

Current Concerns

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To the beginning of the year

Self-determined agency as foundation of justice and peace*

by Professor Dr phil Dr hc Dr hc Hans Köchler**



Prof Hans Köchler
(picture ef)

I will divide my paper into three parts. As the title already suggests, the presentation focuses on principles. Accordingly, I will not deal with details of the current political constellation.

I shall begin with a brief philosophical-anthropological introduction regarding the concept of “self-determination.” The second part of my presentation is dedicated to political-legal implications of self-determination. Finally, I will plead for a *reconsideration of democracy* or – in other words – argue for more terminological honesty as far as the use of the term “democracy” and the respective political discourses are concerned.

Self-determination – essential philosophical-anthropological aspects

(1) The topic as it is presented to me here relates to the essence and foundations of

“As regards peace as a political goal, this needs respect, i.e. mutual acceptance, be it domestically between individuals or internationally between collectives. Again, this is only achievable if every citizen acts independently rather than – unwittingly – serving the interests of others, being manipulated by more or less well-organised ‘pressure groups.’”

democracy, which may be described as follows: Only in freedom and equality are human beings capable to comprehend the true meaning of community, namely as realization of their individual self in interaction – indeed synergy – with the members of the group. Nobody is able to realise his potential, and achieve his identity, as isolated individual. “Self-determination” – or rather “self-determinedness” (Selbstbestimmtheit) as characteristic of collective behavior – describes the state of the community, which results from this process. Primarily, however, this is about the *basic attitudes of the individual human being*. Self-determinedness does not mean self-creation – this would be the illusion of self-apotheosis, but the development of each individual’s potential in co-operation with others regarded as *equals*. In this context, every individual defines the priorities himself, informed by his own convictions. Everybody is himself accountable for the realization of these priorities. In my analysis, this is also the deeper meaning of freedom – not in the sense of arbitrary action that depends on the twists of mood or the spur of the moment, but as expression of “*essential freedom*” (*Wesensfreiheit*) in the meaning of German idealistic philosophy.

It is in this context that we understand the importance of education for self-determined agency: its task is to develop the capacity of reason, innate in every human being, to maturity – without ideological indoctrination, offering, so to speak, help for self-help on the individual’s road to the state of a self-determined

citizen. Maturity in this philosophical sense, i.e. as agency informed by logos (which is more than functional rationality), is the essence of citizenship in a polity (community of citizens) guided by reason rather than irrationality and emotions. Understood in that way, it is indispensable for democracy.

Self-determination – political-legal aspects

(2) This brings me to the question as to the political and legal implications of self-determinedness: How is a political system to be organized in order to enable every individual to a self-determined existence in the above-described meaning? If self-determinedness of each human being as *citizen* is indeed taken seriously, i.e. if the citizen is perceived as member of a community from which his identity and existence cannot be abstractly separated, the answer will lie in the conception of a polity according to the classical Athenian ideal of *direct democracy*.

On the one hand, only this way of organising the common will is compatible with the status of the human being as a subject, or – in *Kantian* terminology – the “*autonomy*” of the citizen. On the other hand, it is only this organization of the political will that guarantees the rule of law and a policy directed towards peace at the domestic as well as international level. The structural connection with justice and peace can be described as follows:

* Lecture given on the September talks of the European Working Group “Mut zur Ethik” from 2 – 4 September 2016

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"Self-determined agency ..."

continued from page 1

**Justice implies
the absence of arbitrariness**

Law – namely constitutional legality (Rechtsstaatlichkeit), first and foremost requires the absence of arbitrariness. Accordingly, any legitimate legal system depends on the co-operation of citizens on the basis of freedom and equality of all, both of which require a self-determined citizen. As regards peace as a political goal, this needs respect, i.e. mutual acceptance, be it domestically between individuals or internationally between collectives. Again, this is only achievable if every citizen acts independently rather than – unwittingly – serving the interests of others, being manipulated by more or less well-organized *pressure groups*. It is certainly no coincidence that, since the 1980s, several empirical studies have been able to identify correlations between the nature of the organization of politics – democratic or authoritarian – and their inclination towards war. Of special relevance in this regard is a paper by Aaron Wildavsky, published as early as 1985 in the journal *Social Philosophy and Policy* under the title "No War without Dictatorship, no Peace without Democracy." This addresses exactly the structural link, which I could only briefly outline here.

Plea to reconsider democracy

(3) This leads me to the earlier mentioned plea to reconsider democracy and for more terminological honesty in the use of the term. In view of the current crisis of our political systems, both at the domestic and international level, it seems to be of special importance to make use of the anthropological, political and legal evaluation of "self-determinedness" to question the prevalent paradigm of democracy in the global discourse shaped by the Western hegemonic power. One may speak here, without false pretense, of the need for a critique of the very ideology of democracy (*Ideologiekritik*). This also was my intention, more than three decades ago, at a round-table conference here in Switzerland, in Geneva, on the crisis of representative democracy (*The Crisis of Representative Democracy*. Frankfurt am Main/Bern/New York: Peter Lang AG, 1985).

**Democracy is not equal
to "representative democracy"**

In the meantime, since the end of the Cold War, the issue has become even more poignant. In scholarly as well as general political discourse, democracy is understood as so-called "representative democracy," a position, which, in most cases, is stated without further reflection. Strict-

ly speaking, however, the connection of the noun "democracy" with the adjective "representative" constitutes a contradiction in itself. In the literal sense, "re-presentation" means the *again-making-present* ("Wieder-gegenwärtig-Machen") of something that is absent. The modern *doctrine of representation* presupposes that the, at first invisible, totality of the people has to be made present, or visible, before it can articulate itself in the political and legal realm. *Carl Schmitt*, among others, argues in his "Verfassungslehre" that representation always requires an individual to whom this capacity, or competence, of "representation" is attributed. This may be a head of state, who decides on his own authority, but also a member of a legislative body (parliament) – and subsequently of course also a collective comprised of all these persons. The crucial point here is that *individuals* are supposed to be entitled to decide on behalf of *all* citizens. A specific doctrine – that resorts to ontological assumptions – serves to justify this attribution of power to individual office-holders according to which those privileged persons are capable to represent – "make present" – the totality of the people. *Gerhard Leibholz's* "*Das Wesen der Repräsentation*" ("The Essence of Representation," 1929, with several re-editions in post-war Germany) is a classical example of this theory of state. For the sake of terminological precision, however, we must again state that rule of the people cannot conceptually be equated with rule *over* or *on behalf* of the people.

**Popular sovereignty in the context
of a representative constitution
is a fictitious concept**

If indeed the intention is to justify rule *over* the people, one should say so openly and use a different term to describe this power relation. I am not the only one to insist on terminological precision. In his treatise "Vom Wesen und Wert der Demokratie" (On the Essence and Value of Democracy, 1920), *Hans Kelsen*, eminent legal philosopher of the 20th century and "father" of the first constitution of the Austrian republic (after World War I), explained that, in the framework of a strictly representative constitution, the notion of popular sovereignty amounts to pure fiction. In order to legitimize the exercise of power in the eyes of the people, Kelsen argues, one tries to make the public believe that the people, i.e. every individual citizen, directly takes part in the decision-making while in actual fact it is one single office-holder or a group of such persons who decide in the name of all. More appropriate terms for this exercise of power would be monarchy or oligarchy, respectively. However, while it may be more honest to characterize a parliamentary

system as "representative oligarchy," this would admittedly have a more or less delegitimizing effect vis-à-vis public opinion.

The crucial point remains: in such a representative system, the individual person can *not* realise himself as citizen in full freedom and equality since, in actual fact, he is subjected to the will of others. All the citizen can do is to participate, through periodic elections, in the selection of those who will rule over him for a given period of time. In most cases, however, even this choice is rather weak and indirect since in many countries the right to vote for persons, rather than parties ("Persönlichkeitswahlrecht"), is poorly developed.

For self-determined agency to be taken seriously as foundation of democracy, one will have to insist on terminological accuracy. The dominant paradigm of the state must be precisely and accurately identified as *rule of the few*, based on the doctrine of representation. Realistically, however, one must acknowledge the need for a division of labor in our modern industrialized societies. At the end of the day, this means – as the Swiss have taught us – a hybrid state model, namely a kind of co-existence of representative and democratic forms of decision-making.

**Direct democracy:
corrective of rule by representation**

In view of the arguments above, the term "direct democracy" is not a contradiction in itself but a pleonasm. If democracy is the rule of the people, it is already implied that every citizen decides *directly*. Accordingly, under the circumstances of advanced industrial societies, one will juxtapose decision-making by way of "representation" to decision-making by way of "democracy," as has been successfully practiced in Switzerland for a long time. What matters, in that regard, is that "direct democracy," if I may again use that pleonasm, serves as a kind of corrective to decisions made by representation. *In principle, the people may take the initiative on any matter and at all levels – local, regional and national – and decide by referendum. If this possibility is dismissed in a given case or even explicitly excluded by the constitution (as is the case in the Federal Republic of Germany at the national level), the respective polity will be faced with a serious credibility issue in terms of democracy.* (Emphasis by *Current Concerns*)

**Decisions about war and peace
belong into the hands of the people**

Democracy in its original meaning – as authority *directly* exercised by the people – is particularly relevant at the global level when it comes to the avoidance of war, i.e.

Make 2017 the year of freedom of expression

by Karl Müller

Power and rule have always required justification. For centuries, the justification by God's will and by the doctrine of divine right have been trying to legitimate power and rule of nobility of kings and emperors in Europe. The European Age of Enlightenment attempted to change this with only limited success, because autocrats since the late 18th century have been using and reinterpreting in their sense the concepts of Enlightenment to stick to their autocracy.

There was an additional justification by historiography: systems of power and rule were represented as results of "historical lessons" "without alternative", e.g. in Europe and Germany as "lessons from two World Wars and the National Socialist dictatorship". The reverse side is that this included and still includes historical misinterpretations, that is, the subjective alteration of historical facts to benefit power and rule and not the historical truth; unpleasant facts that question the reigning power and rule were and are not welcome.

The role of the media

Justifications for claims of power and rule need to be made public. This is the purpose of the instruments of the culture industry and the media. And there is need for a certain "community of attitude" and "conformity" because, if true freedom of expression, art and press existed, the risk would be too high, that claims of power and rule are threatened.

For a country like Germany, which directly after World War II was under for-

eign rule of the victorious powers, there are interesting testimonies for this. One example is an *Allied Control Authority* directive dated 12 October 1946 regarding the limitations of the freedom of press. The media were obliged not to publish any articles "spreading rumours which have the goal to undermine the unity of the Allies, evoking distrust or hostility of the German people against one of the occupation forces; which contain criticism directed against decisions of the conferences of the Allied powers regarding Germany or against decisions of the Allied Control Authority; which rouse Germans towards insurgency against democratic measures of one of the zone authorities in their zones."

The last point is of special interest: its wording became pioneering for the language regime in the coming decades. "Democratic measures" of the zone authorities are mentioned, even though these authorities had neither been elected by any Germans, nor had there been any referendum regarding these measures.

Serious concerns after World War II

However, after World War II there were various aspects to German history. There were also influential persons who seriously thought that the time of autocracy and concentration of power should be over and that the rights of the citizens and the people should be the centrepiece of political order – in actuality and not just fictitiously and to justify power and rule. This was also connected to a "Naturrechtsrenaissance in Deutschland nach 1945" (Renaissance of

Law of Nature in Germany after 1945) – this is the somewhat shortened title of an essay by Arndt Künnecke in the scientific journal *Annales* in 2013. These ideas have found expression in numerous phrases in the Western German "*Grundgesetz*" (Basic Law) of 1949, particularly in Articles 1 through 20, which have created a basis that can still challenge claims for power and rule based on written law.

The right for freedom of expression ...

These basic rights include freedom of expression in Article 5 of the *Grundgesetz*. In more than 60 years of jurisdiction, the "*Bundesverfassungsgericht*" (German Supreme Court) has repeatedly justified their decrees founded on this basic right. In 1958, the *Lüth* sentence was a landmark decision. It stated: "The basic right for freedom of expression is, as the most immediate expression of human personality in society, one of the noblest human rights [...]. For a free and democratic state, it is an essential constitutive element as it is crucial for a permanent intellectual argument, the vital principals of dissenting opinions [...]. To some extent it is the basis of any freedom [...]."

Considering this statement clarifies that freedom of expression also includes a variety of opinions and that it is this variety which enables the "permanent intellectual argument" invoked by the court. In concrete political life, "truth" can neither be deduced nor decreed. Something like a po-

continued on page 4

"Self-determined agency ..."

continued from page 2

a policy aimed at sustainable peace. Such a policy is more than ad hoc conflict stabilization in terms of realpolitik. It is aimed at a world order based on mutual respect among the peoples according to the democratic ideals of freedom and equality. There is only hope for the permanent avoidance of war if decisions on war and peace, i.e. on the international use of violence, are put into the hands of those who must bear the consequences – the citizens. In a non-democratic context, wars are much more easily waged because those responsible – the "representatives" – in most cases will find

ways to protect themselves from the risks to life and limb involved in their decisions.

Plea for the democratisation of international relations

Self-determined agency of every individual as a citizen is the only guarantee for a sustainable order of peace at the international level – what *Immanuel Kant* referred to as constellation of "perpetual peace." This implies that the organization of relations between states – and between the institutions created by states for that purpose – has to be democratized. Gradual reform of the statutes of global institutions such as the United Nations should lead to a system where the citizens are not merely subjects of their states,

i.e. where their rights are not completely "absorbed," or "mediatized," by the state as sovereign. Under the present circumstances, it makes no difference for decisions at the intergovernmental level whether a state consists of 10,000 or one billion citizens. Apart from the voting rules in international monetary organizations, every state entity has the same weight, so to speak – with the notable exception of the UN Security Council. In this body, due to the historical, albeit now obsolete, power constellation, five states enjoy special privileges that are not compatible with democracy in the above-described sense of equal and direct participation. With this plea for the *democratisation of international relations* – not to forget the procedures of regional organizations such as those, which we have created here in Europe and where the level of citizens' participation says everything about their credibility – I conclude my remarks and thank you for your attention.

(Translation from German *Current Concerns*)

"The crucial point remains: in such a representative system, the individual person can not realise himself as citizen in full freedom and equality since, in actual fact, he is subjected to the will of others."

"Make 2017 the year of ..."

continued from page 3

litical "truth" can only be based on a wide, equal, open and honest exchange and dialog of various opinions, in the framework of a consensus in fundamental ethical questions.

**... does not match with
"lack of alternatives"**

However, this statement surely does not coincide with the "lack of alternatives politics" suffered by Germany at least since *Angela Merkel* became chancellor ... and it is only logical that the resistance against these politics has grown substantially inside and outside of Germany. This resistance is an indication that the rights of the citizens and the people have not yet been forgotten. It is not surprising that many citizens are no longer relying on the media, which more and more have become the instrument of justification for power and rule. Therefore, other media have gained importance.

Comprehensibly many points of today's media are being criticized. Today's media reporting is also part of freedom of expression and opinion, which is good. Some media are abusing the basic right of freedom of expression. But the terms of this basic right have been cast: Article 5 of the Grundgesetz provides legal provisions for the protection of minors and the right of personal honour. In Article 5 the Supreme Court has provided for a wide scope of interpretation. In addition, there are limits to the freedom of expression set by general law. However, in its 1958 decision the Supreme Court declared that any potential limitations of the freedom of expression must be assessed in view of the high importance of this basic right.

**Now the German state is attacking
freedom of expression**

Having all this in mind, we must be highly alarmed that the German state is now

intending to limit the freedom of expression and that its representatives are already speaking about legislative proposals. "A novel law is planned to ban the spreading of false reports. But in actuality the law serves the conservation of the power structures", as the internet page of the German weekly *Freitag* stated on 27 December 2016. And on 27 December, the German weekly *Junge Freiheit* writes: "The idea that the public needs to be protected from 'destabilization' through 'fake news' is presumptuous and authoritarian. Citizens can recognize nonsense and folly without a governess; there is no danger for opinion formation and the democratic discourse. The current laws regarding the violation of personal rights are sufficient." Many voices are arguing along different lines – and this is also a good thing. On 23 December 2016, even the federal head of the *German Journalist Association* declared in a press statement, it was "undisputed that the public discourse should not be damaged by 'fake news'. But there should not be an agency deciding what is true and what is not." This savours too much of a "Ministry of Truth".

It is not difficult to find an explanation for the attempts to restrict the freedom of expression. The highest representatives of our state, that is our politicians, are upset that the justification attempts for their claims of power and rule no longer work.

The licence to lie?

Appropriately, on 26 December 2016 the Viennese philosopher *Konrad Paul Liessmann* stated on [the German federal radio station] *Deutschlandfunk*: "In politics there have always been phenomena of demagoguery, of propaganda, of promises, of campaign promises which of course are not kept, because politics of course have a lot to do with strategy, with retention of power, with tactics. Even in

Machiavelli you can read that, if the retention of power is at stake, the prince, the ruler, has the licence to lie. This is crystal clear! That means lying is an ancient phenomenon."

It makes sense to create a German "Centre for defence against disinformation" under these circumstances. However, in this situation the fox will guard the hen house: The Federal Minister of the Interior intends to organize this "centre" as a "combined unit" under the Federal Press Office in the Office of the Federal Chancellor. And, per *Spiegel online* of 23 December 2016, a memorandum written for the Minister states: "In view of the elections of the 'Bundestag', we should act swiftly." This leaves no open questions!

Watch out: Don't rise to provocation!

In 1783, six years before the French Revolution, *Immanuel Kant* answered the question "What is enlightenment?" with a statement against violence. Here we can read: "A revolution may provide a relief from personal despotism or greedy or bossy oppression, but never a true reform of thinking. Instead, new prejudices will, just like the old, become the themes of a thoughtless mob. This enlightenment requires nothing but freedom – and the most innocent of all that may be called 'freedom': freedom to make public use of one's reason in all matters."

In 2017, we must assume that polarisations through targeted provocations will increase. Direct confrontation with state power is no solution. However, it is prudent and far-sighted to reasonably promote the freedom of expression. There are good arguments for it. And today's German citizens also do not want to move backwards here. It is evident that German citizens must be upfront with each other, work together on equal footing, determined and clear in the matter ... and humane in their interactions. •

Allegations of hacking US-election are baseless

Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity Memorandum

As the hysteria about Russia's alleged interference in the US election grows, a key mystery is why US intelligence would rely on "circumstantial evidence" when it has the capability for hard evidence, say US intelligence veterans.

A *New York Times* report on Monday [12 December 2016] alluding to "overwhelming circumstantial evidence" leading the CIA to believe that Russian President Vladimir Putin "deployed computer hackers with the goal of tipping the election to Donald J. Trump" is, sadly, evidence-free. This is no surprise, because harder evidence of a technical nature points [about alleged hacked mails, are more infos to be found on <http://www.n-tv.de/politik/Obama-will-Wahl-Cyberattacken-aufklaeren-article19295266.html>] to an inside leak, not hacking – by Russians or anyone else.

Monday's *Washington Post* reports that Sen. James Lankford, R-Oklahoma, a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, has joined other senators in calling for a bipartisan investigation of suspected cyber-intrusion by Russia. Reading our short memo could save the Senate from endemic partisanship, expense and unnecessary delay.

In what follows, we draw on decades of senior-level experience – with emphasis on cyber-intelligence and security – to cut through uninformed, largely partisan fog. Far from hiding behind anonymity, we are proud to speak out with the hope of gaining an audience appropriate to what we merit – given our long labors in government and other areas of technology. And corny though it may sound these days, our ethos as intelligence professionals remains, simply, to tell it like it is – without fear or favor.

We have gone through the various claims about hacking. For us, it is child's play to dismiss them. The email disclosures in question are the result of a leak, not a hack. Here's the difference between leaking and hacking:

Leak: When someone physically takes data out of an organization and gives it to some other person or organization, as Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning did.

Hack: When someone in a remote location electronically penetrates operating systems, firewalls or any other cyber-protection system and then extracts data.

All signs point to leaking, not hacking. If hacking were involved, the National Security Agency would know it – and know both sender and recipient.

In short, since leaking requires physically removing data – on a thumb drive, for example – the only way such data can be copied and removed, with no electron-

ic trace of what has left the server, is via a physical storage device.

Awesome technical capabilities

Again, NSA is able to identify both the sender and recipient when hacking is involved. Thanks largely to the material released by Edward Snowden, we can provide a full picture of NSA's extensive domestic data-collection network including Upstream programs like Fairview [cf. <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/fairview.jpg>] or Stormbrew (cf. <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/stormbrew-01.jpg>) and Blamery [cf. <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Blarney.gif>]. These include at least 30 companies in the US operating the fiber networks that carry the Public Switched Telephone Network as well as the World Wide Web. This gives NSA unparalleled access to data flowing within the US and data going out to the rest of the world, as well as data transiting the US.

In other words, any data that is passed from the servers of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) [cf. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2016_Democratic_National_Committee_email_leak] or of Hillary Rodham Clinton (HRC) – or any other server in the US – is collected by the NSA. These data transfers carry destination addresses in what are called packets, which enable the transfer to be traced and followed through the network.

Packets: Emails being passed across the World Wide Web are broken down into smaller segments called "packets". These packets are passed into the network to be delivered to a recipient. This means the packets need to be reassembled at the receiving end.

To accomplish this, all the packets that form a message are assigned an identifying number that enables the receiving end to collect them for reassembly. Moreover, each packet carries the originator and ultimate receiver Internet protocol number (either IPV4 or IPV6) [cf. <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/IPv4>], that enables the network to route data. When email packets leave the US, the other "Five Eyes" countries [cf. <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/UKUSA-Vereinbarung>] (the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) and the seven or eight additional countries participating with the US in bulk-collection of everything on the planet would also have a record of where those email packets went after leaving the US. These collection resources are extensive (cf. <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Picture1.jpg>, <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Picture2.jpg>, <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Picture3.jpg>, <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Picture4.png> und zu guter Letzt <https://consortiumnews.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Picture5.jpg>); they include hundreds of trace route programs that trace the path of packets going across the network and tens of thousands of hardware and software implants in switches and servers that manage the network. Any emails being extracted from one server going to another would be, at least in part, recognizable and traceable by all these resources.

The bottom line is that the NSA would know where and how any "hacked" emails from the DNC, HRC or any other servers were routed through the network. This process can sometimes require a closer look into the routing to sort out intermediate clients, but in the end sender and recipient can be traced across the network.

The various ways in which usually anonymous spokespeople for US intelligence agencies are equivocating – saying things like "our best guess" or "our opinion" or "our estimate" etc. – shows that the emails alleged to have been "hacked" cannot be traced across the network. Given NSA's extensive trace capability, we conclude that DNC and HRC servers alleged to have been hacked were, in fact, not hacked.

The evidence that should be there is absent; otherwise, it would surely be brought forward, since this could be done without any danger to sources and methods. Thus, we conclude that the emails were leaked by an insider – as was the case with Edward Snowden and Chelsea Manning. Such an insider could be anyone in a government department or agency with access to NSA databases, or perhaps someone within the DNC.

As for the comments to the media as to what the CIA believes, the reality is that CIA is almost totally dependent on NSA for ground truth in the communications arena. Thus, it remains something of a mystery why the media is being fed strange stories about hacking that have no basis in fact. In sum, given what we know of NSA's existing capabilities, it beggars belief that NSA would be unable to identify anyone – Russian or not – attempting to interfere in a US election by hacking.

For the Steering Group, Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS)

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

Mike Gravel, former Adjutant, top secret control officer, Communications Intelligence Service; special agent of the Counter Intelligence Corps and former United States Senator

“Enemy stereotype Russia. History of a demonisation”

A book by Hannes Hofbauer

by Jochen Scholz*

A striking proof that Hannes Hofbauer's book was published at the right time, is the European Parliament's adoption of the resolution by a majority of 304 votes against 179, with 208 abstentions. It is a “non-binding” resolution entitled “EU strategic communication to counteract propaganda against it by third parties”.¹ At first sight this sounds to be defensive. In fact, it is about the support of the “Task Force for EU Strategic Communication” and its “Disinformation Digest”² and thus about the authority to interpret the international political activities.

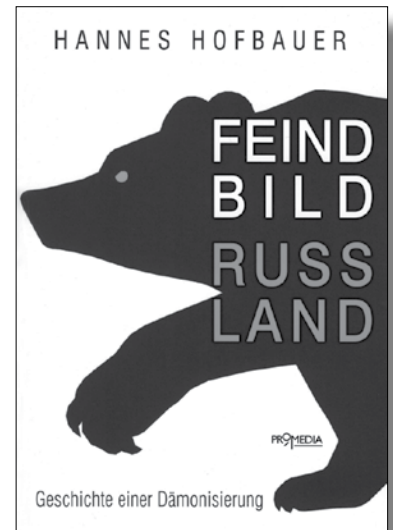
The resolution “calls on each Member State to make the EU Strategic Communication Task Force's two weekly newsletters ‘The Disinformation Digest’ and

* Jochen Scholz was Lieutenant Colonel in the German army. As such, he served for several years with NATO in Brussels and then – during the NATO war against Yugoslavia – in the German Federal Defense Ministry. There he realised that the official speeches of the responsible politicians about gross human rights violations by Serbia did not correspond with what he could see in the reports of the experts on the ground. Because of these lies of the politicians he left the SPD in 1999.

“The Disinformation Review’ available to their citizens in order to create awareness among the general public of propaganda methods used by third parties.”

Russia as a target

Russia Today is primarily targeted, as can be seen in the “Disinformation Digest” of the European Diplomatic Service. Of course, the reasons are linked to the growing popularity of the 11-year-old foreign television station *Russia Today* (RT) and the increasing acceptance enjoyed in the states of the “West”. Politics and local media are therefore increasingly faced with a situation where the authority to interpret the controversial questions of international politics between Russia and the EU/NATO countries, is slipping out of their control. The high professionalism of the journalists working for the RT group and the vigorous medial appearance contributes to this, but also the transmission of information excluded in Western media. The fact that the resolution lumps the Russian media together with propaganda propagated by Islamist terror or-



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rganisations such as the so-called “Islamic State” and with their videos on beheadings and that thus the Russian media are set on the same level with mass murder-

continued on page 7

Security Council unites in support of Russia-Turkey efforts to end violence, jumpstart political process

Resolution to end violence in Syria and jumpstart a political process

The United Nations Security Council today [31 December 2016] unanimously adopted a resolution welcoming and supporting the efforts by Russia and Turkey to end violence in Syria and jumpstart a political process for the war-torn Middle Eastern country.

Also in the Russian-drafted resolution, the 15-member Council “takes note of” the documents issued by Russia and Turkey about the agreements the two countries have brokered, including a nationwide ceasefire and a plan to convene

political talks in Kazakhstan's capital, Astana, between the Syrian Government and opposition groups, in January.

The Council “looks forward to” the meeting in Astana, viewing it as “an important part of the Syrian-led political process” and “an important step ahead of the resumption of negotiations under the auspices of the United Nations in Geneva on 8 February 2017.”

Further in the text, the Council stressed the importance of fully implementing all relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly 2254 (2015) and 2268 (2016), which endorsed an inclusive and Syrian-led political process based on the Geneva Communiqué of 30 June 2012 as the only sustainable solution to the current Syrian crisis, now in its sixth year.

Secretary-General *Ban Ki-moon* welcomed the Council's unanimous adoption today and efforts by Russia and Turkey to reduce violence and save civilian lives in Syria through the establishment of a ceasefire, his spokesman said in a statement.

The Secretary-General also takes note of the resolution's call for the full imple-

mentation of resolutions 2254 (2015) and 2268 (2016), and he urges all parties to heed the renewed call in the resolution for rapid, safe and unhindered humanitarian access throughout Syria, the spokesman said.

“The Secretary-General hopes that these developments will lead to productive talks in Astana, Kazakhstan, and contribute to intra-Syrian negotiations to be convened by the United Nations in Geneva on 8 February 2017 and pursuant to resolution 2254,” the spokesman added.

Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs *Stephen O'Brien* joined Mr Ban in welcoming today's Council action. “As the people of Syria continue to suffer immeasurably, it is imperative that the political will demonstrated today translates into increased, sustained and impartial humanitarian access to the millions of people who have suffered far too long and are currently in the grips of a merciless cold winter without adequate shelter, protection and basic supplies,” said Mr O'Brien, also the Emergency Relief Coordinator, in a statement. •

Source: United Nations, www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=55897#.WGjoKCiw6MM

“Allegations of hacking ...”

continued from page 5

Larry Johnson, former CIA Intelligence Officer & former State Department Counter-Terrorism Official

Ray McGovern, former US Army infantry/intelligence officer & CIA analyst (ret.)

Elizabeth Murray, Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Middle East, CIA (ret.)

Kirk Wiebe, former Senior Analyst, SIGINT Automation Research Center, NSA (ret.)

Source: <https://consortiumnews.com/2016/12/12/us-intel-vets-dispute-russia-hacking-claims/> from 12 December 2016

“Enemy stereotype ...”

continued from page 6

ers can only be described as bizarre. The EU citizens are not yet so deeply indoctrinated that they would not realise this, especially as the enemy stereotype Russia, being fostered in the current media, according to all surveys, did in no way have the hoped-for effect.

“Enmity generates enemy stereotypes”

Hannes Hofbauer has formulated a sentence in plain clarity making the reader understand the connection between the political situation and Russophobia: “Enmity produces enemy stereotypes” (p. 13). He is not only referring to the current situation, but he looks back to the fifteenth century, where he located the source of “Russia and of the image defaming the Russians”, the image of “Asian and barbarian”. Russia since that time is used in innumerable variants as a recurring stereotype by originators of enemy images. Referring to the schism of 1054, the author points out that the Roman-Catholic church in this regard shares a good part of the blame. Since that time, the Eastern Roman Church, and thus also the Russian Orthodox Church, had not any longer been regarded as a Christian community, but as the “Strongholds of the apostates.” In the 16th century, the University of Krakow was the leading educational institution in Europe. In the year 1500, its influential rector, *Johannes Sacranus*, described the Russians as “a nation of heretics with connections to the Turks”.

The role of Poland

The self-understanding of the former Kingdom of Poland as the defenders of the “Bulwark of Christianity” obviously continues to take effect in a secular form up to the present day when the Western media criticise the Russian social and political model as we have seen in recent years. In modern Poland these historical roots are particularly visible in view of the relations between the Polish governments and the Russian Federation since the era of *Walesa*. Hofbauer makes a plausible statement that the decisive influence of the University of Krakow on the – as we say now – European intellectuals of the time were the mycelium feeding the image of Russia as “Asian” where Asian also means “barbaric”.

However, the negative image of Russia in the intellectual historical conflicts of that time did not develop independently of the power-political interests of the Polish-Lithuanian Union against the Moscow Principality. Rather, the academic scholars provided the ideological propagandistic reinforcement. This is not unknown to today’s observers of the EU-NATO relations

with President *Putin*’s Russia when taking a look at the leading daily and weekly newspapers. For over the centuries, the pattern has always remained the same, as discussed in the book on the basis of the conflicts and armed conflicts, especially of the 19th and 20th centuries, so that, at in fast motion, a historical overview of the essential events in the two periods, including the strategic intentions and motives of the actors, is formed.

The greed for raw materials of Russia

Hannes Hofbauer is an economic historian. In this respect, he focuses his attention intensively on the connection between a negative or almost russophobic picture of the country with the huge reserves of raw material and the economic and geopolitical interests of the West, especially the United States. Here, in this and at the end of the last century, the recourse to a historical pattern manifests. For in times when Russian and Western European interests harmonised, as was temporarily the case in the 19th century between Prussia/German Empire/Habsburg and the Tsarist Russian Empire, only the “heroes of German intellectual history” conveyed a picture of Russia as “the absolute evil”. The ruling dynasties, however, saw the allies against the democratic activities in the tsar.

The role of Western intellectuals

The latent hatred of liberal Western European intellectuals against the Russians has been transported over generations and can be activated by the political elites at any time, as happened in the run-up to the First World War. That has not changed much to this day, as the author shows overlooking the history of the relations between the West and Russia after the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Shock strategy in the nineties

The presidential system of Russia under *Yeltsin* obediently served the transfer of the former Soviet planned economy into a capitalist market economy based on the recommendations of the Washington Consensus³, recommended by IMF and the American economists *Jeffrey Sachs* and *David Lipton*. This transfer was equivalent to a shock therapy. Large parts of the Russian population were found in bitter poverty, human life expectancy fell rapidly, clever ex-Komsomols seized control of the former state combines and provided western oil and gas companies with majority participations in the once national energy companies. At the same time, the weakened Russian state had nothing to oppose the beginning East expansion of NATO, although this was a clean break of the promises to *Gorbachev* made by US Secretary of State *James Baker* in 1990.⁴

The Western reporting and commentary on the Russian Federation at that time was, in any case, slightly patronising, but quite seldom so hurtful and aiming below waistline as is the case today. For *Yeltsin*’s Russia neither opposed the beginning eastern enlargement of NATO nor could the weakened country prevent the war against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999. It seemed only a matter of time before the Neoliberals, installed at the switchboards in business and politics by *Jeffrey Sachs & Co.*, would integrate Russia into the western orbit. To this extent there was no reason to prejudice the Western public against a future club member.

Resurrection of the “heartland theory”

This was to change rapidly when President Vladimir Putin took office, having been unknown so far. In one of his first major foreign policy speeches, on 25 September 2001 in the German “*Bundestag*”⁵, he offered the EU the opportunity to unite its own possibilities “with the Russian human, territorial and natural resources as well as with the economic, cultural and defense potentials of Russia”. Thereafter Putin repeated this offer several times, with the handy formula of a “common economic space from Lisbon to Vladivostok”⁶, thus putting the United States’ strategic ideas in Europe in check, that were based on *Halford Mackinder*’s heartland theory⁷ and had been a topic at a conference of the US foreign ministry in Bratislava⁸ in 2000. It was the concentrate of a task force named “Project for the New American Century” located in the Republican “American Enterprise Institute”, that was presented here to the high-ranking Eastern European politicians at the end of April 2000. Then, in September of the same year this task force published their most important paper “*Rebuilding America’s Defenses*”.⁹ The leading neoconservatives had been working on it for years.

President Putin is resisting

The political, economic and social¹⁰ stabilisation of the Russian Federation by President Putin already during his first term of office as well as the restoration of control over strategically important companies in connection with his vision of the cooperation of a future Eurasian economic union with the EU led to the first great wave of anti-Russian propaganda in politics and the media of the West. Their leading power used those recognised as supporters of the Atlanticism in the EU, as the example of the 115 “anxious” politicians and intellectuals shows, who addressed themselves to the Western heads of state and government in an open letter full of magnificent hypocrisy.¹¹

continued on page 8

“Enemy stereotype ...”

continued from page 7

Meanwhile:**Hysterical agitation against Russia**

Hofbauer portrays the connection between evanescent hopes of the USA and its European “tributary vassals” (*Brzezinski*, “The Grand Chessboard”), to be able to integrate Russia into the western, trans-Atlantic sphere, and the agitation against Russia, partly increasing to hysteria, especially ad personam Putin, in the last chapter of the book in concentrated form on concrete events (Georgia, Ukraine) of the past ten years.

Incidentally, reporting and comments, as well as accusations of the politics on Syria, whose increasing virulence correlates with the waning hopes of the West on a regime change follows the same pattern. And thus the cycle, beginning at the fifteenth century, is closing for the reader: if the Western elites can not control Russia, the defamation machinery is set in motion.

Tectonic shifts in the balance of global power

This book is so important because Europe as a whole – and not just the EU – fac-

ing tectonic shifts in the balance of global power¹² must find a way to introduce its cultural and economic strengths in order to develop the future global order on a cooperative, peaceful fundament. The fact that the Russian Federation will play a prominent role here is self-evident on the basis of geography and its resources. What will be at stake for future generations in Eurasia can be deduced from the plea of the former Political Director of the German Foreign Office, who later was the German Ambassador in Beijing and is the chairman of the Quandt Foundation today: “Diplomacy with new means. China’s ‘New Silk Road’ should be the EU’s strategic priority”.¹³ A media poisoned atmosphere would be counterproductive for this huge project. Accordingly, I hope Hannes Hofbauer’s book will reach a wide readership. •

- ⁶ www.sueddeutsche.de/wirtschaft/2.220/putin-plaedoyer-fuer-wirtschaftsgemeinschaft-von-lissabon-bis-wladiwostok-1.1027908
- ⁷ <https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heartland-Theorie>
- ⁸ Letter of Willy Wimmer to Federal Chancellor Schröder: www.nachdenkseiten.de/?p=22855
- ⁹ www.informationclearinghouse.info/pdf/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf
- ¹⁰ www.bpb.de/internationales/europa/russland/135734/grafiken-wohlstandsniveau-und-sozialpolitik
- ¹¹ <http://web.archive.org/web/20070811110517/http://www.newamericancentury.org/russia-20040928.htm>
- ¹² cf. “ReOrient. Global Economy in the Asian Age” by Andre Gunder Frank: <http://mediashop.at/buecher/reorient/>
- ¹³ <https://zeitschrift-ip.dgap.org/de/article/getFullPDF/27469> und <http://deutsche-wirtschafts-nachrichten.de/2016/10/03/partner-im-osten-china-lockt-europa-mit-der-neuen-seidenstrasse/>

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

¹ www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+TA+P8-TA-2016-0441+0+DOC+PDF+V0//DE

² https://eeas.europa.eu/topics/eu-information-russian/9506/disinformation-digest_en

³ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Washington_Consensus

⁴ Zelikow, Phillip/Rice, Condoleezza. “Sternstunden der Diplomatie”, Berlin 1997, p. 257

⁵ www.bundestag.de/parlament/geschichte/gastredner/putin/putin_wort/244966

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Don't sacrifice the Swiss state under the rule of law and democracy to the EU integration mania

by Dr iur Marianne Wüthrich

The majority in the Parliament in Berne has fabricated a "priority to Swiss residents" light rather than to implement the constitutional mandate of the sovereign to control the immigration (Federal Constitution Article 121a). The resulting law is so weak that the EU Commission not only favorably takes note, but complacently noticed in a press statement it "has accompanied not only the process until today, but steered it a little" (see box).

Or in Swiss optics: whose interests the Swiss Federal Councillors and their entourage actually have represented during their frequent visits to Brussels since the referendum of 9 February 2014 is not entirely clear. Anyway, after two and a half years of commuting between Berne and Brussels the Federal Council communicated the decision of the EU Commission to the Swiss Parliament: because Brussels doesn't want to newly negotiate the free movement of persons, the Parliament must now implement Article 121a FC to control immigration so that the free movement will not be scratched.

The press release of the EU Commission of 22 December 2016 shows crystal clearly: no negotiations at eye level took place in Brussels, but they were actually "directed", not to say "dictated": "The Swiss authorities and the European institutions have worked tirelessly to find a solution that would guarantee full respect for one of our founding principles: the free movement

of persons. The Commission will closely monitor the implementation of this solution." The Commission even says how and where the Federal Council should write its regulations amending law: "The Commission expressed the hope that the transposition and clarification work would be carried out in a spirit of transparency and close cooperation, particularly in the Joint Committee provided for in the Agreement on the free movement of persons."¹. Comment superfluous!

Little resistance in Parliament against breach of Constitution

According to the Swiss understanding of State – or in accordance with the principle of separation of powers which is of the essence of democracy – the Federal Council is not competent for legislation and for this reason not authorized to let themselves "conduct" by the EU Commission in the national legislation. (Not to mention the fact that the Federal Councillors have made their oath of office not on EU law, but on the Swiss Constitution.)

Responsible for the legislation are the National Council and the Council of States as well as the people (and Cantons). There was little resistance against the overthrow of democracy and the rule of law from the Parliament (outside of the SVP): In autumn 2016, some National Councillors tried in vain to save a piece of sovereign control of immigration, so *Hans-Peter Portmann* (FDP Zurich) and CVP party President *Gerhard Pfister* (Zug). On 16 December 2016, National Council and Council of States adopted a change of the Foreign Nationals Act which corresponds in no way to the constitutional order of the sovereign – what many MPs openly admit.

This is a cause for alarm! Is this deliberate breach of the Constitution already an approach to the practice of the EU to comply with their own contracts of a constitutional nature (such as for example the debt limit) only from case to case and thus give up the foundations of the rule of law?

Democratic separation of powers versus rule of the executive

The EU is an authoritarian and centralist structure that knows no separation of powers, but is based on the domination of the executive. The EU bureaucracy does not think much of decisions of national parliaments or referendums in the Member States. The EU Council consists of the heads of State of the Member countries and takes the political decisions. The EU Commission, whose members aren't elected, but

appointed by the respective Governments, is the executive branch of the EU, which tells the EU States what they should do. Therefore the Commission thinks obviously to have this right towards Switzerland. If the individual States are not willing, the Commission sues them at the European Court of Justice (ECJ) which "ensures that countries and institutions comply with EU law". The European Parliament is not an independent legislature: it has only a right of co-decision in addition to the EU Council and no right of legislative initiative – this belongs to the Commission alone. (See <http://ec.europa.eu/>)

Following the EU system, the Commission operates primarily with the respective head of State of a member or non-member State. But in Switzerland, there is no head of State. Its executive consists of seven equal Federal councils; the annually changing President of the Confederation has mainly representative duties in addition to the leadership of his department. As Mr Juncker must necessarily have a "head of State", he meets with the respective President of the Confederation (2015 *Simonetta Sommaruga*, 2016 *Johann Schneider-Ammann*, 2017 *Doris Leuthard*).

Mrs Sommaruga and Mr Schneider-Ammann should have had to tell Mr Juncker that not the Federal Council, but the Parliament decides on the law for the control of immigration, and that the specifications of the sovereign are in Article 121a of the Federal Constitution. The Parliament could have decided – as this was discussed for a time – for example a "unilateral safeguard clause", so the temporary introduction of quotas in the event of exceeding a certain threshold, as well as a genuine priority of residents. Or based on federalism the "Bottom-up" - model the former State Secretary *Michael Ambühl* developed on behalf of the canton of Ticino and the KdK (Conference of Cantonal Governments) and that would focus on the specific situation in branches and regions.

Later an agreement with the EU could be sought on such a basis. Fact is: the majority of the Parliament was unwilling to implement the constitutional order, although even EU Parliament President *Martin Schulz* advised this summer in conversation with some Councillors of State to find an "intermediate solution": "How to solve this problem? This is the art that we must achieve. Whether we can reach that by a transitional solution aiming at the end to make again Constitution and tre-

The EU directs

Spokesperson of the European Commission:

"I'll "[...] explain the role of the EU Commission, which it has played in this context.

President *Juncker* met with the Swiss Federal President, Mr *Schneider-Ammann*, at five occasions, and his predecessor, Mrs *Sommaruga*, three times, and he had, if I'm not mistaken, 8 telephone calls with Mr *Schneider-Ammann* to prepare the discussion of the law.

And I think one can say that *the Commission has accompanied not only the process until today, but steered it a little, so that the matter is in a good direction. [...]*"

"[...] We could safely say, that President *Juncker* is very much enrolled and hasn't spent more time with the President of any other country."

EU Commission, Press Conference live (LIVE EC Midday press briefing of 20/12/2016) <http://ec.europa.eu/avservices/video/player.cfm?ref=1131398>

"Don't sacrifice the Swiss state..."

continued from page 9

aties compatible, is worth at least much brain work. That's why I think we should think about it." (*SRF* on 29 June, 2016) Being taught so by a certainly not exemplary democrat and still not being able to show even this bit of courage – embarrassing, isn't it!

Hardly any interest in the EU to apply the Guillotine Clause

Why many Swiss politicians gaze towards Brussels like hypnotized rabbits, is not rationally explicable. If it were really about agreeing with the EU on the basis on the vote of the Swiss people in the referendum, the Parliament could have implemented the constitutional mandate quietly and sit back. But as already experienced, punitive actions by Brussels are usually illegal but mostly less expensive for Switzerland.²

In a "guillotine", i.e. the simultaneous annulment of the seven agreements grouped under "Bilateral I", the EU is at the very least interested. Because Switzerland is an important – and in particular a solvent! – trade partner for the EU, as the EU Commission writes in a factsheet: "Switzerland is a very close neighbour of the EU – geographically, politically, economically and culturally. It is the EU's third largest economic partner (trade in goods and services taken together), after the US and China, ahead of Russia and Japan. In turn, the EU is by far the most important trading partner for Switzerland, accounting for 65% of its imports and 44% of its exports of goods in 2015. In commercial services and foreign direct investments, the EU's share is equally dominant."³

From an economic point of view, the Bilateral Agreements I are not of very great importance to the EU, as well as for Switzerland as the important Free Trade Agreement of 1972 between the EFTA and the EC-countries is still in force with many later additions. On top, the tariffs and trade barriers for goods and services have already largely expired within the framework of the WTO (with the exception of agriculture).

Hardly in the interest of the EU, would be for example the abolition of the agreement on overland transport, which is part of the bilateral agreements I (actually over a million trucks annually in transit on the Swiss roads through the Alps – instead of the initially claimed maximum of 650,000! ahead of the vote). But above all, the EU won't intent to terminate the Free

Movement of Persons agreement. Because it isn't the case that the new Swiss Constitution article issued 2014 requires a migration stop or even expulsion of EU-citizens living here. According to the factsheet of the EU Commission "over a million EU citizens live in Switzerland [in addition to a further million foreigners from non-EU countries; at a total of 8.4 million inhabitants], and another 300,000 cross the border daily for work." These can still live and work here and can take their families over. The Swiss sovereign set in its constitution a reduction of the excessive immigration (roughly 80,000 net immigrants annually, 10 times more than predicted!).

All in all the question should be examined all over again, whether the bilateral agreements I and II are actually of importance to Switzerland. The presumption that it is primarily to bring Switzerland under the control of the EU institutions and not least to get financial contributions in various Brussels money pots, can't be denied. Anyway, on 22 December 2016, after praising the Swiss implementation law created under its direction – the European Commission comes to the point: next, the Federal Council has to pass his message on the Institutional Framework Agreement: "Such an agreement is needed to provide legal certainty in EU Swiss bilateral relations (that is, to put Switzerland under the law of the European Court of Justice) and to express its support for Switzerland's participation in the European Cohesion Programme" (to add further billions to the already payed 1.3 billion francs to EU projects in Eastern Europe).⁴

An alternative to the RASA initiative: the Federal Council ignores once again the will of the people

Knowing that the implementation act on the immigration article, which the Parliament has adopted on 16 December 2016, does not meet the constitutional mandate, the Federal Council is already planning the next step ignoring the will of the people. By adapting the Constitution to the deficient law, so to speak, its unconstitutional content should be aligned. Got that?

The popular initiative "Get out of the dead end (RASA)" was launched as a backlash against the acceptance of the Mass Immigration Initiative and includes the deletion of Article 121a and transitional Article 197 point. 11 of the onstitution. Well, the great majority of citizens doesn't appreciate such "toughing out" (pushing through?), but please, if they want to give it a try.

Far more difficult to digest is the undertaking of the Federal Council, not sim-

ply and clearly to recommend denial of the RASA initiative, but to confront it with a counter-proposal. Two variants are currently in preparation by the FDJP (Federal Department of Justice and Police), the Parliament should consult on them and finally present one of them to the people together with the RASA initiative for voting. By this the Federal Council wants to "provide a broad discussion".⁵ From the point of view of the direct democracy this is a most disturbing approach: the wide-ranging discussion took place already before voting on the 9 February 2014, including the usual giant state propaganda against the initiative financed by taxpayers. Nevertheless, it was accepted by people and cantons.

Of the two variants for a counter-proposal, only the "basic parameters" are known: the first one claims that "treaties under international law, which are of great importance for the position of Switzerland in Europe, are to be obeyed" when the control of immigration is concerned. In plain language: The bilateral agreements of Switzerland with the EU should be seen as constitutional, the right of initiative should be restricted and control of immigration should be made impossible – the opposite of the will of the people.

The second variant wants to remove the prescription of a three-year time limit from the Constitution, in which the control of immigration must be implemented by the Parliament or by a Federal Council regulation. That means Federal Council and Parliament wouldn't be bound to a deadline and could postpone it ad infinitum – until the cows come home. A real alternative would be an extension of the time limit to three or five years.

A small consolation in these turbulent times for the Swiss model: None of these proposals will be accepted by the people and the cantons. Given the massive damage to the direct democratic and constitutional principles of Switzerland through our federal authorities, it is quite a cold comfort only. ●

¹ European Commission welcomes progress in relations between the European Union and Switzerland, *Pressrelease*, Brussels, 22 December 2016

² cf. "Switzerland as a research and training center and the EU bureaucracy". *Current Concerns* No 26/27, 5 December 2016

³ European Commission. *Factsheet. Relations between the EU and Switzerland*, Brussels, 25 September 2016

⁴ European Commission welcomes progress in relations between the European Union and Switzerland *Pressrelease*, Brussels, 22 December 2016

⁵ Federal Council decides on the basis on the RASA Initiative, Berne, 21 December 2016

Press release committee “Yes to a good education – No to Curriculum 21”

Survey of teaching personnel in the Canton of Aargau – the results are explosive!

Until now, the teachers of the Canton of Aargau have been unable to voice their opinion on the reforms announced for Curriculum 21. There had never been a debate with those affected. Apart from a short consultation, the “Aargauischer Lehrerinnen- und Lehrerverband” (Aargau Teachers’ Association, alv), intend on speaking for all of the teaching personnel, didn’t facilitate a broader discussion. Instead, alv entered a cooperation with the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (BKS) and tried to bring all teaching personnel into line. This process can be observed in other cantons as well.

Alv also tries to prevent a critical discussion in its “Schulblatt” (school paper). Although the vote about our education initiative doesn’t take place until 12 February 2017, the BKS holds so-called “informational events” in order to achieve the homogenisation of opinions. As a committee working in a direct democracy, we wanted to counter this highly questionable practice.

For that very reason, we initiated – among other activities – a teacher survey. For it’s the teaching personnel that is confronted with those issues on a daily basis and has to work with the new Curriculum that cements reforms, but still has to implement it into their daily work.

The email addresses for the teaching personnel were legally acquired by internet search. While it is tedious work, it provides autonomous access to the canton’s teachers.

The survey’s results are sensational! More than 1,200 teachers (out of 6,000) participated in the anonymous survey. However, it’s to be noted that a lot of them were probably intimidated by alv and BKS in order to keep them from answering the survey. Both of those co-operations reacted to our request rather quickly and warned to participate in our survey.

The evaluation of the results was done externally by a survey tool that was developed by an eastern Swiss student of the ETH Zurich. It’s successfully run from a Swiss based server.

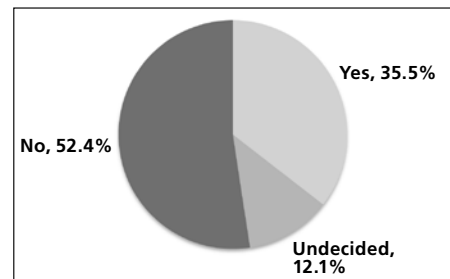
The results can be summarised as follows (see diagrammes):

1. *Are you in favour of two foreign languages (early French or English early) being taught in primary school?*

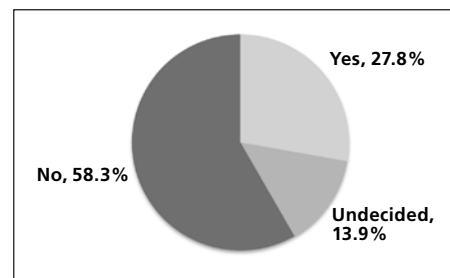
Results: 52.4% of teachers were against two foreign languages being taught in primary school, with only 35.5% being in favour.

2. *Instead of teaching subjects like chemistry, physics, history and geography separately in secondary school, do you prefer having those subjects combined into subjects called “Spaces, Times, Societies” and “Nature and Technology”?*

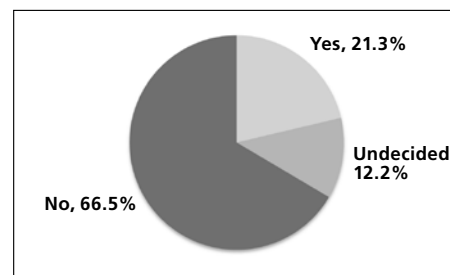
Results: Only 27.8% are in favour of those subjects being combined, while 58.3% of teachers are against it.



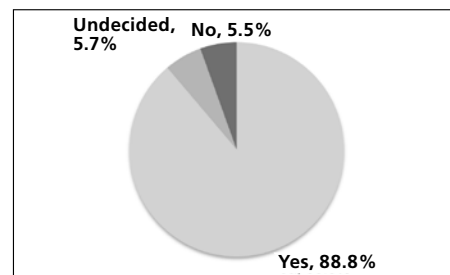
Two foreign languages in primary school



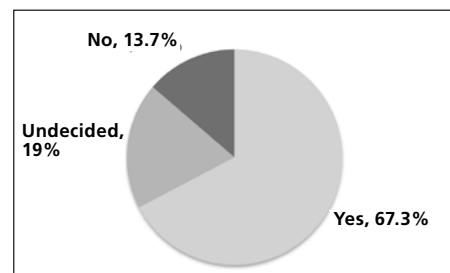
Combined subjects in secondary school



Self organised learning



Vital personality of teacher



Age group learning objectives

	Personality of teachers		Age group learning objectives	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Kindergarten/ primary school (588 answers)	87.5%	6.4%	67.1%	13.7%
Secondary school (396 answers)	91.3%	4.2%	69.0%	13.8%
Grammar school/ vocational school (223 answers)	88.0%	7.7%	64.7%	13.5%

Evaluation according to all levels of school

continued on page 12

"Survey of teaching personnel ..."

continued from page 11

3. *Do you agree with the main point of Curriculum 21, "self-organised learning" that largely leaves the selection of the subject matter and the chosen process (keyword "learning landscapes") up to the students?*

Results: The majority of teaching staff, 66.5 %, reject "self-organised learning". Only 21.3 % are in favour of it.

4. *Do you agree that the teacher is vital for the class' learning success and plays an integral part when transferring knowledge to their students?*

Results: 88.8 % of teaching personnel agree that the teacher is a vital part to

the class' success and has to play an active role. Only 5.5% are not in favour of the teacher having an active role.

5. *Would you like to continue to plan with age group learning objectives in the future?*

Results: 67.3 % of the teaching personnel is in favour of annual goals, while only 13.7 % of teachers were against it.

Except for question 1, all other questions focus on central elements of Curriculum 21. In voting for the initiative "Yes to a good education – No to Curriculum 21", Curriculum 21 couldn't be put into effect.

With our new proposal for a paragraph to be signed into law, we demand sep-

arately taught subjects (and only one foreign language taught in primary school!) and precise annual goals instead of learning cycles. In vital papers concerning Curriculum 21, written and approved by the Swiss Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Education (EDK), "self-organised learning is propagated and the teacher is downgraded to a mere "learning coach".

In summary, the majority of teachers in the Canton of Aargau is supportive of our initiative's essential parts and takes a stand against Curriculum 21.

*For the initiative's committee
René Roca, Oberrohrdorf*

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

	Two foreign languages		Combined subjects		Self organised learning	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Kindergarten/primary school (588 answers)	38.4%	49.3%	31.4%	49.1%	24.4%	61.9%
Secondary school (396 answers)	32.9%	56.6%	26.0%	65.8%	19.3%	70.0%
Grammar school/vocational school (223 answers)	32.6%	53.2%	21.7%	68.9%	16.7%	72.2%

Evaluation according to all levels of school

Letter to parents Autumn 2016

For a good school without Curriculum 21

mw. In summer 2014, some parents worried much about the basic rebuilding of school, and they wrote and distributed their first letter to parents.

In the following two and a half years a lot has happened. The letter to parents has met a great response from parents and grandparents, from teachers and other interested citizens, and many of them also like to take part in the regular meetings. Many people want to help stopping reforms that are problematic for the future of our youth: A curriculum leading away from a good education in teacher-led and community-promoting class teaching; teaching materials and weekly schedules, which can be worked out by children who are left alone in "self-organized learning

(SOL)" without understanding the content; a lot of googling and little founded knowledge; parents who are at a loss concerning the homework of their children and have to spend a lot of time in the preparation of material which is actually part of the school; a missing structure of the necessary foundations in all school subjects – and much more.

In most of the German speaking/Swiss cantons, popular initiatives were taken against Curriculum 21 and/or for only one foreign language at primary school. Even though individual cantonal initiatives have been rejected in popular elections: our commitment to a school that fulfills the educational task of the cantonal constitutions and school laws and prepares

our next generations for their later life in family, in profession and as citizen must go on. We have to owe this to our youth.

With the aim to get in touch with many other parents and to expand the existing circle, some parents have assembled again to discuss and write a second letter to parents. In addition to the references to the various cantonal education initiatives they explain why they want a school without Curriculum 21 and what the Swiss school and teachers have to do. Furthermore good books and studies with new scientific knowledge are recommended, which the "experts" of the EDK and the cantonal school administrations do not want to take note of. Several very thoughtful examples from today's school day round off the letter to parents. •

Parents advocate for a good elementary school without Curriculum 21

Letter to parents Autumn 2016

Parents advocate for a good elementary school. www.elternfuereinegutevolksschule.ch

Dear parents and grandparents
Dear citizens, who feel close to the youth

In summer 2014 we have already turned to the Swiss population with a public letter to parents. We drew the attention to the consequences of the school reforms of the last decades, which were imposed on the population without any discussion. This applies especially to the unfit and harmful Curriculum 21.

Since then many things have changed:

Our first letter to parents met with a wide response. The numerous experience reports show blatantly obvious the harmful conse-



quences of the so-called "modern" learning and teaching theories, of the new confusing and misleading learning materials, and the wrong political decisions in the field of educational issues. We are going to publish some out of the abundance of these reports here now.

The discontent among the Swiss population is widespread. Thanks to the determinedness and to the defensibility of countless citizens to engage actively via cantonal initiatives for a good school education of our youth the Swiss school education became a nationwide topic.

Why we want a Curriculum-21-free elementary school

School has been rebuilt fundamentally and momentarily in its whole conception for at least the last two decades. Today kindergarten- and school-kids as well as their parents are increasingly confronted with an elusive and rather disorganised everyday school life. This state would deteriorate even more under Curriculum 21 and threatens to become binding legally.

Large parts of the subject material is taught insufficiently, confusingly or even not at all. The indispensable deepening practicing phases are inadequately provided or even missing in the teaching materials.

The body of teachers is busily engaged with exuberant school and students' administration without any benefit for the chil-

dren. In teachers' education and trainings and specialists reading materials the approved and reliable achievements of our Swiss educational System with its international esteemed pedagogic contemptuously called as a collection of antiquated customs of the last millennium. For instance it is claimed that instruction and correction would hurt creativity and self-confidence of a child. Even youngest students are to take over the responsibility for their learning (and failing!) themselves.

For such nonsense and alike many students are left alone and on their own.

All this – including Curriculum 21 – leads away from a real and proven pedagogic and has nothing to do with our Swiss educational tradition any more.

What do the cantonal educational initiatives aim at?

- the right of the population to participate in important school issues
- stop the unreasonable school reforms
- schools without Curriculum 21

We are confident that a

Yes to the cantonal educational initiatives

allows an open discussion about the question what is really necessary for a future-oriented, reasonable and child-oriented elementary school.

Resistance against Pisa tests and the worldwide equalization of education is growing in Latin America

Manifesto against PISA and the Standardization Framework of Education in the World

gl. Eight Latin American countries, including Chile, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Peru participated at the last Pisa study in 2015. Whether such global standardized comparative tests are useful in education is also questioned there.

The Red Social para la Educación Pública en las Américas (Red SEPA) (Initiative for Democratic Education in the Americas, IDEA Network. Trilateral Coalition in Defense of Public Education) is an umbrella organisation of numerous teachers' and educational organisations in North and South America,

which was founded in 1998 to protect and improve public education on the American double continent. The Coordination Committee comprises representatives of national teachers' organizations from Argentina, Ecuador, Brazil and Canada, and various regional educational organizations of the Caribbean, Central America and Mexico as well as indigenous teachers' organizations.

In December 2016, the Red SEPA, together with the Coalición Trinacional en Defensa de la Educación Pública (Mexico, USA, Canada), published the Manifesto that was published as follows.

In view of the sixth results release of the International Program for Student Assessment (PISA), the undersigned declare our absolute rejection of the test, its national versions, and the homogenizing framework of educational systems.

PISA is a standardized test applied every three years to 15 year old students. Its first application was in the year 2000, date from which more than 70 countries have been incorporated. In order to participate, each country must have a specialized technical team and pay for its application. Currently, the OECD, which applies the PISA test, has contracted Pearson, a transnational education corporation, for the development of its 2018 version.

On the other hand, the results of PISA have become an important indicator of the country's economic competitiveness.

Since its first application, we have observed several anomalies:

1. Politico-educational: the Ministries of Education have limited control of this assessment, in a scenario of intensification of standardized process and measurements. Progressively, international organizations such as the OECD have imposed changes in educational policies in the world, aligning educational processes to a limited conception of progress. This standardization includes the creation or adaptation of national testing to a global pattern that works through the pressure of the rankings. Moreover, the standardization has driven to a strong inflow of private companies that have marginalized the ministries of education, teachers unions and schools from the conduction of educational projects. Additionally, the teacher education and professional development have been aligned with standardized assessments. In short, this logic reduces the processes of teaching and learning that point to an integral and holistic development, rooted in a critical historical-social consciousness.

2. Technical: PISA promotes rankings of countries based on the results. This practice seeks to neutralize the enormous cultural differences, world views and characteristics of each national context. This factor implies that this test does not meet minimal criteria of validity and reliability.

3. Pedagogical: there is a game of high-stakes standardized test and the triggered processes that have brought a radical transformation of the schoolwork. Narrowing curriculum has driven to the elimination of subjects like arts, music, philosophy and history. School time has been restructured to accommodate the training to be successful in these tests. It should be noted that these measurements are not subject to social or pedagogical discretion.

4. Social and Psychological: PISA and its national variants discriminate, press, stigmatize regions, countries and population in their comparisons. Control and pressure to get good scores ultimately rests in the communities of teachers and students, installing a stressful regime that destroys the school climate and emotional stability of our schools. The measurement has deepened practices of exclusion and segregation in our schools, robbing their sense of the right to education.

For these reasons, we demand the annulment of the contracts signed by the various governments with the OECD. We also demand the termination of the standardized tests with high consequences at the national level.

We also want to express our commitment for a public education as a social right, to be inspired in all its practices by the social, historical and cultural diversity of our peoples. We denounce the repressive actions that several states and authorities have unleashed against social, magisterial and student movements that have demonstrated against the various forms of neoliberal standardization.

We defend the need to have schools that are protagonists of the transformation

of education for social justice. Evaluation systems should be rooted in communities, must observe complexity, and should promote an education respectful of human and social rights. Only in this way do we shape full citizens.

Sign this Manifesto:

Red Social para la Educación Pública en las Américas (Red SEPA).

Coalition Trinacional en Defensa de la Educación Pública (Mexico, USA, Canada).

Source: <http://idea-network.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Manifesto-against-PISA-and-the-Standardization-December-2016.pdf>

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Letter to  the Editor**Traditional education systems form the best in the world**

While the Asian countries continue to be world leaders with their traditional education systems, the Western countries, which have radically altered their education system to the neo-liberal “OECD competence orientation”, have been steadily declining for years in the PISA ranking.

What is the secret of the academic success of the Asian top-ranking countries? For them the relationship orientation is held up during learning. They aim at a broad general education with the social form of class teaching, where the teacher explains and the pupils summarize. In doing so the integration of different opinions takes place. Healthy competition is not prohibited. School performance primarily consists of acquiring as much as possible of the teacher’s knowledge. Systematic memorizing and internalization are very important. At the same time, techniques of memorizing are applied, in which an at most comprehensive presentation of the contents of the teaching is enriched by appropriate documentation on memorization. Modesty, social responsibility and trust, self-control and conflict tolerance prevail as personal-

ity ideals as well as respect and courtesy. Authority need not be further legitimized. Teachers have traditionally a high reputation in all Asian countries. The more a teacher knows and spreads, the more respect is given to him.

These are all characteristics, which had a high priority even in the European education tradition until the 1990s. The radical turnaround was initiated by the economic organisation OECD, founded in 1961, when the Chicago school with its neo-liberalism found its way there. Although the Chicago Boys were given a free hand from the bloody military dictatorship in Chile in the 1970s to radically reorganize all state institutions, including education, according to their neoliberal economic theories and privatize them for the global market, they failed miserably and left behind a pile of fragments from which Chile did not recover until today. Even the biggest global economic crisis in 2008 with the failure of “globalisation” has not led to a rethinking of the neoliberal orientation of the OECD to the global education corporations bringing these corporations worldwide sales of over 6,000 billion USD per year.

In 1999, the OECD had let “construct” its neo-liberal “competence orientation” by the psychologist *Weinert*. Since then the proven education system including class teaching and teachers is being abolished in one OECD country after another. Class teaching is replaced by controversial “self-controlled learning”, which results in a knowledge reduction of at least 50% and is propagated as the “modern” method in the “fundamentals of Curriculum 21”.

“Much of what we magnificently celebrate as ‘globalisation’ and ‘adaptation to international standards’ is, in effect, adaptation to US provincialism.” (G. Fröhlich, *Evaluation wissenschaftlicher Leistungen* (Evaluation of scientific achievements), Swiss Society of Radiobiology and Medical Physics, Bulletin 2/2006)

For the method of Curriculum 21, the “self-controlled learning” see the video => “Ich lerne was ich will” (I learn what I would like to!) (www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3nR8op9hNg)

Peter Aebersold, Zurich

About the importance of education

The article by *Dieter Sprock* about the importance of education in *Current Concerns* no. 25/26 from 14 November 2016 expresses exactly what I feel. Its importance cannot be overestimated. The author has succeeded in describing unfavourable attitudes and behaviours towards children in such a way that parents and educators are stimulated to reflect, they feel addressed and not attacked. He also ranged from the children’s room to the school room, where the same misinterpretations lead to wrong learning concepts (the so-called “Gemeinschaftsschule”), unchallenge and ultimately a lack of training.

He has pointed out the difference between motivation and force as well as between guidance and strictness very well, and with thus, he got to the heart of “educational crisis”. This confusion, however, has been systematically fed into the educational sciences since the 1968s, and has now unfortunately not only become a mindset in society as a whole. Insecurity has also caught the minds.

As a paediatrician and adolescent doctor, I experience on a daily basis how much it has become normal that the parents or adults want to satisfy the children and struggle to gain the favour of the children. Many parents are in conflict. On the one hand, they know very well what their children would do well; for example, stop using the pacifier, because it deforms the jaw; do not give sweet drinks and brush the teeth, so that no caries emerges; to limit the PC games, because school

achievement and family life suffer from it, etc.

Afraid to force possibly their child, they shy the discussion and then accept the negative consequences. In my practice, I often experience how relieved parents are when they are instructed to support and encourage their child lovingly, but firmly in his learning. It is always a pleasure when I see the children again and they tell me for example proudly that they do not need a pacifier or a diaper anymore, can get dressed

alone or get better marks because Mom confiscated the phone. Most parents are astonished that the roar of their children and the quarrel in the family stop when they are firmly convinced to show their child the way. I placed the article in my surgery and I recommend the reading to all parents, kindergarten teachers and teachers.

*Dr med Marianne Schammert,
paediatrician and adolescent doctor,
Weingarten (Germany)*

Family in the GDR and the FRG

I would like to hand a comment to the debate about the fate of the family in the FRG and the GDR in later. My core idea was: The Marxist-Leninist characterised policy of the GDR tried to penetrate into the family and let it work for their affairs, just as they took youth associations into the service of the state. Other states with totalitarian tendencies did and do the same. As a socialist state, the GDR taught its youth patriotism and pride in the achievements of the country. However, the “New Left” in the FRG, above all the Frankfurt School, and this is the great difference to the GDR, did not want to take the family into their service, let alone fostering the love for one’s country. The core of their ideology was the dissolution of the family and the dissolution of love for their country and the dissolution of religious bonds. Patriotism and German folk songs were despised. The patriotism of

oppressed peoples and their folk songs were celebrated. The family was despised by the “New Left” and the Frankfurt School as the “socialising agency of the bourgeois state” and as a hotbed for the “fascist character” and religion as a blacksmith’s shop for subjects. The attachment to them was to disappear from the mind, and the psychology, above all the psychoanalysis, was used as a means of abuse. The expressly demanded dissolution of family, religion, and national state should guarantee a relapse into fascism and dictatorship! The leadership of the GDR did not do this. The member of the last GDR government who I quoted called this crazy. And this is still sensible when talking to people from the former GDR.

Moritz Nestor

(All letters translated by *Current Concerns*)

Nose deep on the track or up in the wind

Four-legged hunters – with and without noises

by Heini Hofmann

Among all livestock, the dog is man's most versatile helper. However, the most natural teamwork in such partnerships between two- and four-legged friends has developed between the hunter and the hound, even more so than with farm- and shepherd-dogs.

Whereas protection dogs, disaster dogs and avalanche dogs were educated for civilising activities, hounds follow their original instincts at work, the predatory and pack instinct – in technical language: angewölft (wolven=wölfisch). But hounds are not alike, neither in terms of race nor the intended type of use. As varying as the external appearance, as versatile are the tasks of the four-legged hunting partners in the service of the huntsmen.

The chiming of the pack

That the hound as a primeval helper of man is not an ordinary dog, is already expressed in the huntsman's way of speaking [for most of the following special hunting-expressions we could not find an English translation]: his body structure is called 'Gebäude', his coat is the 'Decke', the legs are the 'Läufe', and the claws are the hooves. His mouth is called muzzle, the ears are called 'Behang', the lips are called chaps and the nose is called 'Wind-

Two Swiss quartettes

HH. In the wide range of European hunting dog breeds there is also a proud contribution from our country, namely the Swiss scent hound and the Swiss hounds that belong to the Braques. They are the third group of Swiss dog breeds in addition to the Swiss mountain dogs and Saint Bernhard dogs. In contrast to sighthounds and greyhounds that hunt for sight with their noses up in the wind, the "scent hounds" and "Swiss hounds" have their noses deep on the track. Untiring, with unerring instinct and loud crying, they track their quarry.

The quartette of short- or stick-haired Swiss scent hounds impresses with a slim, elongated body with long legs and includes the following colours: Schwyz hound (red spotted), Bernese hound (three coloured, white-black-brown), Lucerne hound (dappled blue with yellow-brown markings) and Bruno Jura hound (black-brown). Their short-legged spitting image with the same colour and analogous designation, the Swiss hounds are also vivacious strollers with a big hunting passion.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)



You can see with this Tyrolian Braque from afar: hunting dogs remained natural, top-performing animals, that still work with wolven („angewölften“) instincts. (picture Archiv FJS)



Schwyz hound (picture SLC/CCC)

fang'. And if one speaks of the chiming of the pack, then the lasting 'Spurlaut' is meant; for a hound does not just bark, he gives tongue, gives mouth or 'gives neck'. And he peers – or looks intently the game.

The tail is the 'Rute' and if it wears a curtain of hair, this is the 'flag'. 'Weidloch' stands for anus, entrails for bowels. The 'Geschröt' is the testicles and the 'Feuchtglied' the penis, while 'buckle' (Schnalle) names the vagina. The verb to buckle, however, has nothing to do with

copulating, but means to let the dog from the leash, unlike to take which means to leash. The art of hunting-vocabulary has its own laws.

The bleeding from the vagina of the hot bitch is called dyeing, while urinating means watering. In the process of bearing the dropping becomes 'Wölfen' – in reversion to the ancestor of all wolves. If a hound is fully qualified, he is walked off

continued on page 17

"Nose deep on the track or ..."

continued from page 16

or firm. Then he is well trained and very obedient. Such skilled dogs are praised by the hunter verbally and with strokes, and this is called 'abliebeln' – a term of this almost cultic human-animal relationship.

Performance before beauty

The genesis of the hounds during the process of domestication was characterized by the different regional and epochal hunting methods and the hunted game. Depending on the type of use, selections are made from existing types by crossing and selection on suitability and expected performance. However, the actual breeds developed only from the 19th century onwards with the beginning of organized dog breeding. Even in today's hound breeding, performance prevails over beauty, which is not only conducive to fitness but also protects against unbiological breeding currents. The legislator has even a heart for hybrids. They can also be permitted to hunt.

While the ancient hunter used the loudly hunting Braque and the silent sighthound working on demand, the medieval hunt on horse asked for the pack dog and lead dog. The huntsmen found the Pointer through fowling, while the water game hunt needed the retrievers. Only great dane-like dogs were able to cope with defensive game-like bear and wild boar were, whereas the short-legged, Dachshund running after predator game was qualified for the fox hunt. The emergence of firearms ultimately led from the lead dog to the Limer.

Hounding and Bushland hunting

The current classification of hunting dogs lists hounds, which is the oldest breed of hunting dogs and breeding stock for many other races including all hunting dog races of Helvetian origin (see box), other groups are the bloodhounds (such as Hanoverans or Bavarian mountain bloodhound), forager dogs (for instance spaniels), pointers (such as setters, German shorthaired and wirehaired, little Munsterlander), terriers and dachshunds as well as retrievers (for instance Labrador retrievers).

The possible hunting activities performed with dogs are as varied as the list of races: Hounding means that the dogs hunt independently either alone or in the pack, startling foxes and hares without sight connection to the hunter who tracks the hunt lead by the bellowing sound.

In the quiet hunt in bushland the dog searches "under the shotgun" (scattershot

distance 20–35 meters), always stays in sight contact with the master by whom he is directed with sound or visual signs. Foraging is the tactics of choice to hunt small game, especially waterfowl in thicket or reed. Since sight contact is not possible here, the dog hunts and gives bellowing signals to announce whether he has found wild game, how the hunting unfolds, and – depending on the kind of his bellowing sound – which kind of game he found.

Pointing and Retrieving

In open land, searching and pointing are required. The pointer searches with his nose up in the wind, he remains in contact with the hunter and is directed by him. When the dog has found wild game, he approaches it carefully while staying quiet and "points" to it, standing still at the site thereby indicating to the hunter that he was successful.

Belowground hunting in the often quite spacious fox dens is necessarily an independent activity for short-legged dogs who give bellowing signals but are otherwise without contact to the hunter. The aim is to drive reynard out of his hole. Other dogs are specialized in retrieving and know how to secure small game at land or in water.

One of the most challenging jobs for hunting dogs is to follow wounded game, i.e. persistence hunting at the red track, for which suited individuals of several races may be employed. While keeping such a track the dog remains connected with the master via a long lace. As soon as the last, still warm resting ground of the wounded game has been found the dog may work alone. If he finds the animal already dead he will announce that. Is the game still mobile he will confront it and announce the position to the hunter so that he can redeem it as soon as possible.

Still natural

Since they are still allowed to live their lives according to their natural instincts to a large extent, hunting dogs belong to those domestic animals with the closest links to their true nature – this is an aspect which is often overlooked. But because their tasks are so challenging in every specialization a serious training for at least two years is required in order to develop the playful pup into a firm working dog; the genome will only partially provide for the success.

And just like every good hunter the fully trained hunting dog needs continuous upgrade training. His work is also subject to legal proceedings, cantonal

laws may differ in some aspects. For instance, some cantons still ban hounding dogs which is due to the outdated and erroneous assumption that they were responsible for a decline in the number of roe deer.

Invention of the gods

"Hunt without hound is not sound up to much" an old German proverb states which is obviously inappropriate in this absoluteness. It does, however, make sense if changed to "hunt with the wrong dog" – especially regarding keeping red tracks of wounded animals. Because an ill-trained track-keeper would make a wounded wild game or an animal hit in a road traffic accident – which has become the most likely reason to perform this task – suffer longer.

Not all hunters work together with the "sixth sense", the dog. But those huntsmen who do perform their art of hunting in partnership with the oldest helpmate of man are convinced, that it is this very interplay of intelligence and instinct which turns the hunt into this integral experience and they feel endorsed by Greek writer Xenophon, who praised hunting and dogs as inventions of the gods. •

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Hunter and hound – here you see a Tyrolian Braque – as chase-fellows: the hound is the hunter's „sixth sense“. They are united with intelligence and instinct in an ideal symbiosis (picture Archiv FJS)