

Current Concerns

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“In Order to Survive, Mankind has to Abolish the Politics of Domination over the Peoples”

The ascent and fall of American Supremacy

by Prof Dr Wjatscheslaw Daschtschew

“The Fall of American Supremacy” – this is the title of the new and fundamental oeuvre of Prof Dr Karen Brutenz*. The author is famous because of his numerous publications dealing with the problems of home and foreign politics. Understandably enough, his new book has met with great interest in Russian scientific, political and social circles, because the hegemonic course of the governing US elite – which adopted extreme forms after the decay of the Soviet Union – represents the main threat to Russia’s national security and independent existence to date. Ever more, the instability of this course is becoming obvious as is its disproportion regarding the political and economic possibilities even of a super power like the USA. This process, which is only just beginning, cannot remain without effects on the internal and external political situation of Russia and will also have its effects on Europe and the entire global situation.

The Cold War – rivalry of the super powers

Including an astonishingly great quantity of sources, publications, facts and documents, Brutenz examines the development of US politics starting from the ambitious plans for the establishment of an unipolar world up to the crisis that dominated this policy at the end of Bush’s presidency. The book consists of four substantial chapters (“The World after [without] the Soviet Union”, “Bush’s Revolution”, “The Shagreen of the Empire”, “Russia: Struggle for Return”) and is structured in such a way that the ascent and fall of the hegemonic course of the United States is being convincingly revealed. Also the aspirations of the governing American elite to maintain US supremacy in the world by a change of tactics and methods becomes manifest. The book analyses the historical roots of American messianic tendencies and the policy of hegemony, dating back to the 19th century. But the main attention is focussed on the period after the “Cold War”. The author relates its development to the Soviet control over Middle and Eastern Europe. Not only does he consider essential the clash of two social systems in this process, but also the geo-political rivalry between the USA and the Soviet Union. He defines both their policies as “policies of super power”. That means: orientation on armament beyond measure, excessive importance of the military and military domi-



“A convergent development of the human society is conceivable in the near future, which might combine the advantages of capitalism and socialism, however, without their unfavorable features and weaknesses. [...] It is obvious that the problems of a convergent development of mankind could be and should be dealt with by the organization of the United Nations.” See in the picture the UN flag of Geneva, in the background the Mont-Blanc-Massif. (photo Reuters)

nance in international relations; striving for absolute security without considering the interests of other countries and their concerns; the ideological sense of mission and the desire to propagate one’s own ideology and “way of life” everywhere; enforcement of global hegemony; readiness and even inclination to use force connected with the pretension to implement the own interests world-wide as well as the right to military interference, etc.

Europe’s wars – profit for the USA

The policy of supremacy has always been the main source of wars and conflicts, of international tensions as well as dangerous interferences for the peace on earth. It has led to backlashes and “protective reactions” by the nations whose national security was threatened by these power politics. In the result, the resisting countries always united their forces, and the hegemonic power suffered defeat. The well illustrated experiences of 19th and 20th century are given clear evidence in the book of Brutenz.

In order to secure its supremacy, the US power elite cleverly used the weaknesses and faults of the other powers. During the 20th century, the Europeans were continuously busy with their feuds among themselves, bereaving them off their vigour and undermining the geopolitical role of Europe in the world. They had to endure devastating world wars. It were the USA who drew great profit from these wars. De facto, the Europeans delivered Europe to the overseas power during the 20th century.

After 1945, the USA succeeded in establishing themselves on the European continent for a long time and in bringing the policy of the Western European countries under its control for the time being. With the decay of the Soviet Union the countries of Central, East and South-East Europe suffered the same fate. They had hardly escaped from Soviet patronizing, writes the author, when they were taken on the American “leash”.

The USA drew large political, economic and strategic advantages from the “Cold

War”. For the Soviet Union it turned out to be a great mischief. According to the author’s opinion “it was not so much ideological messianism that forced or drew the Soviet Union into the Arab world, to the Middle East, to Africa, to Central, Southeast and South Asia, to the end of the world – into the Caribbean region – but the efforts to become a superpower in the context of the geopolitical competition with the USA”.

Imperial overstretching

Upon the Soviet Union was imposed the unsolvable and unnecessary task to fight not only the USA, but also the front of Western powers, both in Europe and in the Third World. The efforts of the Soviet leadership to become a super-power were closely intertwined with their ideological messianism. The leaders of the People’s Republic of China arranged their politics in a different way. They concentrated all forces on the internal development of the country and did not thoughtlessly waste enormous resources for outward expansions. This way proved, as we see now, as completely correct.

As it now shows, the striving for hegemony also overstrained the forces of the American superpower. And as in other regions of the world, also in Europe discontent and protest against the Yankee rule, against the inclusion of European resources of material and people into American war adventures spread. Many publications appeared in the West which like that of Brutenz deal with the approaching fall of the American hegemony as a consequence of “imperial overstretching”.

As a counterweight to the plan of a “pax americana” – the creation of an American empire, which was developed with cynical sincerity by neo-conservatives as “project for a new American century” (PNAC) – even a “project for a new European century” (PNEC)** appeared. It reflects the efforts of the still weak movement to free itself from the American guardianship and its “Atlantic” fosterlings in the government circles of the European countries.



Wjatscheslaw Iwanowitsch Daschtschew, born in Moscow in 1925, is a Russian political scientist and historian. Until 1990, he was head of the department of Foreign Affairs at the Institute for International Economic and Political Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences. At the beginning of Perestroika, he was also a professor of the Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet State Department. He was a foreign policy advisor to Mikhail Sergejewitsch Gorbachev and was considered a pioneer of the East-West policy of détente, of the German reunification and of human rights, democracy and free-market economy in general. He was also a visiting professor to different universities in Germany.

The “strategy of indirect influence”

The end of the “Cold War”, the “Charter of Paris for a new Europe” fixed and signed by all European States, the United States and Canada in November 1990, had an only formal character for the USA. In reality, all above-mentioned “principles of the superpower politics” continued to be applied and carried out to its extremes unilaterally by the USA. Certainly, a reservation must be made. In the policy of the USA regarding Russia, the “strategy of indirect action” (“Strategy OF Indirect Approach”) was given priority, the principles of which had been formulated by the English military theoretician and historian Liddell Hart.

Its nature aims at the submission of the adversary, even if it was a super-power, by peaceful means without using weapons, by a “quiet conquest” with subversive actions and the application of political, economic, medial, psychological, demographic fights and the factor of militant nationalism. That means specifically to infiltrate the organs of the national administration by one’s own accomplices – above all purchased people such as Juschtschenko and Saakaschwili or hopelessly compromised politicians. Their role consists of influencing the political, economic, mental, scientific and cultural development of the selected countries according to the will and in the sense of the USA. In the book “New techniques of fighting the Russian statehood”, the methods of this “strategy of indirect action” used against Russia are also well documented.

Spiritual erosion and mass culture

Brutenz pays particular attention to the question how dominant American circles exploit, in the interest of their politics, the globali-

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zation processes, in particular the globalization of communication which penetrates all parts of social life, representing the "bread of information" for hundreds of millions, if not billions of humans. This would bring along the "danger of the cultural and mental negligence, the decline of education, the erosion of the variety of civilization in many countries". Consequence of this influence through American policy in this area is "a deficit of spirit, its erosion by the hunt for money, a triumphant stupidity in mass media, show businesses, mass culture."

According to the opinion of the author, the spreading of these "anti-civilization values" favours a "rejection of those social sciences" which postulate that social life, development, history each have their own regularity". The social sciences were highly estimated and generously financed in the socialist societies, since they served as a basis for the authentication of the social system and their commonwealth. The capitalist system does not need them. The primitive market ideology fulfils its function with its "dictatorship of profit" and its principle: "It is forbidden to forbid."

Who is surprised about the fact that there are 30 million illiterates in the American society? It is possible to earn one's living without education, without culture and without moral principles. But it is easier to rule over uneducated, spiritless masses and politicians. Very much up-to-date are the remarks of the author regarding the role of morals and morality in politics. "If anybody speaks about the ethical decline", he writes, "it is impossible to bypass politics and the politicians. If one regards the present conditions and problems of mankind and the larger role of morals in the present international relations, it becomes obvious that the ethical requirements in politics and for politicians were never as great as today. But probably it is not exaggerated to say that they do not correspond to the requirements of present times."

The author's remarks on the role of moral and morality in politics are quite relevant. "When talking about ethical decline", he writes, "it is impossible to bypass politics and the politicians. Considering present conditions and problems of mankind, the great importance of morality in present international relations, we become aware that the ethical requirements for politics and politicians have never been as important as today. It is probably not exaggerated to say that they do not meet today's requirements."

Immoral political ambitions produce immoral methods

This statement probably refers directly to the governing elite of the USA. First: Politics of dominance, in what dressing they may ever be served, are deeply immoral by nature, particularly if we consider the amount of victims, destruction and sufferings of mankind in the 20th century. Because of this, the expansion policy of the USA was concealed by pseudo-messianic slogans of freedom and the individual's rights. With the help of these, Washington tried to undermine the basis of a strong statehood in other countries while moral and ethical principles fell into oblivion. However, where there is no moral, there cannot be any freedom and no right of the individual.

Second: Immoral political ambitions produce immoral methods of their realization. The principle prevails that 'the end justifies the means'. Thus manipulation of public opinion, provocations, bribery, and economic diversions [attacks from the side, sabotage], subversive actions and secret-service staging of terrorist acts as reasons for war and for the creation of the bogeyman Islam as well as the organization of "orange revolutions" that served to overthrow legal governments have become part of the USA's political practice. It is well known, how many lies, falsifications, provocations were linked with the preparation and realization of the US aggressions against Yugoslavia, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Russia's collapse under Yeltsin

Subversive actions of the USA were widely applied in the secret war against Russia. "In the destructive processes of the Russian econ-

omy", Brutenz writes, "the United States actually played a leading role: with the International Monetary Fund dictate, the World Bank and by activities of foreign, mainly American advisors, who controlled the highest economic structures, exerting an excessive influence. One can claim that the responsibility for 'the reforms' and their consequences is not alone with Jegor Gaidar, Anatoli Tschubais and other wreckers of Russia, but equally with the United States of America."

The coup d'état of Yeltsin and his entourage prepared a fertile ground for the USA's subversive activities against Russia in December 1991. The power, which Yeltsin had seized by conspiracy against the state and the people could not and cannot be regarded as legitimate. It must be mentioned that Yeltsin had secretly negotiated with Bush behind Gorbachev's back. Gorbachev wrote about these events in his memoirs. The negotiations were wiretapped by the Soviet radio reconnaissance. Their contents, however, have been kept secret so far. We can however imagine their contents, if we have a closer look at Yeltsin's subsequent activities in the highest state office. The book reveals shocking material about the destruction of Russia's economic, military and scientific-technological potential as well as the destruction of moral and morality in Russia in the 1990s.

Intelligence, money and corruption

The American governing elite thus succeeded in achieving its aim during Yeltsin's "herostatic misfortune years". [Herostratos set the Artemis temple in Ephesus on fire to become famous.] Russia lost its power status and stopped being a geopolitical counterweight to the USA. It was marginalized regarding world development. Among the Russian lobbyists to the USA, who destroyed Russia – the advocates of the maximum reduction of the state's influence and of an unlimited free market – were many intellectuals. "The Russian people", the author writes, "remained in fact without any moral leadership – without its intelligentsia. The top intelligentsia, its 'capital faction' (...) threw themselves into the arms of the corrupted power. In the frenzy of their wealth grab, many of them exchanged their good reputation for money and turned back to the well-known paths of bootlicking. Those, who sycophantically opened nearly every door to the central committee of the Communist Party for themselves by bootlicking, are today claiming the role of dissidents." As a consequence of the country's total poverty and its citizens – brought about by the Yeltsin regime – as well as of the contempt for sciences by the governing class, more than 800,000 Russian scholars and highly-qualified specialists left their homeland in order to look for a better life and appropriate work outside the country.

The turn to a new epoch and Russia's new role

In the last chapter the author describes his foreign policy concept regarding the turn to a new epoch, which is characterized by the rise of a new configuration of powers in the world: the US are pushed back politically and economically, while a new giant, China, and other centers of power are beginning to rise. The author's ideas about Russia's role in the new power constellation, about its priorities in foreign policy and the character of its relations with the US, China, Germany, France and other European countries as well as with NATO and the EU are very interesting. According to his opinion, Russia is a Eurasian power and cannot concentrate its attention on the West or the East, exclusively. The character of its politics must consider many sides. Its highest priority must be to strongly support the integration of the GUS zone – based on equal rights, mutual attention and without any imperial claims. In the time of Putin's presidency, integration and co-operation in the GUS area were by no means in the center of Russia's foreign policy efforts,



"The adjustment of globalization processes based on some generally appreciated standards would offer the opportunity of mutual approach and mutual gain of civilizations through a 'merger' of their values while they can maintain their specific identity." Meeting of the "International Law Commission" at the UN in Geneva. (UN Photo/ Patrick Bertschmann)

as becomes obvious in Russia's policy with Belarus, which was unfavorable for its own national and geopolitical interests.

Russia must free itself from its reliance on the oil price

The author believes that Russia has after all succeeded – without the "Yeltsin chains" – in improving its position in the world, in abolishing the US "remote controlled administration" of its politics and in regaining its sovereignty. However, all this is only a partial success in the "fight for return". In fact, Russia will never return to its proper place in the international arena, if it does not radically change the vector of its political and economic development. It is tragic that the country has become the energy supplier for the outside world during the last twenty years, a "raw material superpower", whose fate relies completely on the oil and gas prices on the world market. This is exactly what suits the USA, however, it vehemently contradicts Russia's national interests and its national security.

Let us bear in mind: In the mid-eighties, during Perestroika in the Soviet Union, the petroleum price was driven down by the USA's pressure to the lowest level ever, to 6 to 10 dollar per barrel. (Under Putin, the price rose to more than 150 dollar per barrel.) That undermined the socio-economical basis of the reforms under Gorbachev, because revenues out of the energy export made up about 60 per cent of the Soviet state budget. This circumstance [the oil price decline] proved to be one of the main reasons for the failure of reforms to the development of a democratic socialism "with a human face", without the brutal persecutions and crimes of the Stalin era. Yeltsin and his wire pullers exploited the difficult economic situation of the Soviet Union, the disappointment and discontent of the population for their coup d'état and for their grab for power. The disastrous economic "raw material course", the degradation of economics, technology and science, the moral decline and the cultural crisis were characteristic for the development of Russia after 2000. That shows that the country has not yet succeeded in freeing itself from the "Yeltsin chains". Prominent positions in the national political and economic structures are still held by the same people, who helped on the kleptocracy in Russia, just as if nothing had ever happened.

Convergence of the civilizations and the end of western arrogance

Which solutions does Karen Brutenz see for the key problems in the development of mankind, for the overcoming of the economic and mental crisis of the present civilization, for the creation of a new, fair, peaceful world order? According to his understanding, it is essential, first of all, to abolish the segregation of mankind into the rich countries of the "golden billion" and the poor countries with the predominant majority of the world pop-

ulation. This segregation is mainly the outcome of American capitalism. The global rift between rich and poor tends to become bigger and can lead to an enormous increase in conflict potential with respect to international relations. Brutenz describes an important way out of this dangerous development:

"A convergent development of the human society is conceivable in the near future, which might combine the advantages of capitalism and socialism, however, without their unfavorable features and weaknesses. The adjustment of globalization processes based on some generally appreciated standards would offer the opportunity of mutual approach and mutual gain of civilizations through a 'merger' of their values while they can maintain their specific identity. This way the untenable nature of the conflict-laden attitude of a majority of western authors becomes obvious; they insist on the fact that the western world gathered at the summits, is the rightful and final result of the development of mankind and that mankind subdivides itself in 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' peoples. However a question arises, to which there is no answer, yet: If the thesis of the converging development is correct – what forces will convert them?" It is obvious that the problems of a convergent development of mankind could be and should be dealt with by the organization of the United Nations. The solution of these problems will allow us to overcome the confronting spirit of our era. This requires courageous initiatives by Russia and other members of the international community.

Abolish claims for hegemony as the main cause for wars

Karen Brutenz remembers what the former Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told him at an international conference shortly after the end of the "Cold War": "The 21st century will be the most dangerous century since Nativity (birth of Christ)." Perhaps Schmidt expressed his serious concern about the USA's already visible tendency to establish an American hegemony which would inevitably lead to the unparalleled aggravation of international relations in the world. We can add John F. Kennedy's words to these apprehensions, which he uttered in 1962 during the Cuba Crisis: "Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind." In order to survive, mankind must abolish the main cause for wars – the policy of dominance over the peoples. This is the major idea in Karen Brutenz' book. It would make sense to publish this book in Germany and other European countries as well, in order to make it available to all European readers. •

* Karen Brutenz, former Deputy Director of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

** see the article of Jochen Scholz in Current Concerns, No. 9/2008

Resolution of the UN General Assembly (A/63/L.75) of 9 July 2009, part 1

Results of the Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development

ef. In the last issue of *Current Concerns* we drew attention to the new book by Joseph Stiglitz by reprinting the foreword of „Free-fall“. In his book – with an insider perspective and great respect for the nations and their sovereignty – Stiglitz describes the effects of the current world economic crisis and its emergence.

In summer 2009, the book was preceded by the historic UN crisis summit, which the then President of the General Assembly, Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann had summoned. All nations, not only a few countries like the G-20, were asked to cooperate in addressing this deep crisis by developing a new economic order which will do justice to the peoples and their economies which should be at their command.

Chairman of the Commission of Experts to prepare this conference was Joseph Stiglitz. „*Current Concerns*“ reported on the conference extensively (see No. 14, August 2009). This conference, where the representatives of the entire world population (192 countries) were present, made clear that a fundamental revision is urgently needed, so that man will be made the focus of consideration again: A global economy is required that is based on ethical principles such as solidarity, cooperation, coherence, justice and transparency. There must be an agreement on rules which will avoid the mistakes of the past decades. At the time the conference was taking place, the devastating effects of the crisis on developing countries were more than obvious. Miguel d'Escoto and others have repeatedly pointed to the fact that a joint effort is necessary to oppose the crisis and to bring about a just and global recovery. He also made clear that the United Nations General Assembly must be the central forum for these efforts and that the UN must by all means take on its important function of protecting the weaker countries.

In his book, Stiglitz calls for all forces to think along and to cooperate.

The Commission of Experts under his leadership also prepared the final document of the UN crisis summit (Resolution of the General Assembly A/RES/63/303). By reprinting this document we comply with Stiglitz' request to think along and cooperate. It has lost none of its relevance and has to be considered in the discussion about the global crisis.

Due to the length of the resolution, we will publish it in three parts. The second part will be reprinted in the next edition.

The General Assembly,

Noting the Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development, held in New York from 24 to 30 June 2009, and the adoption by the Conference of the outcome document,

Decides to endorse the Outcome of the Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development, annexed to the present resolution.

95th plenary meeting
9 July 2009

Annex

We, Heads of State and Government and High Representatives, met in New York from 24 to 30 June 2009 for the Conference on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development.

1. The world is confronted with the worst financial and economic crisis since the Great Depression. The evolving crisis, which began within the world's major financial centres, has spread throughout the global economy, causing severe social, political and economic impacts. We are deeply concerned about its adverse impact on development. This crisis is negatively affecting all countries, particularly developing countries, and threatening the livelihoods, well-being and development opportunities of millions of people. The crisis has not only highlighted long-standing systemic fragilities and imbalances, but has also



The General Assembly in New York before the beginning of the conference in June 2009. "On 26 June 2009, an extraordinary event occurred: the 192 Member States of the United Nations adopted by consensus a broad and exceptionally substantive statement on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development. The analysis and recommendations cover the gamut from short-term mitigation to deep structural change, from crisis response to reform of the global economic and financial architecture." Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann. (Picture emf)

led to an intensification of efforts to reform and strengthen the international financial system and architecture. Our challenge is to ensure that actions and responses to the crisis are commensurate with its scale, depth and urgency, adequately financed, promptly implemented and appropriately coordinated internationally.

2 We reaffirm the purposes of the United Nations, as set forth in its Charter, including "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character" and "to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends". The principles of the Charter are particularly relevant in addressing the current challenges. The United Nations, on the basis of its universal membership and legitimacy, is well positioned to participate in various reform processes aimed at improving and strengthening the effective functioning of the international financial system and architecture. This United Nations Conference is part of our collective effort towards recovery. It builds on and contributes to what already is being undertaken by diverse actors and in various forums, and is intended to support, inform and provide political impetus to future actions. This Conference also highlights the importance of the role of the United Nations in international economic issues.

"On 26 June 2009, an extraordinary event occurred: the 192 Member States of the United Nations adopted by consensus a broad and exceptionally substantive statement on the World Financial and Economic Crisis and Its Impact on Development. The analysis and recommendations cover the gamut from short-term mitigation to deep structural change, from crisis response to reform of the global economic and financial architecture. The weight of the document is inclined toward agenda setting; it contains few "deliverables" in the form of actionable decisions, but establishes a bold agenda for policy change and institutional development that is broad in scope and profound in its ambitions. Although it is the product, inevitably, of compromise and calculated ambiguity, the Outcome remains the most comprehensive statement issued by any inter-governmental process on the causes and necessary remedies for our world economic crisis.

3 Developing countries, which did not cause the global economic and financial crisis, are nonetheless severely affected by it. The economic and social progress achieved during recent years, in particular on internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals, is now being threatened in developing countries, particularly least developed countries. This progress, partially underpinned by a period of high economic growth in many countries, needs to be secured and enhanced in the face of threats posed by the crisis. Our endeavours must be guided by the need to address the human costs of the crisis: an increase in the already unacceptable number of poor and vulnerable, particularly women and children, who suffer and die of hunger, malnutrition and preventable or curable disease; a rise in unemployment; the reduction in access to education and health services; and the current inadequacy of social protection in many countries. Women also face greater income insecurity and increased burdens of family care. These particular human costs have serious development consequences on the human security of those affected. An equitable global recovery requires the full participation of all countries in shaping appropriate responses to the crisis.

4 Although the financial and economic crisis has affected all countries, it is important to take into account the varying impacts

The Outcome is also a powerful testament to the potential of the United Nations as a forum not only for deliberation, but for decision-making of the highest order – thinking and acting to define the institutional contours of our common lives. It is the result of heroic efforts by a number of individuals and institutions – diplomats and officials, activists and intellectuals in civil society and social movements, and other academic and independent experts from across the globe. The June Outcome draws upon the intellectual capital accumulated during many years of national and regional crises that culminated, after August 2007, in the largest global economic recession since the Great Depression."

Extract from: Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann. Foreword to the Report of the Commission of Experts of the President of the United Nations General Assembly on Reforms of the International Monetary and Financial System on 21 September 2009, p. 7

and challenges of the crisis on the different categories of developing countries. The crisis is further endangering the achievement of their national development objectives, as well as the internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals. We are particularly concerned about the impact on countries in special situations, including least developed countries, small island developing States and landlocked developing countries, and on African countries and countries emerging from conflict. We are equally concerned about the specific development challenges of middle-income countries and low-income countries with vulnerable and poor populations. For all these countries, the crisis presents unique challenges to their efforts to achieve their national development goals. Our collective responses to this crisis must be made with sensitivity to the specific needs of these different categories of developing countries, which include trade and market access, access to adequate financing and concessional financing, capacity-building, strengthened support for sustainable development, financial and technical assistance, debt sustainability, trade facilitation measures, infrastructure development, peace and security, the Millennium Development Goals, and our previous international development commitments.

5 Peace, stability and prosperity are indivisible. In today's globalized economy, all nations are far more closely tied together than ever before. The global reach of the crisis calls for prompt, decisive and coordinated action to address its causes, mitigate its impact and strengthen or establish the necessary mechanisms to help prevent similar crises in the future.

6 This Conference represents a milestone in an ongoing and concerted engagement by all States Members of the United Nations to address the crisis and its impact on development. Today, we have set forth our global consensus on the responses to this crisis, prioritized required actions and defined a clear role for the United Nations. We are doing so in the interest of all nations in order to achieve a more inclusive, equitable, balanced, development-oriented and sustainable economic development to help overcome poverty and inequality.

Present state of the world economy

7 This crisis is connected to multiple, interrelated global crises and challenges, such as increased food insecurity, volatile energy and commodity prices and climate change, as well as the lack of results so far in the multilateral trade negotiations and a loss of confidence in the international economic system. The global economic downturn is deeper than many early estimates, and the recovery is predicted to be gradual and varied. While some countries still experience positive, though much slower growth, the latest estimate of the United Nations indicates that world gross product will fall by 2.6 per cent in 2009, the first such decline since the Second World War. The crisis threatens to have calamitous human and development consequences. Millions of people all over the world are losing their jobs, their income, their savings and their homes. The World Bank estimates that more than 50 million people have already been driven into extreme poverty, particularly women and children. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations projects that the crisis will contribute to the number of hungry and undernourished people worldwide rising to a historic high of over one billion.

Impacts of the crisis

8 The crisis has produced or exacerbated serious, wide-ranging yet differentiated impacts across the globe. Since the crisis began,

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A Self-Confident Nation Is Not Easily Subjugated

On the true intentions behind the attacks on Switzerland and its history – considering as well the recently published biography of General Guisan written by Markus Somm

by Tobias Salander, Historian

Switzerland is currently facing a complex situation: It is surrounded by an increasingly totalitarian Lisbon-EU, a neo-liberal project with intimate connections to the Anglo-Saxon war alliance – of which Germany, its neighboring country, is increasingly blatant in its participation in wars of aggression violating International Law. A country that once again speaks unabashedly of war despite its own ignominious history, that sends its youth into death and then celebrates the cult of death at war memorials.

On top of this there is the exorbitant greed on the part of foreign financial centers seeking to snatch the wealth that has been administered by the Swiss State of Law under the strictest money-laundering legislation – for this purpose a broad campaign maligning Switzerland has been launched. In this sit-

uation it is important for Switzerland to adhere to its tradition of sovereignty, honesty, cosmopolitanism, neutrality and good offices and to maintain a clear head over and an undisguised view of the past. In its history, the Swiss people have always maintained an upright stance despite encroachments and attempts at encroachment by the great powers at their borders. This stance is needed now, as well as courage and determination, in particular. In this respect encouraging literature has been published recently explaining the relevant issues, clarifying distortions and identifying the manipulators. Special credit must be given to the latest biography of General Henri Guisan, commander of the Swiss Army in World War II, written by the journalist Markus Somm.

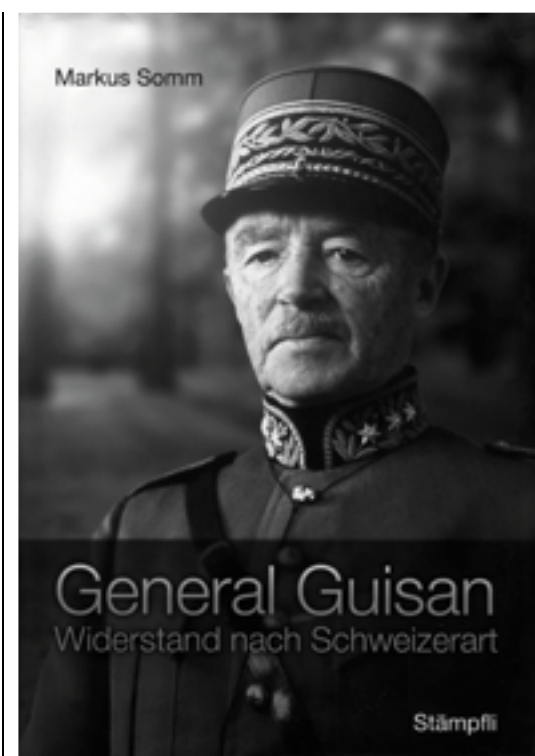
Fifty years have past since 7 April, 1960 when General *Henri Guisan* was carried to the grave at the age of 85 in a state funeral in Lausanne, the likes of which Switzerland has never seen. On that day Switzerland paid its last respects to a man who calmly led the hard-pressed Swiss nation through the tribulations of World War II. Although adverse to any form of personality cult, the Swiss population insisted on giving their last honours to this model of Swiss Confederate prudence, courage and endurance. His memory has been preserved in high esteem over decades. Even Germany and the USA, Switzerland's former World War II adversaries, expressed their great respect for his endurance and his concept of Alpine defence, the National Reduit, even during the war (see box on the next page).

It was not until the *Bonjour Report* was published in 1970, written by the Basel historian *Edgar Bonjour* and commissioned by the Federal Council as the fourth volume on Switzerland's history of neutrality, that the one or other unknown side of General Guisan's activities was made known to the public, although this knowledge was incapable of ruining his reputation.

It was not until the end of the 1980s and mid-1990s that to all intents and purposes a campaign began with the purpose of denigrating one of the greatest personages of Switzerland's 20th century history.

Money and EU-Alignment

This was no accident: In a first initiative taken by the *GsoA* (Society for a Switzerland without an Army) with the intent to dismantle the Swiss national maxim of perpetual armed neutrality, they began to redefine the history of World War II and therefore also to denigrate the role General Guisan had played. In a second wave, the populations' national recollections were deliberately attacked by means of an exceptionally dubious report published by the Bergier Commission. While the *GSoA* campaign was directed at de-militarizing Switzerland, which at that time still maintained one of the largest national armies on the continent, the demolition of Switzerland's reputation as a neutral state and guarantor of Humanitarian International Law, the Geneva Conventions and Good Offices was launched by two power groups which regarded superficially were non-related: On the one hand the *World Jewish Congress* (WJC), a private association forcing countries across



Europe, their banks and industrial companies to pay billions in reparation costs, intended as a compensation for the victims of the Holocaust. Yet the lions' share went to lawyers, some of whom have meanwhile been legally sentenced, or to organisations in Israel, probably finding its way through various means into the country's war chest. On the other hand there was a group in Switzerland, as well, consisting of individuals who were impatient to make Switzerland a member of the EU sooner rather than later. However, there was just one problem: The Swiss people had come out of World War II self-confident, despite the fact that they had been totally surrounded by the Axis powers and were forced to rely only on themselves. In the post-war era, therefore, they were in no way willing to cede their sovereignty to a power structure which according to *Montesquieu's* definition

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Germans on the Swiss: "stunted hotel porters", "wayward branch of our people"

Goebbels on 13 April 1940 in his diary: "The Führer rails against the neutrals. The smaller, the nastier. They must not survive this war. They are what the splinter parties were in internal German decisions, they attempt to prevent ever great solution, they can be bribed, behave cowardly and are corrupt." (quoted after Somm, p. 104)

Moreover, Goebbels writes of the "downright poison-spewing mood of hate against us in Switzerland. Their turn will all come too soon. Then these stunted hotel porters will have their mouths stuffed." (quoted after Somm, p. 105)

And for Hitler, the Swiss were nothing else than a "wayward branch of our people". (quoted after Somm, p. 104)

US secret service boss appreciates Swiss intelligence service

Appreciation of Captain *Hans Hausmann* by *Allen Dulles*, who was head of the U.S. Secret Service in Berne during the war, and later became head of the CIA: "I appreciated your reliable and honest attitude during the war and above all, I appreciated that you clearly recognized, which threat the Nazis were for the kind of civilization Switzerland and America stand for." (quoted after Somm, p. 128)

"Results of the Conference ..."

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many States have reported negative impacts, which vary by country, region, level of development and severity, including the following:

- Rapid increases in unemployment, poverty and hunger
- Deceleration of growth, economic contraction
- Negative effects on trade balances and balance of payments
- Dwindling levels of foreign direct investment
- Large and volatile movements in exchange rates
- Growing budget deficits, falling tax revenues and reduction of fiscal space
- Contraction of world trade
- Increased volatility and falling prices for primary commodities
- Declining remittances to developing countries
- Sharply reduced revenues from tourism
- Massive reversal of private capital inflows
- Reduced access to credit and trade financing
- Reduced public confidence in financial institutions
- Reduced ability to maintain social safety nets and provide other social services, such as health and education
- Increased infant and maternal mortality
- Collapse of housing markets.

Causes of the crisis

The drivers of the financial and economic crisis are complex and multifaceted. We recognize that many of the main causes of the crisis are linked to systemic fragilities and imbalances that contributed to the inadequate functioning of the global economy. Major un-

derlying factors in the current situation included inconsistent and insufficiently coordinated macroeconomic policies and inadequate structural reforms, which led to unsustainable global macroeconomic outcomes. These factors were made acute by major failures in financial regulation, supervision and monitoring of the financial sector, and inadequate surveillance and early warning. These regulatory failures, compounded by over-reliance on market self-regulation, overall lack of transparency, financial integrity and irresponsible behaviour, have led to excessive risk-taking, unsustainably high asset prices, irresponsible leveraging and high levels of consumption fuelled by easy credit and inflated asset prices. Financial regulators, policymakers and institutions failed to appreciate the full measure of risks in the financial system or address the extent of the growing economic vulnerabilities and their cross-border linkages. Insufficient emphasis on equitable human development has contributed to significant inequalities among countries and peoples. Other weaknesses of a systemic nature also contributed to the unfolding crisis, which has demonstrated the need for more effective government involvement to ensure an appropriate balance between the market and public interest.

Response to the crisis

10 We are all in this crisis together. While each country has primary responsibility for its own economic and social development, we will continue to work in solidarity on a vigorous, coordinated and comprehensive global response to the crisis in accordance with our respective abilities and responsibilities. Developed countries and emerging markets have taken the lead in restoring global growth. An immediate priority has been to stabilize the financial markets and re-

store confidence in them and counter falling demand and the recession. Major actions have already been taken to maintain macroeconomic stability and strengthen the international financial system. At the same time, strong and urgent actions are needed to counter the impact of the crisis on the most vulnerable populations and help to restore strong growth and recover lost ground in their progress towards our internationally agreed development goals, including the Millennium Development Goals. Therefore, an adequate share of any additional resources – both short-term liquidity and long-term development financing – will need to be made available to developing countries, especially the least developed countries. Although this crisis continues to have a significant impact on the peoples of the world, we believe that it represents an important opportunity for meaningful change. Going forward, our response must focus on creating jobs, increasing prosperity, strengthening access to health and education, correcting imbalances, designing and implementing environmentally and socially sustainable development paths and having a strong gender perspective. It must also strengthen the foundation for a fair, inclusive and sustainable globalization supported by renewed multilateralism. We are confident that we will emerge from this crisis stronger and more vigorous and more united.

The need for prompt and decisive action

11 We commit to working in solidarity on a coordinated and comprehensive global response to the crisis and to undertaking actions aimed at, inter alia:

- Restoring confidence and economic growth, and creating full and productive employment and decent work for all

- Safeguarding economic, development and social gains
- Providing adequate support for developing countries to address the human and social impacts of the crisis, in order to safeguard and build upon hard-won economic and development gains to date, including the progress being achieved towards the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals
- Ensuring long-term debt sustainability of developing countries
- Seeking to provide sufficient development resources to developing countries without unwarranted conditionalities
- Rebuilding trust in the financial sector and restoring lending
- Promoting and revitalizing open trade and investment and rejecting protectionism
- Fostering an inclusive, green and sustainable recovery, and providing continued support for sustainable development efforts by developing countries
- Strengthening the role of the United Nations development system in responding to the economic crisis and its impact on development
- Reforming and strengthening the international financial and economic system and architecture, as appropriate, to adapt to current challenges
- Fostering good governance at all levels, including in the international financial institutions and financial markets
- Addressing the human and social impacts of the crisis.

Source: <http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N09/399/83/PDF/N0939983.pdf?OpenElement>

"A Self-Confident Nation Is Not Easily ..."

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of democracy could only be described as a despotic one. How was Switzerland then to be brought into line and become a member of the EU, a project massively pushed forward by the US power strategist *Zbigniew Brzezinski*, to serve the USA, the only remaining world power as vassal and bridge-head? Of course, by condemning and deriding the history, tradition and origin of the Swiss nation. This was the second time that the historical role of the General was under suspicion and an entire generation on active duty villified. The actors of the campaign, on the one hand the so-called "US East Coast" and on the other Swiss neo-leftists – both sharing a common goal – let themselves be talked into rejecting the sovereign national state.

Those fighting the purported myths and dogmas upon which a culture of the past had been built set up a new orthodoxy themselves, reacting irritably and highly irascibly when criticized, and placing all those who continued to think for themselves and who refused to ignore historical reality under the suspicion of fascism.

However, on this 50th anniversary of the General's death it seems as if rationality has begun to return and broad circles within the population are beginning to reject and emancipate themselves from the 'historical picture' forced upon them by the unholy alliance of the WJC, the neo-liberal and neo-leftist EU adepts.

Already in 2009, Swiss TV broadcasted a series on the life during the Swiss National Reduit and during the Wahlen Agricultural Plan which enjoyed broad popularity and acceptance among Swiss viewers. And recently the historian and journalist *Markus Somm* published a biography of General Guisan – with the professional support by the Director of the Bibliothek am Guisanplatz, *Jürg Stüssi-Lauterburg* – which deserves to be placed in the shelves of every family and library in Switzerland.

Somm provides his readers with an insight into the deliberations carried out in the military headquarters of the 1940s and allows them to consider the threatening situation as well as to take a look at and evaluate the possible concepts of defence.

What would we, as the current generation have done in the face of the defeat of the French, a country with one of the mightiest armies of the time, faced by a closing of ranks between the dictatorships to the North and the South, by the West's blockade and by a group within the military, inclined towards Germany, and willing to collaborate, and faced with a not always completely firm-standing Federal Council? We would have nursed our Coca-Cola bottles. Who, today, would be capable of bringing up the courage to stop an alignment-elite that is willing to collaborate and would be willing to risk one's neck if developments turn unfavorable? Many history teachers of the 90s taught us that it is possible to 'challenge'

and criticize everything while feeling very intelligent in doing so. But what about our resolution to defend ourselves from foreign paternalism and our willingness to commit ourselves to the entire picture? All the while we have been hypnotised by sham chimes calling us not to block 'progress' and to follow 'progressive new Europe' with the promise of a 'greater area economy' and a breaking-up of 'encrusted structures'. No, this is not the current EU propaganda, although it is almost identical to it: It expresses the same megalomaniac drive and derision of small-scale structures such as Switzerland. Greetings from the German Cavalry: the phrases quoted stem from Nazi propaganda and were compliantly spread by Switzerland's – even if small – 5th Column.

'Greater German' ideology under the cover of the EU?

EU values will heal the world, or will it be German ones again? This is at least the opinion of *Pierre Hillard*, the French professor for International Relations at the ESCE (*Ecole Supérieure du Commerce Extérieur*) in Paris, who in a series of publications painstakingly shows how Germany – under EU-disguise and under the auspices of the US-Israeli war alliance – is in the process of extending its sphere of influence to the 1937 borders and beyond. To what purpose? If Hitler sought to establish nothing but world dominance after the planned demise of the Soviet Union, according to Hillard the current goal is to create a global government through the establishment of continental power blocks such as the EU. This means there would be a transatlantic union between the US, Europe and Israel with a common currency to compete against Asia. Are these power fantasies? According to plans already formulated by Brzezinski, this seems definitely plausible. And what role is Switzerland to play, surrounded by the EU as a great power? As an island committed to state-of-law principles, to direct democracy and humanitarian law, the small Swiss alpine state must stand in the way of great power politics. For this reason a campaign has currently been launched against Switzerland; this is why Swiss principles are being discredited.

What makes the left leer at the EU?

All the more valuable is the uncovering of the true operational proceedings in the Second World War, the factual report on the General's life and work. Reading Somm's biography allows us to return to a calm conception of ourselves. Memory and representation of the events correspond again.

The Reduit Concept was neither a gesture of humility nor the extended branch of the German arms industry: Somm reveals how the General protested against the retreat into the alpine fortress until in summer 1940 he fell back on the Reduit Concept as an emergency solution. It happened only after the French army had surrendered and after Guderian's armed troops stood at the western border, ready to invade.

German generals about the Swiss' will of defence: The Alpine Reduit is too hard to conquer

In September 1942 the German general staff writes in the *Kleines Orientierungsheft Schweiz* (Orientation booklet Switzerland): "In summary, it can be said that the Swiss national fortification has reached a state today, which permits the Swiss army to meet an aggressor with serious resistance in the frontier zone and to be on a standby for a long time in the 'Reduit national.'" (quoted after Somm, p. 179)

Franz Böhme, general of the German mountain troops, wrote a memorandum at the end of 1943, in which he reexamined an invasion of Switzerland: "This [when Switzerland was completely encircled by the German Reich after the Italian surrender in September 1943] is an extremely difficult situation in Swiss understanding, but the Germans would be far from a correct judgment, if they assume that Switzerland would therefore

submit their military politics to a revision in favor of Germany." (quoted after Somm, p. 217)

And Böhme continues: "The morale of the Swiss soldier is a high one, and we will have to compare it with that of the Finns. A people, who produces good athletes, has always had good soldiers. The patriotism of the Swiss is on the highest stage imaginable, the shooting training better than for example in the former Austrian federal army with its 18 months service, despite the Swiss militia system." (quoted after Somm, p. 218)

Böhme's conclusion: "Swiss national defense is equipped with an army, which is an extremely considerable factor, due to its numerical strength. (...) Defeating the fiercely fighting troops in the Alpine reduit will be a task which can only be solved with great difficulty." (quoted after Somm, p. 218)

Swiss ethics: "Honor mankind in your neighborhood"

From Guisan's order of the day for 1 August 1940: "At the threshold of a crucial year I will give you this order: Think as a Swiss and act as a Swiss. To think in the Swiss way means: Honor mankind in your neighborhood, at home and beyond our borders. Therefore we put the law above power, humaneness above use and welfare." (quoted after Somm, p. 142)

What would have been the alternative? Surrender? Abandon the 60,000 refugees, among them 30,000 Jews – which the Bergier Report recognizes at least – to the Nazis? Sending the Leftists off into the concentration camps in the "Pan-German Reich"? No, it was also the Left, which had followed *Hans Oprecht*, the same Oprecht, who together with the other honest men of the officers' conspiracy would have arrested the National Council if it had capitulated. It is incomprehensible that in the 90s the Left deconstructed Swiss history because they would have been the first ones to be arrested by the SS (elite corps of the Nazis). It is equally astonishing that exactly this Left now pushes forward into the *Lisbon EU*, a neoliberal project led by the *European Round Table* and the *American Chamber of Commerce*, which reintroduces capital punishment, especially in case of riots against the excrescences of neo-liberalism. It is high time that from the Left in Switzerland emerged another personality of international standing, as Oprecht was one.

What makes the Left leer at the EU? Is it the rage at the successful model Switzerland, which is not only a left project, although it partly is? Or can't the later born admit – as Somm speculates – that it was a civil government that successfully guided Switzerland through the world war, even if there was much luck its side? Or is it the mere lust of deconstruction? Why not deconstruct the myth of the so-called "peace project" EU then? Reveal *Jean Monnet's* background – and end up in Wall Street? Is it the fear to have to admit a historical misinterpretation of a greater dimension? Or is it about the EU as a holy cow, removed from any criticism? Delusion by myths? There is enough literature about it, so why the shyness?

Now, when even the most sacrosanct myth is put into question, sorry – "deconstructed": Which book has been on the French best selling books list for weeks? And particularly on the Israeli list? It was *Shlomo Sand* with his epochal work "The Invention of the Jewish people".

However, the blurb of the German edition electrifies the reader. It says, "Shlomo Sand belongs to a group of Israeli historians, who are critically concerned with the history of Israel and Zionism. They do not question the Israeli right to exist, but they do question their claim to the Promised Land, which is based on legends. Judaism, Sand says, is a religious not an ethnic community. If at all, it is rather the Palestinians than the Jews, immigrated from Europe, who are the ethnic descendants of the Biblical Israelites." Therefore, the author advocates an Israeli policy that is more open towards their Arab neighbors (...) So if the Israelis in their difficult situation are at present peeling off their own founding myths, why should the Swiss Left, living in prosperity, not do the same with the EU?

Plan B for Switzerland today?

Somm's Guisan biography can – if it is read – render an inestimable service: unexcited, matter-of-factly, rich in quotations. It is apt to strengthen our self-confidence by its differentiated representation of complex facts. Why the general allowed negotiations with French officers, why he wanted to send an envoy to Berlin, why he once demobilized and mobilized at other times; Somm helps the reader to understand all this. The quotations are beneficent, especially those of the Anglo-Saxons who then had contact with the Swiss and expressed their clear anti-German attitude and reported about the fortified Reduit Concept and the unshakable will to freedom in telegrams to their governments. (see boxes)

It would have been equally exciting – however, this would have gone far beyond the scope of the book – to have a closer look at the General's relationship to the secret resistance preparations, later called "P-26". As early as in 1940, a plan B had been wisely conceived of, how a partisan or guerilla war could have been waged if the divisions of the armed forces had taken Switzerland nevertheless after months of starving out the Reduit Concept. The targets would not have been German soldiers, as they knew about the terrible retaliations against the civilian population following an attack, but the purposeful sabotage and destruction of the infrastructure of the occupiers. It was the same *plan B* for a possible occupation by the Red Army of the Soviet Union that was effective until the *Fichenskandal* (Secret Files Scandal which in 1989 revealed that the Swiss federal authorities, as well as the cantonal police forces, had put a system of mass surveillance of the population in place) and the *PUK EMD of 1989/1990* (The Parliamentary Commission of the Defense Department), confirmed the existence of P-26, a secret stay-behind army, which was dissolved later.

But what is the situation today? Is Switzerland prepared for the "malice of the time" sworn to by our founding fathers, which has been no less deceitful after the Nazi defeat, the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Red Army, neither after the end of the Cold War? Can it really be the solution for Switzerland's independence to reduce the army to such an extent that it will be nothing but a co-operation module with other armies? Keyword "security by co-operation" – which, however, only refers to NATO.

Can the solution be the *PfP*, the so-called *Partnership for Peace*, which should rather be called "partnership in war" according to NATO's new strategic of 1999 and 2009. The central Asian states openly name it a training

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US diplomats on the situation of Switzerland: "[...] nothing more important than maintaining their freedom and independence"

At the end of January 1941, after a detailed conversation with general Guisan the US military attaché in Berne, lieutenant colonel *Barnwell E. Legge*, sent a report to the Pentagon claiming that the Swiss army would fight until the very end the case of invasion. No political and no economic pressure would intimidate Switzerland. He also stressed, "A loosening of the British blockade is vital. If it should remain as rigid as before, Switzerland would be driven into the arms of the axis powers economically." (quoted after Somm, p. 216)

Legge continued to write, "Switzerland is the last democracy in Central Europe. It is completely encircled and at the axis powers' mercy economically. In order to enable the country to live and trust in the fight for independence, Switzerland needs assistance by the USA and Great Britain. It needs economic support to survive." And as conclusion: "(...) the fact that in case of an invasion this country will follow General Guisan to the end and that nothing is more important to the Swiss than maintaining their freedom and independence". (quoted after Somm, p. 216)

At the end of January US vice-consul *Walter W. Ostrow* wrote to Washington: "It is a fact that the Swiss army now concentrates its defense in the mountains. One of the strongest weapons against Germany is the threat to blow up the major railway tunnels in order to deprive Germany and Italy of an important railway connection. Were these tunnels destroyed, the railway traffic between the two Axis powers would be limited to the already overloaded Brenner route." (quoted after Somm, p. 217)

Continuing Henry Dunant's Work

Solemn opening ceremony of the "Dunant Year 2010"

by Urs Knoblauch, cultural journalist, Switzerland

Commemorating the centenary of the Red Cross founding father and on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the "Dunant year 2010", the sun was shining over the richly decorated Heiden health resort in the Swiss canton of Appenzell, just above Lake Constance. It was the place where the almost forgotten *Henry Dunant* spent the last 23 years of his life. Children, young people and schools were the special addressees of the celebrations on the centenary of his death. They intended to continue Dunant's concerns "humanity, solidarity and civil courage". In a cooperative effort, the commune organized extraordinary events, which attract numerous visitors and school groups. The opening ceremony on Sunday, 8 May, was well-attended.

On the occasion of the various opening ceremonies, the Hädler school children and

young people designed beautiful flags decorated with peace subjects and texts. They were waving as welcome in the health resort gardens above the "peace tables" designed by *H. R. Fricker*. Along the road, the numerous visitors could see a wide variety of stalls with a quaint selection of products. The children served a peace soup, sold peace cookies or acted out scenes about the Red Cross principles "Humanity, solidarity and civil courage" or sang songs about them in a choir with a hundred students. An art auction with over 300 red crosses, painted by a variety of people, was also held. Quickly, many pictures were sold, especially those by prominent painters. The proper ceremony took place in the recently renovated and crowded entertainment hall. In his greeting address, the current communal president, *Norbert Näf*, rightly ex-

pressed his great pride about the success of the projects. He stressed that the Dunant year will not consist "of many media bang effects, but of projects and activities that are largely oriented towards sustainability". Thus, "according to the value oriented program" school classes will be invited to Heiden in the coming years. His words were followed by the impressive speech of Landamman *Jakob Brunnschweiler*. (see following article). Then, as a special guest, *Dr Jakob Kellenberger*, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, (ICRC) was welcomed. *Kellenberger* was born in the same house – the district hospital of Heiden – in which *Henry Dunant*, the Red Cross founder, had died. This building, which is well worth seeing, houses the Dunant museum today. In his profound speech, *Jakob Kellenberger* traced the

most important stages of *Henry Dunant's* life, his vision of an "international aid community" and the restless dedication "for the good cause". The speech is fully reproduced below. The school of dulcimer's youth group beautifully accompanied the ceremony. Likewise, a Swiss official commemorative coin in honor of *Dunant* was unveiled. Thus, the celebration became a pleasant event, which well represented *Dunant's* concerns. The whole community had designed every detail of the ceremony with great care. Thus, children and young people keep the values of *Henry Dunant* and the Red Cross alive and spread them in an unconventional manner. A visit to the existing and upcoming events in Heiden can only be recommended. •

For more information www.dunant2010.ch

Leading the Youth to the Values of Humanity, Solidarity and Civil Courage

Opening of the birthday celebration for Henry Dunant and start off to the "Dunant Year 2010"

Address by *Norbert Näf*, communal president of Heiden and president of the Dunant Year 2010, 8 May 2010

Dear *Dr. Kellenberger*
Appreciated Councillors of States
Appreciated President of the Council of States

Dear *Landamman*, dear members of the Cantonal Government

Appreciated Councillors of States, members of the Heiden Communal Council and other communal councils

Beloved Hädler

Appreciated guests from far and wide

I am unspeakably proud of having the opportunity to welcome you to the birthday celebration for *Henry Dunant* and to the opening of the Dunant Year 2010 in Heiden. The hammer dulcina orchestra of the Appenzell music school gave you a first taste of its skills playing a theme from the *Jupiter Symphonie* of *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart*. Thank you so much for it! We will hear more of these young artists in the process of the ceremony.

As you see: already with our address of welcome, we pit on the youth. The principal purpose of the Dunant Year is to bring – in a manifold way – the values of humanity, solidarity and civil courage to the people, in particular to children and young people and to have these important values further developed by the young generation. Almost five years ago, when celebrating the 1st August of 2005, I proclaimed the Dunant Year 2010. At that time it was not yet clear to me which consequences this statement would have. After a workshop, which resulted in over 50 ideas for activities, and the foundation of the association "Dunant Year 2010" half a year later, approximately 40 volunteers worked out five meetings, two exhibitions and the already fa-



"More than 300 people – children, young people, adults, artists or national councillors – demonstrated their solidarity with the values of *Henry Dunant* by painting a red cross." *Norbert Näf*, communal president of Heiden. (photo zvg)

mous art action including the (round) tables for private peace talks. Today, the movement Dunant-Year covers more than 150 members. More than 300 people – children, young people, adults, artists or federal/national councillors – demonstrated their solidarity with the values of *Henry Dunant* by painting a red cross. The first of these pictures can be purchased at an auction today in the reading hall in the basement of our Kursaal. Let me thank all participants of the executive committee and the many working groups for their enor-

mous commitment; thanks to all, who have supported our activities financially, and the members of the patronage committee. Without this work we might not be here today, giving expression to our joy. In place of all participants, I beg our project coordinator, *Mrs. Monika Gessler*, to come on to the stage. She has a similarity with *Henry Dunant*. Today, she is also celebrates her birthday.

Some days ago, during a project week about *Henry Dunant*, I was asked by young

people of the secondary school to give them an interview for a video projection. They asked me what humanity and solidarity meant for me and whether I had, once in my life, given proof of civil courage. Ladies and Gentlemen, I started stammering. I also appeal to you to think about how you can show solidarity at work or during your leisure time, in your family or partnership.

The Dunant Year should show us joyfully and with relish all that *Henry Dunant* wants to tell us today.

Thus, already today you will see civil courage put into scene or you can enjoy the choir project "Give Peace A Chance". Likewise, about 15 and 19 o'clock this stage belongs to the rap performance of our courageous young people. At the information stand in the entrance Hall, you will find detailed information about the programme of the birthday celebration for *Henry Dunant*, or you may listen to the regular loudspeaker announcements on the street. You can treat yourself to some fine meals prepared by the many associations and restaurants with their international food that fits the topic.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I am proud that things are getting finally started. I am proud of all the superb projects and the work of all the people, who are behind it. The Dunant Year does not only consist of many media bang effects, but of projects and activities that are based on sustainability to a large extent. So, in accordance with the value-oriented programme, it is intended to organise a multitude of school trips to Heiden in the coming two years. The international youth camp for humanity and peace is a network-

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"A Self-Confident Nation Is Not Easily ..."

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and preparation field for a full membership. Is that in line with the tradition of a *Guisan*? After the collapse of the Eastern bloc, does the only remaining superpower and/or part of its elite not behave in a way that brings back bad memories of other states with hegemonic claims. And wouldn't it be a good idea for those who are firmly rooted in their own history, to refrain from wars of conquest and attempts of being Mr. Big?

UNESCO: Peace must be rooted in the spirit of man

It is hard to imagine what would have happened to our country after the Second World War, if the collaboration-keen quislings in Switzerland had won and Switzerland had joined the Third Reich. The country certainly would have been occupied and be an equally willing vassal of the allied power USA, today.

What, if the peoples of the world made the West accountable for its wars one day and initiate a remake of the Nuremberg Trials; what if excessive greed - one of the substantial causes for illegal wars of aggression - becomes a punishable offence? And when we look at history, great empires can go down or break apart fast, see the Soviet Union, so why not the EU, as well? – The International Criminal Court ICC has already been established.

Even today, Switzerland is well advised to concentrate on its core competencies and remain custodian for international humanitarian law and neutral mediator in conflicts between states – thus to refrain from foreign quarrels and close the fence not too firmly, just like *Brother Klaus* advised with great foresight ...

To learn from history means to prepare for the future by consciously shaping the present. And this process must begin in our heads and our memory, first thing. That means elimi-

nating biased historical accounts, induced by power politics of any provenance and by ideologies. Or, as the preamble of UNESCO, the UN organization for education, science and culture, says, "since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed". First of all, however, a clarification and purgation of the mind is required. And this begins with the presentation of the historical truth. *Markus Somm*, *Pierre Hillard* and *Shlomo Sand* made important contributions to it.

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How to Spread the Idea of Humanity and Peace around the World

Welcoming speech by Landammann¹ Jakob Brunnschweiler on the occasion of the Dunant-year Opening Celebration on Saturday, 8 May 2010

Dear Dr. Kellenberger
Dear Councillors of State from Appenzell-Ausserrhoden and Innerrhoden
Dear Mr. Communal President
Ladies and Gentlemen
Dear Guests

I likewise bid you a warm welcome to the Dunant-Year 2010 opening celebration here in Heiden. As its president, I am delighted to be able to convey to you the greetings of the Appenzell-Ausserrhoden cantonal government. The Governing Council very willingly supports the activities in compliment to Henry Dunant in the context of its government program. They thus spread the ideas of humanity and peace in the canton, in Switzerland – and in the world.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen, I think you agree with me in this: humanity and peace have their sources in the communities, are rooted in microcosms, in the individual, in the families, and in the circle of friends. As a government we are convinced that a suitable communication of visionary thoughts and humanitarian deeds can affect the development of a society in a positive way; especially so in the case of school children, students, and young people in general. Dunant as a role model: that is the message in the anniversary year.

Henry Dunant had an indomitable, a visionary, spirit and a soft heart – and the courage to act truthfully and fairly. Dunant's ideals, like humanity, solidarity, and civil courage, were outstanding. Dunant was an outstanding personality. Unfortunately, these ideals – humaneness, community spirit, and gallantry – are increasingly disappearing in our modern-day society.

I am particularly thinking of the supposed leaders in our globalised society. Their often displayed lack of consideration for others, their solo runs and their disregard of societies and of the national economies bestows quite a large image problem on them, which is enhanced by reports about wealth grabs, bonuses, and the exploiting of privileges. But these debates will accompany us into the future. We will have to live with them – however, we will have to watch out that our whole social life will not be invaded increasingly on all levels by patterns of profitability and efficiency.

For notions like “balance sheet”, “capital”, “rate of return” and “resource” do not belong to all spheres of life. Otherwise a reckoning

“Leading the Youth to the Values ...”
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ing project by and for young people from all over the world. The kidscross in September can take place every year and also be implemented in other places.

We want to maintain and develop the interactive education platform www.dunantwissen.ch during the next years. We are entitled to give away three of the four tables for private peace talks to other regions or countries. There are negotiations running for a table in the German capital Berlin.

Beloved Häädler, dear guests: You can be pleased about the fact that thanks to Henry Dunant the values of humanity, solidarity and civil courage go on to play an important role in our society. With these words I open the Dunant year 2010!

We are proud that the project Dunant-Year has found entrance into the government program of the canton Appenzell Ausserrhoden.

This shows that our cantonal government backs up the ideals of the Dunant year, having opened many a door for our goals and projects.

Cordial thanks for this support. Now, I'll give the word to Mr. Jakob Brunnschweiler, head of our provincial government, who is called Landammann here and who was elected directly by the people into this function. I ask him to come onto the stage with our Landweibel (policeman).

will take place even in families, in relationships and with regard to our children: What will this cost me, what do I get in return?

I believe that we will reach an impasse if we shape all spheres of our lives merely



The Hammered Dulcimer Orchestra of the music school Appenzell Vorderland.

“We will have to watch out that our whole social life will not be invaded increasingly on all levels by patterns of profitability and efficiency.” Landammann Jakob Brunnschweiler. (photo uk)

according to economic laws. This way, we will miss basic things in our lives. Let's take school for an example: School is not an enterprise. And this applies to the university as well! Education is more than a mere exercise in functioning and transfer of knowledge. Education should help young persons to be successful in their jobs, but beyond that it should help them to develop and unfold their personality and to assume personal responsibility.

Or take the example of a hospital: A hospital is not a health machine. All people who are ill or who have had an accident must be given assistance, be they old or young. Healing and nursing the sick means more than can be expressed in rigid nursing standards. Time and humaneness are required.

Nor are families enterprises. Family means having a home. Family means a feeling of being at home, secure and snug. In a family, you reserve time for each other; families live by the exchange of ideas and by festivities, by conversations and mutual understanding – and forgiveness.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen: A society thrives on its flexibility and its ventures, on curiosity and new departures! But it also thrives on loyalty, reliability and mutual commitment, on solidarity, on shared values and devotion. These values release the stream of warmth that we all live on.

That is why I think that the orientation towards humanitarian values must once again be in the focus of our thoughts and actions. For humanity is at risk of being marginalised or becoming nothing but empty phrases of avowal. Yet in a society where competition is progressively keener – particularly in professional life and in education – recalling humanity becomes necessary.

In the name of “Land und Lüt” (the country and its people) I cordially thank those who have helped with this opening celebration and with the organisation of the Dunant-Year; I especially thank Communal President Norbert Näf. And now I am very much looking forward to the ceremonial address of ICRC president Dr Jakob Kellenberger. I hope you will all enjoy the start up event and I wish you all well! Cordial thanks.

¹ Landammann is a German title meaning “Amtmann of the land”, used by the chief magistrate in certain Cantons of Switzerland and at times featured in the Head of state's style at the confederal level.

Humanitarian Conviction Is an Inheritance from Dunant's Times

Address by Dr. Jakob Kellenberger, president of the ICRC, at the opening celebration of the Dunant Year 2010 on 8 May 2010 in Heiden, Switzerland

Between 1859 and 1864, extraordinary events took place, in rapid succession. In June 1859, Henry Dunant traveled through upper Italy on his way to a meeting with Napoleon III in business affairs. He should never get

al *Guillaume-Henri Dufour*, whose order of the day to the Swiss federal army in the short *Sonderbund* (“separate alliance”) war against some federal cantons is an impressive example of this man's moderate and humane attitude. Looking back in history, they certainly wished primarily that no wars would have taken place, and secondly, if wars were inevitable, that the responsible army leaders would have been people of his conviction. The international conference, which met in Geneva from 26 until 29 October 1863, decided in a resolution “each country shall have a Committee whose duty it shall be, in time of war and if the need arises, to assist the Army Medical Services by every means in its power. (Article 1) In peacetime, the Committees and Sections shall take steps “to ensure their real usefulness in time of war” (Art. 4). As a uniform distinctive sign, they shall wear a white armband with a red cross. (Art. 8) One of Dunant's central proposals had already been realized. The “Württemberg medical association” emerging from the Württemberg charitable society on 12 November 1863 is considered to be the first national Red Cross Society. The desire for neutralization, i.e. taking the societies as well as ambulances and paramedics off from belligerent actions, forged links with the diplomatic conference, which was opened on 8th August on invitation of the Federal council in Geneva. Dufour referred to the aim of the conference when he opened with the following words, “Nous ne voulons qu'une seule chose: la neutralization des ambulances et du personnel sanitaire entre les belligérants.” (We only want one thing: the neutralization of the ambulances and the medical personnel between the belligerent powers). The conference ended on 22 August with the signing of the *Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded in Armies in*

there. At Castiglione, where he arrived in the evening of 24 June, he witnessed immeasurable human suffering following one of the bloodiest battles since Waterloo. On 24 June, the battle of Solferino between the French-Sardinian and the Austrian troops had taken place. This battle in the context of the fight for the Italian unification had claimed 6 000 deaths and 40 000 injured people. Unfortu-



The president of the ICRC Dr Jakob Kellenberger on the occasion of his commemorative speech in Heiden. (photo zvg)

nately, it did not remain the bloodiest battle in European history.

In 1862, Henry Dunant published his book “A memory of Solferino” (“Un souvenir de Solferino”). It focuses on the suffering of thousands of hurt and seriously injured military, for whom nobody cared. Reading the book will shake up many readers even today. The Geneva Society for Public Welfare, presided by the later ICRC president *Gustav Moynier*, assigned a “Committee of Five” to examine the proposals contained in the memories. Members of this committee were *Henri Dufour*, *Gustav Moynier*, *Louis Appia*, *Théodore Maunoir* and *Henry Dunant*. The first meeting of this committee on 17 February 1863 is considered to be the founding date of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Its first president was Gener-

the Field by 12 countries. The neutralization of the medical services, of their facilities and thus of the wounded and ill soldiers in their care are at the centre of the agreement. The first paragraph of article 1 reads as follows: “Ambulances and military hospitals shall be recognized as neutral, and as such, protected and respected by the belligerents as long as they accommodate wounded and sick.” Hospital and ambulance personnel shall have “the benefit of the same neutrality when on duty” (article 2). The first paragraph of article 6 is important for the further development of international humanitarian law, a sentence which seems natural today: “Wounded or sick combatants, to whatever nation they may belong, shall be collected and cared for.”

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"Humanitarian Conviction is an ..."

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Another concern central to Dunant is embodied in a contract on international law.

The then still young and small ICRC did not wait for the adoption of this convention before it took up its actions on the battlefield. In March 1864, it sent its two first delegates onto a war theater. It was the war between the Prussian-Austrian and the Danish troops over Schleswig-Holstein. The experienced army surgeon *Dr. Louis Appia* joined the Prussian-Austrian side and the Dutch captain *Charles van de Velde* the Danish.

Their order was to guarantee compliance with the principles of the conference of 1863. In *Corinne Chaponnière's* biography the order is described by "faire une enquête sur les ambulances volontaires et d'agir au besoin" (make an inquiry on the voluntary ambulances and act if necessary). *Dr. Appia* is said to having been the first ICRC delegate who wore the white armband with the red cross in a conflict area.

"Agir au besoin!" – a good beginning for a few words on the man, who was one of the originators of the two most important conceptions in the conferences mentioned above: the establishment of national aid committees and the neutralization of ambulances and paramedics. Henry Dunant acted spontaneously, immediately helping the wounded and organizing assistance for them, but completely unaware of the human misery that he faced when he arrived at Castiglione.

He also acted by writing down "A Memory of Solferino" with its proposals. The effect of the book was extraordinary and is evidence of the power of a fascinating language in the service of strong and genuine feelings. The effect was also extraordinary, because the man from Geneva was a talented and untiring networker and propagandist of a good cause. It is most impressive to see how in September 1863 he won over the Prussian leadership in Berlin and the French in April 1864 to support his plans. It seems to me, he had a fine feeling for what was possible at his time with utmost commitment as well as what could be seen emerging in the distant future.

Henry Dunant was, as the recently published biography of *Corinne Chaponnière* shows, a complex personality. Above all, he was someone with the uncompromising will to implement his ideas for the welfare of innumerable people – up to this very day. He also was a man equipped with a sense of foreboding, who looked into the future and, perhaps even stronger, anticipated the future in his feelings. Those who think about European history of the first half of the last century understand his increasing pacifist inclinations, very well. One of his intentions was the adoption of a convention on the improvement of the situation of prisoners of war. A conference, held in Brussels in 1874, was however unsuccessful. It took until 1929 to accomplish such a convention. It justified, however, only a stipulated humanitarian right to take initiative, but no right of access. As early as in the war winter of 1914/1915, ICRC delegates visited prisoners of war for the first time. "Agir au besoin!"

Henry Dunant was a founding member of the ICRC, in which he served as a secretary until 1867, the year of his resignation, forced upon him as consequence of bad business in Algeria. The ICRC was primarily a platform for the spreading of his ideas for him and for the establishing of national aid companies, which was his main objective. He would certainly be very satisfied today if he knew that the most comprehensive humanitarian network emerged from the Red Cross and Red Crescent movement. The national societies play a very important humanitarian and social role in many countries. The Swiss Red Cross is a good example. Some societies are also active beyond national borders. It was not part of his concept that the ICRC, being at the origin of the movement and of the Geneva Convention, would once become one of the largest international humanitarian organizations active in theaters of war with a constant personnel of more than 12 000. This year – and we are only in the month of May – expenditures of more than 1.2 billion Swiss Francs are planned by the approximately 230 agencies.



"Thanks to Henry Dunant the values of humanity, solidarity and civil courage go on to play an important role in our society." Norbert Näf, communal president Heiden. (photo uk)



"School is not an enterprise. And this applies to the university as well! Education is more than a mere exercise in functioning and transfer of knowledge. Education should help young persons (in the picture pupils in Haut-Mbomou in the Central African Republic) to be successful in their jobs, but beyond that it should help them to develop and unfold their personality and to assume personal responsibility." Landammann Jakob Brunnschweiler. (photo © ICRC/Ch.-V. Magendo)

It was the reality of war and the necessity of a humanitarian actor, neutral and independent of all nations, with an increasing ability to accomplish protection and assistance operations under enormous pressure and under precarious security conditions which led to this development.

The readiness for action, merely caused by necessity, and the unyielding commitment for the adherence to humanitarian international law, the clarifying of its terms and its adaptation to the requirements of the time would probably meet with Dunant's approval.

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In the meantime, the 10 articles of the first Geneva Conventions have become over 600 articles of the four Geneva Conventions and the three additional protocols. They constitute the so-called nucleus of humanitarian international law. The most recent agreement, in whose development the ICRC had a significant share, will come into force on 1 August: the agreement on the prohibition of the use of cluster munitions.

At this opening ceremony, today, other speakers will go into more detail with respect to the role of Heiden in Henry Dunant's life. Henry Dunant, who left his hometown Geneva for ever at the age of 39, had an eventful and difficult life. However, the increasingly lonely man who felt pursued and feared for the survival of his life's work, has always found people, who supported him in difficult times and who met him with acknowledgement: in Strasbourg, in Stuttgart and in Heiden, where he spent more than a quarter of his life. It was in Heiden, where he, in 1901–equipped with a switchboard – obtained the message of the Nobel peace prize award, together with the French pacifist *Frédéric Passy*. From Heiden, St. Gallen and Stuttgart his rehabilitation as a founder of the Red Cross took place. An important role therein played the article of the St. Gallen journalist *Georg Baumberger* published in the Stuttgart magazine "Über Land und Meer" (on country and sea) in August 1895, and the publication on the developing history of the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention, published in Stuttgart in 1897. Its author, *Rudolf Mueller*, had become acquainted with Henry Dunant as a student in 1877.

Violence, armed conflicts and other forms of violence, have changed fundamentally since Henry Dunant's death. It is no longer the international armed conflicts that are in focus, but the non-international ones.

Asymmetry between conflict parties has increased. Apart from weapons and control procedures, the necessity to develop humanitarian international law concentrates on the non-international armed conflicts today. The rules for the protection of the civilian population and for the command of hostilities are at the center of attention. Violence outside the range of application of humanitarian international law increases, and thus its humanitarian consequences also increase. The importance of the international human rights applicable in war and peace for violent situations has also increased, accordingly. Thus, suspending possibilities are all the more serious, including the fact that – in contrast to humanitarian international law – they do not bind non-national conflict parties, which is the predominant expert opinion.

Urban violence causes more victims in numerous countries every year than most current armed conflicts. The circle of the victims of armed conflicts includes however far more than death tolls and injured people. The circle of those concerned by conflicts also includes refugees and displaced people. They are victims of national conflicts, who lost their base of life; families, who miss their members or who have been torn apart by the conflict; people, who in the context of the conflict lost their freedom.

Armed conflicts and other violent situations are by far not the only causes of humanitarian crises. For understandable reasons, natural catastrophes and epidemics have lately been at the center of attention. However, the humanitarian consequences of armed conflicts remain enormous, we should not allow ourselves to be lulled in a false sense of security due to the decrease of armed conflicts and their often limited intensity. Among the most eagerly discussed so-called megatrends there are those, which have what it takes to produce tensions by aggravating the inequalities and are inclined to end up in riots or armed conflicts.

It is not only from the recent past that we know that the future might bring about things, inconceivable at present, be they good or bad. Humanitarian conviction, accompanied by the readiness to act determinedly, remains as important today as in Dunant's times. I like the way Heiden celebrates this Dunant year. •
