

Current Concerns

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

English Edition of *Zeit-Fragen*

Summer session of the Swiss Parliament from 2-19 June 2020

Decisions in the first half of the session Picked out: Cannabis supply to addicts – against all reason

by Dr iur. Marianne Wüthrich

In the first week of the session, National Council and Council of States approved drafts on the Corona Pandemic (supplementary credit for the unemployment insurance, urgent amendment of the Epidemics Act as the basis for the Contact Tracing App) presented already by Current Concerns Issues No. 12, 2 June 2020. The also here mentioned prolongation of the Swisscoy military action in Kosovo was unfortunately accepted by a majority of the National Council (against the votes of the Swiss People's Party (SVP) and the Greens). The decision of the Council of States on 16 June is expected to be held in the same tenor - no glory for neutral Switzerland.

Of the other issues discussed in parliament two particularly important shall be singled out. One is the end point of years of rope pulling of both Councils with regard to the "Responsible Business Initiative" – federal popular initiative "protecting human rights and the environment". The popular initiative is expected to be voted on 27 November this year. National Council and Council of States on June 8 and 9, agreed on an indirect counter-proposal within the framework of the revision of the company law (Swiss Code of Obligations) in a last minute decision. By that they hoped to bring down the initiative at the ballot box. The concerns of the initiators and the objections of the opponents deserve that we take time for a factual consideration and discussion among us citizens. In this context also the legally rather complicated procedure of the parliamentary negotiations hast to be considered. Also for this we need some time.

A second draft which should be a subject of discussion, is the so-called "controlled" dispensing of cannabis, which the National Council dealt with as first council. The majority on 2 June approved an "experimental article" in the Federal Narcotics Act – against all reason and against the duty of us adults to take care of the countrys young people's health and show them a dignified and community-related way into the future. After all, a strong minority out of several parties said no to this

Draft revision of the Federal Narcotics Act (Version of the National Council from 2 June 2020)

The Federal Narcotics Act from 3 October 1951 (NarcA) is amended as follows:

1 Art. 8a Pilot tests
After consulting the cantons and communes concerned, the Federal Office of Public Health may authorise scientific pilot trials with narcotics of the cannabis effect type that

- a. are limited in time, place and purpose
- b. allow knowledge to be gained of the impact of new regulations on the use of these narcotics for non-medical purposes; and
- c. be conducted in such a way as to ensure the protection of health and minors, public order and public security;
- d. use only cannabis products that are of Swiss origin and comply with the rules of Swiss organic farming.

2. The Federal Council shall regulate the conditions for conducting pilot tests. In doing so it may deviate from Articles 8 paragraph 1 letter d and 5, 11, 13, 19 paragraph 1 letter f and 20 paragraph 1 letters d and e.
3. Narcotics of the effect type cannabis supplied in the context of the pilot tests are exempt from tobacco tax under Article 4 of the Tobacco Tax Act dated 21 March 1969.

II1 This Act is subject to an optional referendum.

- 2 It shall apply for a period of ten years.
- 3 The Federal Council shall determine the date of entry into force.

(Translation Current Concerns)

experiment with our youth. In the following more details.

Already in earlier times Switzerland has achieved regrettable fame with the distribution of heroin ("narcotic-assisted treatment" of "narcotic-dependent persons" as referred to in Article 3e of the Federal Narcotics Act NarcA)¹. Who is treating an alcoholic by supplying him with a bottle of hard liquor every day? In February 2019, the Federal Council brought up "scientific pilot experiments with cannabis". Studies shall be pursued to do "research" into the use of cannabis for pleasure purposes.²

In fact, the legal prohibition of cannabis in Switzerland already is quite undermined: CBD-hemp with less THC is found on the shelves of the grocery stores and kiosks, the possession and use of small quantities of cannabis with illegal THC content is not or rarely punished in many places. In some cities government and administration openly tolerate so-called "Cannabis Houses". And now with salami tactics to the next level?

"Scientific studies" to wrap the step-by-step legalisation of narcotics in fine words

According to the message of the Federal Council to the Parliament an Article 8a should be added to the Narcotics Act, according to which the *Federal Office of Public Health* (FOPH) may approve "scientific pilot experiments" with cannabis to "gain insight into which effects new regulations have on the handling of narcotics not used for medical purposes" (paragraph 1b.) The permission for such "studies" should be granted to municipalities in order to try "alternative forms of regulation" like sale by pharmacies, says the Federal Council. The truth of the matter is that the "studies" are used as a pretext to carry through the acceptance of consumption and production of cannabis (with increasing content of THC) especially in some cities, where the drug legalisation lobby has been pushing in this direction for some time.

"Decisions in the first half of ..."

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As if we parents and teachers didn't make our "studies" respectively bad experiences with young cannabis consumers for decades already. Out of bright, lively young people become physically and mentally impaired humans, who can't concentrate in school, are interested in little more than their next dope and often have strongly fluctuating performances. In the worst case some even become psychotic.

The new article shall include that the studies "shall be conducted in such a way [...] that the protection of health and of minors, the protection of public order and public security are guaranteed" (planned Article 8a, paragraph 1c). Meaning that the participants must be of legal age, and the Federal Council affirms: "They are forbidden to pass on this cannabis to third parties, and they must not consume it in publicly accessible places."³ Do the people in the federal administration think the citizens are complete idiots?

The experimental article would be valid for ten years, then the results of the studies would be compiled *so that the discussion on cannabis policy can be continued evidence-based* [emphasis added *mw.*]. In plain language:...that planned legalisation can be supported by an allegedly "scientific basis".

All power to the Executive branch – alarm is indicated

Every one of us has seen moral pointing fingers and read warnings in the media during the last months: The Federal Council had "usurped power" because he had made the necessary decisions in an urgent emergency caused by the Corona pandemic. There the accusation came to nothing because the Federal Council acted entirely lawful, based on the Constitution.⁴

But with the planned cannabis experimentation-article we would give the power of decision in this field entirely to the executive branch. The Federal Office of Public Health (FOPH) would be responsible for the authorisations of cannabis experiments (Art. 8a paragraph 1), and the Federal Council would, in accordance to Article 8a, paragraph 2, regulate "the conditions for the conduct of 'pilot tests' and is likely to deviate from a whole series of provisions of the Narcotics Act. This, mind you, with a regulation on which neither Parliament nor the people had anything to say.

Encouraging opposition against the gradual legalisation of cannabis

– In November 2019, the Social Security and Health Committee of the National Council (SSHC-N) requested that the experimental article should be defeated.

On 15 November 2019, the Social Security and Health Committee of the National Council (SSHC-N) rejected the idea of a "controlled distribution of cannabis for consumption", which was pursued by the Federal Council. The result was slight with the president having the casting vote. But yet: hats off!

– *Strong minority in the National Council rejects creeping cannabis legalisation* Unfortunately, on 10 December 2019, the National Council did not follow the motion of its commission, but instead voted by 100 votes to 85 with 2 abstentions for the Federal Council's wet idea – pardon, Cannabis-idea – and pass the ball back to the committee for a detailed drafting of a bill.⁶

On 2 June 2020 the National Council more or less approved the Federal Council's proposal, but again in strong opposition to several parties. The opponents of a creeping legalisation of cannabis did their best to make the conditions for obtaining the drug more difficult at least. For example, they demanded that employers and schools be informed about participation or that the total THC level not exceed 15 per cent. All attempts to increase the hurdles were rejected by the advocates of legalization – among them the same parliamentarians who support the "Responsible Business Initiative", i.e. strict standards on human rights and the environment that our companies are supposed to comply with. Not even the call for all participants temporarily handing over their driving licences was accepted - obviously, the fact that this would also endanger other road users is accepted. The culmination of the debate was the addition of paragraph 1 lit. d., according to which the substance distributed had to be native organic hemp – this was supposed to strengthen Swiss agriculture!⁷ Isn't it absurd?

However, in this debate the strong minority of opponents of the experimental article from several parties was encouraging: 81 nays (10 members of the FDP, 18 from the centre parties (CVP-BDP-EPP), 53 of 54 votes of the SVP). The Social Democrats, the Greens and the Green Liberals voted unanimously yes, as did parts of the FDP and the centre parties (113 yes).

– *Engaged voices in the National Council* A member of the National Council made reference to the increased public health concerns regarding the corona pandemic: "In a time like this, we should be increasingly aware that health is our highest good. We must take care of it and therefore reject this amendment as a whole." (Member of the National Council *Therese Schlöpfer*, SVP ZH)⁸

Member of the National Council *Benjamin Roduit* (CVP VS) summed up the topic as follows: "Lorsqu'un médicament entraîne plus de maux que la maladie qu'il est censé combattre, je crois qu'il

faut savoir y renoncer. Dans ce cas, on voit très bien que la libéralisation sera un signal d'appel, notamment pour les jeunes, à consommer plus, ce qui constitue un problème encore plus grand." ("If a drug causes more suffering than the disease it is intended to combat, I believe we should refrain from using it. In the present case, we can see very clearly that liberalisation would send a signal, especially to young people, to consume more, which would aggravate the problem.

Furthermore, he addressed Federal Councillor *Berset*, head of the Federal Department of Home Affairs. Berset had done an excellent job in promoting public health this spring. Yet, he approved the distribution of Cannabis to addicts with zeal: "Monsieur le conseiller fédéral, pendant deux mois toute la Suisse a vu en vous quelqu'un de très soucieux de la santé des citoyennes et des citoyens de notre pays, comme un vrai père. Ma question est la suivante: cela ne vous gêne-t-il pas de cautionner des projets pilotes qui vont rendre encore plus vulnérable une partie de la population? ("Mr Federal Councillor, during two months, the whole of Switzerland has experienced you as person who is very much committed to the health of the citizens of our country, like a real father. My question now is: Don't you mind advocating pilot projects that will make part of the population even more vulnerable?") – Translation *Current Concerns*) We will spare the answer of Federal Councillor *Alain Berset*.

Verena Herzog, Member of the National Council SVP TG and President of the association "Youth without Drugs", addressed her colleagues in the Council urgently and directly. Here is an excerpt from her statement: "Swiss champion, European champion or even world champion titles in sport or another discipline fill us with pride. However, when Swiss youngsters are supposed to be world champions in smoking pot, as repeatedly quoted by various media, it should worry. What has gone wrong in our affluent society, what has gone wrong with our four-pillar principle? In the recent months, we have been clearly shown how important our state of health is. In the Corona pandemic, drug addicts are also among the vulnerable people. People with lung damage are particularly at risk of death from COVID-19. Unfortunately, this virus or mutations thereof are likely to keep on challenging us in the future. The drug cannabis is not illegal just for fun. Despite this knowledge, it is now to be given to addicts in pilot projects, instead of finally investing the time and financial resources in a credible, nationwide information campaign about the harmful effects of cannabis – as is being done by the FOPH on other issues. The aim must be

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Where we always end up when the end justifies the means

Violent excesses against racism – whom does the Antifa serve in the USA?

by Bob Barr*, USA



Bob Barr
(picture ma)

On 31 May, in response to the violent riots rocking American cities from coast to coast and border to border, President *Donald Trump* and Attorney General *William Barr* issued statements that, among other things, condemned Antifa. Trump declared his intent to label Antifa a “terrorist organization.” The response from the mainstream media and leftist politicians was predictable — criticize Trump, not Antifa or the other groups and individuals involved in the violence.

The facts, as opposed to sentiment, support Trump and Barr. Antifa fits squarely within both legal and common-sense definitions of what is considered to constitute a “terrorist organization.” Moreover, if, as many Trump critics note, the federal government is permitted to designate organizations as “terrorist” only if they are “international,” a strong case can be made that Antifa satisfies that criteria as well.

While Antifa did not come into wide public consciousness in the U.S. until sometime around 2007 when “Rose City Antifa” was formed in Portland, Oregon, it has a far longer history in Europe, where it began as a movement to oppose the rise of fascism in Italy and Germany in the 1930s.

Exactly when the modern Antifa movement made its way across the Atlantic to our shores is not clear, but by the 1980s it

was here. Its members openly have participated in and organized numerous demonstrations and violent confrontations in recent years, especially since the infamous 2017 violence in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Notwithstanding Antifa’s recent history of activity in the United States, its roots are in Europe where it remains active, most notably perhaps in Germany. In fact, when President Trump publicly said he would move to classify Antifa as a “terrorist organization,” it was Antifa members in Germany that quickly leapt to its defense, joined by media outlets such as the leftwing daily newspaper *Neues Deutschland*.

Whether in the U.S. or Europe, Antifa seeks always to cloak itself in “anti-fascist” rhetoric, and its defenders are quick to play the victim card whenever its true agenda as a purveyor of violence is called out. In 2019 Republican Senator for Texas *Ted Cruz* introduced a non-binding Senate Resolution labeling Antifa a “domestic terrorist organisation.” Antifa defenders complained that the move was totally unwarranted, then claimed absurdly that the Senator’s true goal was to protect white supremacy groups.

Despite its self-serving façade of anti-fascism, Antifa’s tactics are about as fascist as you can get, and its actual targets without exception are conservatives – conservative speakers, conservative journalists, conservative politicians, the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (“ICE”), and law enforcement.

So, what is a “terrorist organization” and why is the Left so angry that the Administration would consider attaching the label to Antifa?

At its core, a terrorist organisation is an entity that engages in acts of violence that endanger human lives, and which appear intended to intimidate or coerce the pop-

ulation or to influence or affect the conduct or policy of a government. An organization that satisfies these criteria would, per the USA PATRIOT Act, be considered by the U.S. government to engage in “domestic terrorism”; therefore, reasonably considered a terrorist organisation.

Check off all three of those criteria for Antifa – it engages in violent acts that intimidate and endanger lives, and it openly proclaims its goals of influencing government policies and conduct.

Delving a bit deeper into federal law, we discover that an organization engaging in acts of terrorism may be officially labeled a “foreign terrorist organisation” if it also is – no surprise – “foreign,” and if its activity threatens the national defense or security of the United States. Here also, Antifa fits the bill — it acts internationally, was birthed overseas, and aims clearly to undermine our nation’s security by attacking law enforcement personnel and institutions.

Antifa cleverly tries not to expose to the public a visible formal organization structure, thereby claiming it is not an “organization” at all; ipso facto cannot be a terrorist organization. Such sophistry does not pass the common sense test. There are autonomous, self-labeled “Antifa” groups spread across Europe and the U.S. They employ a common flag and other symbols (often defacing public monuments), they call themselves “Antifa,” they dress in black as a uniform, wear black masks to minimize identification, have social media accounts, and have been videoed numerous times directing activities in protests and riots.

Whether it is labeled “domestic” or “foreign,” Antifa is a terrorist organisation; and it defies common sense (and the clear meaning of federal laws) to pretend otherwise. •
Source: *American Action News* from 4 June 2020

* Bob Barr (@BobBarr) represented Georgia in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1995 to 2003. He won the Libertarian Party’s presidential nomination in 2008 and currently serves as president and CEO of the Law Enforcement Education Foundation.

“Decisions in the first half of ...”

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to focus young people on more meaningful leisure activities. [...] For example, due to a consistent health and prevention project Island succeeded in reducing the proportion of young people between 15 and 16 years of age smoking cannabis from 17 to 7 per cent within 20 years. Instead, our parliament is willing to sell cannabis with a THC level of up to 20 per cent to up to 5,000 adults per pilot trial – in the early seventies there was only three percent cannabis; all this despite the fact that a few years ago the sovereign rejected a relaxation of the Narcotics Act with 63 per cent voting no. [...]”

What are the next steps?

The National Council having approved (provisionally limited) distribution of cannabis by the state, it will be the turn of the Council of States in the autumn session. It is very much to be hoped that the Council of States will assume its responsibility for the health of the population and reject it. Otherwise, broad segments of the population will launch and support the referendum against it so that finally, the people can decide. Collecting signatures will be an opportunity for many discussions with fellow citizens on whether we want to accept downplaying and gradual legalisation of cannabis or say no to it, for the benefit of our youth. •

¹ *Federal Act on Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances (Narcotics Act, NarcA)* 3 October 1951, repeatedly revised

² “Pilot trials with cannabis: message sent to the Parliament” *press release of the Federal Council* 28 February 2019

³ “Pilot trials with cannabis: message sent to the Parliament”, *press release of the Federal Council* 28 February 2019

⁴ see “Thoughts on freedom, federalism and democratic participation”, in: *Current Concerns* 8 June 2020

⁵ “Keine Cannabisstudien”. *Press release of SSHC-N* 15 November 2019

⁶ “National Council in principle for cannabis article” (*SDA-report*, 10 December 2019)

⁷ “National Council defines details for cannabis pilot projects”. (*SDA-report*, 2 June 2020)

⁸ 19.021 Narcotics Law. Amendment. *National Council debate* 2 June 2020

DU bombings by NATO have caused cancer

Now also confirmed by court in France

ef. After a four years lawsuit a French court has acknowledged that the death of *Henri Friconneau*, a gendarme captain, who died in 2015 of a rare angiosarcoma, was caused by depleted uranium (DU), to which he was exposed during his OPEX¹ mission in Kosovo. This was reported by the French newspaper "La voix du gendarme" (The voice of the gendarme) on 31 May 2020.

The French magazine *Marianne* had reported on 1 November 2019: "He [Friconneau] and his colleagues were lodged in barracks of the former Yugoslav army, which still at that time bore the marks of the bomb attacks. In May 2014, the investigating officer [...] was hospitalised for persistent pain in his left posterior, against which anti-inflammatory drugs were ineffective. The analyses showed that he was eaten up by a metastatic bone angiosarcoma that affected the liver, lungs and heart. He would die of it a year later."

His wife, *Loret Friconneau*, has now been granted the right to add her husband's name to the list of deserving "Mort pour la France (Died for France)". She has also been awarded a widow's pension, which the French Ministry of Defence had previously refused to grant her. In 2000 Henri Friconneau had been stationed in Kosovo for six months and had come into contact with DU contained in the remains of missiles used by NATO against the Serbs in 1999.

Thanks to the counter-inquiries carried out by her lawyer *Véronique Racht-Darfeuille*, a French court, after similar lawsuits in Italy, has now confirmed the connection between the use of DU munitions in the NATO bombings and the increased number of cancer cases among both military, and the civilian population.

Lawyer Dr *Srdjan Aleksic* from the Serbian city of Nis has for years taken cases to court for numerous families who have lost relatives to mostly severe multiple cancers since the war in Yugoslavia in 1999. He is currently preparing lawsuits in all NATO member states that took part in the war of aggression against the former Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and is already. He has already brought his action before the Serbian judiciary.

For the international lawsuits Aleksic has assembled a team of 26 lawyers and professors from Serbia, Germany, France, Italy, Russia, China, Great Britain and Turkey. Numerous medical doctors are engaged in compiling and analysing the deleterious consequences of DU use. According to the Serbian Ministry of Health, a diagnosis of cancer is being issued for on average one child per day. Overall, the incidence of cancer is now five times higher than before the attack. It stands at around 33,000 cases per year (<https://de-de.facebook.com/ratnasteta/>). Aleksic held two international conferences in Nis in 2018

and 2019 (see *Current Concerns* No. 15 from 11 July 2019).

He told the newspaper "Vesti" for the Serbian diaspora on 3 June 2020: "This acknowledgement from France, another Nato country, confirming the Italian ones, is of pivotal importance. It confirms the cause-and-effect relation between these catastrophic diseases and the fired missiles containing depleted uranium. It underpins and strengthens our hope that we will be able to prove the causal link between the 1999 bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the growing spread of cancer in southern Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija. It is therefore a great opportunity for the sick and the families of the deceased to prove this truth and to receive compensation." According to 'Vesti' Aleksic has now submitted 1,500 submissions with medical files to the United Nations Human Rights Committee in Geneva. They are from Serbian citizens who believe that their illness is the result of the NATO bombing: "I explained their cases and requested that the UN send independent investigators to Serbia to deal with the protection of human rights as well as with the environmental protection." •

¹ *Opérations extérieures*: Time-limited foreign missions of the French armed forces under UN or NATO mandate.

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“Our problems are man-made, so they can be solved by mankind”

About the book “Imperium USA. Die skrupellose Weltmacht”

by Tobias Salander

The historian Dr *Daniele Ganser* lays down three principles in his recently published research paper “Imperium USA. Die skrupellose Weltmacht (The US empire. The unscrupulous world power)”: the UN ban on violence, mindfulness and the human family. In other words, he formulates that without respect for international law, human rights and international humanitarian law, without the free formation of opinion and without ethics and responsibility, a peaceful coexistence of humans on this planet will not be possible. And it is to this concern that the author dedicates his book, and “to all people who reject war, terror, torture and war propaganda from the bottom of their hearts and who are, with perseverance and joy, committed to peace”.¹ Daniele Ganser, head of SIPER, the *Swiss Institute for Peace and Energy Research*,² has deliberately written his latest book for 15-25 year olds, i.e. in an unpretentious language that is easy to understand.

The dark side of Wikipedia ...

It can be seen in many examples in the book that when you commit yourself to peace, you get in the way of a powerful military-industrial-media complex and this is therefore not always without danger, but the author himself has also had relevant experiences. An author tracing the sequence of empires in the history of the world up into the 20th century, and here listing the USA as the empire of the 20th century which follows Great Britain, the empire of the 19th century, is exposed to hash headwinds: If you look up the author’s name – and today the vast majority do so via the *Google* corporation domiciled in the USA – under the keyword “Daniele Ganser”, you will find much that is disparaging in the online “reference work” *Wikipedia*, also based in the USA.

If you want to know more about the creation of such entries in the online “encyclopedia”, you should refer to the very worthwhile documentary “Die dunkle Seite der Wikipedia (The Dark Side of Wikipedia)” by the filmmakers *Markus Fiedler* and *Frank-Michael Speer*,³ which, using Daniele Ganser as an example, shows how unscientifically this website is structured with regard to social and power politics - while considering scientific contributions as certainly worthy of recognition.

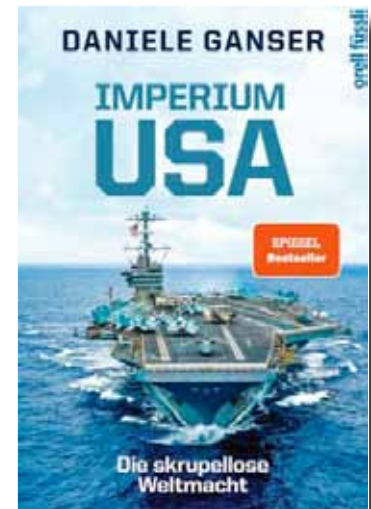
... or the defamatory attack ad personam

Due to his critical historical research on US history, the various anonymously-ac-

ting hierarchical levels of Wikipedia editors became aware of Ganser and covered him with abuse that can no longer be removed. Thus he has for some time now been regarded as a writer spreading “conspiracy theories on various topics, especially conspiracy theories on 11 September 2001”.⁴ With this disqualification, this attack ad personam, Ganser is to be rendered untrustworthy as an author, and this serves the sole purpose of preventing readers from an in-depth examination of the content of his research. Already his dissertation “Nato-Geheimarmeen in Europa (Secret NATO-controlled armies in Europe)” from 2008 did not meet with the approval of the relevant circles, nor did “Europa im Erdölrausch (Europe in the Petroleum High)” from 2012 or “Illegale Kriege (Illegal Wars)” from 2016. These titles were, however, a big hit with interested readers. The latest work by Ganser, which is to be shown here, is already on the “*Spiegel*” bestseller list. And why? Probably because he does not spread conspiracy theories, but rather traces well documented, verifiable real conspiracies against peace and humanity, and consequently crimes that should be punished.

The US Empire – the greatest threat to world peace

Even the blurb and a first glance at the table of contents make it clear why the Swiss historian, whose lectures on the internet are clicked on by hundreds of thousands of readers, is a thorn in the side of some very powerful people. For example, a survey from 2019 showed that for the majority of Germans, the USA currently posed the greatest threat to world peace – and not, as US President *Trump* repeatedly insinuates, Russia, China or the now forgotten dubious IS. And as early as 2013, according to *Gallup International* 56% of all respondents worldwide considered the USA to be the country with the strongest destabilising influence on world affairs. Ganser makes it clear that such figures do not stem from clumsy anti-Americanism by emphasising that the overwhelming majority of Americans would like nothing better than to live in peace, just like people in other countries. Nevertheless, Ganser points out that the world’s number one power, with its 300,000 very wealthy families, has bombed untold countries, like no other power after the Second World War. “No other country has toppled so many governments since 1945 and been involved in so many open and hidden con-



ISBN 978-3-280-05708-7

flicts as the USA. No other country in the world has military bases in so many other countries, exports so many weapons and maintains such a large arms budget as the United States.” He states that intimidation, manipulation and violence are the means used by certain circles in the USA.

A combination of “hard power” and “soft power” from the beginning

Ganser encompasses a wide range of the history of the USA; his table of contents reads like a summary of his book. After presenting the current military machinery and the fact that the USA of today cannot be called anything but an oligarchy, the author starts with the Indian wars. Much of what follows is not unknown to the reader over 25 years of age, but is often presented in an enlightening new context, based on serious source material from predominantly US-American sources. The “original sins” of the young state, the four million killed Indians and the twelve million abducted Africans, are followed by the imperialist grip beyond North America: always accompanied by deception, false-flag operations, psychological warfare, but also by naked violence – a repertoire was built up that was later described by *Joseph S. Nye* as “smart power”, as that mixture of “hard power” and “soft power”, i.e. of instruments that can be used in various combinations, according to need.⁵

National Security Council and covert warfare

You will not only read about the US involvement with Nazi Germany with in-

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“Our Problems are man made, ...”

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terest, but also the chapter on “Covert Warfare”, in which the *National Security Council* (NSC) is presented as a steering committee with the highest authority. This council, which holds its meetings in secret, holds the keys of power in its hands and commands the US Army and all US intelligence agencies, the NSC meetings are attended, in addition to the President, by the Vice President, the Foreign Minister, the Minister of Defence, the CIA Director, the National Security Advisor, the Chief of Staff and other senior officials. According to the US historian *John Prados*, to whom Ganser refers here, this council is “the highest level of the political establishment” (p. 169). And apropos the CIA: With reference to the *National Security Act* passed by the US Congress on 26 July 1947, Ganser also clearly proves that the CIA, founded on that day, was and is not only an intelligence service, but has also received far-reaching powers for covert warfare.

And Ganser’s chapter 8 shows where war has been waged undercover: Even if much is already familiar from other accounts to the gentle reader, here one receives once again a concise overview, well documented from US American sources, of the agents’ sheer murderous lust. Some of these were themselves subject to the propaganda telling them that they were fighting for the free world. The role of CIA director Allen Dulles is also piquant, especially in connection with the assassination of John F. Kennedy ... The fact that the documents have still not been fully released so many decades after the assassination speaks for itself!

Alarming findings of the Church Commission

Also of interest is the role of the *Church Commission* in uncovering the CIA’s assassination attempts. The US Senate report, published in 1975, under the responsibility of Senator *Frank Church* from Idaho, listed the crimes committed by the operational arm of the CIA, the Covert Operations Division, on 350 pages. The findings were so devastating that Noam Chomsky called his home country, the USA, “the leading terrorist state”. The Church Commission report is publicly available and should be mandatory reading for anyone who wants to understand this world better. At the same time, the process also shows that the USA is constantly producing self-purifying forces that want to bring the state back into the circle of civilised peoples. The complete do-

umentation of the Church Committee reports (14 volumes) as well as some 1000 pages of released original files can easily be found on the Internet.⁶

Since most people lack the time to work through the documents, let us quote the quintessence of the senators’ investigation with Ganser: “‘We believe that the public has a right to know what instruments their government uses,’ the Church Commission stated in its explosive murder report. ‘The Commission is convinced that the truth about these assassination attempts must be told, because democracy depends on a ‘well-informed electorate’. In the report the senators expressed their ‘disgust with what we have learned’. ‘That is a sad story. But this country has the power to listen to this story and learn from it,’ the senators believed. ‘We must remain a nation that sees its mistakes and is determined not to repeat them. If we do not make it, we are going down. But if we succeed, our future will be as bright as the best times of our past’” (p. 176).

With these words by the Church Commission in his mind, the reader of the further parts of the book will have to ask himself the painful question why the Commission was not given an ear – especially also when it came to the Iran-Contra affair, which Ganser recounts in chapter 11.

Digital empire and personalised propaganda

At the latest after reading about this unbelievable scandal, the reader will not want to put the book down again. Ganser now comes to 9/11, there focusing on the building WTC 7, then to the so-called war on terror. It is up to the reader to judge whether this is the case of a new Pearl Harbor ... If you cannot remember exactly what the state of research is on this event, that led to the United States’ entry into World War II: Ganser also recalls this in a chapter entitled “The USA and the Second World War”.

The chapter “The Digital Empire” recalls, among other things, the scandal of *Cambridge Analytica* and the subtle personalised election propaganda via *Facebook*, only to then deal briefly with the “dark side” of Wikipedia already mentioned at the beginning of this article.

Battle for Eurasia instead of war on terror

When you turn to the last chapter, “The Struggle for Eurasia”, it will do no harm to remember the words of *Zbigniew Brzezinski*. What did this (meanwhile deceased) doyen of geostrategy and security consultant of *Jimmy Carter* once say? What are some Islamist terrorists compared to ha-

ving brought the Soviet empire to its knees? And elsewhere he said that compared to the conflict with Russia and China, Islamist terror will soon be forgotten in the 21st century.⁷

Against this background, Ganser’s comparison between the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad railway before the First World War and China’s „New Silk Road“ seems even more uncomfortable: if the former could not be completed because otherwise Great Britain, the Empire at the time, would have had to share its power with the German Empire or even cede it to the latter, the US Empire today is faced with the question of whether the realisation of *Road and Belt* or the “New Silk Road” might not also mean the end of the US Empire. Whether we then see a war of the USA against China and Russia according to the *Thucydides* dilemma (according to which the hitherto dominant power attacks the rising one, as Sparta then attacked Athens), will not least depend on all of us, the citizens of the world, who would prefer nothing better than to live together in peace – just as it meets to social nature of mankind.

Our problems are man-made, so they can be solved by mankind

In conclusion, we would like to quote *John F. Kennedy*, though he is not always above all doubt, with a very true statement that may encourage us to step outside our own front door and see what is there, as the Swiss writer *Gottfried Keller* once put it. Kennedy said: “Let us first examine our attitude towards peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible to achieve ... But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that humanity is doomed to perdition ... But our problems are man-made, so they can be solved by humans.” This is a statement that can only be agreed with. •

¹ Ganser, Daniele. *Imperium USA. Die skrupellose Weltmacht* (The US empire. The unscrupulous world power) 2020, p. 2

² see <https://www.siper.ch/> and <https://www.danieleganser.ch/>

³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5p4NmPLoh8k>

⁴ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniele_Ganser. Status 3 June 2020

⁵ See for example Nye, Joseph S. Jr. “Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power”; in: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (July/August 2009), pp. 160–163.

Or, among others: Professor Joseph Nye on “Smart Power” at the Australian Institute of International Affairs; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K3sLkLbmsuU>. Status 4 June 2020

⁶ <http://www.aarclibrary.org/publib/church/contents.htm>

⁷ cf. Brzezinski, Zbigniew. “How Jimmy Carter and I Started the Mujahideen”; <https://theaustrianeconomists.wordpress.com/2010/02/24/zbigniew-brzezinski-how-jimmy-carter-and-i-started-the-mujahideen/> Status 4 June 2020

“No justice, no peace?”

Pleading for a personalist conception of politics

by Karl-Jürgen Müller

Two articles recently published in the Swiss Newspaper “*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*” open the view on a personalist consideration of today’s policies – as well as a personalist perspective.

The first article from 6 June 2020 is an interview with *Glenn Cartmann Loury*, 72-year-old professor teaching economics and social sciences at the US-American *Brown-University* at Rhode Island. Loury was the first regularly employed black Harvard Professor. During the past days and weeks people demonstrated against racism worldwide chanting protest slogans like “no justice no peace”, a slogan that might well be understood as a threat to wage a permanent war, as long as “justice” – a mouthful word – has not been accomplished. Is this an appropriate way in order to come to terms with the issue? The interview answers that question. It is entitled “Racism exists, but it does not really explain what is going on here”. Glenn Loury explains in the interview why he thinks that racism is a problem in the USA (like everywhere else) but that it is not the essential cause for today’s situation of Blacks in the USA.

The second article, however, published on 8 June 2020 is entitled “The debate on digitalised education is running out of course” by *Julian Nida-Rümelin*, teaching philosophy at the *Ludwig-Maximilian-University Munich* and *Klaus Zierer*, professor for school education at the University Augsburg. In their article they explain their thesis that concepts of digitisation at schools may be supported only in case they are compatible with the main ideas of humanistic education. This second article is very important as well. It is quite obvious that the school lock-downs of the past months and the accompanying the stopgap of online learning are being instrumentalised to accelerate comprehensive digitisation of schools. (See also “The second wave” in this issue)

What is a personalist conception of politics?

There cannot be a comprehensive answer in this article, but an invitation may be expressed to try and grasp the substance of the term. Only this here: A personalist understanding of politics is based on the conception that man has a social nature, he can develop his individual personality only in the human community, and a free and democratic constitutional state of law are unrenouncable to this end.

Every individual is called up to find answers to the tasks of life, which contribute to the advancement of the human community as well as to his or her own development. Part of this is to find constructive answers to the tasks put by the community, economy and politics and this way help form the social, economic and political order. The goal is the common good (*bonum commune*). The distinction between: “here is me, there is politics – and that doesn’t concern me” is not justified. Every grown-up is the co-creator of political life – even in case he believes that he has nothing to do with it. As citizen of a state there is no non-political acting. Even the official, the elected representatives of the people and those serving the state in one of the three powers, are primarily citizens, co-creators in the framework of constitution and law – with their individual answer to the tasks of life.

There are no “structures” beyond human willing, but this willing leads to structures and institutions that are compatible with the “willing of all”, but may also be changed again by the willing of all. It is true that in our social reality there is a “powerful” and a “powerless” willing. However, power and impotence are not compatible with man’s social nature, the latter requires a communal consent.

Succeeding and failing

Man can lead a successful life, but he can also fail. The causes therefore are manifold,

absolutely decisive is the individual style of life, i.e. the kind of his or her individual answers to the tasks of life. For one’s style of life one’s own biography and one’s world of thought are decisive, evolved from one’s education, one’s individual history but also the history of one’s family, of one’s people, of its culture and the commonwealth in which one lives. All this is reflected in one’s own “image of man” and “view of life”, in one’s own “world view”.

A personalist understanding of politics can give support to find appropriate solutions for political tasks. But it also helps to better understand political events – and in some cases to enquire, whether there might not be another “willing” behind the official version; for instance to ask the question whether the present worldwide demonstrations against racism or the digitalisation of education might be about something quite different than is officially declared.

Our destiny lies in our own hands

The above said seems to be the background to the interview with Glenn Loury, as well. He does not deny that there is racism in the USA just as everywhere else, and that there is racist behaviour inside state institutions, that there are problems of immense inequality and that the racist history has an aftermath until today. But he does not consider this the main problem of black people in the USA. Instead he maintains: “We have to enlarge our perspective and consider more how people may acquire the techniques, abilities and behaviours apt to make them productive members of our society. That is what I call development. This may be about education but as well about behaviour, emotional, psychological and social development.” He insists on his view “that we Afro-Americans are free actors after all, who shape our lives according to our own ideas and that we are not just the products of our historical conditions. These were real and are a hindrance, but they are not our destiny. Our destiny is not determined by the fact that our ancestors were enslaved. Our destiny lies in our own hands.”

The problem of political correctness

The question why this way of thinking has met with so little dissemination, he answers. “I believe that we do not live in a really free environment, which grants room for the discussion of these facts. There is a strong pressure to conformity, because nobody wants to evoke the impression that he

Police and criminality in the USA

“Aside from the mood of the public opinion, the admonishers still emphasise that the problem of police violence – above all is a result of an alleged racist prejudice – which is being played up to beyond all circumstances. Chicago is often used as an example. Last year in the city, of the 492 murders, only three occurred due to the armed police. Both the perpetrators as well as the victims of violence are mainly young black men. At the end of May, the ‘Windy City’ experienced, according to the statistics of the ‘Chicago Sun-Times’, with 25 casualties of death

and 85 injured by firearms, the bloodiest weekend since the beginning of the records 60 years ago. One of the problems was that the police, with 65,000 emergency calls – somewhat 50,000 more than usual – was completely unable to cope, last but not least, due to the demonstrations and riots. This gives a fore-warning of what could happen in these cities were the police to be eliminated.”

“*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*”
from 11 June 2020

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or she are on the wrong side with regard to these great moral issues. This means that everybody follows the others in the flock. Everybody wants to emphasise his or her virtuousness by showing the world: I stand up against injustice, against racism. A part of that is simply an implied consent which we call political correctness.”

Digitisation may dissolve societies ...

Julian Nida-Rümelin and Klaus Zierer contribute to the personalist understanding of politics in another form. They pose the question whether it makes sense to comprehensively digitise schools. The answer is No. They criticise the steering of communication and information that accompanies digitising. “Non-conforming and opposing views are being disregarded and eventually cut out. One might maintain that the logic of marketing is being extended on to political and cultural communication and

this may lead to dissolution of societies into more or less seclusive communication communities in the social networks. Democracy, however, is based on the concept of a shared public, an open space in which the arguments pro and con can be exchanged and forming of opinions happens in confrontation of diverse views. That what is called filter bubbles in the social networks actually endangers the basic conditions of political culture and democratic practise.”

... and lead to loss of connectedness

Nida-Rümelin and Zierer also criticise that digitisation at schools may cause the teacher to become less significant. For “all empirical studies show that the relationship between teacher and learner is of essential significance for successful learning and for successful education in general [...]. They criticise the social isolation that accompanies digitisation.” Some of the digital tools in school-routine lead to isolation and retreat followed by problematic cultural and social consequences”. Experiences in the

USA show “that learners are lacking interaction and social communication, also physical impairments caused by the prolonged activities in front of the computer are a problem.” They add the warning: “Such criticism must not be shrugged off as the old-reactionaries’ propaganda, because they show that the unintended consequences of digitisation in everyday education may lead to exactly the opposite of what was intended. No enhancement but debilitation of learner personalities caused by a loss of this relationship leading to isolation and digital addictedness.”

Instead: creating the conditions that man may be the author of his life

Conclusion: “Digital education is no alternative to an educational practise guided by humanistic instruction, instead the continuation of the latter is required, even its radicalisation. The human being has to be in the centre, the goal must be to advance his or her judgement, power of decision and zest for action. Digitisation must aim at creating the conditions that man is the author of his life.” •

How liberal still? – A look at Germany

km. On 9 June 2020, the German *Deutschlandfunk* broadcasted an extended report on three former GDR civil rights activists. The title of the programme was: „Once resistance, always resistance. Civil rights activists on the Right“ The three former civil rights activists were *Siegmar Faust*, *Michael Beleites* and *Antje Hermenau*. From different political perspectives – after 1990, Siegmar Faust was close to the CDU (Christian Democratic Union), Michael Beleites and Antje Hermenau were involved with the GDR environmental movement and after 1990 with the East German Greens (*Bündnis 90*) – they had criticised the GDR and in some cases paid for this with long prison sentences. For some time after 1990, Faust and Beleites were commissioners for the Stasi Records Agency (the organisation that administers the archives of Ministry of State Security (Stasi) of the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany).) on behalf of the Free State of Saxony. Antje Hermenau sat for the Greens in the Saxon state parliament and in the German Bundestag.

For a few years now, they have been criticising current German politics. They have publicly admitted to vote AfD (Alternative for Germany) today and/or to talk with people from AfD – or with participants of the Pegida (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident) rallies in Dresden. All this has led to campaigns against them, some of them with existential consequences. Siegmar Faust was not allowed to continue his guided tours and lectures in former political prisons of the GDR. The radio journalist says: „You are publicly accused of being right-wing. But – this is how you see it – you just think differently from many in the

middle or to the left. Pronounce it and feel ostracised because of it.”

In his small Berlin apartment, Siegmar Faust has a picture of *Traute Lafrenz*. The centenarian is the last surviving member of the “White Rose” (a non-violent, intellectual resistance group in the Third Reich led by a group of students including *Hans* and *Sophie Scholl*). Downplaying the National Socialist tyranny is far from his mind. The radio announcer says: “Faust likes to dish it out. His polemics are sharp. He writes about ‘left-wing do-gooders’, ‘false pious hypocrites’, ‘ideologically corrupt zeitgeist’.” Faust himself says: “If *Merkel* [2015] opens the borders without asking the people [...] and everyone who does not like it is declared a Nazi, etc. – that is unfair. That destroys democracy. I am not an opponent of the state. I’m just dissatisfied with the government.”

Michael Beleites is accused of writing a preface to a book that tries to better understand the participants in the Pegida rallies. Beleites says: “For me, my intention was to realise that something very strange was going on here. That the Pegida people and the demonstrations were suddenly portrayed as Nazi marches. And if you saw them yourself, it was obvious that you didn’t have to agree with everything, but that they weren’t Nazi marches.”

Regarding the “peaceful revolution” in the GDR, he adds that “we would not have been able to achieve a peaceful revolution at all if we had not dared to sit down at the table with the others. Nobody would have thought of accusing us of being close to the Stasi or of being SED functionaries just because we talked to them. This refers to the fact that the trenches are so deep today, that this right-left escalation has become so ex-

treme that people are now even being held liable for talking to the others.”

And then, “I wanted to make sure that this trench was practically bridged.” And: “I did experience that, because I spoke with or in front of the Right, I was accused of now being far right. In consequence, many people distanced themselves from me without asking what actually had happened. That is something that reminds you of the eighties in the GDR, where people distanced themselves from me out of fear, because they knew that I was not adapted and that I was under observation. And of course I am very worried when this atmosphere of fear is spreading again today and such an over-adaptation is suddenly considered normal. That’s what is worrying me.”

Finally Antje Hermenau. She is accused of trivialising the importance of the Nazis in Saxony. She says: “My people are the Saxons. And the Saxon bashing in recent years has only strengthened my resolve to do so. Because it is not okay. The attempt to destroy a different world view, a different way of looking at the world in this way, by holding a whole part of the population responsible for it, for assumed opinions [...]. It is always said that I was playing down the fact that there are real Nazis. No, I’m not trivialising that. Around them, I also feel physically afraid. And I find their slogans unbearable. But it’s not one third of the population, that’s just nonsense. If 25,000 people take to the streets in Dresden, then something’s going on. And if you take away the Nazis, there are still many people left. When many were rallying with Pegida, [...] it was the worry that what you have built up and what is perceived as normal lifestyle is threatened.”

The metamorphosis of state socialism

Culture politics of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 1956–1989

by Professor Dr Peter Bachmaier*



Peter Bachmaier
(picture ma)

Most articles which were published on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the dissolution of the “Eastern bloc” praised the “transition from dictatorship to democracy”. On 19

September 2019 the European Parliament passed a resolution in which all member states were urged, in reference to the basic principles of the European Union, to declare 23 August, the day when the non-aggression pact had been signed by the German Reich and the Soviet Union in 1939, as a European day of remembrance to honour the victims of totalitarian regimes. The resolution specifically mentioned those post-socialist states in the East of the EU where “to this day symbols of totalitarian regimes” were on public display and “monuments and places of commemoration” could be found which “idolised” such regimes.

However, the period of state socialism should not only be judged from a Cold War Western perspective. The following article about state socialism in Bulgaria – a summary of my work in Bulgarian and Russian archives over many years – argues that the Peoples’ republic of Bulgaria (PRB) is not adequately described by the term “totalitarianism”.

The plenary of April 1956 and the return of traditional culture

The first phase of post – World War II history in Bulgaria began when the Communist party seized power and established a repressive Soviet-style regime. Executions and show trials occurred, penal camps were established, all cultural activities were taken over by the state and were subject to censorship while Marxism-Leninism was made official state ideology. However, in the period from 1956–1989 a liberalisation of daily life within the framework



Festival of Slavonic culture “Cyril and Methodius”, banner “Go ahead, reborn people”, Sofia, 24 May 1973. (picture ma)

of state socialism was achieved. After the plenary of April 1956 and especially after Valko Červenkov and his followers had lost their influence at the VIII. party conference of the BCP (Bulgarian Communist Party) in 1962, a certain internal change or metamorphosis of the system was detectable. The structures of the authoritarian systems and the BCP’s political monopoly position were maintained, but at the same time traditional ethics and elements of a “moral state” appeared. German idealism played a great role in this process, similar to its strong influence during the national renaissance and liberation movement in the 19th century. Herder, Schiller, Kant, Hegel, Humboldt among others were well-known and translated by the intellectuals, many of whom had studied in Vienna, Munich and Leipzig. At the 150th anniversary of his death, Friedrich Schiller was honoured in May 1955 with a ceremony at the national theatre in Sofia and a performance of “Don Carlos” in May 1955, organised by the ministry of culture and the national author’s association. At this ceremony, which was attended by prime minister Anton Jugov and the members of the BCP politbureau, the poet Valeri Petrov remarked in his address: “Schiller has always been with us. He was the standard bearer of the belief in humanity and human dignity.” In commemoration of Schiller’s 200th birthday on 10 November 1959 lectures were held, and articles published in the journal “Literature front”. The philosophy of Hegel had great influence on Bulgarian intellectual

life and on Marxism in general. His major works were translated in the 1960s by Genčo Dončev who wrote in the epilogue of his translation of “Phenomenology of spirit”: “The philosophy of Hegel is the philosophy of Man in freedom.” (1969)

The state censorship agency *Glavlit* was abolished in 1956, sons and daughters of the “Bourgeoisie” were allowed to study at the universities again in 1958 and the “Bourgeoisie” professors and scientists rehabilitated. First secretary of the central committee of the BCP Todor Zhivkov, succeeded in creating a “symbiosis” with the cultural elite in the 1960s and summon their support for the state rule. Since then there had been no dissidents in Bulgaria, no samisdat and no “silenced poets”. The detention camp Loveč was closed in 1962 and until the end of state socialism there were no uprisings and no invasions by foreign troops.

A programme referred to as “cultural revolution” meant that illiteracy (24% of the population initially) was to be overcome with authoritarian measures in a short period of time, the education level of the people be increased and society modernised as required for industrialisation. Culture was held in high regard and after 20 years there were 2,400 performance halls (itališta), 42 theatres and opera houses, hundreds of music schools, worldclass singers like Nicolai Ghiaurov and Boris Christoff and state picture galleries in every county. This cultural revival

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al of Bulgaria in the 1960s and 1970s and the ideological orientation in cultural affairs was an independent initiative of the Bulgarian leadership which had not been directed by Moscow.

The extended family with the grandparents was regarded as the pivotal nucleus of society. But the rights of the nation belonged to the moral state as well. In an important speech in April 1963 *Todor Zhivkov* denounced the "nihilism" of Western culture and the "Western way of life" as an idol of the youth. The goast was to be the preservation of national culture, rooted in literary and philosophical classics as the foundation of morality.

The influence of German Idealism

The Bulgarian philosopher *Nikolaj Iribadžakov* characterised ethics in the People's Republic of Bulgaria as follows: "The ideology was materialistic, but ethics was idealistic. The Komsomol (Communist youth organisation) organised work brigades, volunteer activities, emphasised companionship, solidarity and the family!" (Iribadžakov, *Razvito socialisticesko obštestvo* [The developed socialist society], Sofia 1972).

The basic principles of human community were dedicated to the common good.

The education system developed fast. Pupils were encouraged to honour discipline and patriotism. The traditions of the Bulgarian people and their great writers were observed. In the 1960s language-oriented secondary schools specialising in High Dutch¹, French and English were established. A classical secondary school for Latin, Ancient Greek and Old Church Slavonic² was opened in Sofia in 1977.

In 1968 the virtues of the youth as defined by the codex of the Communist youth organisation (Komsomol) read as follows: "I preserve the language, the traditions and customs of my people. I love Socialist Bulgaria, my greatest treasure. I will educate myself towards modesty, honesty and justice." (Statute of the Dimitrov Youth Association, 12 January 1968)

In May 1980 the I. teachers' congress issued a "Charter of the Bulgarian teachers" which stated: "As a spirited personality, committed and focussed, the teacher was characterised by his dedication to national renaissance, his work and his apostle-like love for the youth of his fatherland. The Bulgarian teacher was enthusiastic about the high ethical and democratic standards, the foundation and pillars of the century-old Bulgarian school."

At the beginning the Orthodox Church was oppressed but in the 1960 it was declared "autonomous". "Patriotic service" became their main theme and the historians emphasised the role of the church for national history. In the 1970s no more repressions against members of the clergy occurred and churches and monasteries were renovated.

When patriarch *Aleksij* visited Bulgaria in May 1962 to participate in the Bulgarian festival of Slavonic culture he declared: "At the dawn of life of the Russian people god sent us the two holy brothers Cyril and Methodius, and they became our spiritual fathers. The unity of spirit and language was preserved because the Slavonic language became the language of our creed and our Church. Orthodox Bulgarian helped Russia to rid itself of the dark age of paganism and after many centuries the sons of Russia liberated Bulgaria from the yoke of the non-Christian oppressors.

The light from the North never waned for the Bulgarian people throughout five centuries, despite many obstacles the relationship between our peoples was never interrupted. The Bulgarian people was supported by the Russian people, its Church and the Czars – spiritually, religiously and morally."

Bulgaria as a "showcase of socialism"

In 1966 the ninth party conference of the BCP ruled on a "New system to organise the national economy" which included "Self-management of the factories". On the I. Congress of Bulgarian culture in May 1967 the "state-societal principle" was introduced in the cultural management, which meant that cultural bodies were to elect their own leadership. This included the leadership of the newly established committee of culture, which was more or less a ministry.

During the Prague spring, 20-22 May 1968, the First Congress of Bulgarian authors convened with the aim to challenge the Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Writers in June 1967. At this congress *Georgi Džagarov*, the president of the writers' association, took a pledge of allegiance with the BCP. However, Czech writer *Petr Půjman* was allowed to make a critical speech on behalf of the Czechoslovak authors which was regarded as "heretical".

The Ninth World Youth Festival in Sofia was supposed to present Bulgaria as a "showcase of socialism" in July and August 1968. Among the 20,000 youths who participated there were 8,000 from Western countries, including many groups of the '68 New Left movement, who criticised state socialism and staged some spectacular performances. They were allowed to express their ideas on a "free stage" at the university of Sofia which sparked heated discussions.



Bulgarian stamp commemorating the 150th anniversary of Friedrich Schiller's death, 9 May 1955. (source: catalogue of Bulgarian stamps, Sofia 1999)

The Department of Ideology at the Central Committee of the BCP paid close attention to the tendencies of sociological theories in the West. The West was accused to muddle the essence of capitalism by referring to modern societies as "integrated society", "common industrialised society" or "open society".

The same accusations were made against the "revisionists" who claimed there were no longer any antagonistic controversies in modern societies. Criticism was aimed at the "Frankfurt school" in particular which was accused to play an "antagonising role in the student's movement of the West". *Marcuse* was regarded to write in a neopositivist, anti-dialectical and ahistorical style. The same verdict applied to *Karl Poppers'* critical rationalism who regarded *Plato* and *Marx* as "totalitarian" in his main book "The Open Society and its enemies" (1945). The "International Summer School of Philosophy", founded by the socialist countries in Varna, 1969, tried to prove contemporary Western philosophy wrong at their conferences.

The ideology of the BCP was "national-communist" and fought against "modernism" of Western culture as exemplified by abstract art, experimental literature, atonal music and cosmopolitanism. However, due to increasing influence of the West and Gorbachev's perestroika movement in the Soviet Union, the youth became more focussed on consumerism during the 1980s.

The "Golden Age" in the seventies

In the Seventies the concept of socialist realism was expanded under the name of "committed realism"; literature, art and music were not to be propaganda art, but were to be based on beauty with the reference to Hegel's philosophy. The cultural policy of *Lyudmila Zhivkova*, chairman of the Committee for Culture, was basically

¹ often referred to as "German"

² i.e. Old Bulgarian language of the 9th-11th century

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no longer a variant of Soviet culture, but an independent tendency.

In the seventies, important international events were organised, such as the World Congress of Philosophy in 1973, the "Triennial of Committed Realist Art" from 1974, and from 1977 international writers' congresses with the participation of well-known Western writers. In 1975 Lyudmila Zhivkova invited the well-known Moscow avant-garde theatre "By Taganka" with the Soviet bard *Vladimir Vysotsky* to Bulgaria.

In 1976, the only Bulgarian cultural institute in the West was established in Vienna in the Wittgenstein House, which expressly refused to engage in political propaganda and to present state art. It was also a very fruitful period of cultural co-operation between Austria and Bulgaria.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was very interested in metaphysics, she was not an atheist. In the inaugural speech of the "Banner of Peace" assembly in 1979, she called on the youth to rise above purely material values. At a conference in December 1980, she gave a speech on aesthetic education, in which she made no mention of *Lenin's* teaching of the two cultures, but spoke of general human criteria such as "unity, creativity and beauty". This culture was a national culture, open to world culture, as especially shown by the anniversary "1,300 years Bulgaria", celebrated from 1978 to 1981. This period was called the new "Golden Age" after the one under *Csar Simeon* in the 10th century.

The Bulgarian ethnic model and the "unity of the people"

The X. party congress of the BCP of 1971 adopted a new constitution with the aim of establishing a "unified socialist nation", but in reality the "parallel society" with the Turkish ethnic group remained. The Bulgarian government therefore changed its policy towards the Turkish population, especially after Turkey's occupation of the north of the island of Cyprus in 1974.

At the end of 1984 the decision was taken to bulgarianise the names of all Turks and Muslims and to abolish the teaching of the Turkish language in schools, Turkish newspapers and radio broadcasts. The activities of mosques and Muslim organisations were severely restricted. The decision was made by Todor Zhivkov himself, who took responsibility for it on behalf of the state. The resolution named the Turkish Muslims as Bulgarians who had been Islamised during the period of Turkish rule. This policy was therefore called the "process of national rebirth".

In August 1987, Turkish Prime Minister *Turgut Özal* threatened Bulgaria on the issue of Bulgarian Muslims by announc-

ing a solution based on the Cyprus model. The "Voice of Turkey" set up a new transmitter on the border with Bulgaria. The organisations of the Bulgarian opposition opposed the "rebirth process" soon after its foundation in 1988 and especially at the time of the protests of the Bulgarian Turks in May 1989.

In spring 1989 the political situation in the world changed. The socialist system, with the Soviet Union at the head, fell into a severe crisis. The problem with Turkish Muslims in Bulgaria was welcomed by the Western countries and Turkey. Finally, in May 1989, mass riots were organised by Muslims against the "rebirth process". The Bulgarian authorities allowed Muslims to leave for Turkey, and in May and June 1989 some 360,000 Bulgarian Turks and Muslims left the country. In the following months, however, half of the emigrants returned to Bulgaria.

At the height of the "Great Excursion", the migration movement of Bulgarian Turks and the CSCE Paris Conference of Experts on the Human Dimension, which put pressure on Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov gave a television address on 29 May 1989, in which he explained:

"It is a historical fact that the very victory of the socialist revolution and our socialist state freed the Muslim population from the ignorance, misery and lawlessness to which the Ottoman Empire had condemned them [...]. Illiteracy has been eliminated in this region. About 500 young people from this region started studying at universities every year. The number of teachers there today is greater than that of students before the revolution."

The role of the Soviet Union in Bulgaria

The Soviet Union played an essential role in Bulgaria through the joint conferences of the communist parties, the *Warsaw Pact* and the *Council for Mutual Economic Assistance*, but there were no Soviet advisors in the Committee for Culture of the VRB. Cultural policy was an own separate matter for Bulgaria.

In the second half of the 1980s, Bulgaria played a prominent role in Soviet intellectual life, despite the tense relations between Todor Zhivkov and *Mikhail Gorbachev*. In February 1988 a Bulgarian Cultural Centre, the first of a foreign state in the Soviet Union, was established in Moscow. The Cultural Centre aims to carry out permanent Bulgarian cultural activities in the RSFSR, Ukraine and Belarus.

On 24 May 1988, on the occasion of the Cyril and Methodius Feast, which in 1988 coincided with the anniversary "1000 years since the baptism of Russia", an All-Union Celebration of Slavic Scripture was organised in Moscow in honour of the Slavic apostles. On 24 May 1989



Monument to Cyril and Methodius in front of the National Library, inscription "The most holy brothers and first teachers". Sculptor: Vladimir Ginovski, 1975 (picture Peter Bachmaier)

such a ceremony was organised in Kiev and in 1990 in Minsk, the capital of Belarus, each time with the participation of a prominent Bulgarian delegation.

During the period of perestroika, the VRB got into difficulties because Gorbachev abolished Soviet privileges for the Bulgarian economy and ultimately wanted to eliminate the political monopoly of the BCP. Todor Zhivkov agreed with privatisation, decentralisation and self-government, for example of the cultural associations, but he wanted to maintain the power of the BCP, just like the party in China, where he had a meeting with *Deng Hsiao Ping* in 1988.

The period of the Perestroika (1986 – 1989) included the last crisis of the regime which was not least a spiritual crisis. At the 1986 party conference, the secretary of the youth association criticised the consumerism of youth, the Western influence of fashion and art and the growth of "informal" youth groups. At the very end, at the late 1988 and in 1989, the cultural associations and the University of Sofia joined the opposition. Todor Zhivkov was not overthrown by a popular uprising but by a coup d'état because Gorbachev had withdrawn his support. The first oppositional mass rally took place one week after the fall of Todor Zhivkov on 17 November 1989 and was arranged by the new government. The Republic of Bulgaria is today seen as the result of a radical break with the communist past.

The change of 1989: from East to West

The economical reform programme, which the American economists *Richard Rahn* and *Ronald Utt* presented in October 1990 on behalf of the new Bulgarian government of *Andrey Lukanov* was the basis for the neoliberal project that was

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"The metamorphosis of ..."

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implemented in Bulgaria. From 1991 on, culture was also de-ideologised, decentralised and economised. The state's monopoly on education was abolished and state ideology in this field was eliminated.

In a report on Bulgaria, the Council of the European Union criticised the "uniform perspective on culture", in which modern artistic movements could find no room, and also the alignment with Russia. The pursuit of art should be valued according to its economic result. This also required new means of sponsorship and marketing. The 1991 Culture Act was the condition for Bulgaria's accession to the European Union's culture programmes.

The Bulgarian National Television (BNT) was converted into an independent organisation in 1992. In 2000, the private television station BTV was founded, and was acquired by *Rupert Murdoch* from the media group *News Corporation*. After 1989, newspapers and magazines mostly were assigned to foreign ownership, especially the German *WAZ media Group*.

The *Kostov* government also enacted a new law on national education in 1998, which was market-oriented with the support of the IMF and the World Bank. In addition to the state schools, a sector with privately owned schools that charged tuition or tuition fees and thereby better paid teachers, as well as foreign schools maintained by Western organisations, emerged.

The "Open Society" foundation of the American billionaire and philanthropist of Hungarian descent *George Soros* played an eminent role in the change of values among the Bulgarian people. The nation-

al foundation "Open Society Foundation Sofia" was established on 5 April 1990 with the explicit endorsement of the new Bulgarian government.

Since its accession to the EU in 2007, Bulgaria restructured its cultural policy according to the European model and actively participated in all relevant EU programmes.

Bulgarian legislation on audiovisual and intellectual property has been fully harmonised with the EU and its "Television without Frontiers" Directive (1989). The EU Treaty with Bulgaria of 2007 defines the area of "Education and Vocational Training", mainly through the development of the European dimension in higher education in accordance with the Bologna Declaration of 1999 and the development of a system of permanent education and training, in line with the objectives of the Lisbon Strategy of 2000.

The reforms after 1989 and especially after 1997 have left deep traces in Bulgarian culture. The state largely withdrew from its responsibility for culture without creating alternative sources of finance. Cultural policy experienced drastic cut-backs and dismissals. Opera houses, philharmonic halls and other musical institutions were merged or closed within a short time. The system of national art schools and former music grammar schools was also reduced.

The remaining cultural institutions can only pay low salaries, but can no longer carry out new projects and productions. In the budget for 2020, 417 million lewa are planned for education and science. The total budget for culture is 126 million lewa, including 13.6 million lewa for cultural heritage and 108 million lewa for "contemporary art". The share of culture in GDP decreased from 1.1% (1990) to 0.6% in 2019.

However, culture continues to play an important role. A great interest in its own past developed. Finally, despite the difficult economic situation, the state cultural institutions – the theatres, opera houses, concert halls, art galleries and film studios – were still able to produce significant artistic achievements and gain international recognition for them.

Bulgaria today needs a new cultural orientation and a restoration of the role of the state. In the concepts of the last governments the following have already been mentioned as the most important goals and principles: the transformation of culture into a national priority in order to preserve the unity of the nation, the preservation of traditional values and the strengthening of the role of Bulgarian culture in the European context. It is to be hoped that this concept will actually determine the line of Bulgarian cultural policy in the future. •



ISBN 978-3-643-50931-4

For the Beethoven Year

“Every man becomes a brother,” – an ideal of humanity even 250 years after Beethoven’s birth

Friedrich Schiller’s ode “To Joy” and Ludwig van Beethoven’s 9th Symphony

by Dr phil. Winfried Pogorzelski

Who can’t recite the first lines by heart or at least sing the world-famous melody to himself: We are referring to Friedrich Schiller’s ode “An die Freude” (1785) for which Ludwig van Beethoven, whose 250th birthday we are celebrating this year, presented an extraordinary musical monument in his Ninth Symphony (1824) some forty years after its composition. All over the world “the Ninth” has a reputation. It is repeatedly performed everywhere. Why does this music speak to the hearts of so many people in such a way that their faces light up instantly when they hear or sing it? How did it come about that the two congenial spirits, Schiller and Beethoven found each other and created a summit of Western cultural history?

Friedrich Schiller’s poem “To Joy” – ode or drinking-song?

Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) never called his work an ode. He did not consider it one of his strongest poems. Strictly speaking, it is not an ode at all but a drinking song, a less sublime genre of lyric poetry. Ode (Greek) originally refers to a text that is sung to music, i.e. a song. In ancient Greece, the prize songs of the poet Pindar (5th century BC) were called odes in honour of the winners of sporting competitions. From this basic form, hymnal odes in the sense of prize songs with religious content developed.

Drinking songs have been known since Roman antiquity. They were sung at social gatherings where alcoholic beverages were consumed. Some passages in Schiller’s poem have this character.¹ For example, in the sixth verse of the chorus

*Joy doth bubble from this rummer,
From the golden blood of grape
Cannibals imbibe good temper,
Weak of heart their courage take —
Brothers, fly up from thy places,
When the brimming cup doth pass,
Let the foam shoot up in spaces:
To the goodly Soul this glass!²*

Schiller’s poem “An die Freude” probably received the name “Ode” from a publication entitled “Fourteen Compositions to Schiller’s Ode to Joy”.³ Be that as it may, both names fit. Praise is given to the exuberant joy that spreads when people fraternise and – according to their destiny – live together in harmony all over the world in the spirit of their Creator.

Notes and text of the ode’s beginning. (picture Wikipedia)

Schiller wrote the verses at the age of 25. In Mannheim, to where he fled from Stuttgart, Schiller experienced the premiere of the “Räuber”, his first brilliant theatre success which made him famous far and wide. Later due to conflict with the artistic director and the ensemble he travelled to Leipzig, where a kind of fan club had been formed around *Christian Gottfried Körner*, an enthusiast of Schiller’s plays. The poet of *Sturm und Drang* was received with great joy, offered accommodation and a livelihood. Friendship was cultivated with him in all kinds of meetings and activities. Alliances of friendship were a phenomenon of the times: people swore to each other, eternal loyalty and succumbed to feelings of happiness.

In the mood of this time, to which wine also contributed to its bliss, Schiller completed his poem “To Joy”, in which he not only sketched out the vision of worldwide friendship amongst all people, but also made them swear the following:

*Courage firm in grievous trial,
Help, where innocence doth scream,
Oaths which sworn to are eternal,
Truth to friend and foe the same,
Manly pride ’fore kingly power —
Brothers, cost it life and blood, —
Honor to whom merits honor,
Ruin to the lying brood!⁴*

With this poem, Schiller creates a vision in which the values and goals of enlightenment – such as reason, justice, equality, freedom, tolerance and interpersonal bonds and compassion – are realised. A few years later, with the storming of the Bastille (14 July 1789), the French Revolution set out to achieve these goals. Schil-

ler and *Goethe*, however, firmly opposed the Jacobin excesses of violence that led to the reign of terror of 1793/94. It was clear to them that the goal of a just and humane social order could not be achieved by force, but through enlightenment – education and training of the individual – as their works of the Weimar Classicism emphatically show.

Ludwig van Beethoven’s music for the stage

Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), “Schiller reader, *Goethe* devotee and *Kant* admirer”⁵, explicitly joined this philosophical-literary movement with some of his compositions. These works were about the role of man in the course of history, about the striving for the realisation of ideas and values. In the ballet “The Creatures of Prometheus” (1801) by the choreographer *Salvatore Vigano*, to which Beethoven wrote the music, the hero is not the rebellious titan, but “an enlightened philosopher and teacher who brings reason and knowledge to the uneducated and ignorant ‘creatures’”.⁶ He also wrote the music for *Goethe*’s tragedy “*Egmont*” (1809). It is about the Dutch Count *Egmont*, who joins the resistance of the Dutch against Spanish rule in the 16th century and who is captured and sentenced to death. Finally, in his only opera, “*Fidelio*” (1805), the Spanish nobleman *Florestan*, who was fond of the ideals of Enlightenment, was freed from imprisonment with the self-sacrificing help of his wife, whereupon the prison gates opened for all prisoners.

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“Every man becomes a brother’ ...”

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Beethoven’s symphonies also deal with questions of human existence, conveying ideas, values and visions.⁷ This is done purely instrumentally, especially in the Third (1805) and Fifth (1808) Symphonies and in the Ninth Symphony (1824) with choir and vocal soloists intoning parts of Schiller’s poem. The third symphony is entitled “Eroica”, which already makes it clear that Beethoven is addressing the questions of heroism. Originally, he had dedicated it to *Napoleon*, but withdrew the dedication “Intitula Bonaparte” because the latter crowned himself with the imperial crown on 2 December 1804 in Notre-Dame de Paris. The fifth symphony with its rhythmic opening motif (known as “Ta, ta, ta, taaa!”) is no less well known than the ninth; indeed, it is probably one of the most popular pieces of classical music ever. Whether or not it is a “symphony of fate” – the controversial name, according to his secretary, is supposed to come from Beethoven. In any case, the composer brings to this work “a previously unknown tragic dimension”⁸. “Just as the audience was gripped by Schiller’s *Die Räuber* in 1787, they were now shocked by Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony.⁹ The Third Symphony and the Fifth Symphony are significant in music history as milestones of symphonic music, but also as works of art in their own right, and represent a kind of bridge to the Ninth Symphony.

“The Ninth” – the most important symphony of all time

This is what the Greek-Russian conductor *Teodor Currentzis* (* 1972) said in the TV-documentary “Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony for the World”¹⁰, which is worth watching. Impressively, the film shows that this work won over the entire world. It is sung and played around the globe by young and old. People of all cultures and skin colours are inspired by it. From the very first note, no one can escape the dynamics and rhythm of this music. It immediately becomes clear: here, Beethoven created something that was never heard before, something monumental. The dimensions alone leave a lasting impression: the first three movements are as long as an entire symphony, the fourth, with solo, quartet and choral singing, has the stature of a cantata.

Power and determination mark the electrifying opening and the entire course of the first movement (“Allegro ma non troppo”), the second (“Molto vivace”) has a forward, rhythmic character, while the third (“Adagio molto e cantabile”) is filled with lyrical calm. At the beginning of the fourth movement, massive dissonances are heard, followed by a series of repeti-

tions of all the motives of the first three movements, before the “Freudenthema”, still purely instrumental is already intoned. The dissonances known from the beginning of the movement interrupt the rest of the movement, whereupon a baritone raises his voice with the words: “O friends, not these notes, rather let us tune in more pleasantly and with more joy!” A vocal quartet (soprano, alto, tenor, bass), first followed and then accompanied by a choir, sings the first verse and the chorus of Schiller’s poem until the finish which leads into a “Presto”, *Maestoso* and “Prestissimo”.

Beethoven did not include the entire text in his setting, but the first verse could not be omitted: The joy – spark of the gods – comes from Elysium, the island of the blessed. The ode “to joy” gives us humans a glimpse of what it is like when we all enter the Shrine of Joy and experience what it means to live in complete harmony and to share a world in which all that divides us is removed:

*Thy enchantments bind together,
What did custom stern divide,
Every man becomes a brother,
Where your gentle wing dwells.*¹¹

At the end of the song, Beethoven combines two verses of the chorus into one:

*Be embrac’d, ye millions yonder!
Take this kiss throughout the world!
Brothers—o’er the stars unfurl’d
Must reside a loving Father.*¹²

*Fall before him, all ye millions?
Know’st thou the Creator, world?
Seek above the stars unfurl’d,
Yonder dwells He in the heavens.*¹³

The symphony ends with the certainty that all people may know themselves in the hand of a benevolent Creator, who offers the guarantee that all people will one day be united in peace. Who can stand aside when this dream of mankind is celebrated with choir and orchestra?

Abuse and Use of the “Ninth”

Like all great works of art – be it literature, music or the visual arts – that address political issues or create a utopia, Beethoven’s Ninth was and is used and abused. A few examples may illustrate this.¹⁴

In the 19th century, during the revolution of 1848, the democratic movement rejoiced in the support of Schiller and Beethoven. When *Richard Wagner* rehearsed the symphony in Dresden during the barricade fights, *Mikhail Bakunin* was among the listeners.¹⁵ In 1918, after the First World War, the labour movement took advantage of the work for the peace movement: On New Year’s Eve 1918, when not only the end of the war but also the end of the monarchy was celebrated, the tradi-



Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805)
(picture historyofroyalwemen.com)



Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827)
(picture wikimedia)

tion of performing the Ninth at the turn of the year began, which continues in various places to this day.

The National Socialists were quite different, of course, who pretended to take up the fraternisation of people, but in all seriousness bent it into a “legitimation to subjugate and interrogate other countries and peoples”.¹⁶ However, according to *Hanns Eisler*, composer and companion of *Bertolt Brecht*, whose works he set to music, the text would then have read quite differently: “All men become brothers, except all peoples whose land we want to annex, with the exception of Jews, Negroes and many others”.¹⁷

In 1972, the Ninth became the instrumental version of the Council of Europe’s anthem, before being declared the anthem of the European Community (now the European Union). Finally, for the German reunification in December 1989, *Leonard Bernstein* conducted the work in Berlin’s *Schauspielhaus am Gendarmenmarkt*, which was performed by musicians from East Berlin, Dresden, Leningrad, New York and Paris. He took the liberty of replacing the “joy” of

The second wave: The digital-mental virus spreads

Statement of the Society for Education and Knowledge (GBW e.V.) on joint recommendations for actions by IT- and teacher associations in corona times

Since March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic and school closures unavoidably lead to distance learning and the increased use of digital technologies. It was to be expected that IT associations would joyfully welcome this development and call for stabilising the use of IT in schools. Surprisingly, teachers' associations are also calling for distance learning and digital schooling. Is it clear to everyone involved what this means?

In May 2020, the German Informatics Society launched the "Offensive Digital School Transformation" (#OdigS) together with IT and business representatives and teachers' associations. This contribution to "digital education policy" consistently reduces school education to technical aspects (see box). The purpose is the digitally controlled school. The transformation according to the parameters of the IT and data economy is not about a "one-to-one transfer of analogue to digital", learning structures and processes must rather be rethought and further developed in conformity with IT. That means concretely:

- IT and teacher associations are calling for the development of an infrastructure for distance learning and homeschooling beyond the COVID-19

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jk./mb. The demands of the IT associations¹ have been repeating for over 30 years: more money, more jobs, more influence and weight in politics and society. In detail:

- Intensification of the use of digital teaching and learning media in schools and in "home learning"; schools should be involved in the design of lessons and reflect the "requirements and the standards of an increasingly automated, networked and digital life- and working world";
- equipment of schools and students with terminal equipment, extension of networks and "long-term financing structures for digital educational contents";
- extension of compulsory computer science lessons for all from secondary school onwards and use of digital tools in all compartments and the upgrading of informatics (equality with the other STEM subjects (Science, technology, engineering, and mathematics));
- compulsory education and training of all teachers (computer science and media competence), as modern and future-oriented teaching is coupled to the didactic skills of teaching and learning with digital media as well as to information technology and media-competencies;

- building and expanding of school clouds, learning platforms as centralised infrastructure (instead of isolated solutions), which should be "extensively brought into schools across the country and should be reliably available for the organisation of lessons and implementation in form of interactive distance learning in real-time and autonomous and collaborative learning";
- more IT specialists, media educators, advice for teachers and school boards for use of suitable digital teaching solutions;
- state-financed hardware and software for the teachers.

This does not go far enough and remains a part of the informatic thinking. But we have to rethink IT and develop further concrete alternatives to current structures before we even want to work with IT. Because neither the "unlimited digital capitalism according to the American model" nor the "Orwellian government surveillance" as in China are, according to the German Federal President Dr *Frank-Walter Steinmeier* at the Kirchentag 2019, an option for Europe and certainly not for schools.

¹ <https://offensive-digitaleschultransformation>

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

"Every man becomes a brother' ..."

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Schiller's original text with "freedom", an idea of a certain persuasive power.

Can art or music change the world? Truly a great question and always a subject of lively debate. In terms of music history, the impact of Beethoven's ninth symphony took on extraordinary dimensions: No composer after him could avoid "the Ninth", it had set completely new standards which are still effective today.¹⁸ In the meantime it even reached the charts: Accompanied by an orchestral arrangement by the Argentinean *Waldo de los Rios*, the Spanish singer *Miguel Rios* sang his "Song of Joy", which became a world hit in the 1970s.¹⁹ When popular texts and melodies are spread around the globe via contemporary arrangements, they can connect to the longings of millions of people around the world, awaken hopes and encourage them to stand up for something good. Schiller and Beethoven's masterpiece, which as a milestone of European poetry and music continues to exert a lasting influence to this day, is probably best revealed to the unbi-

ased listener if he or she succeeds in hearing it "as a utopia, as an individual's yearning wish and as an appeal to humanity"²⁰ This is what everyone who listens to it in the Beethoven Year should wish for. •

¹ cf. Voss, Egon. "Von der Oper zur Sinfonie, von der Sinfonie zur Kantata. Wie Berg und Beethoven die Formen sprengten" (From opera to symphony, from symphony to cantata. How Berg and Beethoven broke forms), in: Stiftung LUCERNE FESTIVAL (ed.), *Symphony Concert 10*, 28 August 2019, Berlin Philharmonic, Rundfunkchor Berlin, Kirill Petrenko, Soloists, Concert Program, Stans 2019, p.17ff., Feature by Tobias Barth, Lorenz Hofmann: Ode to Joy, How a Drinking Song Became the European Anthem. Deutschlandfunk (DLF), https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/ode-an-die-freude-wie-ein-trinklied-zur-europahymne-wurde.976.de.html?dram:article_id=448810

² https://archive.schillerinstitute.com/transl/schiller_poem/ode_to_joy.pdf

³ LUCERNE FESTIVAL Foundation (ed.), *Symphony Concert 10*, 28 August 2019, op. cit., p. 17

⁴ https://archive.schillerinstitute.com/transl/schiller_poem/ode_to_joy.pdf

⁵ Hinrichsen, Hans-Joachim (text); Ruckstuhl, Christoph (pictures). "Beethoven – unser Zeitgenosse?" (Beethoven – our contemporary?) in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 21 March 2020, p. 45

⁶ Lockwood, Lewis. *Beethoven: Seine Musik. Sein Leben (Beethoven: His music. His Life)*, Kassel 2012 (2nd ed.), p. 117

⁷ Cf. Geck, Martin. *Ludwig van Beethoven*, Reinbek 2014, p. 155ff.

⁸ Lockwood, Lewis, op. cit., p. 171

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Berger, Christian; Kleber, Chatharina; Roddewig, Martin; Wischman, Claus; Director: Berger Christian. ZDF Documentary 2020 "Beethovens Neunte – Symphonie für die Welt" (Beethoven's Ninth – Symphony for the World)

¹¹ https://archive.schillerinstitute.com/transl/schiller_poem/ode_to_joy.pdf

¹² https://archive.schillerinstitute.com/transl/schiller_poem/ode_to_joy.pdf

¹³ https://archive.schillerinstitute.com/transl/schiller_poem/ode_to_joy.pdf

¹⁴ Stähr, Susanne. "Das missbrauchte Kunstwerk, Wie Sozialisten und Nationalisten Beethovens Neunte für sich vereinnahmten" (The Abused Work of Art, How Socialists and Nationalists appropriated Beethoven's Ninth for themselves), in: LUCERNE FESTIVAL Foundation (ed.), *Symphony Concerto 10*, op. cit., pp. 21-23

¹⁵ cf. Stähr, Wolfgang. "Der Freude schöner Götterfunken hat gezündet" (The joy of beautiful sparks from the gods has ignited), in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 21 March 2020, p. 52

¹⁶ Stähr, Susanne, op. cit. p. 22

¹⁷ Stähr, Wolfgang, op. cit.

¹⁸ Cooper, Barry (ed.). *The Beethoven Compendium, His Life – His Music*, Munich 1972, p. 366f.

¹⁹ See *Wikipedia* on the keyword "Ode to Joy": https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ode_to_Joy

²⁰ Dobretsberger, Barbara. "Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No. 9", in: *Booklet to the CD: Tonhalle Orchester Zürich, David Zinman, Conductor, Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No. 9*, Arte Nova Classics 1999, p. 3

"The second wave: The digital-mental ..."

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era. German schools are, for good reason, presence schools with classroom teaching. Distance learning is not suitable for children and young people and should be reserved for adult education and/or exceptional situations (illness, pandemics). Such far-reaching structural and methodological changes have to be justified in terms of subject matter and discussed democratically with all those involved in order to be technically and politically legitimised before such far-reaching and expensive technical infrastructures are built up, the pedagogical benefit of which is still not proven.

- IT and teacher associations demand that teaching content and teaching methods be geared to the future world of work. However, the purpose of school education and training is education and the development of an independent and responsible personality using relevant objects of culture and history. This includes subject-related skills and knowledge, combined with a deeper understanding of what is being learned, in order to develop critical faculties and social responsibility. Adaptation to and orientation towards the labour market, on the other hand, is not anchored in any school law.
- Digital technology is automation technology. The purpose is both, IT-guided teaching and data-supported school development. On the one hand, complex learning processes have to be broken down into digitally prepared and controllable morsels enabling "programmed learning" in the bad sense of behaviorism. For this purpose, as much student and teacher data as possible are collected and evaluated. This is where several developments come together: – Competence orientation (KO) with its small-scale competence levels and grids and the emptying of content is the prerequisite for the adjustment of subject content towards verifiable information units, which thus lose their educational meaning.
- Thus, competence-oriented, feedback-controlled digital learning is the implementation of the behavioristic idea of being able to control human learning processes "in a programmed way". However, this external control, which is contrary to education and freedom, is apparently concealed so effectively by

the colourful, supposedly "interactive" programme interfaces that teachers' associations are fooled by it.

– Digital technology is the technical infrastructure and allows the small-scale measurement of all learning performance via feedback channel and learning analytics. This is the habituation and adjustment of learners to IT systems and structures.

– Data-supported school development is the number-fixed model, empirical educational research the equally number-believing theory behind it. Digitally organised society (*Martin Jung* in the "Süddeutsche Zeitung") is thus joined by digitally controlled schooling and testing. Pedagogy is sacrificed on the altar of numbers and the supposed predictability of learning processes.

- All learning is logged and stored. There is no more forgetting and no more privacy in classrooms and children's rooms, because everything done on computers is digitally recorded and evaluated. This means that trust between teachers and learners is no longer possible. Trust is based on the fact that people only discuss or agree something with each other.
- Trust is the elementary basis for the relationship between teachers and students. With these recommendations for action, trust as the basis of pedagogical work is replaced by complete performance and learning protocols. This is not pedagogy, but the preparation of people at the screen, the Bentham Panopticon in digital form.

If, instead of optimising technical systems, you focus on people and their individual development as autonomous personalities, you will have different requirements for the use of IT. Instead of collecting data for user profiles, data is stored locally at best (edge computing) and deleted after use. Personality and performance profiles are neither created nor marketed. Technically, this is realised with open operating systems such as Linux and open source software in the intranet, with local servers or own servers at the provider. Keywords are data economy, decentralisation and data sovereignty for the users. For communication you use encrypted messengers like *Signal* or *Threema*, which do not record meta data, for surfing browsers that do not store history data or Tor browsers (*The Onion Router*) that anonymise your address.

Thus computers and software become again what they should be: Tools for pro-

fessional and private communication and entertainment, but also media in the classroom. There, for example, technology for active media production, without forced data prostitution. All this is technically feasible and proven in practice. In this form, IT can also be used in a pedagogically and didactically meaningful way in lessons from secondary school onwards. It is "only" necessary to rethink and replace the requirements of the data economy by the needs of the people who are learning and to use the media in a way that is appropriate to the people and the matter at hand, instead of adapting both to IT systems.

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(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Current Concerns

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

Publisher: Zeit-Fragen Cooperative

Editor: Erika Vögel, Eva-Maria Föllmer-Müller

Address: Current Concerns,

P.O. Box, CH-8044 Zurich

Phone: +41 (0)44 350 65 50

Fax: +41 (0)44 350 65 51

E-Mail: CurrentConcerns@zeit-fragen.ch

Subscription details:

published regularly electronically as PDF file

Annual subscription rate of
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