

100 years after Versailles

War and peace The tasks of the historical sciences

by Wolfgang van Biezen

Anyone who seriously cares about why and what for there are still wars in this world, although it has long been clear that the past and present wars have not brought humankind one millimetre further, will sooner or later deal with history. For example, the sad story of the Congo or how over the centuries the people of the Swiss Confederation have succeeded in resolving conflicts peacefully. One can also begin with the history of Russia or with that of Israel, which is closely related to that of Germany. Or with the history of China, in which a great, millennia-old culture becomes visible before it was destroyed from within, especially in the 19th century by European “merchants of death”. For a hundred years, these “merchants of death” violently forced Bengali (British) opium into Chinese society with the help of their gunboats. This kind of genocide was paid for with Chinese silver until China became poor and England rich.

Contexts – we almost inevitably end up with the British

No matter where we start, if we want to deepen our understanding the contexts of the present, we almost inevitably end up with the British and their more than five hundred years old colonial history.

Thomas Morus (1478–1535) was in close contact and often in line with the most outstanding European philosophers and theologians of his time. Already around 1500, in his work “*Utopia*”, he gave the British *King Henry VIII* a “God-wanted” justification for the occupation of foreign lands that is still valid today for colonists. For example, it is stated that natives have an abundance of farmland and would “possess it without meaning and purpose”. Therefore, they do not cultivate this farmland. Thus, there is a quite legitimate reason to expel the natives and/or acquire the land.²

The division of the world since the 15th century

Why not, because a few years earlier, in 1494, in the Treaty of Tordesillas, Pope



1919: Europe is redivided. British geographers draw new borders in Versailles (picture Nicholson)¹

Alexander VI had given his ecclesiastical blessing, so to speak, to the Portuguese and Spanish dynasties to divide the whole world from now on – according to papal demands. From then on, for the first time in human history, there were global claims of ownership legitimised by the Church – Portugal in the eastern hemisphere and Spain in the western hemisphere. However, once in Europe, the knowledge of the spherical shape of the earth had hardly been established to some extent in intellectual and thus also in ecclesiastical circles, when the raid, which continues to this day, began.

As we have learned in school, *Henry VIII* did not recognise the Pope also because of his affairs with women. As an absolute ruler he has founded his own church. Since then, the British royal family and thus the reigning monarch is head of the Anglican Church for all times. This is still the case today.

Who wrote the history of the 20th century so far?

Looking at modern history, broadly speaking, there are two approaches regarding Europe and the World Wars. The

prevailing and still valid doctrine among academic historians today is that Germany bears sole responsibility for the two world wars. No wonder that this understanding of history is also part of the public and published opinion among non-academics.

*Willy Wimmer*³ states that the history of Germany is still written by the Allies today. Thus, it is a history of the winners, namely the winners of the First and Second World War. He considers that until today an objective history based on facts has not yet been allowed to be written.

Otherwise, it would not have been possible for Germany to pay its reparations payments, imposed after the First World War, properly with a final payment of 200,000 euros to France just in 2010 (!).⁴ Even after the German war debts had been paid off by various cessations of territory (about one third of the national territory went to other states), followed by the expulsion of the German people, destruction of the fleet, confiscation of industrial plants and goods, etc., the Allies hesitate to allow a fact-based historiography.

continued on page 2

"War and peace"

continued from page 1

What about Christopher Clark?

Therefore, the German media were delighted, when the book by *Christopher Clark* entitled "the Sleepwalkers" was published just before the centenary of World War I in 2013. This book was praised as encompassing, promising a new perspective. However, what is allowed here in search for causes 100 years after the terrible world war is old wine in new wineskins. "Sleepwalkers" staggering into a war? That is unrealistic. Not a word about the fact that the First World War was preceded by extensive (not only, but above all) British planning. Nevertheless, the celebrated Christopher Clark was ennobled for his point of view by Queen *Elizabeth II*. Why and for what becomes slowly clear when you read the book. Clark teaches his readers by claiming that the First World War was not an *Agatha Christie* thriller. The investigators in search for guilt tended to construct decision-makers' actions as "planned and driven by a coherent intention." There was "no evil plan" (!).

Anyone who takes the trouble to struggle through this especially in Germany praised book to page 716, learn in all seriousness "that the available sources do not substantiate such an argumentation [that there would be such a plan]"⁵. You can only wonder what kind of information Christopher Clark has on his desk. The available sources ...! That really is something to be savoured. Of course, In Germany it is still a matter that the winning nations drive through the country with their tanks or jeeps. The Russians have already left. However, without the slightest hint of indignation, American President *Trump*, for example, recently visited US troops still stationed in Ramstein.

In a chapter in his book, "England, die Deutschen, die Juden und das 20. Jahrhundert" (England, the Germans, the Jews, and the Twentieth Century), *Peter Heisenko* aptly described this repression of history – and thus the present – as a collective and socio-psychological phenomenon of the Germans.⁶ He called it national masochism.

Connections are hidden

Christopher Clark's "The Sleepwalkers" turns out to be another spin-doctoral work. As a historian, he sticks to the 100-year-old reading; he makes use of, albeit linguistically honed, the long refuted "Fischer controversy," according to which German historians prove that the Prussian militarists absolutely wanted the war before the First World War. He lays wrong tracks and portrays the British Empire and its politics in the most harmless light. The

reader is imperceptibly captivated by banalities or slippery portrayals.

There is an overwhelming abundance of individual events that miss the whole context. The misery of historical sciences seems to be once more that through the intended abundance, atomisation and marginalisation of events, a coherent continuity of events is not or insufficiently worked out.

More than "sleepwalkers"

In contrast, geo-strategists such as George Friedman, Obama's adviser and former head of the private news service Stratfor, are able to explain complex contexts and Anglo-American military doctrines to laypersons in just thirteen minutes on YouTube: That it has been American geostrategy for 100 years that Germany and Russia cannot go together. The US will continue to wage wars in the future. The United States should follow the example of the British, who let others lead their wars. Now it would depend on Germany! Germany is still hesitating.⁷ Thus, if Germany is currently credited with strong leadership on the continent, every citizen should see the warning signs. NATO is at the Russian border. However, if Germany wants to become a truly sovereign state, its history must be worked up truthfully and without taboos. That's why I'd like to draw attention to two new booklets that deserve attention for precisely this reason.

**Two new books
by Wolfgang Effenberger**

*Wolfgang Effenberger*⁸, as a representative of a historiography committed to the facts – and more than sufficient in terms of the sources meeting the demands of professional historiography – knows how to convincingly present the read thread in brief. This means that these books are particularly worth reading both for further research and for interested laypersons, due to the extensive literature used.

He points out, who had an interest in the new order of Europe at the end of the 19th century, who laid the fuses in the background, since when this war was planned, why it was necessary for the British Empire and how the planning was prudently, perfidiously and almost imperceptibly launched. Which role *Iswolski* played as a diplomat for the Pope in mediating between Republican France and the Czarist Empire. And last but not least, which promises were made in advance to many European states in order to make this armed engagement palatable to them.

The Pope, for example, was to have his own state again. Russia was offered Istanbul and the much-needed Dardanelles. France should be rewarded with the western part of Africa and areas in the Mid-

dle East. The Poles were promised a new state in the territories of the German Reich and Austria-Hungary was promised Italy the Dalmatian coast, Bulgaria ..., Romania ..., Hungary ... and so on. The British themselves took care of filleting the Ottoman Empire.

How the First World War was planned

Reading Wolfgang Effenberger's book this becomes evident: people with motifs also planned and carried out this armed engagement. These people have names. It is proven that a group around the "Prince of Wales", the later King *Edward VII*, consisting of British high and financial nobility, made the plan in 1887 to ally Russia and France and to start a war against Germany. Immediately after planning, secret diplomacy began its work under British control.⁹

In each of these exciting booklets, Wolfgang Effenberger takes the reader on a geopolitical journey of the time before the First World War. The conception of his books are very clear and easily to understand. It is to his credit that he refers to the present at appropriate points every now and then and impresses with many literature references.

He describes the role of American high finance, especially that of the bank *J.P. Morgan*, during the war, and why the course of the First World War was the opportunity for the USA, as a neutral state, mind you, to position itself as the only world power with British know-how. *Arthur Ponsonby* and the principles (still valid) of war propaganda complete the booklets.¹⁰

Even today, enemy images trickle into our brains through various channels every day. In fact, such reading invites each of us to reflect on how, in a world that is anything but peaceful, every citizen could contribute to sustainable peace-building. •

- ¹ Nicholson, Harold. *Friedensmacher* 1919. (Peacemaker 1919), Berlin 1934. Harold Nicholson had to map in Versailles as British Secretary of State of Foreign Minister Sir Edward Gray, the border shifts negotiated in ever-emerging secret treaties.
- ² Presented excellently in: Munier, Gerald. *Thomas Morus, Urvater des Kommunismus und katholischer Heiliger* (Thomas Morus, forefather of communism and catholic saint), Hamburg 2008, pp. 136 and the original text: Morus, Thomas. *Utopia – Lateinisch/Deutsch* (Utopia – Latin/German), Stuttgart 1964, pp. 129
- ³ Wimmer, Willy. *Deutschland im Umbruch* (Germany in Upheaval), Hör-Grenzhausen 2018, p. 133
- ⁴ Kellerhoff, Sven Felix. *Deutschlands Reparationszahlungen laufen aus* (Germany's reparation payments expire). In: "Die Welt" from 28.09.2010.
- ⁵ Clark, Christopher. *Die Schlafwandler* (The sleepwalkers). Munich 2015, p. 716

1244 – A Key to Peace in Europe

Defending Serbia's right to the province of Kosovo and Metohija

by Marina Colic, Belgrade Forum for a World of Equals

The oldest Serbian Publishing House – *Serbian Literary Cooperative* – has recently promoted the book “1244 – A Key to Peace in Europe”, authored by *Živadin Jovanović*, a former foreign minister of Yugoslavia (1998–2000). Other promotions which followed in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Subotica, and other places in Serbia, have aroused attention and interest for the book among scholars of international relations, security, analysts of contemporary geostrategic tendencies, of the roll of international public law, and of stability and cooperation in the Balkans, and Europe.

The book is a collection of the author's articles, interviews and public speeches related to the Autonomous Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija which have been published in the past 20 years (from 1997 through September 2018).

This includes a number of interviews with renown international medias such as: *Le Monde*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *L Soire*, *Pravo*, *ABC*, *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, *Al Ahram*, *Elite*, as well as radio and TV networks, such as *BBC*, *CNN*, *CBS*, *Chinese Central TV*, *Al Jazeera* and others.

The book (890 pages) comprises 5 Chapters: *The Time of Terrorism*, *The Time of Aggression*, *The Time of Illusions*, *The Time of Waking up*, and *The Documents*. The reviewers are Academician *Vlado Strugar*, Prof. Dr *Milo Lompar*, and Prof. *Čedomir Štrbac* and the editors Ambassador (retd) *Dragomir Vučićević* and the writer *Dragan Lakičević*. The publishers: *The Belgrade Forum for a World*

of Equals, and the *Serbian Literary Cooperative*.

According to Professor *Milo Lompar* the book reflects continuity of the author's views on statehood and national interests of Serbia and the Serbian people, readily recognisable in his decades-long career in diplomacy and in his public engagements up to the present days. The author's continuous advocacy for the full respect of the basic International Law Principles and UN Security Council Resolution 1244¹ in resolving the problem of the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija reflects both – the author's understanding of the long-term and current importance of Kosovo and Metohija, not only for Serbia and the Serbian people, but also for the peace and stability in the Balkans and Europe. With over 1,300 Serbian medieval monuments, headquarters of the Serbian Orthodox Church Patriarchy – Kosovo and Metohija are deeply interwoven in the state, national, cultural and religious identity – considers professor *Lompar*. He concluded that the book of Mr. *Živadin Jovanović* reaffirms the statehood roots and tradition of the Serbian nation re-established in XIX century as well as the right to equality and self governance of all citizens and national communities living in the Province regardless of their nationality or religion. He particularly praised the high documentary value of the book as its special feature.

Ambassador *Dragomir Vučićević* singles out the need for Serbia to dedicate much

more reflection on herself and her long-term interests, and to a lesser extent on the current expectations by the international stakeholders, since the latter, in their positioning vis-à-vis Serbia, are guided solely by their own geopolitical interests. Serbia should adhere to the fundamental principles of the international law and the UN SC resolutions, regardless of who may or may not find it suitable, and develop balanced relations with all key international actors, particularly with proven, long term friends who did not partake in the 1999 NATO aggression and have not recognised the ensuing illegal, unilateral secession. *Vučičević* also highlights the author's thesis *principled* that Serbia needs the European Union only to the extent the European Union needs Serbia, and that EU membership is a legitimate goal insofar it is not conditioned by surrendering her sovereignty and territorial integrity. A just and durable solution for Kosovo and Metohija is only possible on the basis of observing the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, the OSCE Final Act (1975), UN SC Resolution 1244 (1999) and the Constitution of Serbia. Attempts to impose solutions on Serbia which legalise violations of the basic principles of International Law and of European Security and Cooperation as well as UN SC resolutions would only pave the way to the spreading of instability and the build-up of conflict potential in the Balkans and in Europe – warns *Vučičević*.

continued on page 4

“War and peace”

continued from page 2

- ⁶ Heisenko, Peter. *England, die Deutschen, die Juden und das 20. Jahrhundert*. (The Germans, the Jews and the 20th century). Munich 2010, p. 297 et seqq.
- ⁷ Friedman, George. Rede beim Chicago Council on Foreign Relations Anfang 2015 (Speech at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in early 2015), You Tube
- ⁸ Effenberger, Wolfgang. *Europas Verhängnis 1914/18, Die Herren des Geldes greifen zur Weltmacht*. (Europe's doom 1914/18, The masters of money reach for the world power). Hör-Grenzhausen, May 2018
- ⁹ Riemeck, Renate. *Mitteleuropa – Bilanz eines Jahrhunderts*. (Central Europe – The balance of a century). Freiburg 1965
- ¹⁰ Effenberger, Wolfgang. *Europas Verhängnis 1914/18, Kritische angloamerikanische Stimmen zur Geschichte des ersten Weltkrieges* (Critical Anglo-American voices on the history of the First World War.) Hör-Grenzhausen, November 2018



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"1244 – A Key to Peace ..."

continued from page 3

Renown Serbian historian, member of Serbian academy of science and art Vlado Strugar, underlines that this book is a unique thesauri of documents and analyses to be researched by historians and all others researchers devoted to establishing the truth about Kosovo and Metohija, the most important national and state issue of Serbia, as well as about attempts of certain Western powers to exploit this issues for expansion of their hegemony toward East.

General (ret'd) and professor *Radovan Radinovic* considers that the author refuted the chief argument of the West, that Kosovo and Metohija was lost in the war, and that Serbia was defeated and thus left without the right to claim the end of occupation and reinstitutions of own constitutional order.

Western geopolitics are well aware that 1999 NATO aggression was not aimed at protecting human rights of the Albanian national minority. Real objectives have been and remain up to present times, geopolitical expansion towards East, instate full control and lasting presents of US troops in the Central Balkans. "Kosovo and Metohija are not an issue of human rights, but of the Western geopolitics" – says General Radinovic and concludes: "This book helps better understanding the recent history. Those who govern history are the same who govern the present and the future".

The most renown Serbian islamologist, Serbian ambassador at UNSEKO, professor *Darko Tanaskovic* considers that the book "1244 – a key to peace in Europe" is precious well of documents, facts, and unavoidable testimonies of the dramatic history of the Balkans and Europe, at the crossroads of the 20th and 21st centuries. He underlines that the author is witness and direct participant of the crucial efforts not only to resolve all the problems in Kosovo and Metohija by peaceful means, but also of the forces whose geopolitical aims have been quite different. "All those who study today, or who will be studying UNSC Resolution 1244 in the future, will find this book very useful, resourceful and even guiding towards a better understanding of processes in the Balkans and great powers relations" – considers professor Tanaskovic.

The author recalled that UN SC Resolution 1244 (1999) was the outcome of extremely difficult two-month negotiations under Russian mediation, while the NATO aggression was unfolding. According to him, it is quite improbable that the present day narrow and closed Brussels' negotiations format would produce a balanced, just, and sustainable solution to the Kosovo and Metohija problem. If the West was unable to end the NATO War in 1999 without the key role of Russia (*Viktor Chernomyr-*

din) how realistic is it now, 20 years after, to resolve the issue of the status of Kosovo and Metohija being the main consequence of that war, keeping Russia outside of the whole process! Is the Russia of *Putin* today less relevant, less capacitated for the peaceful solution of international problems, including the problem of Kosovo and Metohija?! Or, to put it differently, is the West a stronger, dominant player in the global and European arena today than it was in 1999!? Jovanović added that UN SC Resolution 1244 (1999) comprises the positions and interests of all key actors in European and global relations, Russia and China included. Taking that this was true back in 1999 – at the peak of dominance of the unipolar world order – it follows that today, under the backdrop of multipolar global relations, this is no less than imperative. A bid to resolve it within an EU-only format reveals the intention to exclude Russia and China and to resort to blackmailing in order to impose geopolitical interests of the West, namely, the EU and NATO. Acceptance of such attempts would go against the global trends, and would result in further destabilisation of relations in the Balkans and in Europe rather than in introducing a balanced and sustainable solution.

Jovanović recalled of the coming 80th anniversary of the Munich Agreement on Sudetenland ostensibly to "protect" the rights of the German national minority and "save" the peace in Europe. We all know who took part in, and who was intentionally excluded from, this "agreeing" and what was the outcome of this "comprehensive legally binding agreement" of 30 September 1938 – warned Jovanović.

After the end of the war against Yugoslavia in 1999, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1244 (1999) of 10 June 1999, also known publicly as the Kosovo Resolution. Almost 20 years have passed since then. 20 years ago, in October 1998, in a fateful vote in the German "Bundestag", the German participation in the war was decided – with an overwhelming majority. You read the shorthand report of the 248th session of the German "Bundestag" on 16 October 1998 (Plenary Protocol 13/248).

*German experts in international law and lawyers' organisations filed criminal charges against the war-mongers of the time. The then Federal Prosecutor General *Nehm* dismissed these charges on the justification that the term "war of aggression" should not be understood too narrowly as a military operation. The Federal Government used the construction of "humanitarian intervention" to justify this war, but this was also done without the decision of the UN Security Council.*

Resolution 1244

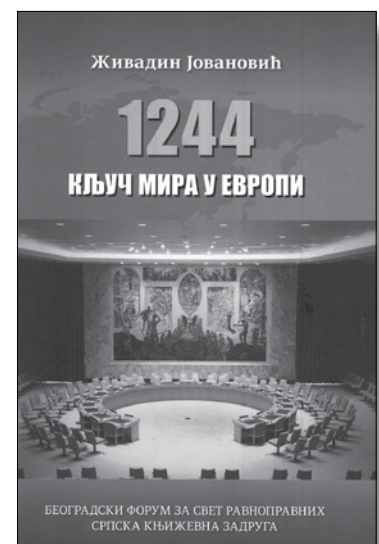
This resolution, adopted by the UN Security Council on 19 June 1999, ended the 78-day NATO aggression against Serbia (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), enshrined the guarantee of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Serbia and substantial autonomy for the province of Kosovo and Metohijen within Serbia. Nonetheless, in 2008, the provincial leadership proclaimed the unilateral secession of Serbia, which in return was recognised by NATO and EU members, with the exception of Spain, Romania, Slovakia, Greece and Cyprus.

Illegally according to international law remains illegally according to international law, one turns and turns it as one wants. It seems that this process has neither been sufficiently dealt with politically, legally nor morally. How else would it be possible for the German warmongers to escape so cheaply, without much fuss, without loud outcry, without internationally devastating criticism? In any case, too little of it could be heard.

The present Merkel government now openly admits that it is advising and financially supporting its then foster children – the KLA – in transforming them into a regular army in Kosovo. What is the point of this? As soon as the dead of 1999 are buried, the next bestiality arises before our eyes: the building up of an army in Kosovo means nothing other than: "We are continuing".

The former Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia Živadin Jovanović (1998-2000) now publishes – together with the „Belgrade Forum for a World of Equals“ – a new comprehensive book dealing with the peace policy in Europe and in particular with UN Security Council Resolution 1244 and its far-reaching consequences. An overview in English is already available, the translation of the entire book from Serbian will probably follow.

Barbara Hug



The yellow vests movement or the unhealed wound of the 2005 referendum

by Arnaud Benedetti, France*



Arnaud Benedetti
(picture arnaud-benedetti.com)

Arnaud Benedetti sees the Yellow Vest movement as having entered into a virtually revolutionary phase. The underlying anger has intensified thus far as the desire for more popular sovereignty in favour of technocracy has been increasingly cut back.

The yellow safety vest is first and foremost a signal. It illustrates the crisis of Macronism, which has its origins in an earlier world *Macron* and his entourage of the “En marche” movement only inherited. The story resembles the Russian Matryoshka dolls which are placed one inside another. The outer shell touted something new, while bygone times are inside. In fact, the “En marche” movement defended an old perception of Europe, without being aware of it: that of Maastricht, opportunistically defending the institutions of a weary Fifth Republic and, above all, a technocratic conception of politics. At all levels, the various areas of popular sovereignty have been increasingly restricted. The dissatisfaction associated with this is demonstrated Saturday after Saturday in an uncontrolled and tumultuous manner. The yellow-vest movement [“giletisme”] reveals first of all this. A disruptive situation in which a turning point takes place – something that creates radical new circumstances. When commentators and participants have a tough time when they attempt to grasp this moment, to understand what is happening, it is because the situation goes against all norms and rules – as it is the characteristic of a revolution.

Many things collapse, confuse and amaze. The process that we have been witnessing for a some weeks is of this nature: it is quasi revolutionary for at least two reasons: On the one hand, because it expresses a spectacular and worrying questioning of the “rational legal framework” – to use a term by *Max Weber* – in which we interact. On the other hand, because it leads in return to a kind of “new” reaction that, in an irrepressible self-defending move-

* Arnaud Benedetti is an associate professor at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. He had positions firstly as communications director of the “Centre national de la recherche scientifique”, then of the “Centre national d’études spatiales” (CNES) and finally of the “Institut national de la santé et de la recherche médicale” (Inserm). His latest book is titled “Le coup de com permanent” [The permanent PR action]. (Edition Cerf, 2018), in which he analyses Emmanuel Macron’s communication strategies.

ment, unites the directly affected political, intellectual, administrative and economic forces that want to save and protect all their achievements. On both sides the way leads to extremes. According to the bourgeois rules of decency, the participants presume excesses in the confrontation, which are a sign of obvious detriment to the institutional basis of the regime. Some demonstrators – but by no means all – do not hesitate to provoke violent clashes with the police; the executive, for its part, uses a language and behaviour that are explicitly divisive and authoritarian, and are by no means conducive to calming the disturbing mood.

What we’re seeing here is nothing but a power struggle. But a fight that develops outside the given, mutually accepted playground. The street has once again become the scene of eruptive political contrasts. The irony of history is that the “new world” has unexpectedly turned into a “time machine leading into the past” in order to explore pre-modern forms of politics anew.

Some people today wrongly believe they are seeing signs of the 1930s. This is the expression of a short-sightedness that refers all events of our time back to the 20th century, to the interwar period and the Second World War! But there is no doubt that we must turn our attention to another century – not to the 20th century, marked by totalitarianism, but to the one that dealt with the question of democracy and the freedom of peoples, the 19th century. We are much closer to 1848 than we were in 1934 or even 1968.

The outbreak, which initially took place because of the tax and social situation, is de facto a political one. Politically, because in the course of the mobilisation the initiators discovered that the only way to conduct the debate on social and economic issues was to focus on the issue of democracy. This seems to be blocked, however, by the Maastricht Treaty, which, among other things, has excluded the economic sector from any challenge or reversibility. Macron himself is only the ultimate executor of this Maastricht fixation on the economy, to which everything political must subordinate.

He is the prodigal son who has promised to master everything – a return to a form of power of politics. After eighteen months in office, however, he gives the impression that, like his predecessors, he is following a roadmap that is not in the hands of the sovereign people but in completely different hands.

Influenced by the unhealed wound of the 2005 referendum,¹ the Yellow Vests are the first popular movement to succeed in questioning the technocratic doctrine of Maastricht.

An additional tax, the government’s lack of understanding of the rising displeasure, a pinch of disregard have sufficed for a situation to have arisen before our very eyes the beginning of which is discernible, but the end of which is not. The “national debate”, which completely ignores the EU and migration issues, shows that the executive has no intention of making any concessions to the nature of its worldview.

Source: © Arnaud Benedetti, Le Figaro of 7.1.2019 (Translation *Current Concerns*)

¹ On 29 May 2005, in a national referendum, French voters rejected the “Constitutional Treaty for Europe” presented by the EU with 55 % of the votes. Two days later, the same thing happened in the Netherlands. In 2007, the EU submitted a slightly amended new version to the member states under the name “Lisbon Treaty”. In 2008, the then French President Nicolas Sarkozy, with the support of Parliament, amended the Constitution in order to be able to enforce this EU Treaty three days later – without a referendum. (translator’s note)

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Lessons for democracy when looking at France

by Karl Müller

The French president's offer to hold a "great national debate" with the citizens of his country from 15 January to the end of March 2019 is – even before the start of the "debate" – more likely a sham package. Emmanuel Macron obviously intends to use modern control and governance techniques to get the citizens under control. The process calls for fundamental considerations.

Drawing too many parallels between different historical epochs is generally questionable. But it can be interesting to take a look at how the powerful of different epochs dealt with the concerns of their subjects, today citizens.

Louis XVI ...

When *Louis XVI* and his advisors in the 1780s no longer knew how to navigate the heavily swaying ship of the French state in the future, and above all how to remedy the ailing state budget, they had an idea. They called for the assembly of the estates, which had not met for centuries, to help them. This was intended to give the impression that all three estates of society, i.e. nobility, clergy as well as peasants and bourgeoisie could participate in the solution of the state crisis – even if the representatives of the third estate (peasants and bourgeoisie), that made up more than 95 per cent of the population of France, only had one third of the votes in this assembly of estates.

In addition, there was the idea of giving all subjects the opportunity to formulate complaints and submit them in writing – an interesting idea in view of the fact that the majority of people, especially those from the third estate, could neither read nor write. However, the king and his advisers had miscalculated. The letters of complaint were unvarnished testimony to the situation of the people in the country and to the glaring injustice – for the dissatisfaction and indignation had meanwhile spread to representatives of all estates, and very, very many spoke out. The assembly of the estates also dissolved after it had barely met, and the first revolutionary act took place: The tennis court oath [serment du jeu de paume] to give France a constitution and the formation of the National Assembly.

...and Emmanuel Macron

All this was almost 230 years ago, today there are no kings left in France. France calls itself a republic with civil and human rights, it is supposed to be a country in which all citizens have equal rights – and

the president of the country is one among the citizens.

However, in the past weeks he got into dire straits by a nationwide protest movement – the *gilets jaunes* (yellow vests) – and had signalled concessions. Particularly strongly denounced law projects ought to be subject to a temporary moratorium or be withdrawn. Above all: Emmanuel Macron promised a "great national debate" about the concerns of the people in the country.

Now it has emerged that this "great national debate" was not supposed to be an honest dialogue, but a farce, a spectacle. *Walter Ulbricht*, a German Communist and later Secretary General of the Central Committee of the East German SED, apparently said in 1945, with regard to his strategy for the Soviet-occupied zone: "It has to look democratic, but we must have everything under control". Emmanuel Macron obviously did the same – but it was uncovered.

Macron wanted to limit the topics of the dialogue with the citizens of the country from the outset and *Chantal Jouanno*, a civil servant, intended as head organiser and coordinator of the debate – without consultation with the *gilets jaunes*: She has been president of the CNDP (*Commission nationale du débat public*) since March 2018. Particularly offensive was the fact that the former minister and prominent top athlete chosen to be coordinator earns almost 15,000 euros a month in her current position as a civil servant – ten times the official minimum wage in France. Now that this has leaked, the coordinator designated by Macron has resigned from her post.

Modern techniques of control and governance

We know this kind of top-down policy – in which those over whom decisions are made should have the feeling that they have made their own decisions – from change management for control and governance processes in companies or administrations, from "future workshops" and the like – Macron wants to try it with the whole of France. A telling detail: In the *Elysée Palace*, Macron's strategy towards the *gilets jaunes* runs under the name "Operation Reconquista" – as the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" wrote on 9 January.

... or direct democracy?

The attempt will most likely fail, and it is plausible that the opposition is calling Macron's attempts an "alibi exercise" and sees its fundamental distrust towards the

president confirmed. Thus, the call for genuine self-determination "by the people for the people" becomes louder. Switzerland is regarded a model. A right of referendum and initiative is called for. It should be possible to dismiss even elected representatives, members of the government and the president himself by a referendum. However, here Macron and his government are not making any concessions. They speak of "agitators", threatening a crack down on them.

To prevent violence

Louis XVI had no success with all his attempts to remain in power. The history of the revolution is tied to a terrible trail of blood. Switzerland's path towards direct democracy in the 19th century, on the other hand, was largely non-violent. Yet, it was not given to the Swiss on a silver platter, it had to be struggled for politically – and it was a long way.

Is France not everywhere in EU-Europe?

France's president and his politics not only find parallels in France's history. They also have parallels with what is happening in many European countries today. The provocative and quite radical French writer *Michel Houellebecq* has just published his latest novel "Serotonin" – simultaneously in French and German. The thoroughly irritated life of his protagonist does not have to be the subject here; but the background against which the novel is set has a lot to do with reality: A French peasantry and working class impoverished by globalisation and EU politics. The pattern is applicable to other European countries.

It still seems to "work" when only governments are changed or even brand new parties replace the previous ones in the exercise of power. Macron and his "movement" were made believed as saviours in times of distress.

Now for how long will they get away with something like this? In France, the writing is on the wall. Not only when looking at the protests of the past weeks, but also when looking at how the political class is dealing with these protests. Where in EU-Europe are the concerns of the citizens and their rights as a sovereign, really taken serious?

However, in the long term it will not work out. Taking the citizens serious as a sovereign can only mean living direct democracy. To hope for the political class on this path will not lead us anywhere. For us as citizens it is essential to stand up for direct democracy. •

Legalising Cannabis – who will profit from it?

by Professor Dr med Jürg Barben, MD, FMH (Swiss Medical Association) Paediatrics and Adolescent Medicine, specialised in pulmonary diseases

Forty years ago, it was hard to imagine, today it is reality: Although being classified as an illegal drug on a federal level in the USA, 30 US States approved Cannabis for medicinal use and 10 States declared Cannabis as free to use for leisure purposes¹. Following Uruguay (2014), Canada now declared its intent to legalise Cannabis for recreational use as well². This is despite the fact that the medical benefits of Cannabis are low and multiple adverse effects have been known to the medical community for years³⁻⁷. Since mid-2016, marijuana products with a Δ^9 -tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) content of less than 1% have been legally available in Switzerland and following the legalisation, 580 companies entered the legal Cannabis business. In 2017, the upturn in these businesses added 15 million Swiss francs to the treasury⁸.

In the meantime, an enormous Cannabis industry has emerged in the US, with businesses worth millions⁹. These businesses could rely on the experiences and knowledge of the tobacco industry^{10, 11}. In the States that made Cannabis legal, sales reached 8 billion USD in the last year; sales in 2025 are estimated at 24 billion USD¹. In the process, these states received 745 million USD in taxes last year, and by 2025 they are estimated to be around 4.3 billion USD. However, this revenue will not cover future follow-up costs of Cannabis use such as health costs, occupational losses and social costs, as it was the case with the tobacco epidemic.

The number of Cannabis users in the US aged 12 years and older, is estimated at 22 million. 10% use Cannabis only for medicinal purposes. The number of Cannabis smokers has increased from 6.2% in 2002 to 8.3% in 2015¹². Cannabis addicts were estimated at 2.7 million in 2014, with 9% of all Cannabis users becoming addicted. This rate increases to 17% if Cannabis use starts in adolescence, and to 25–50% if Cannabis is consumed on a daily basis¹. Since 1992, the average level of Δ^9 -tetrahydrocannabinol (THC), the major psychoactive substance of Cannabis, has increased from 3 to 12% in 2012. THC content in concentrated Cannabis oil can be as high as 75%^{1, 13, 14}.

Who financed the legalisation of Cannabis?

“National Families in Action” (NFA) published an indepth report, “Tracking the money that’s legalizing marijuana and why it matters”, documenting the money flow used to vote for the legalisa-

tion of Cannabis in the US over the past 20 years for the first time¹⁵. In this report, it becomes clear how the fight for the authorisation of Cannabis for medical purposes was used as a preliminary stage for a subsequent full legalisation. Since 1996, three billionaires – George Soros, Peter Lewis and John Sperling – have contributed about 80% of the money used for the votes on Cannabis matters in multiple US States. Back in 1992, George Soros, who made his fortune as a financial speculator, donated USD 15 million to the legal battle to legalise Cannabis for medical purposes and later used his *Open Society Foundation* to fight for a full legalisation, starting in Uruguay¹⁶. Peter Lewis and John Sperling, both deceased today, made their fortunes in the insurance industry and the *for profit education movement*. All three of them saw the opportunity to fully legalise Cannabis by first introducing a legal

“To reach the goal of legalisation, the effects of Cannabis have been actively downplayed, and a few are making billions of dollars with it”.

use for medicinal purposes. In 1993, Richard Cowen, former director of the *National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws (NORML)*, stated in a press conference that “the key to it [full legalisation] is medical access. Because, once you have hundreds of thousands of people using marijuana medically, under medical supervision, the whole scam is going to be blown. The consensus here is that medical marijuana is our strongest suit. It is our point of leverage which will move us toward the legalisation of marijuana for personal use”¹⁵.

Cannabis as medicine?

Scientific data on the medical use of Cannabis and positive effects is rare. Systematic and high-quality scientific research, in particular prospective, randomized, placebo-controlled, double-blind studies, hardly exist⁷. Back in 1975, *Nabilone* – a fully synthetic derivative of THC – was patented by the US company *Eli Lilly* as an anti-emetic and tranquilizer. Later it was approved by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) for treating anorexia and cachexia in AIDS patients. It was also approved to be used as an anti-emetic for

nausea and vomiting side effects accompanying cytostatic or radiation therapy in the course of cancer treatment. Another drug containing THC, *Dronabinol*, was approved for the same indications. In Switzerland, medical use is possible with an exemption permit issued by the *Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH)*. The active substance is mainly administered in the form of a solution and may be used for loss of appetite and nausea due to serious illnesses, severe pain and spasticity.

Since mid-2016, marijuana products with a Δ^9 -tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) content of less than 1% have been legally available in Switzerland

However, the effect of these two THC-containing drugs are low and can easily be achieved with other medications. In 2017, the *US National Academies of Sciences (NAS)* published a very comprehensive publication on Cannabis: *The Health Effects of Cannabis and Cannabinoids: The Current State of Evidence and Recommendations for Research*¹². Analysing a total of 10,700 abstracts taken from publications on Cannabis use since 1999, the report concludes that medicinal effects have only been scientifically proven when used for chemotherapy-induced nausea and AIDS-induced cachexia, and partly when used for chronic pain and muscle spasms in multiple sclerosis patients. While the positive effects are low, the NAS points out that Cannabis use increases the risk of traffic accidents and the risk of intoxications,

“Pregnant women and nursing mothers are strongly discouraged to use Cannabis”

especially in children, as well as the risk of developing schizophrenia, anxiety and psychoses. In addition, the report also points out how Cannabis use results in a limited attention span, memory loss and a decreased learning ability. When used in childhood and adolescence, Cannabis is highly likely to lead to addiction.

“Legalising Cannabis – who ...”

continued from page 7

A recent paper highlights devastating effects of Cannabis use on the brain development of unborn children and newborns and hence, strongly discourages pregnant women and nursing mothers to use Cannabis¹⁷.

Consequences of legalising Cannabis

Legalising Cannabis for recreational use opens up vast opportunities for commercialisation. Consequences following these opportunities are difficult to foresee^{10,11}. Debates on how to limit health problems caused by the use of Cannabis, for example by means of new regulatory measures, will tie up enormous financial and legal resources¹⁴. The Cannabis industry might again take notes from the tobacco industry, which managed to turn a cigarette into a perfect nicotine dispenser in the course of the last century. Adding to that, the tobacco industry perfidiously promoted their products and the number of cigarette smokers rose from 1 % in 1880 to 50% in 1950^{10,18,19}. While only a few will benefit financially from commercialising Cannabis, the legalisation of this drug will, as it was with tobacco, entail a series of unprecedented health and safety issues, as well as financial consequences for individuals affected and for society as a whole^{14,20}. Like alcohol, Cannabis will become a relevant issue in workplaces and on the road. THC has long-lasting effects, which will have an impact on the quality of work; injuries and endangering human lives will become more frequent. THC is stored in adipose tissue due to its high fat solubility which means that it can be released back into the bloodstream hours

“The NAS analysed 10,700 abstracts taken from publications on Cannabis use since 1999.”

after use and be detected in urine for days⁶. In addition, an increasing number of young people quit school or apprenticeships due to the so-called, Cannabis-induced “amotivational syndrome” and need the help of social workers and various state institutions to return to a more

normal life, or end up needing long-term care^{3, 13, 21–23}.

In addition to organic Cannabis products, an increasing number of synthetic cannabinoids have been produced in countless laboratories since the 1980s. Today, these cannabinoids are beyond control and have led to numerous deaths^{24,25}. Cannabinoids are also becoming increasingly popular among young people for “vaping” in modern multi-functional e-cigarettes, which have become particularly popular in France²⁶.

Conclusion

Like tobacco, trading Cannabis means to do business with an addictive substance with well-known physical and psychological consequences. To reach the goal of legalisation, the effects of Cannabis have been actively downplayed, and a few are making billions of dollars with it¹³. The *Tobacco Framework Convention* on Tobacco Control (www.ftc.org) has achieved its first successes worldwide fighting the tobacco epidemic. With the legalisation of Cannabis, a new epidemic will be created, with unforeseeable consequences. For this reason, various medical organisations such as the *German Society of Pneumology* or the *American Thoracic Society* published position papers and reports to call attention to the dangers of Cannabis use^{7,27}.

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Free-for-all in the cannabis industry?

by Dr rer. publ. Werner Wüthrich

For some time now we have, from various parts of the Western world, been reading reports and initiatives to legalise Cannabis and other drugs – and we rub our eyes in disbelief as we see: It is no longer the “drug mafia” that is to earn the big money, but the states, the tobacco, alcohol and cannabis companies. There are plans to make the black market disappear and to guarantee the protection of young people through legal consumption. Not a word is uttered about the serious effects on psychosocial and physical development, especially of young people. Not a word about the effects of the increasing use of drugs on social areas such as families, social security, road traffic and occupational life. – After numerous US states had released cannabis containing THC for medical purposes and also as a stimulant, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau recently vehemently advocated liberalisation and a state-controlled market – also as an election campaign promise. This promise was realised on 17 October 2018. That day the shelves in the shops were empty after a few hours, and more than \$40 million in cannabis products were sold in the course of two weeks. The news magazine Der Spiegel reports that former German Foreign Minister and Vice Chancellor Joschka Fischer has become a member of the international advisory board of the Canadian cannabis society Tilray. Together with the Belgian-Brazilian brewery InBev, the company develops non-alcoholic beverages containing the active ingredient THC.

Mike Gorenstein, CEO of the Canadian Cronos Group, had his say on *CNN Business*. His company distributes cannabis products on all five continents:

“This is a watershed moment that will get the ball rolling globally, as well as in Canada, for all participants in the cannabis industry. Congratulations to the many leaders and advocates who have worked so hard to reach this milestone”.

In recent weeks, Wall Street investors have also jumped on the bandwagon. The share prices of some smaller companies producing cannabis products, including those in the USA, have doubled and tripled in a short period of time. Now, large tobacco companies have registered interest. *Altria Group*, the world’s largest American tobacco company, which among other things sells Marlboro cigarettes, has announced that it will buy 45 per cent of the Cronos Group for 1.8 billion dollars. In addition, it will have the right to buy another ten per cent of their shares for another billion dollars, and to take over the

company entirely. The value of the Cronos share already doubled in the summer. So now it has risen by a further twenty per cent – and did so in only one day. Other large corporations have similar goals. *Coca-Cola* wants to launch a beverage line containing cannabis (“*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*” of 29 September 2018). Also large, globally oriented breweries and spirits companies have already invested billions to produce non-alcoholic cannabis-containing beverages. *Heineken*, for example, has already launched a sparkling water of this kind in California. Newly created sweets containing Cannabis (lollipops and gummy bears, etc.) are also coming onto the market. Wall Street analysts estimate that the cannabis industry in the USA has already made 11 billion sales in 2018. This could rise to 75 billion by 2030. Today, only one per cent of the world’s population has access to legal marijuana. Therefore the market potential is huge.

It seems that an actual “gold rush” has begun – as was once the case in California, when gold was found and people felt they could become millionaires within days. – There are signs that marijuana consumption will multiply under the new conditions. This “gold rush” will continue in the new year. If you read online Wall Street stock market commentaries, you will quickly find what you are looking for. On 9 January, for example, stock prices generally slumped by 3.2 per cent due to various uncertainties (trade dispute with China, budget dispute in Congress, financial worries, etc.) – not so cannabis stocks. Shares of the Boston-based cannabis company *MariMed* rose by 9 per cent that day, after its share price had already risen by 371 per cent in 2018. The company sees itself as a “multi-state cannabis organisation that develops, owns and manages cannabis facilities and branded product lines”.

Is youth protection still possible under these conditions?

It is not intended to question here the intention of Canadian and American authorities to regulate the market and protect young people. But – will they succeed, if an even much greater amount of Cannabis is consumed? How will children react when they see their parents or even their teacher consuming Cannabis as if this were quite normal, a common phenomenon of life? Who will then protect them from the temptation to try not only Cannabis, but also cocaine or heroin, of which it is also being said that they are not so very dangerous and that one can stop consuming them at any time? If the use of cannabis products is regarded as something

normal and ordinary and is generally accepted, the step to further intoxication drugs is inevitably smaller and even more tempting. Who will then effectively help parents who will be even more confronted with their children’s addiction problems? Who will support them when problems arise at school and in professional training? We are left with question upon question.

We always hear in the propaganda for drug liberalisation, which is also very present in Switzerland: With legalisation (also in euphemistic terms called “regulation”) the business will be taken from the drug mafia”. *Justin Trudeau* also used this argument in his bid for liberalisation. He announced the law change on Twitter using the following sentence: “It was too easy for our children to get marijuana – and for criminals to pocket the profits”. – I think the criminal organisations were among the first to realise that they can do much better business with a massive expansion of drug use. And they will certainly be able to sell more and stronger substances in this new, more tolerant environment. Even the drug legalisation movements, so well networked in our western world, will certainly not stop at cannabis products. Already “drug experts” are to be found in Switzerland and the surrounding countries who advocate liberalisation/legalisation/regulation of all drugs.

UN countermeasures

During the UN General Assembly in New York in September 2018, in a few weeks ago, the US President attempted to counter this trend. He called upon the world to become active and to contribute to the solution or that is to say the defusing of the drug problem, and not to give up hope. He identified four areas for action: (1) More prevention and mindfulness in education and schools should help to reduce demand, (2) health efforts are to forestall adverse effects and to save lives, (3) and (4) better police and judicial cooperation are to contribute to the reduction of production, cultivation, manufacture and trade and thus to lessen supply (United States Mission in The United Nations, 24 September 2018). UN Secretary General *Antonio Guterres* expressed his gratitude:

“You, Mr President, are spotlighting this global problem. That was never more necessary than right now.” 135 countries have signed the action plan. Above all Asian countries such as China, Singapore and others continue to pursue a consistent zero-tolerance policy. Nor is drug

continued on page 10

Enough with “schbas” (fun)!

Objection against learning hindrance in our schools

ds. Under the title “The ‘schbas’ [the German ‘Spas’, written in the way of ‘writing by listening’] is over in Nidwalden”, the “Neue Zürcher Zeitung” reports on 29 October 2018 that the supervising school authorities in the canton of Nidwalden have given in to the demands of “annoyed” parents and that pupils can now learn to write correctly from the second grade onwards. Until then, teachers were only allowed to show children how to write correctly from grade 3 onwards.

A Basel primary school teacher named *Reichen* has invented this absurd method, according to which children in their first school years learn to write only by hearing and not correctly. It has spread throughout the German-speaking world under names such as “reading by writing” or “writing by hearing”. Neither teachers nor parents are

allowed to instruct children to use the correct spelling. This would disturb the creativity and joy of writing; “fil” instead of “viel” (much), “schbas” instead of “Spas” (fun) or “anxt” instead of “Angst” (fear) are not wrong in the first years of school, but creative and original. Really a crazy idea that children should become more creative and enjoy writing more if they can write everything wrong.

“A study published this autumn by scientists at the University of Bonn, however, gives *Reichen*’s legacy a bad testimony. The researchers came to the conclusion that pupils at the end of grade 3 were significantly better at spelling if they had been taught according to the classical alphabet book method. The children get a picture of a bird with the word bird next to it. In this way they memorise the correct spelling right from the

start,” writes the “Neue Zürcher Zeitung” in the aforementioned article.

Already 5 years ago, *Der Spiegel* had called attention to the “spelling disaster” in Germany caused by *Reichen* in the leading article of issue 25/2013 under the title “Die neue Schlechtschreibung” (The new bad spelling). Even then, renowned experts demanded a ban on this method. Meanwhile it was forbidden in several federal states to teach according to *Reichen*’s method.

What would it be like if the canton of Nidwalden and, of course, all other Swiss cantons would completely do without “schbas”? After all, you don’t let the children in grade 1 believe that 2+2 is 5, but then correct it in grade 2.

But perhaps more “annoyed” parents are needed who object to learning hindrance in our schools. •

“Free-for-all in the ...”

continued from page 9

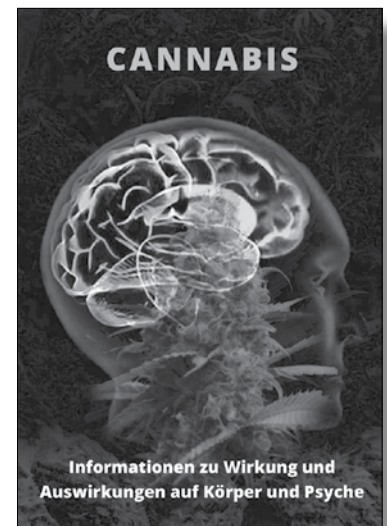
liberalisation an issue in Japan. It is noticeable that precisely Asian states are increasingly setting the tone in global economy. Switzerland has not signed the action plan. Most of the media have hardly noticed this. Former Federal Councillor *Ruth Dreifuss* is President of a private international drugs commission to legalise all drugs (*Global Commission on Drug Policy*). She was present in New York and opposed President *Trump*’s proposal. Since the beginning of her time as Federal Councillor, she has been committed to the liberalisation of drugs and to a state-regulated market (Swiss radio station SRF, “*Rendez-vous am Mittag*” on 27 November 2018).

Is it acceptable also in our country to earn money from just anything?

It is clearly evident to everyone that the wave of marijuana legalisation from the USA and Canada is currently washing over Switzerland: On the first page of the “Neue Zürcher Zeitung” of 11 January there is a report on a position paper of the *Apotherverband der Stadt Zürich* (Association of Pharmacists of the City of Zurich). The authors feel that prohibition must come to an end and cannabis should

be legalised and the market regulated – first for medical use and later also as a stimulant. Anyone wanting to buy cannabis in the future should do so in a pharmacy. In this way, the association wants to fight the flourishing black market and save the costs for “repression”. “The outdated drug policy must be dedusted”, writes one of the newspaper’s commentators. First statements from the parties are already available. This is probably the starting signal for a new propaganda campaign even in Switzerland, and it is probably inevitable that this will lead to another referendum.

In 2008, the people voted on an initiative to liberalise cannabis. 63 per cent of voters and all cantons rejected it. What surprises today is that in recent years, cigarette consumption has been somewhat reduced through great efforts (pictorial cigarette pack warnings, high prices, bans on smoking, etc.). The tobacco companies certainly did not like it. And now exactly the opposite is happening with cannabis. It is likely that even greater efforts will be needed at some time in the future to counter this trend, to curb the rising consumption of marijuana and to combat its consequences. – In relation to drugs, we are presently experiencing very alarming social processes and events on a global scale! •



“*Cannabis – Informationen zu Wirkung und Auswirkungen auf Körper und Psyche*” (*Cannabis – informations on the effects and consequences for the body and psyche*) is a 12-page brochure for young people, parents, teachers and other interested parties..

Editor: Verein Jugend ohne Drogen, Zürich, www.jod.ch; Vereinigung Eltern gegen Drogen, Bern, www.elterngegendrogen.ch; Dachverband Drogenabstinenz Schweiz, Bern, www.drogenpolitik.ch

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Federal Referendum of 10 February 2019

Reflections on the popular initiative

“Stop urban sprawl – for sustainable urban development (urban sprawl initiative)”

by Dr iur. Marianne Wüthrich

On 10 February, the Swiss people will vote on a single bill, the urban sprawl initiative, submitted by the Young Greens, together with a number of environmental organisations and several other parties (SP, Juso, Alternative Linke AL).

Switzerland is a small country with high population growth, high immigration¹ and a flourishing economy. Accordingly, the built-up areas are growing under the control of the Confederation, the cantons and the communes, but in the opinion of many citizens they are still not sufficiently orderly. In recent years, Switzerland has already taken various measures to counter urban sprawl, i.e. the zoning of more and more cultivated land. On 11 March 2012, for example, the popular initiative “Stop the boundless construction of second homes” was adopted by a narrow 50.6 % of the votes in favour, demanding that no new second homes should be approved in municipalities with a proportion of more than 20 % of second homes. In 2013, the people said yes to the revision of the Spatial Planning Act and thus decided that building zones may only meet the expected demand for 15 years. Building zones that are too large must therefore be reduced in size.

In the opinion of the initiators of the urban sprawl initiative, however, these stricter regulations have not prevented new building zones from being established nevertheless. The initiative therefore calls for a zoning stop: “The initiative ensures that the landscape and quality of life are preserved. It makes up for the shortcomings of the revision of the Spatial Planning Act and makes it possible to deal with the land economically.”²

The initiative and the most important arguments for and against are to be presented here.

Initiative text

The Federal Constitution is amended as follows:

Art. 75 para. 4–7³

4 Within the scope of their responsibilities, the Confederation, cantons and communes shall ensure favourable framework conditions for sustainable forms of living and working in small-scale structures with a high quality of life and short transport routes (sustainable neighbourhoods).

5 The aim should be to develop settlements inwards that are in har-

mony with a high quality of life and special protection provisions.

6 New building zones may only be separated if another unsealed area of at least the same size and comparable potential agricultural yield value is zoned out of the building zone.

7 Outside the building zone, only site-specific buildings and installations for soil-dependent agriculture or site-specific buildings of public interest may be approved. The law may provide for exceptions. Existing buildings enjoy a guaranteed existence and may be slightly extended and slightly converted.

Sustainable neighbourhoods and housing cooperatives in the cities

On Federal Constitution Art. 75 para. 4 new:

The urban sprawl initiative calls for a significant improvement in the framework conditions for sustainable neighbourhoods.

According to the initiators, the federal government’s 2011 “Sustainable neighbourhoods” publication describes an “urban space with around 500 inhabitants, a local centre, generous green space and nevertheless very low land consumption. [...] Ideally, it [the neighbourhood] should be arranged in a ring or U-shape. A green inner courtyard or park brings the green space into the settlement. The separation from the street makes the living space and open space quiet. On the ground floors there is space for local businesses, ranging from neighbourhood pubs to grocery stores. There is also a kindergarten.”⁴

A really positive form of living together, although we already have the *legal container for it: cooperative law in the Swiss Code of Obligations (OR)*. “The utopia has long since become reality”, the initiators correctly point out. In the housing cooperatives of various Swiss cities, many people have been living for a long time on relatively small plots of land and in modest apartments, but still in a bit of greenery. In recent years, however, many of these settlements have been demolished and rebuilt according to the above pattern. Whether or not a community culture develops depends less on the construction method than on the personal commitment of some active residents. And whether people want to live in densely built housing estates – with a larger green space instead of meadows

and trees between the blocks of flats – is up to them.

In the countryside, the situation is quite different. As Hans Marti, farmer and advocate of the initiative, says in a personal conversation, some people in their place of residence and other communities do not like it when blocks of flats are built in the village after old detached houses have been demolished. Should more meadows and fields be built over instead? The urban sprawl initiative wants to counteract this by obliging cantons and municipalities to ensure the necessary framework conditions for more compact settlements, even in the vicinity of cities (for example, good public transport connections, permits for small businesses within the settlement).

Inward settlement development – does this require an initiative?

On Federal Constitution Art. 75 Para. 5 new:

In principle, many people support the idea that, whenever possible, construction should take place within existing building zones, i.e. in towns and villages rather than on greenfield sites. This is because in Switzerland, which is a small and relatively densely populated country with 25 % of its unproductive land (rock, glaciers, etc.) and more than 31 % of its forest and woodland, cultivated land is scarce and must therefore be used responsibly and in an environmentally friendly manner. This is also the most important objective of the urban sprawl initiative.

Paragraph 5 of the initiative text is intended, among other things, to make “a moderate increase possible, especially in low-density zones”. This means, for example, that a third floor could be built on top of a two-storey building, but not only for profit purposes, but “while maintaining or increasing the quality of life”. This is often not permitted in today’s building zone plans. “Exceptions are buildings that are particularly worthy of protection (e.g. historical buildings).”⁵

There is disagreement as to whether the new *Spatial Planning Act (SPA)* can also achieve increased inward settlement development, or whether the initiative’s more radical methods are needed. Here are the two opposing points of view:

– *Federal Council*: Switzerland’s more recent building zone statistics show that

continued on page 12

"Reflections on the popular ..."

continued from page 11

the total area of building zones has remained constant since 2012, although the population grew from just under 8 million to 8.5 million during this period. According to the Federal Council, the implementation of the revised Spatial Planning Act is in progress: "The cantons must adapt their structure plans and have them approved by the Federal Council by the end of April 2019 with the stricter measures against urban sprawl. After this date, they will not be allowed to create new construction zones until their structure plan has been approved by the Federal Council."⁶

– *Initiators*: "The current spatial planning law continues to lead to a steady growth of the settlement area at the expense of green areas. The faster the ground is built over, the faster new building land is zoned in. This in no way stops urban sprawl. The urban sprawl initiative closes the gaps in the Spatial Planning Act by supplementing existing measures with effective landscape protection."⁷

Zoning stop: necessary or too radical?

On Federal Constitution Art. 75 Para. 6 new:

The zoning stop is one of the most controversial points of the initiative: according to paragraph 6, new building zones would only be permitted "if another unsealed area⁸ of at least the same size and comparable potential agricultural yield value is zoned out of the building zone."

– *Initiators*: "This means that the total number of building zones remains constant. However, municipalities can exchange building land among themselves. This guarantees that the remaining reserves can also be used where they are needed."⁹

– *Federal Council*: "A rigid building zone stop ignores the needs of the population and the economy, as well as cantonal and regional differences."¹⁰ It would also leave open "how exactly building zones would be redistributed if new building land had to be created in a canton – whether only within the canton concerned or also beyond cantonal borders throughout Switzerland. The costs associated with the abolition and redistribution of building zones are also uncertain."¹¹

To ensure that the area of the fertile soil remains constant, the yield value of the soil would also be decisive in accordance with paragraph 6. The Federal Council specifies: "The agricultural yield value is calculated on the basis of soil quality and other criteria such as climate or slope gradient."¹²

Without being able to go into the possible procedure and the circumstances of

the exchange of building zones in more detail, some tensions would presumably arise, i.e. some disputes would have to be fought out in court.

Another controversial question is whether or not *housing prices* would rise with the initiative:

– *Federal Council*: "Where building land is scarce, there is a growing risk that land and housing prices will rise."¹³

– *Initiators*: "The initiative creates the possibility of creating more living space in many places by means of high-quality densifying. This keeps the living space affordable and at the same time stops urban sprawl. The existing reserves to be used are so large that they do not even have to be fully exploited."¹⁴

Another question raised by both the initiators and the Federal Council is: "Are not the cantons and communes that have been careful with the land not being punished?"

– *The Federal Council affirms this and states*: "This is unfair."¹⁵

– *Initiators*: No, because among other things "[...] progressive communities are much less affected by the initiative if they have already planned their settlement de-

velopment sustainably anyway. These communities prove that the demands of the urban sprawl initiative can be implemented well."¹⁶

Restriction of agricultural buildings outside the building zone

On Federal Constitution Art. 75 para. 7 new:

The initiative aims at restricting the permission of agricultural buildings outside the building zone. Some Swiss farmers find paragraph 7 too far reaching.

The formulation that outside of building zone shall only be permitted "buildings and installations at specific locations for *soil-dependent* agriculture" [highlighting *mw*] means, for example, vegetable and fruit products "if the plants are rooted in the soil".¹⁷

This means that greenhouses with hors-sol production could only be built within the building zone, just as stables for cows, poultry or pigs, if most of the fodder is not produced on the farm, but bought in. While *Markus Ritter*, Director *Swiss Farmers' Association*, speaks of an "unacceptable ban on all soil-independent production", *Markus Schwegler*, member of

SVP farmer and politician backs Green initiative

mw. In a personal conversation, *Hans Marti** reports that he supports the initiative out of concern for the ongoing overbuilding of Swiss soil. This has been under discussion for decades and now action is finally needed: "In the canton of Solothurn, the vacancy rate is over 3 %, i.e. there are over 4,000 empty apartments. In Huttwil, BE there are over 14 % empty apartments. However, construction is still continuing unabated. In Biberist, an extremely large amount of land is being zoned from the agricultural zone to the construction zone. The situation will not change as long as the investor has to pay negative interest on his money lying on the bank. The worst thing about it is that what has been concreted once will never be reversible."

Current Concerns: With the urban sprawl initiative, wouldn't the real estate companies in particular be the winners, which could rent out or sell the apartments more expensively because of the scarcity of supply?

Hans Marti: Rental prices rise when living space becomes scarce. But because the existing reserves are large enough, there will be no rising rents. Most real estate companies have recognised that there is no demand for compression without quality. The internal reserves are so large that we have enough living space, even if the population growth is higher than expected by the Federal Council. Moderate measures are sufficient to create even more living space, e.g. three-storey instead of two-storey buildings.

Wouldn't we also have to include better management of immigration in order to counter the overbuilding of our small country?

Of course, we also have to bring immigration under control, that is my personal opinion.

Is it not too radical to demand that some agricultural buildings be located in the construction zone?

No, because farmers can still build the barn and the house in the agricultural zone. Hors-sol greenhouses over large areas, however, should be regarded more as industrial production. It is up to the legislator to create a balanced regulation here.

Do you think the urban sprawl initiative has good chances with the population?

Yes, because it is in everyone's interest to stop urban sprawl and protect the country, including for our descendants. The main reason for rejection would be that the initiative comes from the Young Greens. That is why I support it, irrespective of party membership. What is needed is a regulation such as the one we have for forests: Every piece of forest that is cleared must be reforested accordingly.

Thank you very much, Mr Marti, for the interview.

** Hans Marti lives in Biberist, a commune of 8,775 inhabitants near Solothurn. He is a farmer and a former SVP cantonal councillor.*

"Reflections on the popular ..."

continued from page 12

the board of the *Small Farmers' Association*, believes that "sustainable food production is absolutely bound to soil" ("St. Galler Tagblatt" from 9 January).

There are good reasons to agree with either of these opinions. However, it is difficult to expect parts of Swiss agriculture, which in any case can hardly compete with the low prices of foreign products, to construct buildings in the expensive building zone. A further difficulty for the building permit authorities would be to decide which farm produces enough products "rooted in the soil" and which does not. The comment of the initiators on this point rather leads to further uncertainties: "It is the task of the legislator, with an appropriate mix of regulations and exceptions, to make both local plant production possible and at the same time prevent entire areas from being covered with greenhouses. One possible means for this could be special agricultural zones."¹⁸

Conclusion

The concern of the initiators and of the more than 110,000 citizens who signed the initiative is very legitimate in view of the fact that for decades there has been undue overbuilding of cultivated land, semi-natural landscapes and other green spaces. There is an urgent need to manage economically the scarcity of ar-

able land in the small state of Switzerland. The majority of the electorate voted in favour of the revised Spatial Planning Act.

On the other hand, the opinion to give the new Spatial Planning Act a chance for a few more years and, if necessary, to amend the law, could also be agreed with. Another aspect to be taken into account is the high level of immigration (see footnote 1). Anyone who comes to Switzerland as a worker or refugee rightly enjoys all rights as a resident of our country, including the right to family reunification. However, if more and more people live here, this will necessarily result in an expansion of infrastructure: residential buildings, schools, roads, bus and train lines, etc. For this reason, the sovereign's decision to control immigration once again independently must be taken into account when dealing with the scarcity of land. Furthermore, it's economy that needs land: The creation of new jobs, which is welcomed by everyone, requires available space.

It is the privilege of every citizen in direct democracy to inform himself before this referendum as before any other referendums, weighing pros and cons, forming an own opinion. These lines are meant to be an aid. •

¹ Population on 31.12.1997 (before the free movement of persons agreement with EU): 7,096,465; twenty years later, on 31.12.2017: 8,484,130; increase of almost 20 % (19.5 %).

² *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet) on the referendum of 10 February 2019, p. 5

³ Federal Constitution Art. 75 Spatial Planning Par. 1–3 so far

⁴ Federal Office of Energy & Federal Office for Spatial Development. (2011). *Sustainable neighbourhoods: Challenges and opportunities for urban development*. For a more detailed description, see the initiative's homepage. Sustainable neighbourhoods. <https://www.zersiedelung-stoppen.ch/initiative/>

⁵ Homepage of the initiative, "Moderat aufstocken". <https://www.zersiedelung-stoppen.ch/initiative/>

⁶ Voting booklet, p. 7/8 with references to "Bauzonenstatistik Schweiz (2017)" (are.admin.ch/bauzonen) and to the latest version of the structure plans: are.admin.ch/richtplan

⁷ *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet) p. 13

⁸ Unsealed areas are meadows, paths, fields, gardens, etc., where the resulting water can seep away. "Sealed areas are in particular buildings and roads. Sealed areas mean that the soil loses its natural ecological function as habitat, reservoir and filter, as well as its ability to convert and degrade substances." (Swiss Federal Statistical Office, Environmental Indicator – Soil sealing)

⁹ Homepage of the initiative. Define building zones to a reasonable extent.

¹⁰ *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet), p. 5

¹¹ *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet), p. 10

¹² *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet), p. 9

¹³ *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet), p. 14

¹⁴ Homepage of the initiative, notes. Ad par. 6

¹⁵ *Abstimmungsbüchlein* (Voting booklet), p. 14

¹⁶ Homepage, Questions & Answers.

¹⁷ Homepage, Questions & Answers. Does the initiative harm Swiss agriculture?

¹⁸ Homepage, Questions & Answers. Does the initiative harm Swiss agriculture?

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Education in the service of peace

To the book by Sara Randell “Ending the War — Operation Sunrise and Max Husmann”

by Dr phil. Winfried Pogorzelski

At the beginning of 1945, the Second World War came to a head: on all fronts in Europe, Asia and North Africa, the situation was hopeless for Hitler's troops, as it was on the southern front in northern Italy. On 2 May 1945 at 6 p.m. – less than a week before Hitler Germany's actual surrender – Winston Churchill announced that Army Group C of the German Wehrmacht had capitulated in northern Italy. This was due to intelligence activities known as “Operation Sunrise”, which have been the subject of several publications.¹ Last year another book was published by Dr Sara Randell, historian at Oxford University, entitled “Ending the War – Operation Sunrise and Max Husmann”.²

Education and training for peace

Dr Max Husmann (1888-1965) was a pedagogue and founded the *Institute Montana* on the Zugerberg in 1926, an international school that still exists today with a boarding school, bilingual primary school, Swiss grammar school and the International School (High School, IB). He headed the school until 1946. I myself worked there from 1990 to 2017 as a grammar school teacher for German and history and witnessed how Sara Randell presented her book at the alumni meeting last summer.

As the title suggests, Max Husmann was not only active as a pedagogue; he was also significantly involved in the *Operation Sunrise*. The author's main aim in her work is to show that Husmann, with his activities in the aforementioned secret service operation and his commitment as a school founder and active teacher, pursued his most important concern, namely to make a contribution to peace and international understanding. By founding the institute and intervening in the course of time in the form of the *Operation Sunrise* at the end of the Second World War, he put “his views on the ethics of war and peace into practice”.³

After the First World War, the worst of all wars up to that point in time, Husmann studied the question of how catastrophes of this magnitude could be prevented in the future. His pedagogical approach was to bring together students from different nations, to impart “respect for their fellow human beings and clear thinking” to “resist propaganda”.⁴ He attempted to achieve this aim with his pedagogical concept, which can be outlined as follows: Instruction in smaller, internationally mixed



Husmann, the teacher. Josef Ostermayer, who succeeded him as director of the institute, described Husmann as particularly talented in explaining complicated mathematical problems. (Picture from the reviewed book)

classes (ten to a maximum of twelve students), age-mixed cohabitation also outside lessons in the boarding school, with daily homework (“study”), sports and games, meals and excursions.

Operation Sunrise – a varied course and a happy ending

The course of *Operation Sunrise* can be summarised as follows:⁵ In spring of 1945, the war is lost for Germany on all fronts. The surrender of the armed forces is only a question of time, also in northern Italy, where destruction is threatening on the principle of the scorched earth by the German military. Husmann meets the Italian baron and businessman *Luigi Parrilli*, whose nephew was a student at the Institute and who has contacts to high-ranking SS people who are willing to surrender. Thereof Husmann informs his friend *Max Waibel*, the officer of the Swiss intelligence service. Waibel and Parrilli meet and negotiations begin that must remain absolutely secret. For one before the Federal Council because of the neutrality of Switzerland and also before the Allies, since according to a corresponding agreement between *Churchill*, *Roosevelt* and *Stalin* it was strictly forbidden to hold talks among each other without the knowledge or participation of the Russians. In addition, Berlin, in other words *Hitler*, was by no means allowed to learn about the attempts to convince high German military leaders to capitulate.

Max Waibel, who had been contacted by Husmann, turns to *Allen Dulles*,

the envoy of the US secret service OSS in Berne at the time. Opposite him stands *Karl Wolff*, advisor to Hitler and *Himmler*, the highest SS and police leader in Italy, for whom the defeat of the Axis powers in Italy can no longer be averted and who promises mitigating circumstances for the time after the war if he advocates an earlier end to the fighting. This is where Max Husmann takes up the challenge by promising Wolff to put in a good word for him. It is also clear, however, that the capitulation of the Germans must take place unconditionally and it must not be speculated on “separating the Anglo-American allies from the Soviet allies and to fight Stalin in a united front”.⁶

Waibel and Husmann succeed in bringing Karl Wolff to Switzerland under the strictest secrecy. During the train journey across the Swiss Alps, Wolff and Husmann talk for two hours in private behind closed curtains. Husmann sees a chance to convince Wolff of the point of a premature surrender. At first, however, Wolff takes the position that the “pillars of human existence” are “obedience and vows. We can die for them, but we cannot break them and continue to live.”⁷ According to Max Waibel's notes, Husmann replies, with the words of *Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi*: “Does the principle of obedience forbid thinking?”⁸ According to this great Swiss pedagogue and writer, obedience means being freed from the constraints of one's own selfishness and be able to follow one's

continued on page 15

"Education in the service of peace ..."

continued from page 14

own conscience. According to Husmann towards Wolff, personalities in responsible positions should not carry out orders without contradiction and unconditionally, but reflect on them. Finally, Husmann succeeds in convincing Wolff that unconditional surrender is not a betrayal of the Führer, but a patriotic act for the German people. Later Wolff says that he had become aware that he had actually sworn his oath on the German people and not on Hitler.

The path from the first talks to the signing of the capitulation documents is not only rocky, but also complicated and sometimes confusing, as Sara Randell illustrates in her book.⁹ A variety of people of different origin and position were involved. The plot of this political thriller took place at various locations in Italy, Switzerland and Germany. More than once the operation was about to fail because of unexpected problems. Various difficulties have to be overcome, such as the transfer of *Albert Kesselring*, the supreme German army and air force officer who advocates Operation Sunrise, to the Western Front, or the fact that the Western Allies are now informing the Soviets about the operation ... In addition, the Allies are launching a new offensive in Italy, where the soldiers were to be ordered to lay down their weapons. Wolff has quite a hard time convincing the generals with their "stubborn egos, with their fear of Hitler, but also with their unshakable loyalty to the Führer."¹⁰ Finally, on 2 May, after the news of Hitler's suicide (30 April) had arrived, and only one week before Germany's final surrender on 8 May, the weapons in Italy remain silent. Already since March, i.e. since the talks with Max Waibel, Wolff had renounced the planned and partly ordered destruction of industrial plants and traffic routes. Thus the important supply routes for Switzerland – ports and railway lines – were saved.

Max Husmann's background – motivation for his commitment

The chapter "Learning Tolerance" is revealing, where the author gives an insight into Husmann's biography in order to investigate the question of why the founder of the Montana Institute was committed with heart and soul to peace and international understanding. 1889 born in Ukraine into a family with Jewish roots that suffers under the Russification policy of Tsar *Alexander II*, he experiences the brutal consequences of nationalism and anti-Semitism. The family with roots in the Lucerne village of Malters emigrates to Zurich when Max is ten years old. From safe Switzerland the family and Max, who is now a student, witnessed a cruel suppression of the independence movement in Ukraine at the end of

the First World War. For Husmann, who already as student gave private lessons – especially in mathematics – nothing would be more natural than to found a school to work towards a society that would find "ways other than bloodshed and battles"¹¹ to solve its problems.

That is why he founded the Montana Institute, which he called his "dearest child".¹² According to the countries of origin of the students, he establishes different sections where they not only acquire "the academic qualifications of their home country"¹³ but also come to the conviction that "one must know and respect the values of the own country of birth. Only then one can appreciate those from other countries".¹⁴ Together with one of the most important teachers of his school, *Huldreich Sauerwein*, Husmann may be understood as a representative of the reform pedagogy, whose aim it was to go beyond the mere teaching of subject material but to impart a kind of education that enables their students to cooperate in building a better world in the future. Sara Randell mentions the names of *John Dewey*, *Georg Kerschensteiner*, *A. S. Neill*, *Rudolf Steiner* and *Maria Montessori*, who in 1932, along with Sauerwein spoke to the League of Nations in Geneva about education and peace and who organised several peace conferences.

Husmann's commitment to Karl Wolff at the Nuremberg Trials

Husmann is committed to Karl Wolff at the Nuremberg Trials: If a military capitulation and thus a shortening of warfare could be achieved, you might have to "sup with the devil"¹⁵ if necessary. Wolff had been promised loyal treatment after the war, "and so today we have no right not to keep our promise on the grounds that he was an SS General and the entire SS organisation was condemned as a criminal organisation".¹⁶ In Nuremberg, Wolff appears as a witness only, probably also for the reason that the Allies want to prevent Operation Sunrise from becoming publicly known. In 1964, the Munich Regional Court sentences him to 15 years in prison for aiding and abetting the murder of 300,000 Jews. Thus, Max Husmann has to live with the fact that he stood up for the refraining from enforcement of arrest of one of the biggest war criminals of the Nazi era.

Aftermath of Operation Sunrise

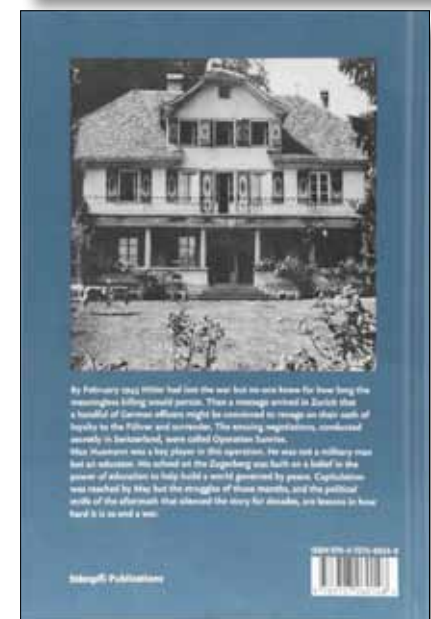
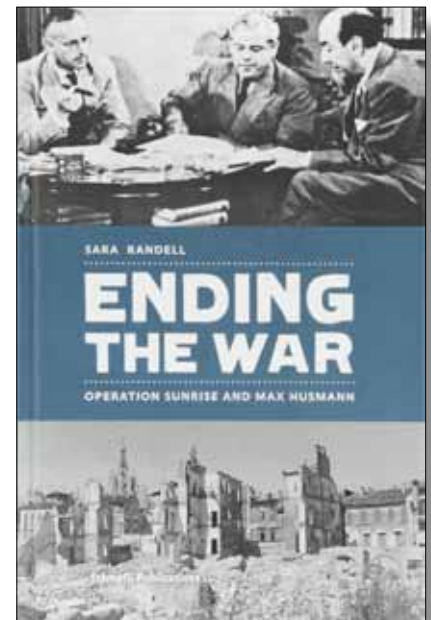
Finally, the historian devotes herself to the aftermath of Operation Sunrise from the times of the cover-up right after the war, in which the role of Max Husmann was examined with a good deal of mistrust, to the rehabilitation in the 1960s. On 6 May 2002, the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" published an article entitled "Den Krieg verkürzt" (The war shortened), which

was a commemoration ceremony for Max Waibel. It was only in 2005, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of Operation Sunrise, that official Switzerland recognised the importance of the operation. *Samuel Schmid*, then President of the Swiss Confederation, expressly appreciated Max Waibel's actions and also "acknowledged the important role that Max Husmann had played".¹⁷

Lessons from the past and for the future regarding peace

I was particularly impressed by the chapter titled "Politics and Peace" towards the end of the book, where Sara Randell quotes the Geneva philosopher *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*: "War is then not a relationship between one man and another, but a relationship between one state and another, not as men, nor even as citi-

continued on page 16



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Cooperative Medical Centre Town of Tengen founded

by Jörg Sieg, Gottmadingen, Germany

"I will become a member of the cooperative because I think it is important that we citizens of Tengen can independently and mutually co-determine and help shape our future in our small town." – This statement of a Tengen citizen on a flyer of the town reflects a core idea which is directly connected with the cooperative principle: Cooperatives are not only able to solve the most diverse tasks in the manageable economic, cultural and social area, they also do this in an outstandingly humane way, namely jointly and self-determined. This also applies to the newly founded cooperative for a medical centre in the town of Tengen.

There are 1,001 municipalities in Baden-Württemberg. Of these, 180 already have no longer any medical care. 30 % of the established doctors in this southwest German state are older than 60 years. The "retirement wave" is underway. A family doctor practising today, who is, however, also getting older, would have to fill three positions. Young doctors are urgently needed.

Tengen is one of the 1,001 municipalities in Baden-Württemberg. It is located right on the Swiss border on the southern edge of the Black Forest, about 10 kilometres from the Swiss city of Schaffhausen in the south and a little further away from the next larger German town of Singen. Tengen is a small town with 4,550 in-



Tengen, a German town on the Swiss border. (picture city of Tengen)

habitants. And of course, it has the same problems as many other German municipalities. Now, however, Tengen's priority was to secure medical care! Especially for the future.

The Tengerer had an idea of how to solve the problem of the treat of inadequate medical care in the town: founding a cooperative for the construction of a medical centre through the joint efforts of interested citizens, the municipal administration and other important local institutions. The aim is to ensure that all Tengen doctors remain in the town.

On 19 December 2018, 300 Tengen residents and interested guests from other places met in the fully occupied hall of the Tengen Randenhalle for the foundation of the cooperative. Mayor *Marian Schreier* and Tengen physician Dr. *Andreas Luckner* presented the new project: The financing volume for a new building for a medical centre amounts to 1.9 million euros. Initially, the municipality had asked itself various questions: Are we looking for a private investor? Should the municipality bear the investment costs? Or should the town and

continued on page 17

"Education in the service of peace ..."

continued from page 15

zens by accident."¹⁸ The author then lets Max Husmann have his say: He saw his task in "shifting the sense of responsibility to the conscience of the individual apart from political duplicity"¹⁹ She sums up: "It may be that one does not always act correctly. The challenging ethical considerations in connection with the trial against Karl Wolff show how difficult it is to distinguish between black and white. But the history of Operation Sunrise describes Max Husmann's very human endeavour to find a way through the ambiguities of politics to achieve the real and ultimate goal: Peace."²⁰

Sara Randell's richly illustrated book not only offers an extremely exciting read, centred on one of the most important epochs in history, but also reveals to the reader what kind of committed personality the founder of the Montana Institute was. His attitude to war and peace, his

commitment as an educator and as a contemporary who actively intervenes in current affairs remains impressive and exemplary to this day.

¹ Dulles, Allen; from Schulze-Gaervernitz, Gero. *Operation Sunrise, The secret history of the end of the war in Italy*. Vienna 1967. Fuhrer, H.R., Orlansky, Michael. Pushers and Pushed. The 'German participants' and the early end of the war in Italy, 1945. In: *Operation Sunrise. Atti del Convegno internazionale* (Locarno, 2 maggio 2005), a cura di Marino Vigano e Dominic M. Pedrazzini, Lugano 2006
Halbrock, Stephen. Operation Sunrise: America's OSS, Swiss Intelligence and the German Surrender 1945. In: *Operation Sunrise. Atti del Convegno internazionale* (Locarno, 2 maggio 2005), a cura di Marino Vigano e Dominic M. Pedrazzini, Lugano 2006
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Ginsberg, Inge. *Wie die Schweiz den Krieg verkürzte*. (How Switzerland shortened the war) In: *Weltwoche*, 23.4.2015, ibid. p. 64, cf. also ibid. p. 104-107

² Randell, Sara. *Ending the War: Operation Sunrise and Max Husmann*, Berne 2018.

The following references to pages correspond with the German edition of the book: "Den Krieg beenden – Die Operation Sunrise und Max Husmann"

³ cf. ibid., p. 8

⁴ ibid., p. 64, cf. also ibid. p. 104-107

⁵ *Joseph Mächler* also gives an informative overview of the operation in his book "Wie sich die Schweiz rettete, Grundlagenbuch zur Geschichte der Schweiz im Zweiten Weltkrieg" ("How Switzerland saved itself, Basic Book on the History of Switzerland in the Second World War"), Zollikofen 2017, pp. 480-484

⁶ Randell, Sara, op. cit., p. 29

⁷ ibid., p. 61

⁸ ibid., p. 62

⁹ A chronology of events and a list of persons would be helpful.

¹⁰ ibid., p. 83

¹¹ ibid., p. 61

¹² ibid.

¹³ ibid., p. 105

¹⁴ ibid., pp. 105

¹⁵ ibid., p. 96

¹⁶ ibid.

¹⁷ ibid., p. 116

¹⁸ ibid., p. 117

¹⁹ ibid.

²⁰ ibid.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

"Cooperative Medical Centre town ..."

continued from page 16

its citizens establish a cooperative? – This would allow all the citizens of the town to participate. The concept of the founder of the cooperative, *Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen*, helped them in their considerations.

Now, 40 % of the 1.9 million euros are to be covered by equity capital, which is 760,000 euros. There are 200,000 of these as public subsidies, so the cooperative still has the task of getting 560,000 euros together. And if 1 share certificate has a value of 500 euros, 1120 such share certificates are to be issued.

The local council very quickly agreed to found such a cooperative. Each member receives 1 vote, no matter how many shares he or she has. The town of Tengen will probably subscribe 320 shares (more shares are not possible for a single cooperative member). The majority of the co-

operative members will then decide on further processes. There is no obligation to make additional contributions beyond the shares of the cooperative members! Of course all formalities, for example the foundation report, are to be examined by the cooperative federation.

Even before the meeting, many people had decided and bought 200 shares. At the end of their presentation, the speakers emphasised why citizens should participate: The future security of medical care in the town can be secured – without a foreign investor. Everything remains on site. The cooperative is committed to the long term. And the greatest attraction of the project is that everyone can join in. As the "Declaration of Intent on Participation in the Town of Tengen Medical Centre Cooperative" states: "Each signatory declares: "The aim and purpose of the cooperative is to ensure and promote medical care by building and renting a

medical centre *and to promote social cohesion in the town of Tengen*". (Emphasis by the author)

After the introductory speeches, there was not only a lot of applause, but many questions were also asked, for example: Can the share be inherited? Can a cooperative member resign? Is the purchase of a share dependent on age?

The atmosphere in the hall was great. I have heard that the citizens are happy to finally be able to participate directly without being dependent on anyone.

There was a great rush for the "Letters of intent for participation in the cooperative Medical Centre in the town of Tengen" as well as for the prepared flyer with all informations and tips. The author of this report was also enthusiastic about the good atmosphere in the hall and the great willingness of the citizens to participate. And he thought: Tengen – that could be anywhere in Germany. •