservarse;
- debe ser posible el conservar la neutralidad;
- los pueblos europeos no quieren que se los obligue al rearne, ni a participar en guerras de agresión contra otros países – y un país por sí solo no podrá oponerse a la guerra(!).

El tratado de Lisboa es un proyecto de poder político que sobrepasa toda mendacidad. Como la mayoría no lo ha leído, no conoce sus consecuencias. Cuando la población, bajo el látigo del poder económico sea empujada a la miseria, y como consecuencia en los países de la UE habrá conflictos sociales, se permitirá volver a aplicar la pena de muerte (al quedar fuera de vigencia los derechos nacionales). Václav Klaus, de la República Checa, tiene la esperanza de que la idea de *De Gaulles*, del año 1962, de una «Europa de las patrias» siga en pie.

Una Europa de los europeos, que quiere ser democrática, social y regida por el derecho, que proteje la libertad, la igualdad y hermandad de los hombres y los pueblos, vive en buenas relaciones con otros pueblos en los que la economía es social y los habitantes no son explotados. Cada habitante de Europa quiere vivir libre y como europeo.

### En verdaderas democracias el pueblo debe permanecer soberano

A los pueblos de Europa les corresponde el poder decidir ellos mismos sobre su destino. Cada pueblo en particular en la Unión Europea debería ser consultado sobre el tratado de Lisboa sin intimidaciones. Los pueblos deben poder defender sus derechos. Para salvar la dignidad humana en Europa, deben lograrse posibilidades para la defensa de la libertad, la igualdad y hermandad, la democracia, el estado de derecho y el estado social para todos los pueblos. En verdaderas democracias, no gobiernan los gobiernos y los parlamentos, sino el pueblo es el soberano.

## The EU Displays a Great Deal of Machiavellism

by Karl Müller, Germany

In May 2008, hardly one and a half years ago, some 55 percent of the voting Irish people said no to the Lisbon Treaty. On 2 October 2009 there were only 35 percent left, although the treaty, on which the Irish had to vote again – at command from above – was still the same.

That this became possible has very much to do with the EU's methods which have to be our greatest concern; for these methods have reached a worrying degree of machiavellism.

The Irish had their backbones broken, on purpose. It is known that the Irish were among those who – among European nations – suffered most from the policies of big money. The fact that also the religious identity of this people was under massive attacks, is less known. So massively that, as early as the beginning of June 2009, months before the voting, the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" – in direct context with the campaign against the Catholic Church of Ireland – came to the following conclusion in an article entitled "Ireland in self doubt": "The Irish opinion polls say, that 'yes to Lisbon' will turn out very clearly, now."

*Naomi Klein* called the strategy used against Ireland "shock strategy" and has written an important book on this topic.\*

The "shock strategy" is a form of power politics, which puts a country's population in a state of paralysis with barbarian methods and then takes advantage of this paralysis to enforce their interests.

At present the Czech President *Václav Klaus* is under crossfire. At the beginning of December 2008 he had already experienced how the EU deals with people who do not want to follow dictates from Berlin, Paris, London and Brussels. He was visited by a group of members of the EU parliament (MEP's) and felt obliged after this meeting to publish the protocol of this conversation. ([www.indymedia.ie/article/90105](http://www.indymedia.ie/article/90105)).



*V. Klaus: "I thought it was a matter of the past, I thought that we live in a democracy, but it is post-democracy, really, which rules the EU. You mentioned the European values. The most important value is freedom and democracy, above all. But democracy and freedom are loosing ground in the EU today." (Bild reuters)*

There we learn how MEP *Daniel Cohn-Bendit* behaved: "As to the Lisbon Treaty: I don't care about your opinions on it. [...] You will have to sign it. I want you to explain to me what the level of your friendship with *Mr Ganley* is (Leader of the Irish Libertas Party that was significantly responsible for the Irish 'No' to the Lisbon Treaty in the first vote in May 2008). How can you meet a person who's funding is unclear? You

are not supposed to meet him in your function."

The Czech President reacted in an understandable way: "I must say that for the past 6 years nobody has talked to me in such a style and tone. You are not on the barricades in Paris here. I thought that these manners had ended 18 years ago but I see I was wrong." And later on in the conversation: "I did not think anything like this was possible and have not experienced anything like this for the past 19 years. I thought it was a matter of the past, I thought that we live in a democracy, but it is post-democracy, really, which rules the EU. You mentioned the European values. The most important value is freedom and democracy, above all. But democracy and freedom are loosing ground in the EU today."

The version for the public is the following:

"In the struggle for the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, the EU does not want to exert pressure on the Czech Republic. One has to pay respect for the process of ratification in this country, says EU Council President *Reinfeldt* ahead of the meeting with the Czech Prime Minister *Fischer* in Brussels," (Deutschlandfunk, 7 October).

But even the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" from Switzerland, which is no EU member, commented: "The final act of the Czech drama on the Lisbon Treaty with *Václav Klaus* in the lead role is drawing to a close. If the President can't accept it, the logical consequence for him would be to step down." (6 October)

You can only guess what else is descending on the President of the Czech Republic.

In the meantime the planning within the EU on who will be the first after the Lisbon treaty to take over the newly created office

of an EU President, is under way. So far the name of former British Prime Minister *Tony Blair* is traded. This calls for interpretation: Blair is a liar and war criminal who has lost any respect what so ever worldwide. If the proposition 'Blair' is serious – and there are some indications for that – this may mean, that the EU does not consider the world public at all.

But this can also mean, that the brains behind the EU are not interested at all in a EU that is capable of action but rather in numerous European states that are paralysed and unable to act, in countries that can be kept on a short leash by a few states with big power interests – and those who direct big money's capital flow in these countries. Examples are *Sarkozy*'s France and *Merkel*'s Germany, ahead of all. After the Lisbon Treaty the new proportions of majorities in the Council are being organised in such a way. The warning of the Foreign Minister of Luxembourg *Jean Asselborn* early in May 2009 that the EU had changed and that today a "directorate of the big ones and some of their vassals" wanted to assert themselves, has to be taken very seriously.

Germany, France (and Great Britain) are pursuing great power politics which the EU would be only too pleased to capitalise on. Germany, predominantly in the South East of Europe, France in the Mediterranean region and Great Britain are still attached to their former empire.

The Lisbon Treaty is a gagging treaty for the other countries of Europe. Striving to take part in this is not worthwhile. And those who had to be part of it so far, are free to think about opting out. •

\* Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine. The rise of disaster capitalism*, ISBN 0805079831

## Europe Must Insist on the Basic Principle of Democracy

Defending one's identity and resisting centralism

by Dr Titine Kriesi, Switzerland

*One year ago, after the first referendum, when in Ireland it was announced that the Irish were to be forced by the EU rulers to have a second referendum, all the liberal and legally-minded people in Europe were appalled. The difference between the no-vote one year ago and the yes-vote this October is the undeserved brutal recession spiraling downward. The Irish have not changed their opinion on the contents of the Lisbon Treaty, however they voted 'yes' for fear of unemployment and of isolation in the EU. It was argued that a yes-vote would provide Ireland with new social warranties, and "if Ireland votes 'no', you are in danger of losing your job" was the comment of more than one employer.*

*The British Member of the European parliament, Nigel Farage, spoke of "a victory for big money, a victory for thuggery, a travesty of democracy". People in Ireland speak of a singular referendum with an undemocratic and illegal procedure among the 30 referenda that have been held since 1937. This referendum was funded with over 22 million euros on the part of the Irish government. A few days before the vote the EU sponsored a booklet with a circulation of 1.1 million copies – which cost taxpayers more than 151,000 euros.*

*It was accomplished at the expense of the taxpayers, representing shameless chicanery, manipulation, including the one-sided fear and untrue propaganda a few days before the vote (forbidden by the Supreme Court of Ireland since 1995). Democracy in Europe has thereby suffered an enormous setback. The democracy deficit of the EU, stated by the German Federal Constitutional Court would even be increased with the*

*ratification of the Treaty. More than ever the challenge is to defend democracy in Europe.*

More than ever the challenge is to resist dictatorial tendencies, which were introduced by the Lisbon Treaty. We still bear the memory of the tone, which on 5 December 2008 the Green Party MP *Daniel Cohn-Bendit* adopted towards the Czech President *Václav Klaus* at Prague Castle, speaking about the Lisbon Treaty (see above). Tendencies pointing into such direction run the risk of degenerating and violating democracy and individual freedom. We all know only too well from recent history that it was already too late, when the people realised what was going on.

### Cardinal Bertone: Resistance against centralism is the logical consequence

Several weeks ago, Irish bishops under massive pressure by the EU said there were no ethical doubts about supporting the Lisbon Treaty. On 28 September, a few days before the vote in Ireland, the chief diplomat and undersecretary of the Vatican, Cardinal *Tarcisio Bertone* commented in the Czech newspaper "Czech Daily MF Dnes": "The individual European countries have their own identity. The EU prescribes its laws or views to them and they do not have to fit with their traditions and history. Some countries are logically resisting this – for example, Ireland. [...] The church would like to encourage states to offer resistance against this process."

A press release, published on the eve of the vote by *Declan Ganley*, an explicit opponent of the Lisbon Treaty, repeated and endorsed Cardinal Bertone's comment. Declan Ganley said: "I welcome these comments by Cardi-

nal Bertone [...]. This statement should end the debate about how the church interprets this treaty. The campaign to resist the centralisation of power in Brussels is described by the Pope's official spokesperson as "logical", and the Holy Father's office said that the church wants to "encourage" states to take this stand."

### Peoples' freedom and civil rights must not be given up

With the Lisbon Treaty, peoples' freedom and civil rights are in danger.

- The democratic principle or the individual freedom must not be ignored or destroyed in any European country;
- The peoples of Europe must not be disfranchised;
- A neoliberal economy with free markets and boundless competition ignores the fact that the economy is to serve the people. It would exist at the expense of the social principle and the freedom of the citizens;
- The peoples of Europe must not be denationalised and be exposed to exploitation, greed, manipulation, mass control and unfairness;
- The principles of freedom, equality, fraternity/solidarity must prevail;
- The fundamental rights, such as the protection of the right to life, the protection of the family, the parents' rights and the protection of the rights regarding the introduction of a constitution must not be sacrificed;
- Jurisdiction in tax matters of the individual countries must be protected;
- Safeguarding neutrality must be possible;
- The European peoples of Europe do not want to be obliged to armament and they

do not want to start a war of aggression against any country in the world – but an individual country will not be able to withdraw from war (!).

The Lisbon Treaty is a project of power politics and hard to beat in its hypocrisy. Since only few people have actually read it, they do not know about its consequences. If people are driven into misery under the thumb of economic power and both here and there in the EU countries warnings about social unrest and riots are expressed, death penalty may be applied again (while national rights are repealed). Therefore, a lot of hope lies in Czech Republic with *Václav Klaus* worshipping *De Gaulle*'s idea of 1962 of a "Europe of nations". A European Europe, which wants to be social, democratic, constitutional and safeguard freedom, equality and fraternity of its peoples, will live in good co-operation with other peoples, with a social economy and abstention from exploitation of the people. Each European wants to live freely and in a European way.

### In true democracies, the people must be the sovereign

The peoples of Europe are entitled to determine their own fate themselves. Each individual people in the EU should be asked about the Lisbon Treaty without previous intimidation. Peoples must be able to defend their rights. In order to safeguard human dignity in Europe, chances must be created in order to defend freedom, equality and fraternity, democracy, the constitutional state and the welfare state for all peoples. In true democracies, it is not only the parliaments that govern but the people are the sovereign. •