

Current Concerns

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

English Edition of *Zeit-Fragen*

Colonial, postcolonial, neocolonial? Germany's economic and educational strategy for Africa

by Armin Hofmann

At the end of the 19th century, Germany was late entering the scramble for Africa in competition with France, Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, Italy and Belgium. Within just two decades almost all areas of the African continent had been occupied by European powers. The governments sent missionaries, explorers and adventurers, the ones in order to christianise the African tribes and peoples – whereby their ethos often had a mitigating effect –, the others to explore the remaining “white spots” on the map. Ever new areas were captured, in order to exploit raw materials and “human resources”, to expand trade or to make use of strategically favourable geographic locations.

It was only in the 1960s, that around fifty of the former colonies had achieved their independence, after long and sometimes bloody uprisings. The postcolonial period had arrived. Nevertheless: Civil wars, some of which had been instigated by the Western powers in order to maintain their influence, AIDS and other epidemic plagues, as well as famine, kept Africa down. Till far in the 1980s, Africa was the “forgotten continent”. This has changed. – The scramble for Africa has recommenced.

A “Marshall Plan for Africa”

The German Development Minister *Gerd Müller* warns that the German economy is missing out on a market. Business with the Africans has been initiated by others, with the Chinese leading the way. They are involved in gigantic projects such as the construction of a railway line between Kenya’s most important seaport Mombasa and its capital Nairobi, which is to lead as far afield as to the neighbouring country Uganda. The funding for this project amounts to 14 billion euros; the total investments are exceeded by a multiple. Africa is becoming more and more interesting as a trade partner for countries such as China and India. For Africa offers enormous opportunities. The continent’s common gross domestic product has quintupled since 1990, there are still huge mineral resources, and the population is growing.

“States lead not only military wars [...] they also lead cultural wars and educational wars to achieve their economic and power policy goals. The influence with the means of foreign cultural, linguistic and educational policy belongs to the so-called ‘soft power’.”

The German Development Minister has now presented his new strategy for Africa. With his so-called “Marshall Plan for Africa”, which, at short notice, he renamed “Marshall Plan with Africa” he wants to eliminate trade barriers and promote investment. The approximately 30-page paper outlines a whole bundle of measures in areas such as economic development, trade, science and education. Trade barriers are to be abolished and African products are to have better access to European markets. The aim is to tie various African countries economically and politically to Europe by means of a free-trade zone. The private sector is required to become more active in Africa. “In order to achieve our goals, it is necessary to trigger and implement private financing in a new dimension,” says Müller. Public funds should act as a catalyst mobilising additional private investment.

Such plans are not appreciated everywhere, and especially not in Africa. Why do others always believe they have to think for Africans, asks Burundian *Nimubona Christian*. Are these great ideas really needed to promote the development of Africa? He does not believe that the like plans are missing on the continent. In her book “Dead Aid,” former Zambian *World Bank* economist *Dambisa Moyo* expresses her apprehension that such investments will only create new dependencies. The “Marshall Plan’s” one-sided focus on German interests is being criticised. However, according to the Afro-Barometer, the economic cooperation with China is well received by many Africans. *Japheth Omojuwa* says that these are partnerships on the same level. That China understands to deal with Africa in a different way from that which the Western countries used in

the past. The Europeans should in the first place listen to what Africans wanted.

The measures taken by the German government to gain access to the African continent include state funding, private investment and measures of “foreign cultural and educational policy”. Almost simultaneously with the “Marshall Plan with Africa”, the German *Federal Ministry of Education and Research* (BMBF) presented its strategy for the “Internationalisation of Education, Science and Research” in which Africa is a focal point.

To form new elites

The reason for the large-scale scientific and educational policy offensive in Africa was the “increasing global competition for knowledge and markets”. Germany wants to intervene on a large scale. The strategic framework for this intervention is the “Marshall Plan with Africa” launched by the Federal Government as well as the “Strategy for the Internationalisation of Education, Science and Research”. In addition to German universities and technical colleges, this involves research institutes such as the *German Research Foundation*, the *Fraunhofer Society*, the *Max Planck Society*, the so-called intermediary organisations of the “Foreign Cultural and Educational Policy”, the *German Academic Exchange Service* (DAAD), the *Goethe Institutes*, the *Humboldt Foundation* and many others. Even the dual vocational training system is to be exported so that German companies will be able to find the necessary infrastructure and skilled workers on site.

The main focus here is on gifted young people who are to be involved in Ger-

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man structures and "networked with Germany at an early stage".

Measures designed for the "foreign cultural and educational policy" – language courses for German, cultural events, education and study programmes – are said to be "a particularly suitable tool for the generation of new talent". By these means, "gifted applicants for further studies in Germany or suitable specialists for German employers can be identified and recruited locally". The aim is to train the most talented young people as specialists for German business enterprises in Africa or to invite them to Germany for further studies. This is intended on the one hand to gain the "best minds" for top research in Germany or for the German economy ("brain drain"), and on the other hand, if they return to their homeland, in order to form the future elites according to German and/or European competence standards and to bind them permanently to Germany.

By means of learning the German language, attending cultural events in Goethe-Institutes, through studies in Germany and contacts with fellow students, which often lead to friendships, the ties to Germany will be built up. Lecturers at universities, often recognised as authorities by foreign students, will intensify their focus on the German mentality, on the way of thinking, of

"The main focus here is on gifted young people who are to be involved in German structures and 'networked with Germany at an early stage'."

instruction, teaching and learning according to European competency standards. Finally, certain contents or topics are linked to Germany, such as the environment, cars, knowledge of engineering, so that foreign students from poorer countries begin to admire and align themselves with the standard of living in Germany and the lifestyle of the Western world. – This is also the reason why countries such as Brazil and South Africa are intensifying their criticism of Western-dominated educational globalisation.

Transnational Education

The focus is on the training of future elites through "Transnational Education (TNE)" (see box, p. 2). TNE covers universities, study courses and individual study modules offered abroad for students from another country. This also includes the recently agreed-upon establishment of a university in Kenya based on the model of German technical colleges, as well as the centres of expertise on elite promotion in Congo, Ghana, Tanzania, Namibia and South Africa.

Unlike the Anglo-Saxon TNE approach, says *Ulrich Grothus*, Deputy Gen-

eral Secretary of the DAAD, the German approach is based on "partnership". But, however, keen the attempts at making the German approach appear "partnership-based" may be, and, however, strongly the importance of considering the needs of the local partners may be emphasised, it is clear that here the "partners" are sitting around the conference table on chairs of different height. Finally, curriculum development, further training of local teaching staff and, above all, the "standard setting" for quality assurance will remain largely in German hands.

In order to develop quality standards, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) has commissioned a comparative study together with the *British Council*, which has accumulated decades of experience with the spread of English language and culture in the former colonies. The purpose of this is to make comparable TNE offers in different countries with different educational traditions. Based on this, cross-country competence

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Transnational Education

ah. The development of *Transnational Education* TNE (also called *borderless* or *cross-border education*) dates back to the beginning of the 1990s. In particular, the neo liberal doctrine of *Milton Friedman* and the Chicago School set the stage for privatisation of education to provide cross-border education services across national borders. By signing the *General Agreement on Trade in Services* (GATS), member states of the World Trade Organisation (WTO), including Switzerland, agreed to promote cross-border trade in services and its progressive liberalisation. This also includes the liberalisation of education and the trade in education.

Anglo-Saxon countries such as the USA and the UK, but also Australia are considered to be the pioneers of TNE. As a result of the gradual or more competitive organisation of university funding by the state, higher education institutions gained greater autonomy. In Australia, higher study fees were introduced, which led to the obligation to impose study fees on foreign students at least as high as the average cost of the offered study programmes. Thus, international students were recognised as a potential source of income for universities. However, students from abroad

were no longer able to afford the increased costs of studying, so that universities offered offshore programmes, i.e. outside their own borders, as the costs for the teaching staff were less expensive. This also includes cost-effective distance or e-learning courses provided the study materials are offered outside the country of origin.

Transnational Education offers (through university start-ups abroad, study offers at foreign universities or distance learning courses) serve as a starting point for the development of additional sources of funding; they also serve the purpose of attracting the most intelligent and talented young people through university marketing, on the one hand, to make the reputation of the university excellent and thus attractive (see so-called excellence initiatives), and on the other hand, to attract the "best minds" to the Western industrialised countries ("brain drain") to recruit them for top research or the economy.

This related to a decisive change in education policy within Western industrial nations. It was no longer a matter of interest in a broad "national education", as is customary in Western democracies, to which all sections of the population have access, as in the case of "Sputnik Shock"

in the 1950s, and in the decades after, when "compensatory pre-school education" for children from uneducated backgrounds was promoted. With TNE in the nineties there was the transition to fish in the off-shore pond of the talents. This explains why within Western industrial nations active in TNE there is largely no political will to stop the declining level of education in the country and to save the European-humanist education tradition from its decline. One gets the "best minds" abroad.

Also linked to TNE is the orientation of curricula to transnational "competence" standards (see the *Common European Framework for Language Learning* CEFR, Bologna Reform, Curriculum 21 and others). International comparative surveys such as the PISA studies of the OECD have paved the way for this. Educational content is therefore largely extracted from the national (and regional) cultures, values and norms and aligned to transnational benchmarks. The inner bond of the (academic) youths to the history, origin and culture of a country is weakened. For fear of the permanent migration, caused by TNE, many countries outside the Western hemisphere prefer to educate their youth at their own universities.

Indirect foreign policy by NGO

by Prof Dr Eberhard Hamer



Eberhard Hamer
(picture ma)

In the US alone, there are about 4,000 political non-governmental organisations (NGOs) operating for the US foreign policy, mainly in private legal form and partly with or without the government's mandate. There will be just as many in Europe.

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standards, internationally comparable degrees and diplomas will be created for TNE colleges, study courses and training programmes.

From similar processes in Europe, it is well known how seriously international comparative studies and competency standards (PISA, Bologna, Curriculum 21, etc.) interfere with national education systems, traditions and cultures. Transnational education standards have an impact on teaching content, teaching methods, teaching-learning relationships, the way of thinking, as well as on value-orientation. In its jurisprudence, the German Federal Constitutional Court expressly protects the national regulatory competence in educational questions, so that culture will arise "from below" and are not directed or controlled "from the outside" in the democratic-legal-state

The most famous are the *Soros Foundations*. The multi-billionaire Soros has set himself the mission to implement American interests in over 150 foundations in the world. In many countries, these foundations are therefore regarded as leveraged asset organisations. They are by now banned in Russia, China and other countries. By the end of the year, the Soros University which serves the same purpose has to be closed in Hungary, due to a new law which allows foreign universities to have a branch in Hungary only if they also have a permanent residence in their home country.

The Soros Foundations are leading in American regime change policy, for example in Libya and Syria. They have also financed and controlled the Maidan uprising in Ukraine and fueled the destabilisation of Germany by means of worldwide digital and media advertising on "Immigration to the Social Paradise Germany", above all in the Orient and throughout Africa in 2015 and 2016. They do not work charitable in our interest, but have third-party interests against us.

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tradition. That is also why the regulatory competence for education and culture rests with the federal states and the cantons in the democratic legal states – according to the rules of federalism.

Studies on the effect of TNE concepts and standards are rare; however, a study conducted by the "Jakobs-Universität" in Bremen shows that concepts generated in "transnational expert networks" and spread from there change the beliefs and values of those involved ("expert networks which generate and spread ideas and change actors' beliefs and value systems", Biber & Martens 2011). Transnational standards are by no means "neutral", say the authors; they create a considerable adjustment and assimilation pressure. And they conclude that cross-country comparative studies and transnational competence standards are elements of "soft power" (see box), since they interfere with the cultural education and development of the countries.

Seen in this light, there might be some truth in the observations voiced by those commentators from Brazil and South Africa that see a new form of colonialism in TNE, a new form of colonialism that firstly seeks to create new dependencies through economic investment and to form Western-oriented elites alien to their culture of origin. And moreover, according to Peter Scott, former vice-chancellor of the Kingston University of London, the "human resources" should be sucked out of the countries, as the most hopeful young people would be withdrawn. •

Biber, Tonia/Martens, Kerstin. The OECD PISA Study as a Soft Power in Education? Lessons from Switzerland and the US. *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 46, No. 1, 2011, Part I

BMBF Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung. *Internationalisierung von Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung. Strategie der Bundesregierung*. (Federal Ministry of Education and Research. Internationalisation of Education, Science and Research. Strategy of the German Federal government). Bonn 2016

BMZ Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung. *Afrika und Europa – Neue Partnerschaft für Entwicklung, Frieden und Zukunft. Eckpunkte für einen "Marshallplan mit Afrika"*. (Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. Africa and Europe – a new partnership for development, peace, and the future. Key parameters for a "Marshall Plan with Africa"). Bonn 2017

British Council & DAAD. Impacts of transnational education on host countries: academic, cultural, economic and skills impacts and implications of programme and provider mobility. *Going Global*. 2014

DAAD Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst. Transnationale Bildung in Deutschland. *Positionspapier*. (The German Academic Exchange Service. Transnational education in Germany. Position paper). Bonn 2012

Pelz, Daniel. Ein Marshallplan mit Afrika. (A Marshall Plan with Africa.) *Deutsche Welle*. 18 January 2017. Sandner, Philipp. Deutschlands Marshallplan – Afrikas Skepsis. (Germany's Marshall Plan – Africa's Scepticism) *Deutsche Welle*. 14 November 2016

"Soft power"

ah. States lead not only military wars against other states or economic wars, they also lead cultural wars and educational wars to achieve their economic and power policy goals. The influence with the means of foreign cultural, linguistic and educational policy belongs to the so-called "soft power". By "soft power" Joseph Nye is understood to mean the exercise of power by a state through the development of cultural activities in another state. This can be done through cultural events, the establishment of cultural institutes and/or language schools abroad. "Soft power" is based on attraction and admiration (positive images), evoked by beautiful people, outstanding artists or outstanding athletes; also exhi-

bitions in museums, among others, belong to this. This is the way people are directed towards oneself, shaping their preferences for decisions, so that they – apparently voluntarily – want what you want. A key role is played by financial incentives or sponsorship for projects. The strategy is to work with others rather than to force them; they offer (project) partnerships and thereby bind people to themselves. – In addition to "hard power", which is based on the two pillars of military or economic power, "soft power" is the third pillar of foreign policy power.

Nye, Joseph S. (2010). *Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York, Perseus, 33–72.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

"Indirect foreign policy ..."

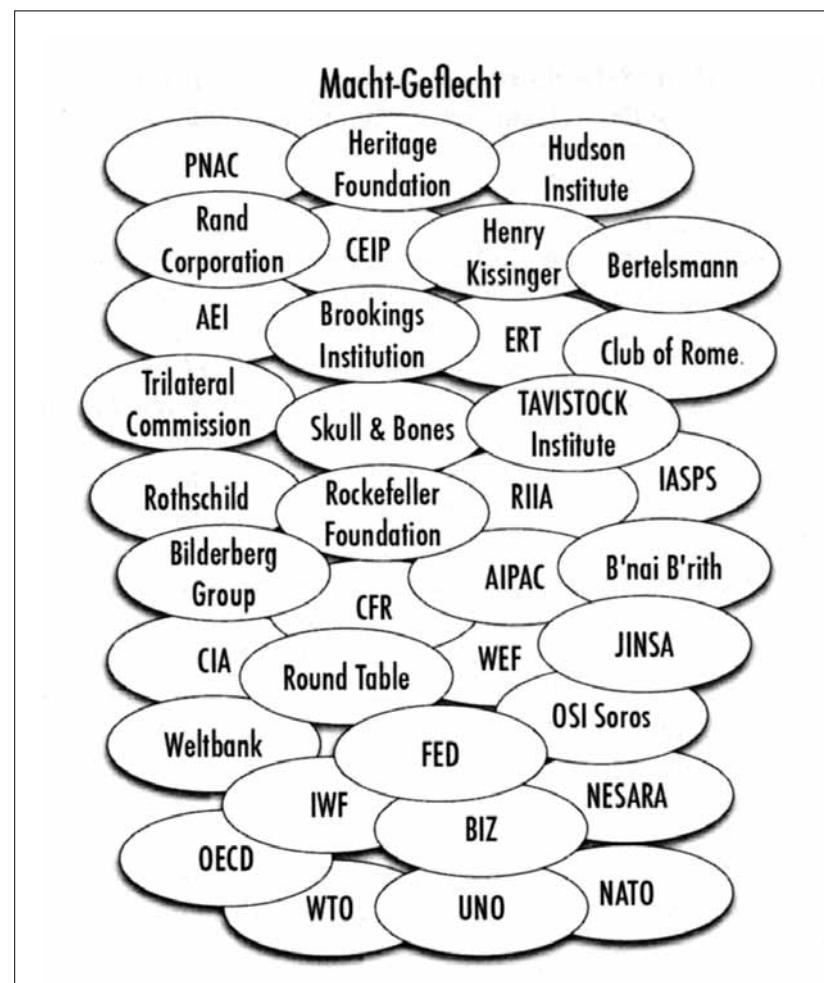
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This applies to most American and European state-subsidized NGOs. Subversive government propaganda is carried out by them at home and abroad. These include party foundations as well as the alleged "social organisations" such as the *Steuben-Schurz-Society*, the *Club of Rome*, the *Round Table*, the *American Enterprise Institute*, the *Heritage Foundation*, the *Open Society Institute* (OSI) and others. Walter Hirt has described this in detail in his book contribution "Networks instead of Nations" (in Eberhard and Eike Hamer (eds.): "Der Weltgeldbetrug (The World Money Defraud)", 2007, pp. 89).

"Thousands of national and international NGOs exist without democratic legitimacy. Daily, new ones are added. Thanks to their network, they have a broad power base and corresponding influence on the formation of opinions, legislation, state redistribution and prosperity" (Hirt, p. 117; translation of all quotes: *Current Concerns*). "Those who still think that international organisations such as the UN and the WTO are platforms for governments and peoples are foolish because the NGOs have already either took the dictate or are at least soundly involved" (p. 118). "Apparently, the manipulators in the background find it useful to reach their infamous plans for the new world order through a structural weakening of the global economy, which tightens the social tensions and shall soften the public."

This in turn can only work out if the freedom of the individual is continually restricted and the support in the nation states disappears. As a result of the gigantic global cash generation of banknotes and the parallel caused indebtedness, the devious seductions and social demands are best suited, whereto the NGOs contribute powerfully. And since the alleged 'social' ingredients almost always have the character of 'socialist', the end of the impasse can be foreseen." (p. 118)

It is always the same design: The NGO is allegedly to serve either as a foundation or a legal society for humanitarian or social purposes. In reality, however, it is intended – hidden and taxfree – to open the doors to power to the NGO-provider states such as the USA, the global financial clique or global cartels or criminal associations such as the Mafia in



In his contribution for the book "Der Weltgeldbetrug" (Eberhard Hamer/Eike Hamer eds., 2007) Walter Hirt has an international network of international, state and semi-governmental organisations, foundations and other non-governmental organisations represented as a figure. Most of these actors have no democratic legitimacy. Nevertheless, 10 years later, they are still influencing major political decisions of the Western world through this network. (graphic Walter Hirt)

order to let them gain political and economic leadership.

Assuming that democracy actually promotes fairness, openness and truth in politics, the public and political opinion-forming should in Germany also be protected against the subversive power of opinion from the NGOs. It is not acceptable that representatives of dark interests that are also financed and controlled by foreign powers sit in public broadcasting corporations, the press, associations and social institutions.

At the very least, these leveraged organisations should be deprived of their tax-free status, which unjustly favor them against every German service provider.

As much as the government calls for the fight against illegal employment and has placed a fine on it, the subversive agent operation of NGOs should also be subject to punishment and taxation so that the people can form their opinion candidly and not to be distracted by subversive networks.

The parties of the German "Bundestag", however, are not interested in this, because they are often intertwined with NGOs and often have NGOs themselves. The citizens might make this claim and popularize it. Much would already be gained if this topic was discussed openly at all.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

US-President Trump should rethink Syria escalation

A memorandum from Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS)

More than two dozen ex-US intelligence officials (VIPS) urge President Trump to rethink his claims blaming the Syrian government for the chemical deaths in Idlib and to pull back from his dangerous escalation of tensions with Russia.

1. We write to give you an unambiguous warning of the threat of armed hostilities with Russia – with the risk of escalation to nuclear war. The threat has grown after the cruise missile attack on Syria in retaliation for what you claimed was a “chemical weapons attack” on April 4 on Syrian civilians in southern Idlib Province.
2. Our US Army contacts in the area have told us this is not what happened. There was no Syrian “chemical weapons attack.” Instead, a Syrian aircraft bombed an al-Qaeda-in-Syria ammunition depot that turned out to be full of noxious chemicals and a strong wind blew the chemical-laden cloud over a nearby village where many consequently died.
3. This is what the Russians and Syrians have been saying and – more important – what they appear to believe happened.
4. Do we conclude that the White House has been giving our generals dictation; that they are mouthing what they have been told to say?
5. After Putin persuaded Assad in 2013 to give up his chemical weapons, the US Army destroyed 600 metric tons of Syria’s CW stockpile in just six weeks. The mandate of the UN’s Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW-UN) was to ensure that all were destroyed – like the mandate for the UN inspectors for Iraq regarding WMD. The UN inspectors’ findings on WMD were the truth. Rumsfeld and his generals lied and this seems to be

cc. Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity (VIPS) is a coast-to-coast group of current and former officials of the United States Intelligence Community, including some from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the US State Department’s Intelligence Bureau (INR), and the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA).

The group has a long history and has since added many new members. It was actively anti-Iraq-war in 2003 and its members have published copiously. They are ex-intelligence officers from all branches, with extensive insider contacts among their peers.



Speaking at the emergency meeting to discuss the United States’ missile strikes against Syria on 7 April 2017, Bolivian Ambassador to the United Nations, Sacha Llorenti, reminded the council of what transpired on 5 February 2003: The then US secretary of state Colin Powell at that time wanted to “prove” that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. It was a lie and the pretext for the invasion of Iraq ... (picture rt)

happening again. The stakes are even higher now; the importance of a relationship of trust with Russia’s leaders cannot be overstated.

6. In September 2013, after Putin persuaded Assad to relinquish his chemical weapons (giving Obama a way out of a tough dilemma), the Russian President wrote an op-ed for the “New York Times” in which he said: “My working and personal relationship with President Obama is marked by growing trust. I appreciate this.”

Détente Nipped in the Bud

7. Three-plus years later, on April 4, 2017, Russian Prime Minister Medvedev spoke of “absolute mistrust,” which he characterized as “sad for our now completely ruined relations [but] good news for terrorists.” Not only sad, in our view, but totally unnecessary – worse still, dangerous.
8. With Moscow’s cancellation of the agreement to de-conflict flight activity over Syria, the clock has been turned back six months to the situation last September/October when 11 months of tough negotiation brought a ceasefire agreement. US Air Force attacks on fixed Syrian army positions on Sept. 17, 2016, killing about 70 and wounding another 100, scuttled the fledgling ceasefire agreement approved by
9. On Sept. 26, 2016, Foreign Minister Lavrov lamented: “My good friend John Kerry ... is under fierce criticism from the US military machine, [which] apparently does not really listen to the Commander in Chief.” Lavrov criticized JCS Chairman Joseph Dunford for telling Congress that he opposed sharing intelligence with Russia on Syria, “after the [ceasefire] agreement, concluded on direct orders of Russian President Vladimir Putin and US President Barack Obama, had stipulated that the two sides would share intelligence. ... It is difficult to work with such partners. ...”
10. On Oct. 1, 2016, Russia’s Foreign Ministry spokesperson Maria Zakharova warned, “If the US launches a direct aggression against Damascus and the Syrian Army, it would cause a terrible, tectonic shift not only in the country, but in the entire region.”
11. On Oct 6, 2016, Russian defense spokesman Maj. Gen. Igor Konashenkov cautioned that Russia was prepared to shoot down unidentified aircraft – including any stealth aircraft – over Syria. Konashenkov made a point of adding that Russian air defenses “will

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"US President Trump should ..."

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- not have time to identify the origin" of the aircraft.
12. On Oct 27, 2016, Putin publicly lamented, "My personal agreements with the President of the United States have not produced results," and complained about "people in Washington ready to do everything possible to prevent these agreements from being implemented in practice." Referring to Syria, Putin decried the lack of a "common front against terrorism after such lengthy negotiations, enormous effort, and difficult compromises."
13. Thus, the unnecessarily precarious state into which US-Russian relations have now sunk – from "growing trust" to "absolute mistrust." To be sure, many welcome the high tension, which – admittedly – is super for the arms business.
14. We believe it of transcendent importance to prevent relations with Russia from falling into a state of complete disrepair. Secretary Tillerson's visit to Moscow this week offers an opportunity to stanch the damage, but there is also a danger that it could increase the acrimony – particularly if Secretary Tillerson is not familiar with the brief history set down above.
15. Surely it is time to deal with Russia on the basis of facts, not allegations based largely on dubious evidence – from "social media," for example. While many would view this time of high tension as ruling out a summit, we suggest the opposite may be true. You might consider instructing Secretary Tillerson to begin arrangements for an early summit with President Putin.
- A list of whose issuances can be found at <https://consortiumnews.com/vips-memos/>. A handful of CIA veterans established VIPS in January 2003 after concluding that *Dick Cheney* and *Donald Rumsfeld* had ordered our former colleagues to manufacture intelligence to "justify" an unnecessary war with Iraq. At the time we chose to assume that President *George W. Bush* was not fully aware of this. We issued our first Memorandum for the President on the afternoon of Feb. 5, 2003, after *Colin Powell's* ill-begotten speech at the United Nations. Addressing President Bush, we closed with these words: "No one has a corner on the truth; nor do we harbor illusions that our analysis is 'irrefutable' or 'undeniable' [adjectives Powell applied to his charges against *Saddam Hussein*]. But

after watching Secretary Powell today, we are convinced that you would be well served if you widened the discussion ... beyond the circle of those advisers clearly bent on a war for which we see no compelling reason and from which we believe the unintended consequences are likely to be catastrophic."

Respectfully, we offer the same advice to you, President Trump.

For the Steering Group, Veteran Intelligence Professionals for Sanity:

Eugene D. Betit, Intelligence Analyst, DIA, Soviet FAO, (US Army, ret.)

William Binney, Technical Director, NSA; co-founder, SIGINT Automation Research Center (ret.)

Marshall Carter-Tripp, Foreign Service Officer and former Office Director in the State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research, (ret.)

Thomas Drake, Senior Executive Service, NSA (former)

Bogdan Dzakovic, Former Team Leader of Federal Air Marshals and Red Team, FAA Security, (ret.) (associate VIPS)

Robert Furukawa, Capt, CEC, USN-R, (ret.)

Philip Giraldi, CIA, Operations Officer (ret.)

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

Matthew Hoh, former Capt., USMC, Iraq and Foreign Service Officer, Afghanistan (associate VIPS)

Larry C. Johnson, CIA & State Department (ret.)

Michael S. Kearns, Captain, USAF (Ret.); ex-Master SERE Instructor for Strategic Reconnaissance Operations (NSA/DIA) and Special Mission Units (JSOC)

John Brady Kiesling, Foreign Service Officer (ret.)

John Kiriakou, former CIA analyst and counterterrorism officer, and former senior investigator, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Linda Lewis, WMD preparedness policy analyst, USDA (ret.) (associate VIPS)

Lisa Ling, TSgt USAF (ret.) (associate VIPS)

Edward Loomis, NSA, Cryptologic Computer Scientist (ret.)

David MacMichael, National Intelligence Council (ret.)

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

Elizabeth Murray, Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Near East, CIA and National Intelligence Council (ret.)

Torin Nelson, former Intelligence Officer/Interrogator, Department of the Army

Todd E. Pierce, MAJ, US Army Judge Advocate (Ret.)

Coleen Rowley, FBI Special Agent and former Minneapolis Division Legal Counsel (ret.)

Scott Ritter, former MAJ., USMC, and former UN Weapon Inspector, Iraq

Peter Van Buren, US Department of State, Foreign Service Officer (ret.) (associate VIPS)

Kirk Wiebe, former Senior Analyst, SIGINT Automation Research Center, NSA

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Robert Wing, former Foreign Service Officer (associate VIPS)

Ann Wright, US Army Reserve Colonel (ret) and former US Diplomat

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Now there is only one way open: To break away from the Anglo-Saxon Power Elites

by Willi Wimmer



Willy Wimmer
(picture ef)

Chronological it would come right. One hundred years after the historical decapitation strike against Germany in Versailles by England, the United States and France, England wants the European certificate of discharge. In 1919 the victorious powers of World War I had planted the seed for the next great war with the diktat of Versailles. 2019 leads us to the European abysses again.

Is the concern in London such virulent that the German fate of the year 1919 could hit London, so to speak as revenge – from whomsoever – now from the rest-EU? A noteworthy British commentary in a ZDF news program of 29 March 2017, the day of the handing over of the divorce letter from London to Brussels could not be judged otherwise. A distinguished dialogue partner from Britain whom everyone would have bought into the «professor» even without an appropriate hint, spoke out about the Brexit.

Versailles was the trauma, no more, no less

To understand the current reference to Versailles today the historical Versailles has to be carefully examined.

Informed and internationally highly esteemed dialogue partners today express themselves in intimate rounds of talk in so far that the European history of the last 200 years is a sole Anglo-Saxon lie. One does not have to go so far, but American sources speak openly about the US-American attitude towards the continent and how it was all over the decades since the foundation of the German Reich 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors in the very same palace of Versailles. Under all circumstances a closer collaboration between the continental powers and Germany should be prevented.

Therewith Washington affiliated seamless to the British attitude towards the continent which after Napoleon's defeat did its utmost to for its own interests to thwart the "Holy Alliance" of the Russian Tsar and the Austrian chancellor which should resolve the conflicts on the newly devastated continent peacefully.

Consequently the US and Great Britain turned to the traditional Roman method of "divide and conquer!".

It was a historian of the Commonwealth who opened the new way to assess the events which lead to the outbreak of World War I. In the works of Christopher Clark and then of others there was no more talk of 'Germany's sole responsibility' – with good reason. Even if he purposefully and bashfully downplayed the British responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War.

Those who on British side orchestrated all efforts to get rid of the upcoming Germany are today in the historical spotlight like the Messrs Milner and Rhodes¹ whose responsibility concerning the initial spark of this "European seminal catastrophe" is undeniable.

No decision of the Central Powers of this time – Germany and Austro-Hungary, later as well the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria – should be relativised or put aside. Indeed, todays view on the overall development makes one thing clear and precise: the responsibility for World War I has to be looked for on the shoulders which did likewise carry them; and here the political London has to be mentioned in the first place.

Sykes-Picot and the resultant American entry into World War I not only contributed to a decisive weakening of the war machine of the Central Powers during the war. Beyond any responsibility for the outbreak of the war they also laid the basis for a cause to push the "European model state" Germany into hell and Austria likewise. It should not be forgotten that by murdering the successor to the throne in Sarajevo the most hopeful, democratic, social and European thinking leadership personality had been eliminated. These are called "decapitation strikes" for nations, a model which since was and still is again and again exerted successfully by the Anglo-Saxon world on the continent and beyond.

Currently it takes one's breath away when in these days at a meeting of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (German Council on Foreign Relations, DGAP), 3 April 2017 in Berlin interspersed with Anglo-Saxon solicitor's offices and so called "non-governmental organisations" German politicians attest the Allied Forces to have been always on the right side in the last century. Apart from that one could thank them a lot therefore.

This curious praise disregards that since Napoleon war it is the Anglo-Saxon business model for the rest of the world and that we see in these days how also a

new American president defines the Anglo-Saxon role: They were the extraordinary nations whose God-given right consists of subduing the world, even if they are confronted with Russia, China, India, Brazil and Iran, after Germany could be led to its fate which can appropriately be described with the names "Versailles" and Adolf Hitler.

Those are not only the living deads of the past. Before we have been drummed into the next and then perhaps final war, from the role we have been put in, in Germany forces headed off to maintain the world view created by the Entente Powers – at any price.

They call themselves "Antifa" and they do everything to maintain the artificial world view created by the Anglo-Saxons against Germany. They need the «enemy stereotype» for the sake of their own existence and so are optimally on NATO course.

Nato tops the consequences of the Nuremberg war crimes trials: war in our time

British Prime Minister Theresa May linked the Brexit negotiations with European security issues. This link is based on only one question: On the still existing British military presence on German territories. Without prejudice to all processes since 1945, today, this presence refers just to one criterion in the logical context: the membership of the United Kingdom in the

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**Wiederkehr
der Hasardeure**

von Wolfgang Effenberger und Willy Wimmer

Schattenstrategen, Kriegstreiber, stille Profiteure 1914 und heute

zeitgeist

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"Now there is only one way open: ..."
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European Union. If now London decided to leave the EU there is no more reason for the presence of British troops in our country. Current British efforts to reactivate old pictures from the time of occupation cannot blind us to this fact. There were efforts following the American model to add the British military component from the port of Emden to the Nato deployment against Russia. "NATO tanks must roll for victory" there is no other way to interpret this picture, not even for the Americans, who have aimed since long time to bring back war images to Europe.

However, it is not obvious what concerns people mostly not only in Germany. US behavior since the criminal war against Yugoslavia puts the consequences of The Nuremberg war crimes trials to shame. Anyone who doubts this should just be recommended to have a look at the executive authorities of the respective American President with regard to a US wanted outbreak of war.

Then you just have to add 1939 to get an idea of hubris and disaster. Like everyone knows since the illustrious EU representative in the Middle East, Mr. Tony Blair, London plays a key role in imple-

menting the American global war plans. Here, everything is rubber-stamped.

Up to now, Germany has been able to duck with regard to one or another question of war. *However, what is now intended against Russia concerns our existence, and there it does not help to duck and participate. It's a matter of fighting for existence* (emphasis added by editors), and for this reason alone the Brexit word of Mrs May should be taken for it. "Exiting Europe" means: Immediate withdrawal of British troops from Germany. Once again, Washington and London drive Europe and the world to the abyss. We do not have to run in.

The German doom: to have listened to London too often and too long

Just before the French presidential elections, no one can say whether it will remain with the Brexit or for all sorts of reasons the familiar EU-Europe has already flown around our ears before every negotiation about Brexit.

Besides us, only the Russians can assess the damage of being hit by an American economic nuclear weapon. What the Harvard economist G. Sachs did with the remnants of the former Soviet economy after the fall of the Soviet Union can barely be compared with the effects of

the *Lehman*-bankruptcy for EU-Europe in 2008, irrespective of the following participation, for example, by the Federal Government at the break-up of European predetermined breaking points. Berlin does not act in Europe like Bonn.

No European state has given to Berlin or Brussels the mandate to dissolve these states and to surrender the sovereignty of the European Peoples to the "globalised order" determined by the financial center London or by Wallstreet. The citizens are stripped of and deprived of their rights by this EU-Europe and handed over to the Soros of this world. This may serve the City of London, but not the Sovereign in Europe. And therefore remind London of Versailles in the manner of the "professor" cited at the outset? Only someone can think like that for whom Versailles belongs to his political tool box. This will also be known in Moscow, Beijing, Tehran and – most recently – in Damascus and not only there.

¹ Prof Anthony Glees in an interview with ZDF heute-journal of 29.3.2017

² The British politicians Cecil Rhodes and Alfred Lord Milner were leading representatives of the British Imperialism before World War I.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Do not yield an inch to the Fascist cast of mind

by Karl Müller

In Adolf Hitler's "Mein Kampf" we can read: "The mind of the masses is not responsive for all that is undecided or weak." The masses loved "more the ruler than the pleader and its soul was more satisfied by a teaching that does not suffer any rivals than by the concession of freedom; they hardly know how to deal with it and easily feel lost. [...] Thus it only sees the ruthless force and brutality of its purposeful expression to which it will always yield eventually."

A few days ago we could read in a renowned German newspaper: "Like thunder the military attacks on Afghanistan and Syria have signalled with that new US President has to be considered a relevant actor in global politics. Both actions have won Donald Trump some respect – not only in his own country" Indeed – at least with the elite of the NATO states.

The daily cited above, however, also includes the following assessment: "... even if they do not provide any essential contribution to the solution of the conflicts in Syria or Afghanistan."

In the past 250 years the Anglo-Saxons have led hundreds of wars – more than any

other states in the world. It seems like the principle to respond to conflicts with violence has been a constant of Anglo-Saxon politics. Hermann Ploppa's carefully researched book of 2008, "Hitlers amerikanische Lehrer. Die Eliten der USA als Geburtsshelfer des Nationalsozialismus" (Hitler's American teachers. US elites as midwives for National Socialism"), which mainly refers to racism, could well be complemented with an additional chapter regarding the idolatry of power and violence.

But: continental European (or non-European) should not feel above this. We all can ask ourselves about our reaction towards power and power seekers. Are there still remainders of an inner submission under those that seem powerful and perform with pithy words and deeds? World history is full of Caesars and strongmen. To fear power and to admire it at the same time; the wish to be really "powerful" for once ... are we really immune against it?

But if we seriously reflect, we do know: it is not only true in Syria and Afghanistan that power and power politics do not

solve any problems. This is why Willy Wimmer's statement is essential for our survival: "Only one thing remains: detach yourself from the Anglo-Saxon elites" ... and to avoid being drawn into another war ... which may lead to the destruction of us all.

But it can only be sustainable if also the continental European states change their politics fundamentally. The remaining part of the EU after the British exit has no perspective for the future. It will not be possible to dissolve the EU quickly – and the question for an alternative needs to be discussed thoroughly – but it is important that the citizens are leading this debate without surrendering it to the elites. The fact alone that citizens are leading an honest, open and equal debate is the best prevention against being rabbit-like mesmerized by the snake ... and the foundation for a new Europe – one that is connected with the best European traditions which were resulting in a liberal, democratic and social state of law maintaining equal relations to all other states and peoples and adhering to the imperative of negotiations and peace.



Swiss Popular Vote on the Energy Act, what is important?

by Dr.eng. Ernst Pauli



The Grimselsee reservoir and the retaining wall with the Oberaar-Glacier.(picture KWO/Robert Bösch)

The Energy Act as the first package of measures for the implementation of the Energy Strategy 2050 should be examined to see whether it contributes to a strategy that focuses on truly forward-looking – on what we want to leave to the next generation. These cannot be leftovers of radioactive waste, plundered oil and gas fields, and money-filled accounts. It must be a sustainable handling with the environment and the resources of the world. Fossil fuels that nature has donated to us should be protected as much as possible, avoiding risky technologies. All this is also a contribution to a more peaceful world. The struggle for oil is avoided once each country produces its own energy as far as possible and regulates its supply of raw materials and energy in equal cooperation. This article attempts to examine some forward-looking aspects of the energy strategy and to provide illuminating information.

The fossil resources are finite

It is an undisputed fact among geologists that oil, gas, coal, and uranium supplies are finite. As early as 1956, the geologist Marion King Hubbert predicted in a scientific publication of the American Petroleum Institute that the yield of conventional oil reached a peak in the USA in 1972

and then went back irretrievably.¹ Reality confirms Hubbert's thesis of peak oil with more than one example. The crude oil production in the United States actually reached its maximum in 1972 and has been shrinking ever since.

Also the interlude of the much cited shale oil production, which brought the production in the USA back to a high level, is short-term and does not fundamentally alter this picture. The oil production in the North Sea, in Alaska, in 33 of the world's 48 largest oilfields, has already exceeded its peak by the turn of the millennium. The crude oil production rate has not changed significantly since 2005.² Other large deposits, which could contribute significant amounts and production volumes, have not been found for decades.³

All this is a clear indication to react in time to the limited availability of resources and to search for meaningful alternatives for our entire energy supply, for electricity, heat, mobility and the economy. The Energy Act as the first package of measures for the Energy Strategy 2050, which will be voted by the people on 21 May 2017, makes a meaningful contribution by the prohibition of the construction of new nuclear power plants, the promotion of renewable energies and measures to reduce energy consumption.

The market does not solve the energy problem

The supply of energy must be secured in the long term. It is a classic task of the policy to work out a humane solution of the problem. Unfortunately, this task is left to the "free market". However, the market governs different from politics.⁴ Even environmentally friendly and resource-conserving technologies are not used, if they are not available at short notice and promise profits. However, the development of new indicator technologies is long-term and expensive. The economy does not want to be deterred from operating old nuclear power plants in the pursuit of profit despite known risks. Indeed, it even tries to shift the non-profitable tasks, for example, the decommissioning and the dismantling of nuclear power plants, to the public sector.⁵ Forward-looking impulses that do not promise a short-term profit will never start out from the market. Therefore, there is a need for an energy strategy from the public sector. Only a strategically planned, long-term development can lead out of the dependency described above. In this context, it is useful initially to promote non-profitable new forms of energy.

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"Vote for the Energy Act ..."

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Renewable energy is more cost-effective in the long term

The costs of oil and gas will hardly decrease in the long term, but increase significantly because of the emerging scarcity and increasing production costs,⁶ thus making the energy produced more expensive. However, "The sun and the wind do not generate any invoice."⁷ If electricity and even fuel are produced from renewable energies, there are less costs for oil and gas imports. Thus, the costs of renewable energies will be lower than fossil energy generation in the long term. The costs of promoting renewables and the investments to be made are more than compensated by savings in the import of fossil fuels facing the next decades of scarcity.⁸ If you draw the image of the promotion of renewable energies completely, you must reckon them as an investment in the future.

The problem of storage is solvable.

A continually argued argument against the renewables is that they are only available when the wind is blowing and when the sun is shining, and then possibly in abundance. This is undoubtedly true. However, instead of the doubts about the feasibility of an energy turnaround, you should rather ask for the appropriate technical solutions to this problem. Conventional pumped-storage power stations in Switzerland are already available today, which pump up superfluous electrical energy into high-lying storage tanks and then recover electricity from the stored energy. It must be a strategic goal to further expand these facilities.

The Oberhasli power stations, for example, are pursuing the innovative idea of using the space created by the retreating "Trift"-glacier for a new reservoir.

In the project to increase the level of the Grimsel dam, the Federal Court of Appeals assessed the energy gain by increasing the level of the Grimsel dam higher than the concerns of the environmentalists.⁹ These are just a few examples for a substantial and rapid expansion of renewable hydropower. Examples of lakes and hydropower plants that have not yet been built in Switzerland for reasons of cost are the projects "Lago Bianco" and "Chlus".¹⁰

New models for power supply must be considered.¹¹ If profit is not the focus, the secondary storage model could be successful. If the sun and wind produce sufficient or too much current electricity, all hydroelectric power plants would be shut down and the pumping operation switched on in storage plants, so that the reser-

voirs are always filled at their maximums. However, such a model needs an economic concept oriented towards the common good. A free market does not do justice to it. The promotion of large-scale hydropower plants is certainly useful in order to enable economic operation.¹²

The Energy Strategy 2050

The starting point for the new energy strategy in Switzerland was set with the Federal Council's decision to phase out nuclear power immediately after the Fukushima disaster. However, with the abolition of electricity production from nuclear energy with roughly the same electricity consumption, a clear discrepancy between supply and demand, which is also referred to as an electricity gap, is emerging from around 2020.¹³ It is a matter of enormous effort to fill it with renewable energies from Switzerland. The generation of electricity from the new renewable energies as well as from hydropower as storage technology must hence be greatly expanded. The energy strategy provides for reductions in consumption as a safe welcome measure. Together with the increased use of solar, wind energy and hydropower, the energy supply of Switzerland can be secured if the people adopt the Energy Strategy 2050 on 21 May 2017, and things are taken courageously.

In unfortunate confusion, however, *Ms. Leuthard* left open a backdoor in the past when she categorically stated that *electricity imports were still necessary*. Somewhat surprising in the sense of the "strategic" submission: The Federal Council already stated in advance that the proposed measures would *not* achieve the targets envisaged in the new Energy Act¹⁴. New measures are planned for the post-2020 period. A Switzerland, which is provided adequately and in an emergency independently with energy and therefore could be an equivalent and independent partner in international cooperation, is not striven for in this strategy. To achieve this goal, the replacement of electricity production by nuclear power plants with the shutdown of the last Swiss nuclear power plant in Leibstadt in 2034 would have to be established. Hesitation is not appropriate here. The 5-year limited subsidy of large hydropower will lead to current support, but not to new long-term investments and projects.

The strong limitation of the subsidy or feed-in remuneration compensatory (KEV) prevents exactly the dynamics of the energy turnaround demand that it needs. The currently subsidised KEV plants only contribute modestly to electrical energy supply. More than 35,000 projects for the production of electricity from renewable energies are on the wait-

ing list. They could deliver about a sixth of Swiss electricity consumption. For a successful conversion of the power supply, the renewable energy carriers must be expanded rapidly in any case to the limit of the real usable potentials.¹⁵ Unfortunately, you cannot recognise these dynamics in the present Energy Act.

Electricity storage technology in Switzerland

The current peaks arising with the new renewable sources can be stored by using them to produce hydrogen or methane. The principle has long been known as electrolysis or as a Sabatier process. Hydrogen or methane produced in strong winds and much sun can be effectively stored in the gas pipeline systems and underground hydroelectric power stations already existing in Central Europe. Little is known in the public that the gas stored this way would already suffice as a so-called "seasonal storage" for a few months. While the storage possibilities are already present, large-scale plants for the production of hydrogen or methane from peak current have to be built up first. Interestingly support for these developments comes from the automotive industry, since they contain the fascinating possibility of operating individual transport with renewable energies by driving hydrogen or methane produced by renewable energies. This way, completely new possibilities for an entire renewable energy based energy economy would arise in the transport sector.

With about a dozen smaller demonstration and research projects on this type of electricity storage or energy generation, Switzerland is at the forefront of such technology development. A few projects are to be mentioned in the following. At the Rapperswil University of Applied Sciences, an electrolyser with 25 kW of peak current and water produces hydrogen, which, together with CO₂, becomes methane from the air. This can be fed into the existing natural gas network as a synthetic gas, replacing fossil fuels.¹⁶ Swiss electricity suppliers, associations of Swiss gas suppliers, universities, and car companies are involved.¹⁷ A similar project deals with the refining of biogas in the Zurich sewage treatment plant Werdhölzli Energy CH₄, which can be introduced into the gas pipeline system and consumed. Since the beginning of the year, a 1000-hour long-term test has been carried out under real conditions.¹⁸

The Aarmatt hybrid plant, which was ceremoniously inaugurated on 30 June 2015, is a small ray of hope for the use of the new renewable energies. In a broad network of universities, cantonal and mu-

"Vote for the Energy Act ..."

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nicipal facilities, as well as associations of the gas industry, just as it is handled in federal Switzerland, a compounding system has been developed which can convert peak energy from solar energy (350 kW) into hydrogen in the electrolyser into the natural gas network.

There is a thermal heat accumulator (11 MWh), a gas boiler (6 MW), and a combined heat and power unit with 1.2 MW electrical power and additional heat output (1.2 MW), all produced as renewable energy. In this case exemplary a compound has been created, which provides a holistic solution for the peak and storage problems of the new renewable energies. There should be a lot more such projects.¹⁹ In the approach, all these projects and experiments are well braced. They find promotion and support at cantonal level (CTI), among the energy and gas associations, and in the field of research. What is still lacking, but urgently needed, are large-scale, if necessary also subsidized, projects that can make significant contributions to the conversion of Switzerland's energy supply based on the small-scale findings in order to get closer to the goal of Switzerland, which is basically energy self-sufficiency.

Energy from waste

The generation of energy from waste has already established itself very early in a pragmatic way in Switzerland. For more than 30 years, with a steady annual increasing rate of 2-3%, this form of production has recently contributed about 5% of Switzerland's total energy consumption, i.e. the production of electricity, heat, and mobility. The company *Kompogas*, a subsidiary of *Axpo*, has more than 20 locations and plants of varying sizes in Switzerland. The "Kompogas" process

was developed in Switzerland by a single inventor and brought into operation with the support of the Confederation. In the meantime Axpo has bought the company. The technology has also been adopted abroad and is a good example of the Swiss inventor's spirit and the economic implementation of ideas in the field of new renewable energies.

Which energy strategy is needed?

The Swiss energy industry, with a strong (promoted) commitment to new renewable energies in other European countries, should make use of its opportunities to become more active in the country itself. The Energy Strategy 2050 in this regard sets the right direction. A rethinking must take place if one assumes that the solution of today's scarcity, which will increase through the planned nuclear phase-out, is to be solved with the means of Switzerland itself. This can only be solved by means of new large-scale plants and new technologies, which would be appropriate for Switzerland as a high-tech country. The Energy Act shows an approach in the right direction. It is still to wish, that the development be accelerated – especially with the help of the citizens' commitment. •

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⁵ Lösungen für die letzten Betriebsjahre der AKW (Solutions for the last years of operation), "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of 29 November 2016

⁶ Die Erdölmultis in der Zwickmühle. Fracking verändert die Kostenstruktur der Energiebranche. (The Oil Mole in the Predicament. Fracking changes cost structure of the energy industry.) "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" 27 May 2014

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⁸ Umweltbundesamt Berlin. (Federal Environment Agency Berlin). *Hintergrundpapier, Stromerzeugung aus erneuerbaren Energien – umweltfreundlich und ökonomisch sinnvoll*. (Background paper, electricity generation by renewable energies – environmentally friendly and ecologically useful.) ZSW Zentrum für Sonnenenergie- und Wasserstoff-Forschung 2011

⁹ Geplanter Ausbau des Grimselsees rückt näher. (Planned expansion of the Grimselsee is approaching) "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" of 6 April 2017 *Bundesgerichtsurteil* (Sentence of the Federal Court) *IC_79/2016* of 5 April 2017

¹⁰ RePower schreibt Projekte ab. (RePower writes off projects) "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" from 3 April 2014

¹¹ Gunzinger, Anton. *Kraftwerk Schweiz, Plädoyer für eine Energiewende mit Zukunft* (Power Plant Switzerland, plea for a energy turnaround with future), Basel 2015

¹² UREK, Kommission für Umwelt, Raumplanung und Energie des Nationalrates, Beratung des ersten Massnahmenpakets der Energiestrategie 2050 (13.074), *Beschluss über die Förderung der Gross-Wasserkraft*, 25 August 2014 (Commission for environment, spatial planning, and energy of the National Council, Consultation of the first package of measures of the Energy Strategy 2050)

¹³ Prognos AG, Basel, *Energieszenarien für die Schweiz bis 2050*, im Auftrag des BFE, Zwischenbericht II, (Scenarios for Switzerland up to 2050, on behalf of the BFE, Interim Report II) 18 May 2011

¹⁴ *Energiestrategie 2050*, erläuternder Bericht zur Vernehmlassungs-Vorlage (Energy Strategy 2050, explanatory report of the Consultation Proposal's draft) of 28 September 2012

¹⁵ *Energiespiegel* Nr. 21 November 2012, Paul Scherrer Institut

¹⁶ *Power-to-Gas in der Energiestrategie*, Vortrag -Stefan Oberholzer an der Empa Dübendorf, -Bundesamt für Energie, 25 Februar 2014 (Power-to-Gas in the energy strategy, lecture by Stefan Oberholzer at the Empa Dübendorf, Federal Office of Energy)

¹⁷ *Annual Report 2016 Swiss Competence Center for Energy Research Heat and Electricity Storage (SCCER HaE-Storage) at the PSI*

¹⁸ "Power to Gas": Direkte Methanisierung von Biogas im Werdhölzli, HSR Expertengespräche, (Direct methanation of bio gas in Werdhölzli) 12 January 2017

¹⁹ *Regio Energie Solothurn Faktenblatt*: Hybridwerk Aarmatt am Schnittpunkt von Wasser-, Strom, Gas- und Fernwärmennetz, www.hybridwerk.ch (Regio Energy Solothurn fact sheet: Hybrid-Plant Aarmatt at the point of intersection of Water-, Current-, Gas-, and District Heat, www.hybridwerk.ch)

Where is the Federal Council's foreign and energy policy heading to?

New agreement with the EU – boon or bane?

by Dr iur Marianne Wüthrich

In summer 2015, the EU launched the total centralisation of the internal electricity market. Some Swiss Federal councilors and their management team were in their starting gates to dock Switzerland with an electricity market deal – which has been negotiated since 2007 – on the monumental EU electricity exchange. Electrical energy as a vital part of the Public service and in particular the Swiss hydroelectric power would get out of the hands of the Swiss cantons and municipalities.

This didn't happen. In April 2015 Brussels made clear: An agreement on electricity market is only feasible if before an Institutional Framework Agreement is negotiated – this also applies to the conclusion of other new agreements between Switzerland and the EU ("*Tagess-Anzeiger*" from 27 April 2015; "*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*" from 28 April 2015).

Thus, the matter was closed for Switzerland for the moment. Because everyone knew: A framework agreement with automatic transfer of EU law and the Court of Justice of the European Union (ECJ) as the Supreme Court has no chance at the people. Foreign judges meet persistent resistance of the Confederates since their first alliance of 1291 until today.

On 25 March 2017, Federal Councillor Didier Burkhalter addressed the media quite unexpectedly: The EU was ready to accommodate Switzerland concerning the Institutional Framework and to make "concessions", what would "ex-

pand greatly the room for manoeuvre in Switzerland at the application and transposition of EU legislation" ("*Tages-Anzeiger*" from 25 March 2017).

Of course, we as voters are most interested in: How are the "concessions" of the EU legally and politically to classify? Does Switzerland need at all new agreements with the EU? Does it need in particular an agreement on the electricity market? And as a central issue above all: How the small State of Switzerland will deal with a superpower that is not willing to lead contractual relations equal to equal and to comply existing agreements on its part?

Superpower EU is not really ready to compromise but tells us how to proceed

First, let us consider precisely the two "concessions" of the EU – if at all possible today.

To the first concession: The case-law of the European Court of Justice should not apply for all bilateral agreements with Switzerland, but only for "agreements that rule the market access, so the access of capital, goods and people to the EU Single Market." In relation to other treaties an arbitral tribunal could be appealed (*Weltwoche* No 13 from 30 March 2017).

In plain language: the European Court of Justice as the final arbiter would decide most and the most important issues. In addition, the ECJ itself defines what contracts are "market access relevant". – If the highest EU Court claims the prerogative in relation to its own jurisdiction for

itself, the whole "concession" is on shaky constitutional criteria.

To the second concession: New is that the EU does no longer want to suspend whole agreements if Switzerland refuses to abide decisions of the European Court of Justice. Instead, the Joint Committee in which also the Swiss will be should decide so-called "Compensatory measures" (*Weltwoche* No. 13 from 30 March 2017).

We have already had some experience with "Compensatory measures" to the EU leaders liking. Remember the expulsion of Switzerland from "Horizon 2020" and "Erasmus" after the referendum to control immigration of February 2014 (see "Switzerland as a research and training center and the EU bureaucracy", *Current Concerns* No 26/27 from 5 December 2016). At that time the EU suspended agreements contrary to contract that have no functional ties to the free movement of persons. Furthermore, as is well known, the immigration was not restricted by the National Council and Council of States, but is still unchanged. – Just embarrassing for the EU is that the Swiss partners are no longer fond of connecting to Erasmus since they have realised that it's cheaper and more effective running without the bureaucracy in Brussels.

For us, reliable and fair contractual partners are different. So how much can we give on the new "concessions" from Brussels?

Brussels is as of now again negotiating with Switzerland – whether this is so good for us?

On 11 April, the *Foreign Affairs Committee (FAC)* of the *National Council* took note that the Federal Council and the EU want to resume all suspended negotiations on pending dossiers. According to Federal Councillor Didier Burkhalter, there is "no predefined schedule" for the end of the negotiation (FAC-N Media Communication of 11 April 2017). So after all not harum-scarum clinch everything? The electorate would not accede anyway.

Dossiers to which negotiations are already underway

"Switzerland and the EU are currently negotiating the electricity dossier, institutional issues, Switzerland's participation in the EU's *Creative Europe* program, emissions trading and the dossier on ag-

The EU Council wants to integrate Switzerland completely

Council of the European Union. Council conclusions on EU relations with the Swiss Confederation. Press release 93/17 from 28/02/2017

6. Switzerland is the EU's third largest economic partner and the EU is Switzerland's main trading partner. While today the bilateral trade relationship generally works smoothly to the benefit of both partners, there are a number of restrictions on access to the Swiss market for operators from the EU, notably in the agri-food and services sectors. These restrictions need to be addressed in order to remedy asymmetries in bilateral economic relations. [...]

7. The Council takes note of the adoption of a new legal basis for the financial contribution of Switzerland on 30 September 2016. This financial contribution is intended to reduce economic and so-

cial disparities in the EU and should be proportionate to the substantial benefits Switzerland draws from its participation in the Single Market. The Council encourages Switzerland to engage in the necessary discussions with the EU with a view to agreeing on the renewal of the financial contribution as soon as possible.

12. The Council appreciates the continued cooperation between the EU and Switzerland in the area of CFSP, in particular the positive participation of Switzerland in CSDP missions [...]. The Council invites Switzerland to maintain and further improve its alignment with the EU's restrictive measures in respect of actions undermining or threatening the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Ukraine, and in view of Russia's actions destabilising the situation in Ukraine.

"Where is the Federal Council's ..."

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riculture, food safety, product safety and public health."

Further planned agreements are, for example, "*peace promotion*", i.e. participation in the EU wars within the framework of the "Common Defense and Security Policy". Here Switzerland, which is bound to neutrality, has certainly no business! Or the so-called "*Swiss Enlargement Contribution*", in plain English, further billions in the EU Cohesion Fund, by way of thanks for the "considerable advantages" which Switzerland is supposed to have through the bilateral treaties ... (cf <https://www.eda.admin.ch/dea/de/home/verhandlungen-offene-themen/verhandlungen.html>)

Energy Strategy 2050, Electricity Market and Institutional Framework Agreement

The new *Energy Law* (EnG), on which we will vote on 21 May, will focus on the replacement of nuclear power with the new renewable energies (primarily solar and wind power) and on their financing as well as the promotion of energy saving measures.

The former State Councillor *Vreni Spoerry* (FDP Zurich), wrote on that in a readers letter: "[...] The big problem with the new Energy Law (EnG) is precisely that it can not guarantee a secure power supply. We have too little domestic electricity especially in the winter months. [...] For this reason, when the EnG is accepted, more must be imported as long as Germany and France are able to supply us with electricity." ("Neue Zürcher Zeitung" from 31 March 17)

... as long as they are able – or as long as they are not repudiated by Brussels! The EU leaders could exploit the growing Swiss electricity gap and insist on the conclusion of an electricity market agreement, combined with full liberalization. Although the EU energy logistics is dependent on the north-south hub Switzerland, unfortunately we can not count on a tough Swiss negotiation conduct, which would bring this trump card into play persistently. As a result, the carefully cultivated public service of Switzerland, the federalistically designed sovereignty of cantons and municipalities over the hydropower and the effective vigilance of the sovereign would be destroyed in a whirl of a centrally controlled electricity exchange.

In its message on the EnG, the Federal Council points out that this is a further step towards the ultimate goal of its overall energy policy over the last ten years: the conclusion of an electricity market agreement with the EU and thus the complete liberalization of electricity sup-

ply: "The opening of the Swiss electricity market is regulated in the electricity supply law and takes place in two stages. The already effective partial market opening is limited to final consumers with an annual consumption of at least 100 MWh. [...] The full opening of the market is to be made later by a federal decision. This federal decision is subject to the optional referendum. [...] The measures envisaged in the first package of measures to implement the energy strategy 2050 are, from today's point of view, compatible with the complete opening of the electricity market. ("Federal Gazette 2013, p. 7583)

The EU would bind an institutional framework agreement, as it had already noted two years ago, to the electricity market agreement. Recently, the EU Council in person has been intensifying the pressure.

"The Council stresses the common understanding between the EU and Switzerland about the need to finalise the negotiations on the institutional framework

agreement as soon as possible. Its conclusion will allow the EU-Swiss comprehensive partnership to develop to its full potential." [Council of the EU. Council conclusions on EU relations with the Swiss Confederation. Press release 93/17 of 28.02.2017. Point 5] <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/env/2017/02/28/>

Comprehensive partnership? It is advisable to read this press release from the EU Council. It contains a long list of demands that Switzerland has to fulfill, as well as censors: praise for submissive obedience, blame for unfulfilled orders. There is no word for a "partnership" in the sense of performance of duty, accomodation and compromiseability of both sides. Not what a sovereign state wants as a partnership with other states. The dossiers from the centralist bureaucratic colossus simply do not fit into the federalist and direct-democratic structure of the small country Switzerland, with which we have gone very well for centuries, especially in dealing with the other peoples and states.

•

Why e-voting? Pressure through the Swiss Federal Council and the Cantonal governments

Once again, the Federal Assembly lets it be known that it wants to establish electronic voting and elections across the board. Critics have been warning about possible manipulation through e-voting.

rt. A core element in a democracy are the elections and the ballots. We, in Switzerland, are given the possibility, at least four times a year, to make decisions on different pertinent issues or to decide upon elections. As such, we decide sovereignly, the essential fate of our country.

In the cantons or throughout the country, ballots are executed in the form of paper. In an exactly defined procedure, the voters are sent voting documents and have the possibility, per letter or at the voting box to place in their vote.

If an election is too close, the ballots are recounted. In the rare cases of inconsistency or irregularities, the forms are investigated. In the worst case, an election must be repeated.

Of course it would be practical, if such an election were quicker and easier to count. And it is clear that in increasingly prevalent usage of electronic machines as an option are brought into the discussion. One speaks of E-voting.

Since it is publically known, that even out of the strictly secure US American Pentagon, information has been purloined and manipulated, no reasonable person

would risk suggesting E-Voting for a serious Election result. Many European countries have therefore forbidden E-Voting – as such the confederation, after several failed attempts in different Cantons, pronounced its prohibition.

Now, one can naturally ask himself, why the Federal Assembly at all would constantly speak about E-voting and would like to make electrical ballots a standard process. That's the way it is again on 6 April. The media broadcasted the position of the Swiss Federal Chancellor, *Walter Turnherr*, from the Swiss Parliament. It's time to take the next step ("Neue Zürcher Zeitung" from 6 April) or, E-voting is a signal to accomodate political rights in the 21st century. ("Thurgauer Zeitung" from 6 April).

One asks himself why the constant restraints? We may quietly wait, until the IT specialists of the Pentagon or of the famous insurance companies and banks have protected their data enough to be safe from hackers. Then we can see. And until then, we can save a lot of money on unnecessary trials and even more time on unnecessary political debates. The IT branch would have to be patient. And then, it may, once we agree, install electrical ballot boxes with our tax money.

The secrecy of the vote is not negotiable in our direct democracy!

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In the beginning was the word and the image

Cultural highlights of the year 2017

by Urs Knoblauch, cultural publisher, Fruthwilen TG

Not only in Saxony, but also in other states, *Martin Luther* (1483–1546) was honored 500 years after the Reformation under the motto “In the Beginning was the Word”. Luther and the Reformation were also an important topic at this year’s traditional “Leipzig Book Fair”, with a record high number of 285,000 visitors and 2,493 exhibitors from 43 countries.

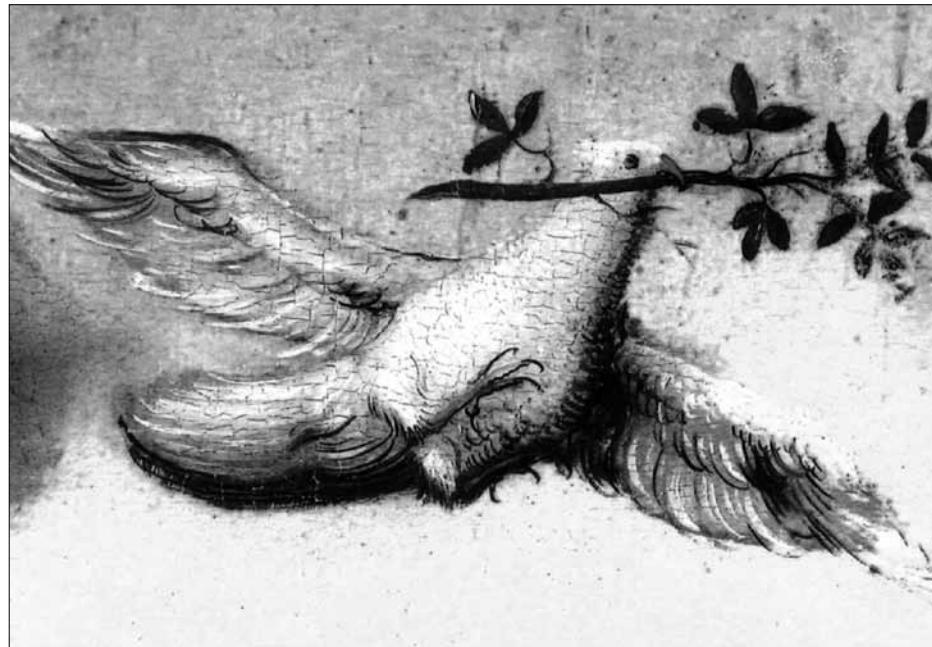
Numerous listeners, for example, were able to witness an impressive tribute to Luther and book presentation of the well-known theologian *Friedrich Schorlemmer*, who also worked as a lecturer in the Protestant preacher’s seminar and preacher at the castle church in Wittenberg. The fact that Schorlemmer gave great importance to the cause of peace and also appreciated the humanist *Erasmus of Rotterdam* in his book “Luther – Leben und Wirkung” (Luther, Life and Impact, Berlin, 2017) is particularly gratifying.

Only looking at the publishing house *C. H. Beck*, there are numerous new publications on the Reformation. The richly illustrated volume “Erlöste und Verdammte: Eine Geschichte der Reformation (Redeemed and Damned – A History of the Reformation)” by *Thomas Kaufmann*, is very readable. The works on Luther’s companion *Melanchthon* and on *Thomas Müntzer*, as well as the book edited by the (Catholic) law professor *Udo Di Fabio* and *Johannes Schilling*, professor of church history, “Weltwirkung der Reformation. Wie der Protestantismus unsere Welt verändert hat (The Global Impact of the Reformation. How Protestantism has changed our world)”, offer a lot of interesting and stimulating material for the 2017 Reformation Jubilee.

Johannes Gutenberg's book printing

The book-making industry, which was decisive for the Reformation, and *Johannes Gutenberg* (1400–1468) attracted many interested people at the book fair. Various printing presses were in use to demonstrate the process of printing texts and images. Here and there visitors could also be active. The brochure „Gutenberg not only for children“ (Gutenbergmuseum Mainz) gives a vivid introduction into the time of Gutenberg and in the book printing art. At the time, reading and writing was reserved for only a few. Through illustrated leaflets the aims of the Reformation such as the demand for the abolition of the indulgences, were spread among the vast majority of people.

Especially for children, young people and numerous school classes, the encoun-



Lucas Cranach The Elder, Retabel before 1539, detail, painting in St. Wolfgangskirche in Schneeberg/Erzgebirge. The dove with the olive branche points to peace and thus to the connecting of all men, religions and cultures.

ter with this Enlightenment theme at the book fair was far more constructive than staying in the “Manga-Comic-Con-Hall” with a lot of obscurity, destructiveness and absurdity. The young who are our future, are very responsive to humanity and an ethically sound culture.

Ways to Cranach – great works from the Reformation period

Particularly impressive are the works of the painter and Luther-confidant *Lucas Cranach the Elder* (1472–1553), his son *Lucas Cranach the Younger* (1515–1586) and his painting workshop. Cranach was the court painter of the Saxon electors and created great portraits of personalities of that time. Electors and dukes, who remained Catholic like Duke *George of Meissen*, awarded contracts for paintings both ecclesiastical and secular to Cranach. In a small, beautifully designed brochure “Ways to Cranach. A journey of discovery” contains introductions to all of his works. The introductory section reads: “Let us invite you to a trip on the way to Cranach. Follow the traces of a painter who not only summed up the great themes of his time in important paintings but, as a friend of Luther, was also an important companion of the Reformation and thus part of an epoch-break on the way to modernity.” The reader learns that numerous paintings in Dessau “with the theme of the Virgin Mary are typical of the early Cath-

olic Cranach”. Already in these works the renaturalisation of the holy figures with a clearer realistic characterisation of people and nature, typical of Renaissance art, can be identified.

Alongside *Albrecht Dürer* (1471–1528), Cranach the Elder is the outstanding painter of German Renaissance. The paintings in the architecturally impressive church lead the visitors into the historical situation, into the Reformation and into the deep faith, which gave man the necessary support and hope. At thirteen historical sites in Saxony, Thuringia, Saxony-Anhalt and Bavaria, the original works of art can be admired in churches and art collections, from Kronach, Cranach’s birthplace, via Coburg, Luther town Wittenberg with numerous sights, Dessau, Rosslau, Torgau, Erfurt, Eisenach, Weimar to Nuremberg. The exhibition “Lucas Cranach the Elder. Meister – Marke – Moderne” in the “Kunstpalast” in Düsseldorf shows the artist’s work, in rare completeness, until 30 July.

Cranach's Reformation altar piece in the church of St. Wolfgang in Schneeberg

It is a cultural blessing that so many masterpieces have been preserved and have not fallen victim to the destructive picture storm and vandalism of the Reformation. In con-

“But nobody has lost his homeland, who does not give it up in his heart”

Konrad Heiden’s Report on the Anti-Jewish Pogrom 1938

by Moritz Nestor

It is completely unclear why, but it was not until 2013, seventy-five years after the National Socialist pogrom of 9/10 November 1938, that the original of the most important report on the Nazi pogrom was published in German for the first time – Konrad Heiden’s (1901–1966) “Eine Nacht im November 1938”.! It is based on reports of eyewitnesses and newspapers of the contemporary German and international press. As far as possible, the editors clarified the anonymously published original sources. In the second part of the book, for the first time since Heiden’s death in 1966, an “Eine Annäherung an Leben und Werk” (Approach to life and work), (42 pages) by Markus Roth provides information about the life of this forgotten author.

However, among exiled writers Konrad Heiden was one of the best-informed connoisseurs of National Socialism. From the very beginning he personally traced the rise of Hitler and of the NSDAP in pubs, backrooms and halls, and studied their writings in detail. He had informants in the highest ranks of the NSDAP. Allegedly Hitler used to wait to begin his speeches until Heiden had been present.

Optimally researched

Whatsoever, Heiden’s works were optimally researched, they experienced very high editions and were frequently re-reviewed. Especially true for his unique

Hitler biography of 1936, entitled “Adolf Hitler: Das Zeitalter der Verantwortungslosigkeit – Ein Mann gegen Europa” which was reissued in 2011 by *Europa-Verlag*. It remains still unsurpassed until today. “Up to 1965, when essential documents were evaluated for the first time which had not been available to him, Heiden’s publications served as a (but often concealed) source and basis for all Hitler biographies and interpretations of National Socialism at home and abroad.”²

However, it remains strange that Heiden’s “Eine Nacht im November 1938” written in German during his French exile in 1939, immediately was published in English, French, and Swedish translations, but that the German original simply disappear into oblivion! For seventy-five years it lays forgotten in the Zurich Central Library.³

No “public outrage” during the anti-Jewish pogrom in 1938

However, Heiden’s book is one of the most important contemporary reports of the Anti-Jewish pogrom cynically referred to by the Nazis as “Unternehmen Isaak”⁴: The reader experiences the drama of the happenings as if he were present. Heiden captures the sentiments of the participants meticulously, portraying objectively, with a keen eye and a burning heart. He politically classifies the events and unmasks the strategic backgrounds: The “public anger” invented by Goebbels and reported to have

“In the beginning were the word ...”

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trast to other reformers and their secular rulers, Martin Luther was opposed to the destruction of paintings and church treasures.

Thus the visit of the church of St. Wolfgang in Schneeberg, in the mining area of the Vogtland, is a special experience. Here you can see Lucas Cranach’s first great Reformation altar piece. It is one of the largest works by the Cranach family and was produced between 1532 and 1539. The altar has a clear pictorial programme that represents important texts of the Bible in the theological context of the new faith. Man is shown in their specific relationship to God, to their fellow beings and to themselves. St. Wolfgang is one of the great and bright late-Gothic churches in Saxony. It owes itself to the silver mining in the Erzgebirge in the 15th and 16th centuries. During an air raid on 19 April 1945, it was

almost completely destroyed. As the only work of art, eleven of the twelve pieces of the Cranach altar were saved. They are now united in the winged altar. The church was rebuilt until 1996 in its original beauty. An admirable achievement of the citizens of the town after the destruction during the war.

Here and there also historical Bible editions are on display, Luther’s great deed of the bible translation into the German language becomes clear. Everyone should participate in the knowledge of the time, to be able to act responsibly towards themselves, their neighbours and for the common good. The honest word, the careful writing, the constructive texts and pictures are to contribute today to the education and the social bonding of the people. A cultural journey in the footsteps of Cranach and Luther, with a substantive deepening in the cultural and historical events, is well worth a trip. •



Konrad Heiden
(picture wikipedia)



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erupted spontaneously against the Jews, because in Paris a Nazi was shot by a desperate young Jew. This public anger not only did not exist, on the contrary, the people, Goebbels shamefully referred to, did not want the pogrom! Were such sources no longer wanted after the war in order to declare the people guilty? In any case, on that 9 November 1938, SS, SA, and Hitlerjugend units took centrally co-ordinated action throughout the Reich, at the same time, with the same pattern. The rest was slavish obedience of controlled gangs of racketeers, hate propaganda, and low instincts, as they are to be found in every nation.

National Socialist ideology of emotions

The book contains an impressive portrayal and analysis of the National Socialist ideology of emotions which attempted to drown rationality, reason, and human sympathy in “suggestive magic”⁵

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"But nobody has lost his homeland ..."

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and in "concerted rage" of "bestiality".⁶ With strong symbols vulgar slogans were spread, fear and hatred and other strong emotions were aroused and directed, especially fantasies of violence and omnipotence. "It may be alright," one hears Goebbels say in 1934 during the Reich Party Congress, "it may be good to possess power based on weapons, but it is better and more satisfactory to win and hold the hearts of the people."⁷

The particular current relevance of Heiden's book is lying in the portrayal of these socio-psychological processes. Similar and almost identical processes of the present time are constantly appearing to the reader's inner eye.

Against "Hitler's un-German despotism"

Heiden originally titled his report "Nächtlicher Eid" (Nocturnal Oath). For Hitler's coup failed on 9 November 1923. The Nazis made the 9 November a memorial day for the "martyrs" of the "movement". Every year on the 9 November, at midnight, by torchlight, Heinrich Himmler, in the presence of the Führer in front of the "Feldherrnhalle" in Munich, the historical site of the Hitler Putsch, swore in the new entries in the "SS Verfügungstruppe". In 1938 an anti-Jewish pogrom was set up for this night. It had been planned for a long time. Then there was the welcome pretext, when the 17-year-old Herschel Grynszpan shot the Legation Secretary, Ernst Eduard vom Rath, in Paris on 7 November 1938.

Heiden loved Germany. His struggle with the pen, in his own words, was against "Hitler's un-German despotism".⁸

"But nobody has lost his homeland who does not give it up in his heart". Germany is where Germany's freedom is fought for. This struggle requires the whole person."⁹

When did you hear such words the last time! For Heiden, Nazism is what the Enlightenment – based on natural law – understood as contradiction to freedom: despotism – not a "German" or "European phenomenon".¹⁰

His duty as a writer was always clear to Heiden: "We have to know how our adversary became great and how he beat us."¹¹

"We do not just have to see what mistakes we made, but also what the enemy did better than we did. We have to admit that the bad thing had been done better than the good one. ... His [Hitler's] crimes are known; but the shortsightedness and good-nature of those who enabled him to do so are more shameful to us. Here we all are to blame, and he who writes this is by no means excepted."¹²

The failure of the intellectuals

This is very reminiscent of Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl's brother and a member of the "White Rose", who, during his interrogation by the Gestapo, said: "I consider that in Germany in the period 1918–1933 and especially in 1933 it was not so much the mass of the German people who failed politically, but just [...] the intelligentsia. Although in Germany a society of scholars and specialists flourished in all spheres of intellectual life, just these people were not able to correctly respond to the simplest political questions. Just for this reason it is understandable that mass movements with their simple slogans could drown out any deeper ideas. I felt that it was high time that we seriously made that part of the bourgeoisie aware of its political duty."¹³ Should we not be more reflective today when hearing the words of these contemporary witnesses?

Against Marxist historical determinism ...

From Heiden's perspective, living meant acting: "I dedicate this book to those who do not want to succumb to fate, or do not hope for a miracle, but intend to take the matter into their own hands. [...] there remains the natural right of all healthy and living to say: The top is always where I am, and my descendants are even higher."¹⁴ Heiden, a child of the labour movement himself, turned against the authoritarian Marxist left of the Weimar period with its historical determinism, making Hitler great with "historical necessity", and believing that the communist party would come to power with just the same "historical necessity" when the Nazis had collapsed with "historical necessity".

History, however, is always an open creation into the future, being shaped by the peoples. Heiden's historiography does not explain National Socialism either from Christianity or from Germanism, from the "Enlightenment", or from "science", or from the bourgeois small family, or from capitalism. He writes history, standing on the side of man, reason, and worthwhile life. His patriotism is a love of homeland and of humans.

... and "Frankfurt School"

For Heiden, Nazism is the absolute end of dignity, freedom, reason, and civilisation. For the National Socialist "Ideology" is just: violence. Heiden called his book a "contribution to the natural history of beastliness".¹⁵ There is no path leading from reason, science, patriotism, Christianity, or enlightenment to Hitler. Thus Heiden is also diametrically opposed to the interpretation of National Socialism by the "Frankfurt School", and to Adorno's and Horkheimer's verdict that Enlightenment is totalitarian.¹⁶ Since the late

sixties, this has become a dominant interpretation of history among the left and left-liberal intellectuals of whole generations, especially in Germany.

Such dissimulations of his Jewish colleagues – if he had ever known them – were strange to Heiden, a Jew himself. He, a child from the labour movement, takes a stand as a democratic antifascist. His mother is Jewish. *Lea Heiden-Deutschmann* commits herself to the educational associations of women of Munich and Frankfurt and writes in the social-democratic "Die neue Zeit." She is a "passionate fighter" and fellow campaigner of *Henriette Fuhrth* and *Clara Zetkin* and a "tender, faithfully caring and understanding mother", as it is said in an obituary of her who deceased in 1906. Heiden's father is a labour secretary in the trade union work and publishes about labour insurance and education of labourers. Konrad, the only son, lives with the caring father after the mother's early death. The father is very concerned about a trusting relationship with the son. Both parents educate Konrad in the free spirit.

Not least therefore Heiden's report is pleasantly free from authoritarian Marxist or Stalinist thinking. The new left of the Frankfurt School, or the French left, since Sartre committed to Stalin, would have remained deeply alien to him. And he did not psychologise like the Freudo-Marxists that the sexual oppression of the bourgeois small family breeds National Socialism ...

"Thoughtfulness, compassion, understanding and penetration"

Heiden can be read so well because he does not pursue commissioned historiography, but merely relies on the basics: facts, eyewitnesses, personal experience, testable statements, thoughtfulness, compassion, understanding and penetration based on humans' reality of life. His only measure is the dignity and liberty of his people and his homeland, as well as the critical use of reason without anybody else's help. His books need to be part of every history lesson on the issue of the 20th century. On a clearing at the edge of a grove near *East Orleans* in *Barnstable County*, Massachusetts, an undressed boulder carries a simple bronze plaque with the inscription "Konrad Heiden (1901–1966), Writer, Foe of Nazis.". It covers Konrad Heiden's grave as if to protect it forever. Even after his early death, a son of his beloved homeland Germany, which he assisted even in the darkest hours of its tragic history, is a great teacher of history, who is warning us and coming generations: "Nobody has lost his home and who does not give it up in his heart."

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"But nobody has lost his homeland ..."

continued from page 16

- ¹ Heiden, Konrad. *Eine Nacht im November 1938: Ein zeitgenössischer Bericht*. Ed. Markus Roth, Sascha Feuchert und Christiane Weber. Göttingen, Wallstein 2013, in English published 1939 as "The New Inquisition", Konrad Heiden, The New Inquisition, New York, Modern Age Books u.a., 1939
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- ¹⁴ Heiden, 1934, p. 7
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- ¹⁶ Adorno, T. W., with Max Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott. Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002. 242.

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Der Führer: Hitler's Rise to Power by Konrad Heiden, 76 editions published between 1944 and 1999 in 3 languages*One Man against Europe* by Konrad Heiden, 16 editions published between 1939 and 1940 in 3 languages*Hitler: A Biography* by Konrad Heiden, 56 editions published between 1936 and 1999 in 8 languages*A history of National Socialism* by Konrad Heiden, 43 editions published between 1934 and 2013 in 5 languages*The Führer* by Konrad Heiden, 5 editions published between 1944 and 2012

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