

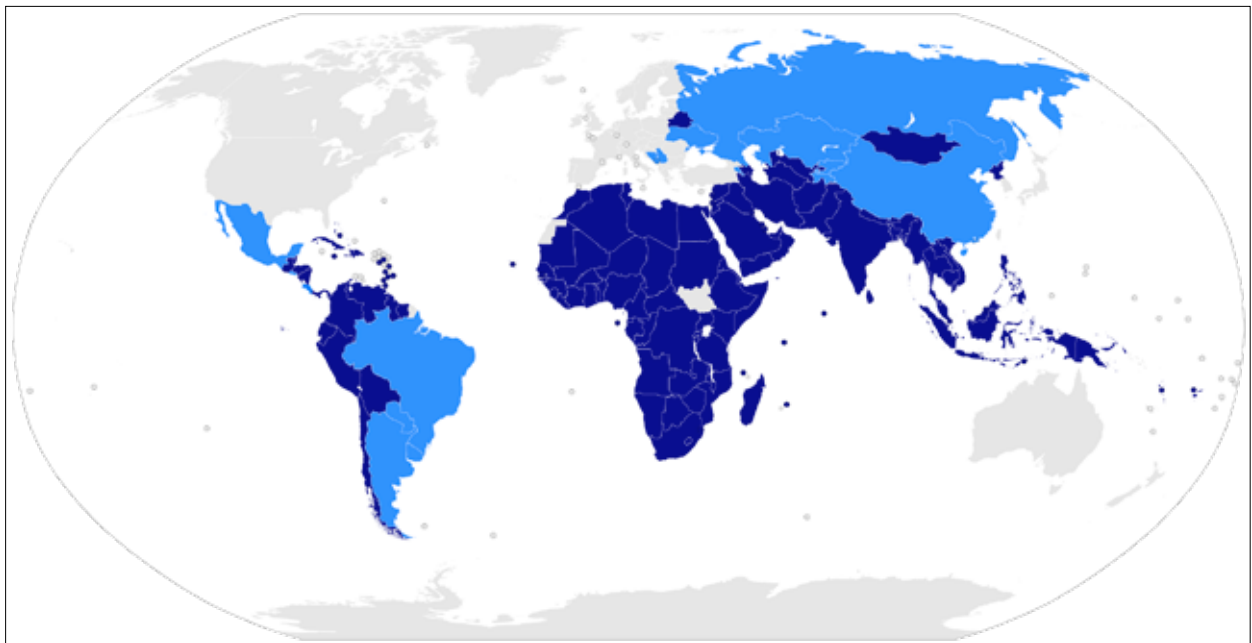
# Current Concerns

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*

## 60 years after the Belgrade Non-Aligned Movement conference A movement for non-alignment is still necessary\*

by Živadin Jovanović



The member- (dark blue) and the observer states (light blue) of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).  
(graphic [wikipedia.org/Current Concerns](http://wikipedia.org/Current Concerns))



Živadin Jovanović  
(picture ev)

cc. This year, Serbia joins 119 states in celebrating the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

In the run-up to the official commemorative summit (see box), on 2 September 2021, the “Non-Aligned Movement Talks” took place

in Belgrade. The organiser of this forum was the Belgrade Museum of African Art (MAA). Participants included high-ranking diplomats (ambassadors), scholars from a number of European countries, including the UK and Austria, historians, students and the general public.

On the occasion of this Forum, the President of the “Belgrade Forum for a World of Equals” and former Foreign

Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Živadin Jovanović gave a remarkable lecture on the topic of the II Panel “Diplomacy of Non-Aligned Yugoslavia”, which we document in the following.

On 11 and 12 October 2021, Belgrade will be the gathering place for high representatives of non-aligned countries to mark the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the First Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement held on 1 to 6 September 1961.

### Non-Aligned Movement 1961 and 2021

At that time, the Movement had 25 members and today it counts 120 members. Serbia preserves the tradition of fruitful cooperation with non-aligned countries, deep mutual respect and trust, and strives to renew and strengthen its friendships under the current new conditions, regardless of the fact that today it has the status of an observer. These days, Belgrade will again be the place from which a joint call will be sent to the “conscience of humanity” of those who are most responsi-

ble for the future of humanity, to ensure peace, tolerance, dialogue and a peaceful coexistence. If 60 years ago a message was sent from Belgrade stating that a bloc confrontation is not inevitable, in the coming days we can send an invitation for – dialogue and tolerance instead of a new alignment and tension.

Non-alignment in foreign policy and self-government in domestic politics were the two pillars of Yugoslavia’s strategy after the Second World War, according to which it was identified and recognised equally in the West, East, North and South. Its economic growth rate was among the highest in the world (after Japan), and education and health care were free. The example of Yugoslavia was at the same time inspiring for the newly liberated and developing countries and questionable for the bloc countries of the East and the West. Today, Serbia emphasises independence, military neutrality and the pursuit of good relations with all important factors in international relations.

\* Presentation at the Forum “NAM Talks”, The Museum of African Arts Belgrade, 2 September 2021.

## Commemorative summit to mark the 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement in Belgrade

*ef.* Largely unnoticed by Western media, the official commemorative summit on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement took place in Belgrade on 11 and 12 October 2021.

The Non-Aligned Movement had been launched in September 1961 at the invitation of the then President of Yugoslavia *Josip Broz Tito*. It was founded together with the then Presidents of India, Indonesia and Egypt *Jawaharlal Nehru*, *Sukarno* and *Gamal Abdal Nasser*: a "third force between East and West" with the goals of decolonisation and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

Today, 120 member countries belong to this movement, as well as 17 observer countries. The observers include all the former Yugoslav republics except Slo-

venia and Northern Macedonia, as well as Argentina, Brazil, China, Ukraine and Russia. The Non-Aligned Movement is the largest group of states in the world after the UN. More than 100 member countries and 9 international organisations participated in this summit with high-ranking state representatives. The Serbian President *Alexandar Vučić* stated in his speech: "The future of equals is the direction in which this movement has moved. This is not just a question of the interests of the countries, but one of the important civilizational movements forward" To the delight of the participants, he also referred to an old African proverb: "If you want to walk fast, walk alone. But if you want to walk far, walk together."

UN Secretary-General *António Guterres* praised the movement "as a forum for consultation and cooperation that consistently promotes peace, cooperation and friendship". As a cornerstone of the global multilateral system, he said, it is as needed today as it was 60 years ago.

Several heads of state and government clearly criticised the accumulation of COVID-19 vaccines by the rich Western countries and called for more solidarity and fairer distribution.

Recently, Serbian Foreign Minister *Nikola Selaković* had visited Lebanon, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Kenya, Angola, Namibia, Egypt and Jordan. He either donated or pledged to donate COVID-19 vaccines to most of these countries.

### "60 years after the Belgrade ..."

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In addition to India, Egypt and Indonesia, Yugoslavia is most responsible for the establishment and political profiling of the Non-Aligned Movement.

#### Yugoslavia and its diplomacy were accepted with great respect and trust

Non-alignment gave Yugoslavia and its diplomacy renewed strength and a lot of space for action on the international stage, for the development of bilateral relations and for strengthening its international reputation and position. Many doors were open to Yugoslav diplomacy because it represented one of the country-leaders of the NAM and adhered to clear principles. She was ready to help others in many fields, from security and defence, through health and nutrition, to education and training of personnel. Her partners were convinced that Yugoslavia respected equality, mutual benefit and, in particular, that it did not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. That is why Yugoslavia and its diplomacy were accepted with great respect and trust.

President *Josip Broz Tito* was a sought-after and welcome interlocutor and guest in all parts of the world, and Belgrade became a major centre for diplomatic activities in all major fields, from politics and security to trade, development, finance and culture. Belgrade was visited not only by the leaders of non-aligned and neighbouring countries, but also by the presidents and monarchs of the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Scandinavian and many other countries. Yugoslavia was the initiator of coordinated activities of neutral and non-aligned European countries for the construction and establishment of the European Security and Cooperation System (CSCE-OSCE).

In the newly liberated countries, Yugoslav diplomats were practically allowed to choose what they needed, from basic working conditions to concessions for Yugoslav companies in economic areas that were of strategic importance such as oil or the most sought-after mineral resources. Under those conditions, the cooperation depended more on its credit potential and the capacity of the enterprise in the field of investments, construction and industry to accept large projects and jobs, than on any obstacles, preconceptions or reservations of the clients. Of course, Yugoslav companies were able to withstand even the fiercest competition in tenders for projects financed by world financial institutions.

#### Call to dialogue and easing of tensions – also topical today

The NAM has been engaged in many important fields. Considering the reality at the time, the most important has been the struggle for peace, prevention of a nuclear conflict and global confrontation, in general. In this regard noteworthy is the appeal that the participants of the first NAM summit in Belgrade addressed to the leaders of the two superpowers – USA and USSR – calling them to dialogue and easing of tensions. Is it not valuable today too?

The strategy of the NAM encompassed the strife to conclude decolonisation, prevention of neo-colonialism, defence against the pressures of military-political and ideological blocs, as well as the acceleration of socio-economic development. Strengthening the mutual cooperation of the non-aligned countries, known as the South-South cooperation, accelerated the economic and political emancipation of the non-aligned countries and gave Yugoslavia, as a more developed developing country, the opportunity to take advantage of its knowledge and technologies.

#### Yugoslavia's achievements as a reliable partner

The non-aligned countries accepted Yugoslavia as the most reliable partner in economic development, strengthening the achieved independence and the democratisation of international relations through the UN system. Sometimes the expectations from Yugoslavia were unrealistic and even idealistic. There were, for example, such requests from some non-aligned countries for Yugoslavia to take over the management of large abandoned naval bases of former colonial metropolises. Yugoslavia, among other things, chaired the group of 17 non-aligned countries assigned to oversee Namibia's independence process, and initiated the establishment of the Non-Aligned New Agencies Pool.

Thanks to the founding of the NAM and its decades-old operation as an independent factor on the international scene, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) gained a large number of close friends and reliable partners. Cooperation and coordinated activities of the Movement within the UN, and in multilateral activities in general, proved to be especially effective. It was not just a "voting machine" but a strong and unavoidable organism with many new and courageous initiatives that even the most powerful powers could not ignore. That is why the Movement was able to make a great contribution to the democratisation of the work of the UN, as well as international relations as a whole. The assessments and positions of the Yugoslav diplomacy on important international issues and ways of resolving them were received with great respect and in most cases, supported and accepted.

Having been more developed than most developing countries, with a highly developed construction, hydro-construction,

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**"60 years after the Belgrade ..."**

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machine tool, food production, and pharmaceutical industry, together with other capabilities, the Yugoslav economy, with the support of an ever agile and highly professional diplomacy, was able to provide new markets, sources of raw materials, engagements in the fields of science, technology, education and mass media. Yugoslavia and its diplomacy also played the role of a bridge between developing countries and the developed world, Europe in particular.

**Notable projects in Latin America and Africa**

Over the past decades, the Yugoslav construction industry has accomplished many respectable projects. Just a single company from Belgrade, Energoprojekt, built a water system known as *Chira-Piura* in Peru, worth about USD 1.4 billion, which changed the region's appearance and contributed to its long-term development. The same company built in Kenya two hydro-electric power plants on the Tana River, water and sewage systems in Nairobi and Thika, conference halls, housing estates in Lusaka (Zambia), Harare (Zimbabwe), Accra (Ghana). In several African countries, the *Zemun Polje* Seed Institute, Belgrade, has developed the production of corn seeds adapted to African climatic conditions, thus helping to solve the problem of nutrition. There are many similar examples of other highly regarded Yugoslav companies with implemented strategic projects around the world. Yugoslav companies have made a great contribution to solving one of the most important problems of African countries – irrigation and water supply (Kenya, Tunisia, Libya, Angola).

Yugoslavia was a widely accepted partner for cooperation in the fields of security, defence and the military industry. Many newly liberated countries were ready to equip themselves with military equipment, weapons, clothing and footwear from Yugoslavia, and thousands of officers and experts were educated and trained at military academies and other institutions in Serbia and other former Yugoslav republics.

**Nineties: Sanctions against Yugoslavia – Diplomacy under difficult conditions**

In the 1990s, FR Yugoslavia was under sanctions that have not been recorded in the recent history of international relations, with depleted foreign exchange reserves, no foreign trade, no access to international financial institutions. One of the tasks of the Yugoslav diplomacy was to secure the collection of debts from partners among the non-aligned countries in order to alleviate the lack of foreign currency at least to some extent. A colleague, the charge d'affaires of the Yugoslav em-

bassy in an African non-aligned country, by intervening at the highest government level, secured the collection of a large debt related to completed investment projects. In the conditions of that time, it was an immense contribution to mitigating the consequences of the blockades of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Following an expedited procedure, she was promoted to ambassador, about which the entire diplomatic network was informed.

This remains as an example of superior professionalism and sacrifice of the Yugoslav diplomacy under difficult conditions, but also an example of understanding and solidarity of non-aligned partners towards FR Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

There were also cases where the Yugoslav side owed money to other non-aligned countries, which at the time of the sanctions renounced part of their claims or postponed the return of the debt for better times.

our consciousness if after 5 October 2000, the ambassadors of the so-called "Quint" (USA, UK, Germany, France, Italy) call on Serbian leaders and dictate to them who can and who cannot be a member of the new government, and decide what is important for the government and what is not?! If in the years of self-governance and non-alignment we had the Korčula Summer School<sup>1</sup>, where in our "democracy" is there something akin to that school today? Or, perhaps, we should all believe that today's system of liberal, multinational corporate capitalism is perfect, so that any thought of change is unnecessary!

Occasionally, I meet foreign researchers, historians and analysts who are interested whether there is literature in Belgrade on non-alignment and self-governance in any of the world's languages. It is clear that none of them are interested in it because "they" deal with "larplartism", or because they

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**"Today, the process of multipolarisation of global relations is in a phase from which there is no return to the bipolar or unipolar order. The non-aligned countries have a great interest in supporting this process because it opens wide avenues for the democratisation of global relations, peace and stability, and thus for the economic and social progress of all, especially underdeveloped countries."**

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**An active commitment to peace, dialogue and coexistence is also urgently needed today**

Under conditions when the non-aligned countries were heavily pressured by the blocs to choose between one or the other ideology and system of socio-economic organisation, the NAM decided on the principles of active peaceful coexistence as the essence and basis of its strategy. This included the freedom to choose the development path of the internal socio-economic system while respecting the specificities of every country individually, i.e., that the diversity of ideologies and paths of development must not be a reason to interfere in the internal affairs or violate the principle of sovereign equality. Ready-made recipes for political and economic systems were not accepted, coming from either the East or the West. It is not superfluous to ask oneself what the state is today regarding the respect for specificities and the freedom of choice of internal development paths, the non-interference in internal affairs under any pretext.

If in those years, as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, from 1948 onwards, we fought for the independent regulation of political and social relations, despite accusations of revisionism, what has changed in

want to copy, graft, mechanically combine. Such questions come from people who have realised that the current retrograde and dehumanising liberal-capitalist system has become unsustainable, who do not believe in the effectiveness of beauticians from Davos or similar world salons, those who have the will and courage to think about a new humanly shaped system.

Thus, the Non-Aligned Movement and conference in Belgrade had the goal to stop global confrontation before it was too late, especially to prevent a global nuclear conflict, to encourage dialogue and coexistence in diversity. Are we today, 60 years after the First NAM Conference in Belgrade, free from global confrontation, new classifications, arms races, militarisation? The dangers are still our reality today; the global economic, health, security, environmental, migrant and other trends, apart from multipolarisation, are not encouraging. Nevertheless, the most important are the state of mind, consciousness and political will. We believe that the upcoming jubilee of the NAM and the large gathering in Belgrade will not take place in the format of a protocolary event, but rather as an impulse for the "largest peace movement" to

# Casualties and costs of Cold Wars

## The negotiating table is the only way

by Karl-Jürgen Müller

*The term “Cold War” is a dangerous euphemism if it implies that it was not a real armed encounter and thus not so grave. Some people in our Western countries remember the first Cold War and will think that life was not so bad back then. The following article is intended to show that this means that the hot wars in the Cold War, the millions of human victims of a Cold War and the billions of costs – also at the expense of fundamental political, economic, and social tasks – are being ignored.*

Whatever one may call the current relationship between the “West” on the one hand and states such as Russia and China on the other, the fact is that relations have increasingly deteriorated in recent years and continue to escalate. Never-

“No one has yet been able to convincingly explain why serious diplomacy should not also, and even especially, be sought in the new Cold War. There is, however, one precondition: All parties involved must want serious diplomatic steps and an easing of the situation, and it must be about more than PR actions.”

theless, many of us in the West – especially those in positions of political responsibility and in the leading media, or so one gets the impression – think that this is exactly the right path to “success”. Hadn’t the first Cold War been won without a major armed conflict precisely by showing “strength” in the first half of the

1980s – breaking off relations with the Soviet Union in many areas, entangling the country in a war with many victims in Afghanistan, rearming massively and thus also driving the Soviet Union into bankruptcy!

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### “60 years after the Belgrade ...”

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raise awareness for the need of a stronger engagement by all, especially those responsible for peace, dialogue and coexistence.

#### Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries

One of the fundamental goals of the Non-Aligned Movement is to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country. Can we count how many sovereign states have been broken up in the meantime, how many nations have been torn apart, turned into national minorities, refugees, migrants? SFR Yugoslavia, the co-founder of the UN, the OSCE, the NAM, a country with a unique internal socio-economic system, self-governance and non-alignment, was broken by active action from outside and through exponents from within. It was not a spontaneous, nor a process that we can understand only by analysing the behaviour of internal role bearers. After that, the creators and executors of the geopolitics of the most powerful forces of the West, broke up the FRY, the community of Serbia and Montenegro. Now, even Serbia is too big for them, so, by force and machinations, they are trying to crush it as well. It is high time that the matter was returned to the UN Security Council, where it was from the beginning, before the development gets out of control.

#### Policy and goals of the Non-Alignment Movement still relevant and necessary today

The policies and goals of the Non-Aligned Movement are still relevant and needed

today. The methods of the Cold War, the policy of divide and conquer, the division and classification into democratic and autocratic countries, attempts to establish new “curtains” and “walls”, gross interference in internal affairs, the ominous widening gap between rich and poor countries and people – are part of the harsh reality. The arms race today consumes USD 1.5 trillion a year. What would Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Somalia and other disintegrated, devastated and ill-fated countries look like if trillions of USD were invested in development instead of destruction, would there be as many waves of mass refugees and migrants as we have today?! While the EU is still unable to agree on “quotas” for old and new refugees, it seems that someone is thinking that the Balkans, among all the other problems, should be converted into a gathering place or quarantine for these unfortunate people, women and children, whom the “coalition of the willing” forced to flee? It is clear that many of them who come have difficulties handling anything other than weapons. Who and in the name of what is forcing the Balkan countries to accept on their weak shoulders the burden of catastrophic mistakes of the richest and most powerful powers in the world?

The establishment of the movement in 1961 can also be seen as the beginning of the creation of a multipolar world. In addition to two military-political alliances and two opposing ideologies. A new force has been created that opposes divisions and confrontations and that strongly supports the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, sovereign equality, non-interference in internal affairs, mutually beneficial cooperation, non-membership

in blocs, non-acceptance of foreign military bases. Today, the process of multipolarisation of global relations is in a phase from which there is no return to the bipolar or unipolar order. The non-aligned countries have a great interest in supporting this process because it opens wide avenues for the democratisation of global relations, peace and stability, and thus for the economic and social progress of all, especially underdeveloped countries.

Belgrade is the birthplace of the Non-Aligned Movement. Celebrating the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the existence and activities of the NAM is an opportunity to breathe freshness and new energy into the movement, and for Belgrade to confirm its historical role as a place where ideas of peace, dialogue and progress come from. Although Serbia is an observer in the Movement today, it inherits its most valuable achievements. That is why the NAM is still an important partner for Serbia in the sense of economic, political, scientific, technical and other forms of cooperation. It is especially important for Serbia that the vast majority of the 120 non-aligned countries supports its sovereignty and territorial integrity, and treats UN Security Council Resolution 1244 as an immutable basis for a peaceful, balanced and sustainable solution to the issue regarding the Province of Kosovo and Metohija. •

<sup>1</sup> Between 1963 and 1974, critical intellectuals from East and West met on the island of Korčula for an annual “summer school”. Transcending the borders of the Cold War, the summer school was a place of exchange and the search for a political perspective in the sense of a “humanistic socialism”. The organisers were a group of Yugoslavian philosophers and social scientists who published the journal *Praxis*. (Editor’s note)

(Translation from Serbian to English *Mirko Lukovic*)

**"Casualties and costs of Cold Wars"**

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**Strength instead of "appeasement"?**

*Dmytro Kuleba*, Ukraine's foreign minister, expressed this view again in an article for the US magazine *Foreign Affairs* on 10 December 2021 – 30 years after the end of the first Cold War: "The West must respond to Russia with strength, not appeasement". The word "appeasement" is not chosen at random. It is not only an unmistakable allusion to the common accusation against the Western powers and their relations with National Socialist Germany before the Second World War, and especially regarding the "Munich Agreement" of September 1938, when the Western powers of the time (above all Great Britain and France) had allowed National Socialist Germany to pursue its aggressive power policy for far too long due to weakness and misjudgements. The result was

the Second World War. But this word "appeasement" also contains a sharp political judgement on today's Russia.

**First Cold War – a hair's breadth away from nuclear world destruction**

This is how one suppresses the dangers of a policy of "strength". Even in the first Cold War, a third world war could very well have occurred. In the fall of 1962, during the Cuban Missile Crisis, the world was on the brink of such a nuclear third world war. At that time, too, there were forces in the Soviet Union and in the USA that were counting on "strength" and wanted to go to war. But the politicians ultimately responsible at the time, above all the then US President *Kennedy* and the General Secretary of the CPSU *Khrushchev*, ultimately relied on diplomacy and were only able to defuse the crisis in this way. The later statement of the then US

Secretary of Defence *McNamara* – "In the end we lucked out. It was luck that we prevented nuclear war" – cannot be quoted often enough.

**Millions of victims nevertheless**

But even without a nuclear war, the first Cold War caused millions of victims and billions of costs. The "proxy wars" in the first Cold War are worth mentioning. The Korean War cost the lives of more than 4.5 million people, the Vietnam War almost three million and the first Afghanistan War from 1979 more than one million – in each of these wars mainly civilians. Many other Cold War theatres of war should be added. On 3 March 2016, the German newspaper "Die Welt" wrote: "At least 22 million dead in around 150 military conflicts: That is the balance sheet of the confronta-

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**"These manipulations are annoying"****Vladimir Putin's speech at the annual expanded meeting of the Defence Ministry Board at the National Defence Control Centre on 21 December 2021 (excerpt)**

The military political situation in the world remains complicated, with increased conflict potential and new seats of tension in several regions. In particular, the growth of the US and NATO military forces in direct proximity to the Russian border and major military drills, including unscheduled ones, are a cause for concern.

It is extremely alarming that elements of the US global defence system are being deployed near Russia. The Mk 41 launchers, which are located in Romania and are to be deployed in Poland, are adapted for launching the *Tomahawk* strike missiles. If this infrastructure continues to move forward, and if US and NATO missile systems are deployed in Ukraine, their flight time to Moscow will be only 7–10 minutes, or even five minutes for hypersonic systems. This is a huge challenge for us, for our security.

In this context, as you are aware, I invited the US President to start talks on the drafting of concrete agreements. Incidentally, during our conversation he actually proposed appointing senior officials to oversee this sphere. It was in response to his proposal that we drafted our proposals on precluding the further eastward expansion of NATO and the deployment of offensive strike systems in the countries bordering on Russia. As you are aware, we have sent the drafts of relevant agreements to our American colleagues and the NATO leadership.

We need long-term legally binding guarantees. Well, we know very well that even legal guarantees cannot be completely fail-safe, because the United States easily pulls out of any international treaty that has ceased to be interesting to it for some reason, sometimes of-

fering explanations and sometimes not, as was the case with the ABM and the *Open Skies* treaties – nothing at all.

However, we need at least something, at least a legally binding agreement rather than just verbal assurances. We know the worth of such verbal assurances, fine words and promises. Take the recent past, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when we were told that our concerns about NATO's potential expansion eastwards were absolutely groundless. And then we saw five waves of the bloc's eastward expansion. Do you remember how it happened? All of you are adults. It happened at a time when Russia's relations with the United States and main member states of NATO were cloudless, if not completely allied.

I have already said this in public and will remind you of this again: American specialists were permanently present at the nuclear arms facilities of the Russian Federation. They went to their office there every day, had desks and an American flag. Wasn't this enough? What else is required? US advisors worked in the Russian Government, career CIA officers gave their advice. What else did they want? What was the point of supporting separatism in the North Caucasus, with the help of even ISIS – well, if not ISIS, there were other terrorist groups. They obviously supported terrorists. What for? What was the point of expanding NATO and withdrawing from the ABM Treaty?

They are to blame for what is happening in Europe now, for the escalation of tensions there. Russia had to respond at every step, and the situation was continuously going from bad to worse. It was deteriorating all the time. And here we are today, in a situation when we are forced

to resolve it: After all, we cannot allow the scenario I mentioned. Is anyone unable to grasp this? This should be clear.

Sometimes I wonder: Why did they do all this in the then conditions? This is unclear. I think the reason lies in the euphoria from the victory in the so-called Cold War or the so-called victory in the Cold War. This was due to their wrong assessment of the situation at that time, due to their unprofessional, wrong analysis of probable scenarios. There are simply no other reasons.

I would like to emphasise again: we are not demanding any special exclusive terms for ourselves. Russia stands for equal and indivisible security in the whole of Eurasia.

Naturally, as I have already noted, if our Western colleagues continue their obviously aggressive line, we will take appropriate military-technical reciprocal measures and will have a tough response to their unfriendly steps. And, I would like to stress that we are fully entitled to these actions that are designed to ensure Russia's security and independence.

As we know well, they are operating thousands of kilometres away from their national territory under different pretexts, including the need to ensure their own security. When international law and the UN Charter get in their way, they declare them obsolete and unnecessary. However, when something meets their interests, they immediately refer to the norms of international law, the UN Charter, international humanitarian law and so on. These manipulations are annoying.

Source: <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/67402> of 21 December 2021

### "Casualties and costs of Cold Wars"

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tion of the Western democratic world with the Soviet communist bloc between 1945 and 1990. In the Third World, unlike in Europe, the Cold War was pretty hot for a long time." The newspaper added: "In the consciousness in this country, this dimension does not play a role. That is understandable in view of the relief that the threat of nuclear overkill has failed to materialise. But this way the picture remains incomplete."

These wars also caused enormous material destruction, and the arms expenditure swallowed up trillions – money that was lacking for other state tasks, for the common good.

### The political costs of a Cold War

One must also talk about the political costs. In 2016, "Die Welt" spoke of the "Western democratic world" – but these "democracies" suffered massively from the warfare of their countries. Just a few references here: to the military-industrial complex and its growing, democratically non-legitimised political power, which even a departing US president warned against in his farewell speech in the 1950s; to the violent sabotage of independent developments in the former European colonies under the sign of the Cold War and the continuation of oppression and exploitation – the Congo is just one example of many in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

And how do the past 30 years after the end of the first Cold War look in this respect? It is an open secret that NATO's war against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, NATO's war against Afghanistan in 2001, the war of the USA and its "coalition of the willing" against Iraq in 2003, NATO's wars against Libya in 2011 and against Syria since 2011 also must be seen in the geopolitical context of the confrontation between the great powers USA, Russia, and China. This applies no less to NATO's eastward expansion, to the EU's "eastern partnerships" – and not least to the situation in today's Ukraine.

How many more victims are there to be?

### Paving the way for diplomacy and the negotiating table

No one has yet been able to convincingly explain why serious diplomacy should not

### "Containing NATO expansion is crucial for Russia's national security"

cc. *The Mexican daily newspaper "La Jornada" is one of the most renowned newspapers in Latin America. On 24 December 2021, it wrote in its editorial:*

«Russian President *Vladimir Putin* assessed the first reactions of the United States to the settlement of the crisis in Ukraine as 'positive'. According to the president, his 'American partners' are ready to 'start this discussion, these negotiations, early this year in Geneva', which could open the door to détente after months of escalating statements in which the Kremlin accuses the West of threatening its borders and seeking NATO's eastward expansion, while Washington and the European Union claim Russia is preparing to invade neighbouring Ukraine.

Containing NATO expansion is crucial for Russia's national security, and Putin

has made it clear that any new membership of former Soviet states would be unacceptable. It should be recalled that the non-expansion of the Atlantic Alliance was one of the commitments made by the West in the agreements following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and that the continued violation of this agreement has resulted in Russia being almost completely surrounded by hostile and heavily armed countries on its western flank.

The conflict in Ukraine is of utmost importance not only for those directly involved, but also for the entire international community, as it is one of the two disputes that could lead to an armed clash between the great powers and thus destabilise the entire world."

Source: *La Jornada* of 24 December 2021  
(Translation Current Concerns)

also, and even especially, be sought in the new Cold War. There is, however, one precondition: All parties involved must want serious diplomatic steps and an easing of the situation, and it must be about more than PR actions.

If one studies the statements from Russia and China and the political goals of both countries, there is much to suggest that they cannot have any interest in a further escalation. However, it remains to be seen to what extent they believe in the possibility of a negotiated solution in the short term at the moment and after the experiences of the past years – because this also requires real negotiating partners.

And what about the leaders in our Western countries? Are they counting on negotiations? Or do they believe that they can "win" a second Cold War without a major armed conflict?

*But then the question for us citizens is what we can do to challenge such a belief, to decisively reject escalation and violence and to open a door – from our side – to diplomacy and the negotiating table.*

P S: On 15 December 2021, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation handed over two draft treaties to the US representatives in the country, one entitled "Agreement on Ensuring the Security of the Russian Federation and the Member States of NATO", another

entitled "Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on Security Guarantees". Both treaty drafts are about three pages long, were also published on 17 December together with a press release by the Russian Foreign Ministry and can be read on the Ministry's website in Russian and English.

It must be left open at this point whether these two texts and the accompanying Russian statements surrounding them can provide a decisive impetus for negotiations. Anyone reading the texts will easily recognise the public position of the Russian Federation on many points. But it is still miles away from what has been publicly advocated so far in the USA and NATO. The first quick reactions of German-language media therefore also showed a sharp rejection of the Russian demands. In the meantime, however, there seem to be a few responsible voices in the USA and Europe who have perhaps realised the seriousness of the situation. What is happening behind the scenes, as so often, eludes the knowledge of all outsiders – and we citizens, who should also express our opinion, are still absorbed with COVID-19. Hence, now we can only hope that there are new insights at the crucial institutions and that we are spared a further escalation of the conflict. •

# Building a Just World Order

by Professor Dr Dr h. c. mult. Hans Köchler



*Building a Just World Order*<sup>1</sup> is an impressive compendium of Alfred de Zayas' insights and conclusions as *United Nations Independent Expert on the promotion of a democratic and equitable international order* in the period from 2012 to 2018. One might also characterize the volume as an almanac of world order and international law, covering some of the most crucial issues of our time. The author's assignment as "Independent Expert" was the first such mission within the UN system. In this collection of his reports de Zayas presents the summa of his scholarly and practical experience in the framework of the mandate of the UN Human Rights Council. He offers a unique synthesis of theory and practice, of legal theory and specific proposals of implementation – and he does so with an approach of methodological as well as institutional self-reflection that enables him to (re)define the meaning of expert work in a global intergovernmental organization such as the UN – beyond and above the role of a mere "guardian of the status quo." In his opinion, an Independent Expert must have the "courage to formulate unpopular recommendations." As the reader notices throughout this extensive collection, this also means to question existing paradigms and to challenge the mindset of political correctness, if necessary, for the sake of intellectual honesty and moral integrity.

The present volume contains the substance of the author's altogether 14 reports to the Human Rights Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations, together with his explanatory remarks and additional reflections. He covers a wide range of topics and problems that are crucial for just and equitable relations between peoples and states (e.g., peace as human right; the right of self-determination; non-interference in the internal affairs of states; the rule of law and the right to truth; taxation and human rights; policies of international economic and financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, and their impact on human rights). Of particular importance to contemporary debates on world order and the role of the United Nations are the author's reflections on humanitarian intervention, economic sanctions, territorial integrity, and a comprehensive, not merely formal (or procedural) understanding of democracy (with the overarching principle of social justice).

With his focus on the intersection of power and law, de Zayas is able to present a wealth of creative ideas for a reform of the UN system, whether in regard

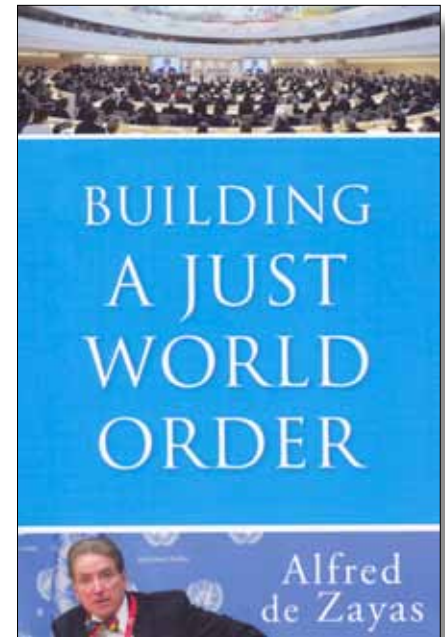
to Charter amendment or organizational procedures. His proposals benefit from the meticulous exposition and examination of core concepts of a just world order such as "democracy," "equity" and "rule of law." What is almost unique in today's discourse on world affairs is the author's ability to relate the concepts to fundamental questions of philosophy and to bring in the concise wisdom of the Classics.

Of special interest to scholars of international law are the author's innovative categorization of human rights and the "25 principles of international order" that constitute the gist of his experience and analysis as Independent Expert. He criticizes the conventional formalistic distinction between human rights of the first, second and third generation and instead proposes a new "functional paradigm" for human rights, rooted in the concept of human dignity. In his approach he distinguishes between four categories:

- 1 enabling rights (e.g., right to food);
- 2 inherent rights (e.g., right to life);
- 3 instrumental rights (e.g., right to due process); and
- 4 outcome rights (e.g., right to identity, privacy, etc.).

All these are interrelated and mutually reinforcing rights. Also, against the background of international power politics, he convincingly exposes the dangerous "weaponization" of human rights and the risks of "norms-warfare" ("lawfare") as tactics that undermine and erode the credibility of the international legal system.

Most useful in terms of guidelines for United Nations practice are the author's "25 principles." Starting with peace as the "paramount" principle of international order, he describes the norms and procedures of the United Nations Charter and the resolutions and decisions of the UN Security Council as foundation of today's global system. He further focuses on specific principles such as human dignity; the right to self-determination; territorial integrity; the right to international solidarity as a human right; and the right to know, which includes access to reliable information. At the meta-level, he introduces, as principles, certain basic rules for the interpretation and implementation of the norms of the international order. Among those, he lists *Montesquieu's* maxim of the *esprit des lois* and the postulates that (a) laws must be applied in uniformity and that (b) violations of international law by the most powerful states must not be seen as creating legal precedents. In all the analyses and recommendations presented in this volume, the author is always aware that "principles and norms are not self-executing." A normative or *idealist* approach must be



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embedded in a *realist* assessment. In his words: "Enforcement is the measure of international order."

The theoretical conclusions from his experience "in the field" are always to the point and avoid the superficiality of UN officialdom. His remarks on one of the buzzwords of today's global discourse – the "rule of law" – are of particular interest in that regard. In de Zayas' assessment, a merely formal, or positivistic, approach is not enough. Criticizing legal positivism, he is convinced that law always reflects power imbalances and that the "rule of law" should be transformed into the "rule of justice."

In addition, de Zayas' critique of unilateral coercive measures, exemplified in the detailed country report on Venezuela, is a substantial contribution to the ongoing debate on the scope and application of state sovereignty. His observations on that basic concept of world order also touch upon a major problem of international democracy. A fresh look is certainly needed at the UN Charter's principle of sovereign *equality* of all member states. In view of global power imbalances, the author speaks of the merely "theoretical equality of the Westphalian state system" and raises *inter alia* the question of weighted voting. Huge differences in terms of the population size of member states may indeed make a reassessment of the rule of "one state, one vote" within the UN system unavoidable.

Another important insight in the book relates to the concept of territorial integrity in its relation to the princi-

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# New York's de Blasio seeks to emulate Zurich's "Needle Park"

by Bob Barr, Georgia



Bob Barr  
(picture ma)

Zurich, Switzerland, is a major international financial center sitting at the northern tip of its namesake lake. Beginning in 1987 and continuing until 1992, however, this beautiful Swiss city was home to "Needle Park," an exper-

iment in illicit drug usage that went horribly wrong, and with consequences that plagued the city for years thereafter.

Three decades after Switzerland's heroin debacle, a new generation of "woke" mayors, prosecutors and governors in the United States is hoping to create Americanised versions of Needle Park.

Advocates of "Safe Injection Facilities," or "SIFs," apparently believe that drug addicts are actually being helped if they are provided with needles and other necessary drug paraphernalia and offered a safe place to "shoot up." In this Bizarro World, facilitating drug use will lessen drug use.

History is less kind and has shown us that encouraging public use of illicit and highly addictive controlled substances such as heroin and methamphetamine is not such a good idea, especially when, as now in many major American cities, violent crime rates are on the upswing, law enforcement presence is declining and the homeless population is increasing.

Undaunted by such reality, the soon-to-be-ex-Mayor of New York City, *Bill de Blasio*, is proposing to carve out at least two areas in the Big Apple, including one in Harlem on Manhattan's upper west side, where drug users would be permitted to openly inject drugs of their choos-

"Advocates of 'Safe Injection Facilities', or 'SIFs', apparently believe that drug addicts are actually being helped if they are provided with needles and other necessary drug paraphernalia and offered a safe place to 'shoot up'. In this Bizarro World, facilitating drug use will lessen drug use. History is less kind and has shown us that encouraging public use of illicit and highly addictive controlled substances such as heroin and methamphetamine is not such a good idea, especially when, as now in many major American cities, violent crime rates are on the upswing, law enforcement presence is declining and the homeless population is increasing."

ing without fear of arrest or harassment by public officials. This move comes on the heels of legislation signed last month by Gov. *Kathy Hochul* decriminalising possession or sale of disposable hypodermic needles used by drug dealers and users.

Those who favor legalisation of controlled substances such as heroin and methamphetamine, and who also support government action facilitating the use of the substances, have urged actions such as that which New York is now attempting going back to the 1970s. It was this so-called "harm reduction" philosophy that led to Zurich's notorious Needle Park (which actually increased drug overdoses and HIV cases).

Democrat-run cities in the United States, including San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Philadelphia and, of course, New York, have toyed with the concept of SIFs for years, but at least to this point federal prosecutors and courts have been less than consistently sympathetic to such efforts.

For example, while a federal district court judge in Philadelphia issued an opin-

ion in late 2019 that would have allowed a SIF known as "Safehouse" to operate in the City of Brotherly Love, early this year an appellate court panel reversed that opinion. In its ruling, the Third Circuit Court of Appeals held that the proposed SIF would violate the federal "crack house law," a 1986 law making it illegal to operate a facility that engages in or facilitates the use or distribution of any controlled substance.

While that 1986 "crack house law" was passed with the strong support of then-Sen. *Joe Biden*, for those who now are advocating for a radical shift in public drug policy, President Biden's Attorney General *Merrick Garland* is seen as a potential lifeline.

When de Blasio announced his latest free drug-use zone proposal last month, for example, he happily noted that "we have a new administration in Washington" with "the kind of potential cooperation we needed."

Using public money to establish and maintain areas or facilities where drug users are provided a safe haven to inject themselves with substances such as heroin remains a dream actively pursued by de Blasio and his leftist colleagues in other "deep blue" cities.

Many of these drug zone advocates view the establishment of such areas as the logical next step to the *Obama* administration's policy of not prosecuting the vast majority marijuana-related offenses. This hardly is or should be the case. •

## "Building a Just World Order"

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ple of national sovereignty. Referring to a Judgment of the *International Court of Justice*, de Zayas opines that the concept is confined to the sphere of relations between states, in consequence of the Charter's principle of sovereign equality. Accordingly, in the author's assessment, territorial integrity applies to the *external*, not the *internal* (domestic) realm. Not surprisingly, in some major international disputes in recent years the challenge was how to avoid a normative conflict between "sovereignty" (of states) on the one hand, and "self-determination" (of peoples) on the other.

The idea, advocated by the author, of the United Nations Charter as World Constitution and of the International Court of Justice as a World Constitutional Court may still have a long way to go. De Zayas, nonetheless, has set out the path – by

- 1 *clarifying* the norms,
- 2 *devising* elements of a comprehensive and consistent order of those norms (in defiance of the double standards of power politics), and
- 3 *relating* the normative system to the social, economic and political realities of today's world. •

<sup>1</sup> de Zayas, Alfred. *Building a Just World Order*. Atlanta, GA (USA): Clarity Press, 2021, xiv + 466 pp., ISBN 978-1-949762-42-6

\* *Bob Barr* represented Georgia's Seventh District in the US House of Representatives from 1995 to 2003. He served as the United States Attorney in Atlanta from 1986 to 1990 and was an official with the CIA in the 1970s. He now practices law in Atlanta, Georgia and serves as head of *Liberty Guard*. 30 years ago, he had the opportunity to get an on-site impression of Zurich's Needle Park "Platzspitz".



# Drug policy at the time of the “Platzspitz” and its continuation

by Sabina Geissbühler-Strupler\*

On the board of our Swiss association “Eltern gegen Drogen” (Parents against Drugs), founded at the beginning of the nineties and of which I am president, some people are involved who were in some way affected by the misery of addicts at that time.

At that time other associations were also founded to fight against the drug policy of the ideologically motivated legalisation lobby, for example “Gesunde Jugend” (Healthy Youth), “Jugend ohne Drogen” (Youth without Drugs), “Ärzte gegen Drogen” (Doctors against Drugs), “Vereinigung ehemals Süchtiger” (Association of Former Addicts).

In the German-speaking part of Switzerland, the positions of the media, the welfare and social services, but also the drug policy were occupied by so-called experts in addiction issues. Their strategy was that the state had to grant every individual “the right to be allowed to consume drugs”. The state itself should grow or buy “clean narcotics”, control them and dispense them at the expense of the health insurance companies. To get the Swiss population to agree to this plan, drug trafficking and consumption were allowed to continue in the cities without police intervention until the misery in the open drug scenes was obvious. Also the safety of the population was no longer guaranteed. With gruesome footage of the open drug scenes, the media tried to change public opinion in favour of drug liberalisation and a yes to state distribution of narcotics such as methadone and heroin.

At that time, hundreds of scientific studies on the dangers of cannabis use were available, but these were ignored by the responsible so-called “Suchtexperten” (addiction experts). Parents, members of the authorities and politicians were also often poorly informed. The fact that cannabis impairs concentration, reaction, performance and memory, and can often lead to school drop-outs and drop-outs from teaching, was suppressed. The fact that smoking pot can be responsible for the onset of psychosis or schizophrenia could already be read about in various scientific publications in the 1990s.

\* Sabina Geissbühler-Strupler, primary school and federally certified gymnastics and sports teacher, President of the Swiss Association “Parents against Drugs”, Halen 18, 3037 Herrenschwanden, +41 (0) 31 302 3292.

## What about the situation concerning drugs in Switzerland ourdays?

gl. Switzerland is still an important center of drug abuse. The large open drug scenes have more or less disappeared. Instead, drug consumption takes place in private homes, clubs or elsewhere. State-financed drug distribution programmes have been established, while abstinence-oriented treatment facilities have been closed. In 1994, 14,000 drug addicts received substitution treatment (64 % of them methadone); since 1999, the number remained more or less stable at 17,000 to 18,000 people ([https://zahlen-fakten.suchtschweiz.ch/docs/library/labhart\\_rq5zqh2rifkh.pdf](https://zahlen-fakten.suchtschweiz.ch/docs/library/labhart_rq5zqh2rifkh.pdf)). More than half of them are now 45-55 years old. This shows that the junkies from the “Platzspitz era” who never got off drugs are now getting their substance from the state. The majority of these people receive support from disability insurance or social welfare. There exist no studies about their health, psychological and family problems.

Switzerland is also the sad frontrunner in Europe concerning cannabis and cocaine use among the young generation today. In 2017 (the latest figure available from the Federal Office for Public Health),

22% of young men aged 15–24 have used cannabis within the last year (<https://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/de/home/statistiken/gesundheit/determinanten/illegale-drogen.html>).

Among 15-year-old boys about 13.7 % have used cannabis within the last month. One has to take into account the significantly higher THC content today. There exist neither studies about the question how many young people have to quit their apprenticeship every year because of their drug problems nor how many end up in psychiatric clinics and constantly suffer from cannabis psychosis. Most likely, the figures are alarming. Cocaine consumption is also very high in Switzerland. In the comparative analysis of wastewater in 70 European cities, four Swiss cities – St. Gallen, Zurich, Basel and Geneva – were among the top ten in 2020.

Real, effective drug prevention has not been taking place since the nineties. Drugs continue to be downplayed and the goal is propagated as “the right way to deal” with them. Is this how we want to educate the next generation to help address our problems today?

## Dangerous trivialisation and availability of addictive substances

At that time, I was a concerned mother of four teenagers. It was suggested to young people that intoxicants were part of a cool lifestyle. It was also possible to get drugs anywhere, and there were more and more addicts who could pump themselves full of drugs for years without being bothered.

Today, unfortunately, the same drug legalisation lobby is again pulling out all the stops to further water down and undermine the narcotics law and, most recently, to make it absurd with an “experimentation” article. This would lead to the destruction of many more lives.

## Jeanne Hersch: Freedom and drug use are mutually exclusive

Fortunately, we found support at that time from courageous people like Professor Jeanne Hersch, a philosophy professor in Geneva. She followed the development of Swiss drug policy with great concern and took the following stand: “Freedom of choice is an essential part of being human. Drug use, however, prevents people from

being truly human. The drug user loses his freedom and his ability to take responsibility for himself and others. That is why it is a pure perversion of thought to claim that it is part of human rights to be allowed to use drugs.”

## A real “drug industry” has emerged from the heroin distribution experiments

Drug-addicted people were suddenly no longer treated as sick people but as clients who were to decide for themselves what and how many addictive substances they wanted to consume. It is true that the voters were promised during the vote on the heroin distribution trials that this state drug distribution would only be necessary temporarily after the closure of the open drug scenes as a survival aid for the addicts and that a time limit as well as a dose reduction until abstinence would be practised. Of course, the promoters of heroin distribution (*Uchtenhagen, Hämig, Gutzwiller, Seidenberg*, etc.) also knew about failed drug dis-

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tribution attempts from abroad such as Sweden and England. We have had to realise, that an actual state-financed "drug industry" has emerged from the experiments started in 1995.

**It is not the crime of procuring – the drug itself destroys people**

I had to observe many fates in the nineties, some of which still haunt and occupy me today. I met a desperate mother. With her drug-addicted daughter she went from one counselling centre to another. But everywhere cannabis was described to her as a harmless drug.

Later she told me: "For a long time I did not know how decisive the character changes triggered by cannabis would be for my daughter's life. No one can detect these changes better than the parents! Most striking was the prevalence of an overwhelming passivity. Passive consumption (music, videos) became more important than being active oneself. Sport was given up. The circle of friends changed, the new 'friends' avoided contact with us parents. Strong mood swings set in. My daughter suffered from lack of concentration, forgetfulness and lack of motivation. Her performance at school declined, her apprenticeship was in jeopardy. Her clothing became careless, she dressed almost exclusively in black and grey. All this set the stage for her entry into heroin consumption. My daughter was already addicted, the joint the most important event, the strongest feeling.

Why is this brain-damaging drug trivialised? Who is calling for the release of hashish? Hundreds of parents have experienced hashish as their children's gateway drug.

Drug addicts often feel that they would be able to work if they had the drug readily available. My daughter had to lose this illusion – she was dismissed for unreliability, inability to grasp an assignment, tremors. Anyone who thinks the drug problem can be solved if the drug could be bought at the pharmacy has never lived with a drug addict. It is not simply the crime of procurement – the drug itself destroys the person."

**The unequally weighted four pillars**

The four-pillar policy (prevention, therapy, harm reduction, repression), which has been valid throughout Switzerland since 1991, and the UN Drug Convention, ratified in 2005, have determined the same abstinence-oriented measures as their

"Up to the present day, there is no clear political statement on an abstinence-oriented therapy offer. The pressure 'prison or abstinence-oriented therapy?' or strong motivation by the environment are very important for drug addicts. It cannot be that substitution offers or 'regulated drug use' by the state deny addicted people a drug-free life. That these offers are financed by the health insurance is no proof of their suitability as therapy and therefore they should not be permitted. Likewise, methadone programmes, as they are carried out today, should not be counted as part of the 'therapy pillar' but as 'harm reduction'."

goal. It would therefore be the duty of politics to clearly define offers and distribute them among the four pillars. Outpatient counselling for drug addicts – more and more often young people who smoke pot and suffer from serious problems with the after-effects of the drug tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) – has recently been "written off" as therapy. These low-threshold offers only get a few addicts out of drugs and devour millions of taxpayers' money. Inpatient, abstinence-oriented therapy institutions – as a pillar of equal value – are criminally neglected. It has been shown time and again (e.g., in Sweden or in San Patrignano near Rimini/Italy) that an abstinence-oriented and thus sustainable addiction policy is most likely to help people out of addiction and therefore investments should be made primarily in such institutions.

Up to the present day, there is no clear political statement on an abstinence-oriented therapy offer. The pressure "prison or abstinence-oriented therapy?" or strong motivation by the environment are very important for drug addicts. It cannot be that substitution offers or "regulated drug use" by the state deny addicted people a drug-free life. That these offers are financed by the health insurance is no proof of their suitability as therapy and therefore they should not be permitted. Likewise, methadone programmes, as they are carried out today, should not be counted as part of the "therapy pillar" but as "harm reduction".

**The neglected drug prevention**

Who has seen a prevention campaign against cannabis or cocaine use? We are of the opinion that counsellors and treatment providers in the addiction field have

to commit themselves to the abstinence and cessation goal.

The *Federal Office of Public Health* (FOPH) should be mandated to promote successful measures by prevention campaigns and to put to rest the outdated liberalisation ideas of the 68s and 90s.

This is for the good of our children and the entire population. •

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# Conscription and militia army – OASI 21 reform

## The sovereign determines what is right, not the ECHR in Strasbourg

by Dr iur. Marianne Wüthrich

*The claim of being discriminated against, for example because of gender, is booming today. For example, a Swiss military conscript who hopes to bring down the constitutional requirement for Swiss men to perform military service with the help of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in Strasbourg, invokes Article 8 of the Swiss Federal Constitution on equality of rights, especially its paragraph 3: “Men and women have equal rights. [...]”*

*The same Federal Constitution article, but from a different point of view, is the basis for the National Councillors and Councillors of States who, in the recently concluded winter session of parliament, opposed the increase in the Old-Age and Survivors’ Insurance (OASI) retirement age for women from 64 to 65 and thus the alignment with the retirement age for men.*

*These two different ways of obtaining legal justice will be briefly outlined and critically examined.*

The militia army, as an expression of armed neutrality and as a civic duty in direct democracy, is one of the cornerstones of the Swiss state system. According to Article 59, paragraph 1 of the Federal Constitution, every Swiss man is required to do military service, i.e., in addition to his profession he must serve in the army, in alternative civilian service or, in some cases, in civil protection. For Swiss women, military or civilian service is voluntary (Federal Constitution, Article 59, paragraph 2). This regulation does not correspond to today’s common understanding of gender equality, but it is stated in the constitution as it has developed historically, and the vast majority of men do not feel “discriminated against” because of their compulsory service.

### Walk the democratic path or going to Strasbourg?

If there is a desire to change this order, Swiss voters have the instrument of popular initiative at their disposal. This instrument was seized by the GSoA (*Group Switzerland without an Army*) in 1989 with its army abolition initiative. Almost two thirds of the voters rejected the initiative. Since then, the GSoA has been involved whenever an opportunity arose to further weaken the army, which is unfortunately already severely reduced. This is the case with the current initiative against the purchase of F-35 fighter jets from the USA – a real dilemma for supporters of the Swiss army who are at the same time

### “I think that the militia principle is proving itself very well in the crisis”

*From an interview with Federal Councillor Viola Amherd, Head of the Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport DDPS*

On the so-called “vaccination controversy” in some parts of the population: “We have to be aware of how good we have it in our country. I think that we are simply spoiled. In the last decades we have always had it good. That is why we are not used to enduring such a crisis. Now is the moment to become aware of it.”

On the concept of “freedom” in the pandemic: “My freedom ends where the freedom of another begins. There is no such thing as absolute autonomy, i.e. no consideration for one’s fellow human beings. Especially those who advocate a strong concept of freedom would probably not be happy themselves if their counterpart claimed the same.”

On the principle of subsidiarity: The Federal Council is currently providing up to 2,500 members of the armed forces to support the cantons at their request.

When asked why this deployment was decided only now, Viola Amherd replies: “The army is always there when it is needed. But it does not simply march in; it only becomes active upon request.”

On the militia principle: “I think the militia principle is proving itself very well in the crisis.” The paramedics with nursing training could do nursing work in the hospitals, so that the staff there had capacity for the serious cases. Soldiers with other professions could be deployed where helpers are needed. “For me, this crisis shows how excellent our model of a militia army is.”

*Source: Birrer, Raphaela; Stäubli, Mario. “Schauen Sie ‘Tschugger’! Dann wissen Sie, warum es hier so viele Walliser hat”. Interview with Federal Councillor Viola Amherd in Tages-Anzeiger of 20 December 2021*

opponents of ever closer integration into the US-dominated NATO. The GSoA is not my coffee house, but it uses its direct democratic rights.

The Swiss M. K., on the other hand, took the legal course to undermine compulsory military service. After he had been found unfit for service, he had to pay the annual military service exemption tax. He appealed unsuccessfully against the bill for 2014 (amounting to CHF 1662), then appealed to the cantonal administrative court and in the end to the Federal Supreme Court “with the request that he be exempted [...] from compulsory military service or the military service exemption tax”.<sup>1</sup>

The Federal Supreme Court agreed with M. K. “that compulsory military service restricted to men (and therefore also the related obligation to pay an exemption tax) is contrary to Art. 8, para. 2 and 3 of the Federal Constitution” (recital 3.3). Subsequently, though, the Swiss Supreme Court stated: “However, Art. 59, para. 1 and 2 of the Federal Constitution expressly and intentionally restricts compulsory military service to men [...], as does Art. 61, para. 3 of the Federal Constitution for compulsory civil protection. This constitutes an exception to Art. 8, para. 2 and 3 of the Federal Constitution, which is contained in the Constitution itself.” (Recital 3.4.)

The Swiss Supreme Court continues: “Whether this regulation is objectively reasonable or whether it should be changed is not for the Federal Supreme Court, but for the constitutional legislator to decide. It is therefore unnecessary to go into detail on the complainant’s arguments that the unequal treatment is not justified.” (Recital 3.4.; emphasis added) The court thus reminded the plaintiff (a lawyer!) that the supreme power in Switzerland belongs to the sovereign and dismissed his complaint.

Plaintiff M. K. criticises the Federal Supreme Court for having decided “according to political considerations”. This is precisely what it didn’t do! It adhered to the Federal Constitution, to the law. Anyway, for M. K., going to the Federal Supreme Court was only a preliminary matter. His goal is to obtain justice at the *European Court of Human Rights* (ECHR) in Strasbourg and thus bring down the constitutional regulation of compulsory military service. The “*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*” comments: “Compulsory military service also for women or a civil service for all: *Küng* has no precise ideas. ‘My only concern is that a court should find that the current regulation is legally wrong.’”<sup>2</sup>

*Katharina Fontana*, the long-time federal court correspondent of the “*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*”, puts it in a nutshell:

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"Now you can think what you like about compulsory military service for men. One may regard it as outdated and be surprised at how unresistingly men accept their legal discrimination to this day. Another question is whether going to an international court is the right way to bring about a change. Should this question really be decided by a panel of judges in Strasbourg and not in Switzerland by parliament and the people?" As a democracy-loving Swiss, one can only agree with this. It is to be hoped – but I wouldn't risk a bet! – that the ECHR will not interfere in something as historically grown as compulsory military service in individual states. Be that as it may, we Swiss voters will still have the last word when it comes to preserving our constitutional order.

**Democratic struggle for retirement age of 65 for women as well**

In its recently concluded winter session, parliament passed the latest reform of the *Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance* (OASI reform 21). The main topic of numerous intensive debates in the National Council and the Council of States since the spring session was the long pending increase of the retirement age for women from 64 to 65 years and thus the alignment with the retirement age for men.

In this respect, Swiss men were previously at a disadvantage: since the introduction of the AHV in 1948, they had to be 65 years old to receive a full pension, while women received their pension at 62 until 1997. Then women's pension age was gradually raised to 63 by 2001 and to 64 by 2005. The next OASI reform proposals of the parliament as well as popular initiatives failed at the ballot box, most recently on 24 September 2017 an overly crammed package that, in addition to the

women's pension age of 65 in the OASI (the state pension), also wanted to re-regulate the pension fund (the occupational pension), combined with an increase in value added tax (VAT).

As with all pension reform proposals, the Social Democrats and the Greens, with regard to the OASI 21 reform, cited what they considered to be the de facto still existing disadvantage of women in the workplace and especially in wages to fight or at least fully cushion the pension age of 65. In doing so, they rely on Art. 8, para. 3 of the Federal Constitution: "Men and women have equal rights. The law shall ensure their equality, both in law and in practice, most particularly in the family, in education, and in the workplace. Man and woman have the right to equal pay for work of equal value." How far this cushioning should go and how it should be financed was the subject of discussions in the two councils and led to quite a few differences between them, which were carefully argued out in numerous meetings. On 15 December, both Councils approved the proposal of the conciliation conference (compromise proposal), against the will of the Social Democrats and the Greens, who voted unanimously against and, together with the *Swiss Federation of Trade Unions* (SGB), have already announced a referendum against the amendment of the OASI Act.

**Key points of the OASI 21 reform**

It can be assumed that the referendum will take place. In 2022, we will therefore vote on a relatively lean OASI reform, the main purpose of which is to secure pensions for the next few years (the OASI will need an additional CHF 26 billion by 2030). The most important things in the parliamentary bill are the following:

– From 2023, the retirement age for women will be raised from 64 to 65,

in steps of three months per year. (This should save ten billion francs within ten years).

- The nine affected cohorts of women from 1960 to 1968 will receive a life-long compensation of their pension. This amounts to 160 francs per month for low incomes, 100 francs for medium incomes and 50 francs for higher incomes.
- Women in the lowest wage bracket can continue to retire one year earlier without having their pension reduced.
- VAT will be increased by 0.4 per cent from today's 7.7 per cent (to finance these compensatory measures amounting to around CHF 3.25 billion).
- It was disputed whether the *Swiss National Bank's* (SNB) profit from negative interest rates should be used to finance the OASI. Parliament ultimately spoke out against this in order to preserve the independence of the SNB.

In conclusion, this is an overall balanced proposal that brings the retirement age of women in line with that of men and at the same time tries to do justice to the financial needs of the AHV, but also to the claims of the affected women's cohorts to an adequate pension. However, according to the Social Democratic Party, the Greens and the trade unions, the "planned compensations for women of the transitional generation are absolutely insufficient".<sup>3</sup> The referendum campaign is likely to be interesting.

<sup>1</sup> Federal Supreme Court. II. Public Law Division. *Judgment 2C\_1051/2016* of 24 August 2017

<sup>2</sup> Fontana, Katharina. "Diskriminierte Männer: Ein Schweizer sucht sein Recht in Strassburg" [Discriminated Men: A Swiss Seeks His Rights in Strasbourg]; in: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 6 December 2021

<sup>3</sup> "SP unterstützt Referendum gegen OASI 21" [SP supports referendum against OASI 21]. *Media release by the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland* of 15 December 2021

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# “Have inclusion and integration in schools failed?”

On Beat Kissling’s critical examination of current school concepts

by Eliane Perret



“Have inclusion and integration in schools failed?” is the title of a newly published book that invites a differentiated discussion on this topic.

It also takes a much broader view of this issue than has been usual so far and includes fundamental questions about education. *Beat Kissling*, educationist, teacher and psychotherapist, gives us the basics in his book. It is therefore a pearl of great value for anyone who does not want to get lost in the trade of barbs. And it is a reflective book that is committed – to each individual child and to the mission of the school.

In his introduction, the author provides insight into the biographies of people who experienced either successful or failed integration. This already sheds light on the complexity of the question, which must always do justice to the individuality, the network of relationships and the circumstances of the person concerned. After this sympathetic introduction to the topic, the author takes the reader on a historical excursion about the emergence of a specialised special education system, presents its turn towards integration and inclusion within the framework of international conventions, and discusses the mostly unknown scope for action nevertheless contained in this global framework.

Using concrete examples, the author shows how integration and inclusion are implemented and what requirements, associated problems and critical objections must be taken into account. Not only renowned academics have their say, but also directly affected former special needs pupils. Here again, the author’s concern is palpable that a factual dialogue based on human values should replace today’s discussion characterised by polemics – in the interest of the child.

Special attention should be paid to the anthropological chapter, in which the current state of research regarding successful learning is presented by the author in a differentiated way. It is not only about specific basics of learning with children and adolescents with special needs, but about learning processes in general, because understanding how to learn best is a task for all types of schools and all ages. Special emphasis is placed on attachment

research, which is the author’s valuable addition to the results of the *Hattie study*. With this anthropological part, the book stands out pleasantly from many new publications that do not go into enough depth in this regard. It stands to reason that the reader will ask questions about the individualising forms of teaching and learning arrangements that are common today and seem to be establishing themselves (in a cascade of school reforms). As these hardly meet the quality requirements, measured against the worldwide state of research presented in the book, doubts are legitimate.

The anthropological foundations also result in demands on the understanding of the role teachers and their scope of tasks, which go far beyond the simple teaching of subject matter or the provision of learning environments. The author concretises this problem area with impressive examples from school practice and draws on his own teaching experiences and the authentic descriptions of pupils.

To return to the question in the title of the book – what are the conditions for successful integration? The scientific findings presented up to this point already provide answers and lay the foundation for the following chapters. The author now analyses examples from literature and film that show how a child’s development is shaped by the personality of and relationship to the teacher, and he describes school experiments by pioneers in psychology and pedagogy (such as those produced by individual psychology) in which integration was lived. When reading, one’s own positive but also negative school experiences immediately come to mind, and one cannot help but rethink previous perspectives. In this context, it is interesting to read the author’s remarks on “dialogical learning”, in which the subject matter is developed and learned in joint discussion – a form of learning that has been used for some time, especially in the Anglo-American world, and is replacing previous unsuccessful reform experiments there. This form of teaching is associated with the “interdisciplinary qualities” that are often demanded today, such as empathy, teamwork and critical faculties. It should also be given a central place in our (curative) pedagogical courses of study! Thus, this part of the



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book also contributes to a differentiated view of the factors which make a successful learning process possible.

Finally, the author comes to conclusions which are again characterised by scientific accuracy, pedagogical farsightedness and human diligence, but which should not be anticipated here.

The book is therefore recommended to anyone wanting to flesh out the idea of a “sustainable school” and a genuine “education for all” and to provide it with content. On the one hand, it is a treasure trove of new, scientific findings; on the other hand, it unflinchingly makes reference to the always demanding pedagogical practice. In this – and this is decisive – it is supported by a basic pedagogical attitude committed to a personal conception of humanity. The book thus provides the basis for a discussion, not only on the question of integration and inclusion, but also on questions of school and education in general. This discussion is still pending and must not follow educational policy strategies, but must be conducted on the basis of scientific knowledge and civic responsibility. •

Kissling, Beat. *Sind Inklusion und Integration gescheitert? Eine kritische Auseinandersetzung.* (Have Inclusion and Integration in Schools Failed? A critical examination.) Bern: Hogrefe. 2022. ISBN 978 3 456 85920 0

# The harm we are doing to infants with technological devices

## Lullabies are the better alternative

by Nicole Duprat, retired teacher, France

Happy are all the children whose mothers sang or still sing lullabies to them before falling asleep.

An IPSOS survey\* commissioned by the association *La Semaine du Son* revealed worrying practices and figures, prompting UNESCO to elaborate a charter. This was reformulated into a draft decision of UNESCO's Executive Council, under the title "The importance of sound. Promoting good practice". The draft was adopted on 2 May 2017 by the 58 delegations that make up the Executive Board.

One in ten babies falls asleep with headphones, 10% of toddlers under two years old fall asleep with earplugs, 21% of the under six years olds use headphones, compared to 74% of 7–12-year-olds and 95% of teenagers.

These findings caused horror among ear, nose and throat doctors and paediatricians. They sounded the alarm, fearing long-term consequences for the physical and mental health of these children, who could suffer from early deafness from the age of 30.

The screen for children under three is unreasonable, but headphones for children under six to eight are just as dangerous.

For lack of time, to avoid being disturbed or during a long car journey, parents would rather put headphones on a crying child than hold it and soothe it. Nursery rhymes that put them to sleep, such as "Do, l'enfant Do" (Sleep, child, sleep), "Fais dodo, Colin mon petit frère" (Sleep, my little brother Colin) or "Au clair de la Lune" (In the moonlight) are no longer sung by parents but played through headphones.

When a mother sings a lullaby to her child, she does so in direct relation and in a soft voice suitable for the infant's ear. When the same lullaby is played through headphones, the sound is compressed. Therefore, one tends to turn it up louder to have a pleasant feeling.

However, the result is all the more drastic as it can be like a jackhammer, not to mention the isolated situation it creates. The problem is that a baby is unable to tell its parents that the volume is too high, or to pull down its headphones for its own protection. It is forced to endure everything. This leads to premature ageing of the ear.

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"A lullaby is more than the syllables that pass, it is the voice of the mother and father. The lullaby is a form of communication that creates an emotional bond and promotes tenderness, gentleness and the relationship between parent and child. [...] Parents have been singing to their children for thousands of years and have always instinctively known that thereby they help children relax."

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I personally had a loving mother who used to sing lullabies to us (we were seven children) and I still remember it today.

The lullaby is an important part of the parent-child relationship. With its rhythm and its own musical structure, it has a calming effect. It serves as a means of communication, promotes the bond between parent and child and creates stability if it is repeated every night. This memory is very emotional (gaze, warmth, scent). Cradling is a timeless and universal practice found in many civilisations. The poetic texts of lullabies were probably created not only because of their linguistic content, but also because of the melodic sound of the language, and it is their sinking tones (from high to low, as if you were about to sink into sleep) that enable us to recognise a lullaby in a language we are unfamiliar with. In many lullabies we find the words "sleep", "rest" and "calm down". These songs prepare for and usher in rest and sleep. These are very special moments that enable the creation of psychic shells of protection and love. Words, sounds and music are calming elements with anxiety-relieving and comforting effects.

A lullaby is more than the syllables that pass, it is the voice of the mother and father. The lullaby is a form of communication that creates an emotional bond and promotes tenderness, gentleness and the relationship between parent and child. A child who does not experience affection will develop behavioural problems.

Researchers at *Great Ormond Street Hospital* in London, whose motto is "The child first and always", have found that lullabies also have unexpected healing effects. They are said to help ease the pain of sick children and lower their heart rate. They observed the heart rhythm and pain

perception of a group of children under the age of three, some of whom needed a heart transplant, over a longer period of time and found that children who were sung English lullabies such as "Twinkle twinkle Little star", "Little Fish", "Little five ducks" or "Hush Little Baby" apparently felt less pain than children who were not sung lullabies.

This is not really surprising, because parents have been singing to their children for thousands of years and have always instinctively known that thereby they help children relax.

The lullaby is an instrumental or vocal genre of music designed primarily to help children fall asleep. From simple nursery rhymes to classical pieces of music such as *Brahms'* "Guten Abend, gut' Nacht – Wiegenlied Op. 49/4" (Good Evening, good Night – Lullaby Op.49/4), *Chopin's* "Wiegenlied in Des-Dur Op. 57" (Lullaby in D flat major Op. 57) up to folk music, the lullaby can be found in all cultures of the world in both classical and folk repertoire, usually sung, sometimes just hummed with the mouth closed.

The positive effects of music on children's health have been scientifically proven, so why not sing a lullaby to your baby? •

\* IPSOS survey, published 29 October 2015

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# Humanity gives hope and strength

by Moritz Nestor

At the 1978 annual meeting of the *Engadin Colloquium*, nurse *Margrit Lüscher* described the fate of a thirty-two-year-old patient, mother of two eight- and six-year-old children. Her husband was a factory worker and a secret alcoholic. When this woman learnt her diagnosis, i.e., metastasised thyroid carcinoma, she collapsed, lost hope, became depressed.

But after a few days she appeared to have changed: “I will not give up. I will fight, my situation is by no means hopeless. There is still a lot I have to do,” she said. In the little time she had left, she outgrew herself: she began to make her husband, the alcoholic, become aware of his responsibility for their two children, aged six and eight, who would soon have to continue their journey into life without a mother.

She had pushed her terminal illness into the background. She completely dedicated herself to her loved ones. Her thoughts and feelings were focused on this one task: her husband needed courage, faith in himself and strength for what was to come, for the open future of their children, whom she would soon have to leave and who still very much needed a mother. Every day she told her husband, when he visited his sick wife in her hospital room after work, “I believe in you.”

Her husband was an honest man, a hard worker, full of guilt about his alcohol abuse. At first, he seemed overwhelmed. But death did not frighten his wife, since she still had “a lot to do”, as she said. She did not mean tidying up, cleaning, writing bills or wills – external things. She did not want to leave her beloved husband unprepared. He would soon have to take over what his wife had been doing alone: raising and introducing their children to life. He would have to pass on life, hardly yet having redeemed this task, this invisible contract binding us humans whether we like it or not. The children were only six and eight years old. Their father was dependent on alcohol, he who needed so much courage, confidence, inner strength and self-confidence for what was to come; soon everything that had been their common task would inevitably lie on his shoulders alone: the family. “I believe in you”, with these words she instilled energy into him.

This loving woman had planted her hope on the grave. Each of her counted days had a great deep meaning. She was still able to give something, for now and for the future when she would no longer be alive. She was able to call something into being that would live on after her inevitable death, with continuing effects on the spiritual strength of her beloved husband and in the hearts of the three bereaved.

The nurse who had attended her described her feelings in the face of a person struggling with death, “then I feel like a straw to which the sick person is clinging for all he or she is worth”. And she described the core of this woman’s inner transformation: “I will not be able to take away the sick person’s fear by relativising it or by preaching hope, but only through my behaviour, my humanity, which can become hope for him or her and turn him or her into a hopeful person”.

Over and over again, the astonished husband heard these words “I believe in

you” from his beloved and terminally ill wife. And he, who until now had tried to hide his weakness, began to understand what it meant that someone believed in him. That it was not only his beloved wife who hoped for his strength after her death, but that there were also these two children about to lose their mother. And he promises her to take over his duties towards their children.

Ultimately, the woman dies. But after her patient’s death, the nurse saw the widower walking with his two boys one day. “He seemed to have become a different person,” she reported.

His wife’s faith and her hope had become a sustaining force to him which let him hope and believe in the future, despite his grievous loss.

This means hope: even in the most difficult, desperate situations in life, we humans can still develop something positive if we know about our importance to others as fellow human beings. •

Letter to  the Editor

## Thank you for Swiss resistance against EU claim to power!

It was almost a miracle how Switzerland managed to stay out of both world wars. Now it is getting serious again to defend the democratic rights that the Swiss people have achieved. A power clique, often called the “elite”, has been consistently striving for world power. In 1913, in a fraudulent vote, they wrested the right to print money from the US state. Since then, the state has to borrow money, created out of nothing, from the private *Federal Reserve Bank* at a high interest rate. The state becomes dependent, the lenders become wealthy and boisterous, aiming for domination. Democracy becomes irksome for them. To wage wars, they need free reign. No wonder: Swiss democracy, to them, is an obstacle.

In Germany, it is above all the “Grundgesetz” (Basic Law). *Karl Jaspers* wrote in the sixties in his book “*Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik*” (The Future of Germany): “The Basic Law is the solid rock on which our freedom resides.” There were clear signs that the Basic Law was

not being taken seriously enough. Thus, Federal Minister of the Interior *Höcherl* felt it was an imposition “to carry the Basic Law under one’s arm all the time”. *Jaspers* rightly stated that the Basic Law was too little known among the general population. At that time, there were still substantial admonishers like *Heinrich Böll*. The former Federal President *Gustav Heinemann* admonished: “The rulers must be guarded, not the ruled.” Surveillance technology is becoming ever more perfect and invites abuse of power. *Orwell* sends his regards. Do we not see how democracy, international law and human rights are abused?

“When right becomes wrong, resistance becomes duty!” was the slogan in *Wyhl* in 1975, which, combined with solidarity, led to success. The resistance that the Swiss are now leading with a hard “grind” (Swiss expression for “head”, trsl. note) is also helping us in Germany. Thank you!

*Ernst Udo Kaufmann, Müllheim (DE)*

# Vienna: Sea of lights in memory of the Corona dead

## Austria's doctors appeal for reason and humanity



(Bild keystone)

zf. In the early evening of 19 December, around 30,000 citizens gathered in Vienna's city centre to commemorate the more than 13,000 people who have died as a result of infection with the virus since the beginning of the Corona pandemic in Austria. At the same time, the rally participants thanked all nurses and doctors for their efforts in fighting the pandemic and caring for the sick. In memory of the deceased, participants at the rally held up a candle,

their mobile phone lamp or another light for ten minutes to form a sea of lights, after which the participants applauded the nurses and doctors. No speeches were made.

The initiators of the rally were two Austrians from Vienna and Innsbruck. According to the two initiators, they wanted to set a "short, quiet signal". One of the initiators is quoted with the words: "We believe that a very large majority of people care about each other."

The rally was supported by around 40 organisations. The newspapers mentioned the Vienna Medical Association, the Volkshilfe, the Samariterbund, Attac as well as trade unions, religious communities and also personalities from politics.

A group of doctors from all over Austria supported the action with a statement, which we document below because of its great importance.

### The Sea of Lights Declaration

We, the doctors signing here, would like to raise our hand, right now, when the pandemic of an infection is increasingly becoming a pandemic of emotions.

We would like to pause our work for a moment to take a stand on the targeted disinformation and attacks against science and against health workers.

We are committed exclusively to science, to the findings of thousands of scientists who have been working with heart and soul to protect and save health and human lives since the beginning of the pandemic.

Vaccination is not a political statement. It is not red, green, black, pink or blue.

It should be colourless and neutral.

People die every day because they are unvaccinated. They are unvaccinated be-

cause they are afraid and because they have been misinformed and continue to be misinformed.

We do not need to show our face specifically, because we are always available to all our patients in our surgeries, hospitals and other health facilities to the best of our knowledge and belief.

We doctors treat all people who need our help equally.

But today we are showing up, not for our own sake or because medicine and science need an advocate, but because we too are only humans and are increasingly concerned about how all that science has produced is being trampled underfoot.

In our hearts we continue to burn to protect as many fellow human beings as possible from this disease, whether through vaccination or other measures.

But today our candles burn for all the people we could not help.

May all the lights shine to give orientation, through the long night of the pandemic, past the fears and aberrations, straight ahead to hope and the knowledge of being part of sanity and humanity.

Together against COVID-19, with each other and for each other.

Doctors vs COVID-19

PS: On the website <https://www.aerztinnenvscovid.info/kopie-einwilligung> you can find the very long list of supporters (signed by 4686 doctors so far).

Source: <https://www.aerztinnenvscovid.info>

(Translation Current Concerns)