cc. The economic crisis, which we have experienced since the autumn of 2008, bears worldwide consequences. The threatening situation is only made by the idea of a quick solution to the impending crisis. The worst effects of this crisis, especially for the developing countries, are because they did not agree with the fast solutions of a few G20 countries, the then president of the UN General Assembly and head of the group of countries that supported Stiglitz, summoned a UN crisis summit last summer. Its central topic was the crisis concern about the entire international community and thus all peoples were to be included equally in the search for a solution. Many aspects of the report, which Stiglitz, and others had compiled in a preparatory commission, were discussed at this crisis summit and submitted in a final declaration. Stiglitz report called for fundamental reforms of the international financial markets, among them a representative World Economy Council as well as national control on capital movement. This attempt had then been rejected by the industrialized countries.

It is the more pleasant that Joseph Stiglitz has now published his book “Freefall: America, Free Markets and the Sinking of the World Economy”, in which he describes in an understandable and humane way and borne by the respect for the nation states and their sovereignty, how he envisages the crisis and its causes from the inside of the events. The wars starting in the 1990s ages the crisis and its causes from the inside of the events. The wars starting in the 1990s and their immense costs requiring an artificial inflation low. Today even the high priest of that ideology, Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board during the period in which these views prevailed, has admitted that there was a flaw in this reasoning – but his confession came too late for the many who had suffered as a consequence.

This book is about a battle of ideas, about the ideas that led to the failed policies that precipitated the crisis and about the lessons that we take away from it. In time, every crisis ends. But no crisis, especially one of this severity, passes without leaving a legacy. The continued on page 2
Economists need a balance between the role of markets and the role of government – with important contributions by non-market and nongovernmental institutions.

One might have thought that with the crisis of 2008, the debate over market fundamentals would have become a thing of the past. Policymakers and economists themselves can ensure economic prosperity and growth – would be over. One might have thought that by the end of 2008, the world would have moved on. But until memories of this crisis have receded into the distant past – would argue that markets are self-correcting and that we can rely on the self-interested behavior of market participants to ensure that everything works well.

Those who have done well by market fundamentalism offer a different interpretation. Some say that the system is "improved", and accidents happen. No one would suggest that we stop driving cars just because of an occasional collision. Those who hold this position want us to return to the world before 2008 as quickly as possible. The bankers did nothing wrong, they say. Give the banks the money they ask for, tweak the regulations a little bit, give a few stern lectures to the regulators not to let the likes of Berne Madoff get away with fraud again, and a few more business school courses on ethics, and we will emerge in tiny shape.

But Stiglitz argues that the problems are more deep-seated. Over the past twenty-five years this supposedly self-regulating apparatus of our financial systems, not only was seriously damaged, but also seriously damaged. From 2000 to 2008, when the crisis emerged in one part of the world, it was often hard to discern the principles behind their decision making. Bush administration officials argued that they were being pragmatic, and to be fair, they were in uncharted territory.

Indeed, mistakes already made will result in the fallout effectively. The length of the crisis will have to be managed. Some will say that the crisis was ended economies and mountains of debt. The crisis of a decade ago but also exacerbated its consequence spreading to other parts. The full consequences of an economic crisis may take years to discern themselves. In the case of Argentina, the crisis began in 1995, as part of the fall-out from Mexico’s own crisis, and was exacerbated in the East Asian crisis of 1997 in the Brazilian crisis of 1998, but the full collapse didn’t take place until late 2001.

One economist looks at a crisis in the same way a doctor approaches disease pathology: both learn much about how things work normally, and by seeing what happens when things are not normal. As I approached the crisis of 2008, I felt I had a distinct advantage over other observers. I was, in a sense, a "veteran", a crusader. This was not the first major crisis in recent years. Crises in developing countries have occurred with alarming regularity – by one count, 124 between 1970 and 2007. I was chief economist at the World Bank at the time of the last global financial crisis in 1995, 1997, 1998. I watched a crisis that began in Thailand spread to other countries in East Asia and then to Latin America and Russia. It was a classic example of contagion – a failure of one part of the global economic system spreading to other parts. The full consequences of an economic crisis may take years to discern. In Argentina, the crisis began in 1995, as part of the fall-out from Mexico’s own crisis, and was exacerbated in the East Asian crisis of 1997 in the Brazilian crisis of 1998, but the full collapse didn’t take place until late 2001.

In 1997, I watched in horror as the U.S. Treasury Secretary and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) responded to the East Asian crisis by proposing financial policies that harkened back to the misguided policies associated with President Herbert Hoover during the Great Depression and were bound to fail.

Economists might feel proud about the advances in economic science over the seven decades since the Great Depression, but that doesn’t mean that there has been unanimity about how crises should be handled. Back in 1997, I watched in horror as the U.S. Treasury Secretary and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) responded to the East Asian crisis by proposing a set of policies that harkened back to the misguided policies associated with President Herbert Hoover during the Great Depression and were bound to fail.

There was, then, a sense of déjà vu as I saw the world slipping once again into a crisis in 2007. The similarities between what I saw then and a decade earlier were uncanny. To mention but one, the initial public denial of the crisis: ten years earlier, the U.S. Treasury and the IMF had at first denied that there was a real "depression" in East Asia. At that time, Summers, then Undersecretary of Treasury and now President Obama’s chief economist, was still bullish even when Jean-Michel Severino, then the World Bank’s vice president for Asia, used the R-word (Recession) and the D-word (Depression) to describe what was happening. But how else would one describe a downturn that left 40 percent of Thailand's central city going without food and millions unemployed?

So too in 2008, the Bush administration at first denied there was any serious problem. We had just built a few too many houses, the press suggested. Indeed, in the early months of the crisis, the Treasury and the Federal Reserve veered like drunk drivers from one course to another, saving some banks while letting others go. It was impossible to discern the principles behind their decision making. Bush administration officials argued that they were being pragmatic, and to be fair, they were in uncharted territory.

It's clear that we need a new approach to economics. We need a new approach to thinking about economics, about America, and about our heroes have also been in freefall. In the aftermath of the last great financial crisis, Time magazine on February 15, 2009, ran a cover picture of Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan and Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, who were long ago the stars of the boom in the 1990s, together with their protege Larry Summers. They were labeled the “Greenspan & Rubin, the most popular minds they were thought of as saviors.” In 2000, the best-selling investigative journalist Bob Woodward wrote a Green- span hagiography entitled Maestro.5

Having seen firsthand the handling of the East Asian crisis, I was less impressed than Time magazine or Bob Woodward. To me, and to most of those in East Asia, the policies followed on them by the IMF and the U.S. Treasury at the behest of the “Committee to Save the World” failed. The policies were long, complex, and the finer points of their reasoning were often not understood.
As a society, we have now lost respect for our long-standing economic gurus. In re-
cent decades, we have looked to Wall Street as a whole – not just the demigods Rubinstein and Greenspan – for advice on how to run the economy. Now, who is there to turn to? For the most part, economists have been no more helpful. Many of them had provided the intellectual armory that the policymakers invoked in the move-
tment toward deregulation.

“As a society, we have now lost respect for our long-
standing economic gurus.”

Unfortunately, attention is often shifted away from the battle of ideas toward the role of individuals: the villains that created the crisis, and the heroes that saved us. Others will write about their friends and colleagues that books that point fingers at this policymaker or another, the executive or anoth-
er, who helped steer us into the current crisis. This book has a different aim. Its view is that essentially all 2008 regulatory policies, such as those related to deregulation, were the con-
sequence of political and economic “forces” – including deeply held ideologies – that go be-
yond any particular individual.

When President Ronald Reagan appointed Greenspan as chairman of the Federal Reserve in 1987, he was looking for someone com-
mitment to deregulation. For Volcker, who had been the Fed chairman previously, had earned high marks as a central banker for bringing the inflation down from 11.3 per-
cent in 1979 to 3.6 percent in 1987? Nor-
mally, such an accomplishment would have earned Greenspan a second appointment. But Vol-
cker understood the importance of regulations, and Reagan wanted someone who would work to deregulate. Had Greenspan not been available for the job, there were plenty of others and able and willing to assume the de-
r egulation mantle. The problem was not so much Greenspan as the deregulatory ideolo-
gy that had taken hold.

While this book is mostly about econom-
ic beliefs and how they affect policies, to see the broken beliefs behind these beliefs, one has to unravel what happened. This book is not a “whodunit”, but there are important elements of the story that are akin to a good mystery.

“Finding root causes is like peeling back an onion. Each explanation gives rise to further questions at a deeper level [...]”

How did the largest economy in the world go into freefall? What policies and what events triggered the great downturn of 2008? If we can’t agree on the answers to these questions, we can’t agree on what to do, ei-
ther to get out of the crisis or to prevent the next one. Parsing out the relative role of bad beliefs, the banks, failures of the regula-
tors, or loose monetary policy by the Fed is not easy, but I will explain why I put the onus of responsibility on financial markets and in-
stitutions.

Finding root causes is like peeling back an onion. Each explanation gives rise to further questions at a deeper level: pervasive incen-
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stitutions.
our economic system. “Our team” had done so much better than almost everyone else, and in particular the government had not been able to raise my voice when those same policies were enacted. For a more extensive discussion of these epidemics, see Joseph Stiglitz, Globalization and the Death of Distance (New York: Norton, 2005).
The French Understanding of Sovereignty
With Regard to the Construction of Europe

by Amin Bournazoul, France

In France, the concept of sovereignty has a very long history. Sovereignty is – alongside England – the first country to apprehend the concept of sovereignty. Since the end of the 10th century, since the advent of the Capetian dynasty, France has always been the leader in the concept of sovereignty. This will to sovereignty has manifested itself:

• via the German Emperor to whom the French king refused to pay his respect.
• and via the Holy See. Remember in this context that Napoleon forced the Pope to leave Rome and settle in Avignon on the river Rhone.

That was also the time when the French king's jurists did not hesitate to reaffirm the "King of France was the emperor of his realm.

• The French Revolution adopted the concept of sovereignty that had also applied in the time of the Capetian dynasty. Later, General de Gaulle, founder of the Fifth Republic, renewed the concept of sovereignty, by leaning on several strong principles:

• A sovereign country is a country which maintains its self-determination; it may never submit to another power, be that another state or an international organization.
• A sovereign country can very well co-operate with other states or in international bodies, but it must remain master of its own decisions at all times.

Two these basic principles had guided General de Gaulle when he asked his partners to introduce the Treaty of Rome and the other in the context of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). Concerning the Treaty of Rome of 1957, General de Gaulle had the so-called Luxembourg Compromise implemented in 1967. This provision meant that France would not apply to a regulation in case it did not approve of this regulation issued by the European Community.

Concerning NATO, General de Gaulle was always loyal to this agreement. Yet the French troops were withdrawn from the command of the NATO so as not to have to operate under American command. Valéry Giscard d’Estaing, François Mit terrand and Jacques Chirac succeeded General de Gaulle’s principles and increasingly integrated France into the European Organisation. But many French nostalgically reminisce the great time of General de Gaulle.

In the course of his electoral campaign, Nicolas Sarkozy deliberately arranged his discourse around the concept of national sovereignty. He vaunted a policy of independence, he criticized the Euro, he made use of symbols of national sovereignty, and he continually referred to the important figure of General de Gaulle.

The French have been deceived. Today they realize that they have become the victims of a swindle. France does no longer have its own economic policy, it is being determined by the European Union. France no longer has its own foreign policy; it is being determined by the USA. Today we are facing a double problem, on the European as well as on the national level. On the European level, we find that the system installed by the Brussels bureaucrats is incapable to solve the problems. The edifice of the European Union has become unsound and is in danger of collapse.

The European economy is rampant, unemployment rates are increasing and poverty is on the rise in all European countries, as the euro went down with the Euro. The situation in Greece is alarming, since that country would be insolvent without outside help. But Greece is not alone. The same applies to Spain, Portugal, Italy, and perhaps to France as well. In the context of the euro crisis, we have to prove of this regulation issued by the European Union cannot be co-operate with other countries or in international bodies, but it must remain master of its own decisions at all times. (Photo: keysotom)

- The first one was last year in the European elections, the UMP, the president's party, suffered massive losses. This must mainly be ascribed to the president himself, whose style, methods and goals met with ever growing opposition.
- Without doubt, we are in a period of upheaval. The world cannot go on as it does, the European Union cannot remain in its present form. In future, people of Europe cannot remain submitted to the USA and to the Brussels bureaucracy.

Human dignity is the source of Human Rights. But the source of human dignity is to be found somewhere else, to be precise in the unities of the society, in spirituality and in ethics. The norms of International Law are merely instructions for the implementation of Human Rights. So normative positivism does not give us all solutions. Primarily it is the education to dignity and to respect of others, and the education to freedom and solidarity, which can rescue humanity from barbarism. This implies a true educational reform, it means to remove us from the war culture surrounding us, the culture of violence and the culture of video games which are full of violence and aggression, games which are poisoning today's youth.

The normative development concerning the protection of women and children in armed conflicts is far reaching and complex. Even the early Haag Agreement of 1907 (the 4th Haag Convention) concentrates on the protection of the civil population, in the armed conflicts. The 1949 Geneva Convention of 1949 and the 1977 protocols have greatly improved this protection. But the normative development is not restricted to the Human Rights. A sovereign state, such as Human Rights are valid in peace times as well as in war times. Thus, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights must be called upon during armed conflicts (for example article 3, 6, 17, 24, as well as the International Covenant Against Torture, the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. These conventions have been established by expert committees, which examine periodic reports of states that are parties to the respective conventions. The committee members are elected by the states parties for a term of four years.

I travelled with the Special Rapporteur on the Enforcement of Rights, Aladár Mármondt, to Macedonia, where we worked together with the Government. Unfortunately, the determinations of the Human Rights Committee are not compulsory, strictly speaking. Most of the member states of this facultative protocol, however, accept the decisions of the Committee. The problem is somewhere else – often they don’t have any national mechanism available for their practical enforcement. For this, specific laws would have to be adopted, such as the ordinance 288 in 1996 in Columbia.

The raping of women is a crime in all juridictions. Unfortunately, in spite of this, we know that the rapists are not yet arrested and again and within the context of armed conflicts. The international criminal law recognizes that rape is not only a war crime, but it is also a crime against humanity. This is the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

One should clearly keep in mind that one also encounters a lot of “soft law” and law “de lege ferenda” (a legal situation which will be enacted under a law, which is still to be enacted). Among others the Lausanne Declaration on the Human Right to Peace of 2006 and the Bilbao Declaration of 2010, recognize women and children as especially vulnerable groups. These declarations aspire to include the Human Right to Peace completely, initially for 10 days, and over half the pupils agreed to watch less violent video games, should watch less television and video games as well as their classmates in elementary and secondary schools. I travelled with the Special Rapporteur on the Enforcement of Rights, Aladár Mármondt, to Macedonia, where we worked together with the Government. Unfortunately, the determinations of the Human Rights Committee are not compulsory, strictly speaking. Most of the member states of this facultative protocol, however, accept the decisions of the Committee. The problem is somewhere else – often they don’t have any national mechanism available for their practical enforcement. For this, specific laws would have to be adopted, such as the ordinance 288 in 1996 in Columbia.

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All this must be stopped, the people of Europe are longing for liberty, justice, and also be-
What are the Goals for Switzerland?  
On the Federal Council’s Foreign Policy Report 2009
by Dr. Iur Marianne Wathrich, Zurich

Both the National Council and the Council of States dealt with the Federal Council’s Foreign Policy Report 2009 at the spring session 2010 and decided by majority vote to take note of the report.* On behalf of the Federal Council, President bât your question. The Government of Foreign Affairs did not only submit the annual report on its activities in September 2009, but presented the whole range of Switzerland’s extremely various and valuable activities worldwide, concerning foreign policy, on 240 pages.

The EDA under the direction of Federal Councilor Micheline Calmy-Rey has a wide range of possibilities to contribute to a more humane world and to protect the national political and economic interests of Switzerland at the same time. Switzerland avails itself of these possibilities in a very impressive way. It does so on no account in the path of a neutral small state befriended with all peoples of the world and to seek to NATO or the European Union. The aspirations of some of the EDA’s exponents for a stronger integration of sovereign Switzerland into the EU, even aiming in the long run at the full entry, is completely unjustified. This membership would entail the renunciation of much that makes up Switzerland – the policy of neutrality and the strong direct-democratic structures which were won with some remarkably critical statements against these necessities in the FPR to be heard in Parliament.

As a neutral country that is not integrated into supranational structures, Switzerland has the opportunity to support humane living conditions and a peaceful settlement of conflicts between parties everywhere in the world. (see FPR, p. 5)

Humanitarian aid
“Swiss humanitarian aid has a global mandate, namely to save lives and alleviate suffering wherever crises, conflicts and disasters occur that directly affect the civilian population. It provides support in accordance with the principles of international humanitarian law. It is thus no less than the principles of humanity, independence, impartiality and neutrality.” (p. 148)

Thus, in 2009 Switzerland’s humanitarian aid in 2008 in contrast with the earthquakes in China, with inundations in Bolivia and with innumerable small problems in the world, Switzerland helps the victims of war in an impartial way. In 2009 the Syrian and the Iraqi refugees in the Middle East in close-co-operation with the ICRC, the UN and the Swiss Humanitarian Aid office. Switzerland encounters an abundance of similar humanitarian employments of Switzerland all over the world.

Strengthening humanitarian international law
“Switzerland has traditionally campaigned for the promotion and development of international law as a constant feature of its foreign policy. This is indeed in its interest as a nation that has neither significant political nor military weight. Its focus is on human rights and international humanitarian law.” (FPR, p. 134)

One of the many examples: Switzerland’s employment during the Gaza War in 2008/2009 included an effort to observe humanitarian international law that Switzerland made with the Israeli authorities and, above all, an effort to ensure the access of Swiss aid to the people of the Gaza Strip. Switzerland was one of the countries that was allowed to deliver humanitarian relief supplies in the Gaza Strip and it succeeded in mediating the conclusion of an agreement between the ICRC and the Israeli authorities, which then permitted ICRC restocking of its critical stockpile in Gaza. (FPR, P. 56) Switzerland has acquired net assets. The Federal law on international agreements, which was passed in 1987, which were organized by international organizations and NGOs in Geneva. “Politically speaking, Switzerland imbues Switzerland with a disproportionately high status on important questions in relation to the size of the country, and it therefore contributes significantly towards the accomplishment of the Swiss foreign policy objectives.” (FPR, p. 167)

EFTA or WTO?
The European Free Trade Association (EFTA) was founded in 1960 by Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Great Britain and Switzerland. Later, other states joined, most of them have become EU members in the meantime. Although the EFTA has only four member states (Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein and Switzerland today), it maintains free trade agreements with 21 states and territories. With these free trade partners, the EFTA states produce a volume of trade of 38 billion francs. Most important partner of the EFTA states is the EU with a volume of trade of 489 billion Francs. New free trade agree- ments are currently in the negotiation process and are prepared and consolidated. (FPR, pp. 58)

EFTA’s role would be described as follows: It that a greater emphasis on the liberal way the EFTA pursues as a network of agreements of equal sovereign states, and make it a focus of its economic policy. The bilateral free trade with the EFTA should be promoted among smaller states. Every attempt at free trade would be especially valuable. But the WTO and its “functioning rules” are above all useful for the big global companies, not for the Swiss SDC and the SECO are published in particular the advancement of the Geneva peace promotion program in 2009. It serves different interests of dealing with the Middle East crisis, in order to find practicable solutions for the complex problems of the peace process. (FPR, pp. 123, 124)

Supply of the good services in their classified form
“Protection of foreign interests is an instrument that enjoys a rich tradition in Swiss foreign policy.” (FPR, P. 56) Switzerland has become a protection of foreign interests for the American interests in Iran and in Cuba, as well as the Cuban interests in the United States until 1959. It is also an instrument for 7 000 US citizens, who live in Iran. (FPR, p. 69)

EFTA states is the EU with a volume of trade 27 territories. With these free trade partners, the EFTA states is the EU with a volume of trade 28 billion francs. Most important partner of the EFTA states is the EU with a volume of trade of 489 billion Francs. New free trade agree- ments are currently in the negotiation process and are prepared and consolidated. (FPR, pp. 58)

It would be desirable to note that a greater emphasis on the liberal way the EFTA pursues as a network of agreements of equal sovereign states, and make it a focus of its economic policy. The bilateral free trade with the EFTA should be promoted among smaller states. Every attempt at free trade would be especially valuable. But the WTO and its “functioning rules” are above all useful for the big global companies, not for the Swiss SDC and the SECO are published in particular the advancement of the Geneva peace promotion program in 2009. It serves different interests of dealing with the Middle East crisis, in order to find practicable solutions for the complex problems of the peace process. (FPR, pp. 123, 124)

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Current Concerns
*On the contrary, today’s world with its wars and the associated human misery urgently needs neutral states, which are not integrated into political and military alliances. Moreover, peacebuilding conflicts situations and other complex challenges of a sensitive nature. (…) Over the years, Switzerland has involved itself actively in efforts to bring violence to an end in a number of regions of conflict, at the same time adding new aspects of human security to the international agenda. In future, Switzerland will place even greater emphasis on the in- strument of dialogue. (…) Switzerland’s point of view is that efforts to involve all parties are a prerequisite for a sustainable peace- ful solution.” As a mediator, Switzerland “has acquired a great deal of experience and know-how in the area of mediation – know- how which is much in demand both from the parties in the conflict and from international negotiation teams.” (FPR, pp. 119, 120.)

In the past 15 years, Switzerland has returned 1.7 billion Swiss francs to the countries of origin, which is more than any other financial centre in the world.” (FPR, p. 138)

With good reason, the Federal Council de- clares in its report that these exemplary ef- forts of Switzerland to provide compliance with the law in financing, have not been taken note of by the foreign countries. Napoleons had already availed himself from titled Swiss cashes, because he needed money in order to wage his wars. Today, nations of these powers, Napoleon did not try however to strangle the financial market of Switzerland but he respected and appreciated it.

Bilateral agreements with the EU
Until the bitter end
Listing the numerous bilateral agreements, which we have entered into with the EFTA states and the EU or which are being negotiated, would go beyond the limitations of this ar- ticle. The planned agreements are to be pre-

continued on page 7
What are the Goals for Switzerland?

Parliament and the people.

“Mr. Schlüer, I am absolutely willing to consider the bilateral approach still arises. These problems remain option for our country would be the adoption of EU law by Switzerland which ac-

What are the Goals for Switzerland?

Switzerland sets great store by the manner in accordance with internationally recognized noise exposure emanating from Zurich Airport continue to place a strain on our bilateral relations. For example, even though the Zürich flights have a signifi -

Current Concerns

The close ties and intensive exchanges are in the interest of both countries – Germany and Switzerland. The disputes mentioned above arose de-

Current Concerns

Although it is indisputable that Switzerland and Germany have a long history of cultural and economic interweaving and that there is consequently a certain im-

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Although it is indisputable that Switzerland and Germany have a long history of cultural and economic interweaving and that there is consequently a certain im-

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Switzerland has also become the most popu-

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Current Concerns

There is no other country in the world with which Switzerland has such close and intensive relations as it does with Germany. These pro-

Current Concerns

The Federal Councilor Calmy-Rey has done a lot since her accession to ofi ce in the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs to strength-

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Preside over the work of the group of both transpar-

Current Concerns

The corporate Zeit-factors are a politically and fi nancially independent organization. All of its members work on a voluntary and honorary basis. The journal does not accept commercial advertisements of any kind and receives no financial support from business organizations. Current Concerns is therefore a human rights and humanitarian la-

Current Concerns

Summarize this paragraph:

Current Concerns

The close ties and intensive exchanges are in the interest of both countries – Germany and Switzerland. The disputes mentioned above arose de-

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the multilateral framework and to make use of it as an ultramodern instru-

Current Concerns

• Switzerland can make specific contribu-

Current Concerns

Switzerland has a role as a small inde-

Current Concerns

sum, the EU. The agreement with Germany

Current Concerns

the military fi eld?

Current Concerns

The close ties and intensive exchanges are in the interest of both countries – Germany and Switzerland. The disputes mentioned above arose de-

Current Concerns

For example, around 70 percent of all air traffi c at Zurich Airport is attributable to German airlines or

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question of the limits of the bilateral approach still arises. These proba-

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This means that the 7 million- 

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The disputes mentioned above arose de-

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“Pedagogy does not provide us with new ideas. At all times, the genius of famous educators has consisted in depicting a choice of ideas, and in mastering them from the treasure of truths of the past. They could be considered as answers to the urgent problems of a time,” Bernhard Bueb writes in his epilogue to his book “Lob der Didaktik” (In Praise of Didactics), in which he gives away to the urgent questions of our time. He sees his answers as a search for “a way to the right measure” and to describe it he uses the image of a sailor, “who bends to the right, if the boat bends to the left, in order to restore the balance.”

Therefore, pedagogy is not a matter of absolute truth and clinging to principles, but about doing the right thing at the right time. For Bueb, one of the urgent questions of our time is what he calls the “disastrous psychologization of education, which he deals with in his book.

The psychologization of education, in the private as well as in the public sector, as for instance at school, has led to a widespread non-education of children and young people. Education was replaced by observing, interpreting and excusing children's inappropriate behavior; educational acting was replaced by explaining, discussing and overtexting. In the last years, Bernhard Bueb demands a "type of negligence has spread, which expresses itself in a particularly unbearable, self-centered and demanding attitude. (...) These children constantly expect emotion- and material attention, and they have not learned to do without. They live according to the formula "Me. Everything. At once: (...). They grow up in well-ordered circumstances, they are not lacking the love of their parents; but they do not know any limits or any restriction in the decisions they make. They have no social awareness about their rights and duties as adults; we put the decision into their hands. If they decided on to go with drugs and to deal with drugs, then they were threatened with expulsion. The effect of the measure was striking. The introduction of hashish psychologically in Salem schools, which I call the disastrous psychologization of pedagogy was experienced by the police. Checks conducted by the police instead of dealing with the children's deficits in- stead of dismissals following a positive result for all sorts of things. An "extended understanding" made our society an "addicted society" and the children wrote on the walls, "Let me have my drugs as I let you have your work." Those people, who were still living according to their traditional values, were ashamed and kept silent, in order to avoid the term "decider". The institutions announced as the third parties who had not yet arrived in modern times.

Seen against this background, it is not surprising that we encounter the helplessness of pedagogy during the last decades. The great modern educators have had to expect that "educators had shifted the balance between discipline and love to the latter. The psychologists, who accompanied pedagogy developed explained as humanization of education. A lack of effort, aggression and congregating observed defects were explained by psychological models developed in different psychological schools. These defects did no longer have to be interpreted morally. The fidget was "neutralized" as attention deficit syndrome; refusal to work was made acceptable by calling it of "learning disabled" (misjudged by teachers), the inclination to annoy others by low self-esteem and lack of love in early childhood. We should take children and young people as they are and not as morally valuable and important as they are. We should not only explain their behavior by means of psychological theories, too. We should be able to understand them, and to co-operate with them with an excuse. We must often hope, however, so that they can resist the consumption pressure. (...)"

In his book, Bernhard Bueb wants to argue "on the 'Psychologization' of Education: current concerns". The book is a combination of critical reflections and experiences on the current education situation. Bueb demands answers to the urgent questions of our times. He wants to absorb the consequences of educational-- non-educational concepts upon them, which have accompanied the child morally and does not explain and excuse the child's weaknesses.

"School must become a place for educational action again"

Certainly, educational therapeutic pedagogy and psychotherapy can be appropriate and helpful in certain situations, but we may not go as far as to let it take over the educational guidance of the children. We have to deal with the teacher discussions to turn into psychological interpretations of the children's deficits instead of dealing with the children's progress at school. Neither may we allow school social workers to invite pupils, who do not get along with the teacher, and as consequence of bullying, he has resorted to lead his class-takers up the garden path with a sophisticated repertoire of strange stories.

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