

Current Concerns

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“It is the Americans and NATO, who started this war”

**Pierre de Gaulle, grandson of Charles de Gaulle, on Europe’s intellectual dishonesty
and hypocrisy in the Ukraine crisis and the need for good relations with Russia**

Globalbridge. Irina Dubois, the responsible director of the association “L’Association Dialogue Franco-Russe”, made an interview with Pierre de Gaulle, the grandson of General de Gaulle, shortly before Christmas. The subject of the interview was international relations between France and the EU on the one hand and Russia on the other. Pierre de Gaulle has no inhibitions about publicly pillorying the mendacity of the USA and NATO and the major European media and pointing out the economic problems in the EU that the Western sanctions against Russia will now lead to.

Irina Dubois: Good afternoon, Mr de Gaulle. Thank you very much for being with us today at the French-Russian Dialogue. You advise on corporate strategy and finance, you have 15 years of experience in managing private banks, and it is probably unnecessary to call to mind the great deeds of your grandfather General de Gaulle. It is 2022 and it is an unprecedented and very, very complex, difficult year for Franco-Russian relations. It is in some ways an anti-Russian year, I would say, not to mention politics. And yet, since September/October, there are more and more personalities, to put it mildly, who are in favour of normalising our Franco-Russian relations, and you are one of them. Why do you think it is so important for France not to separate from Russia?

Pierre de Gaulle: Good afternoon, Madame. Thank you for your welcome and for giving me the opportunity to speak in this House of Culture, which celebrates all that unites the French and Russian people through culture.

Of course, I think it is extremely important for France to maintain and promote a relationship of mutual understanding and cooperation with Russia. This is already due to the historical ties and the community of destiny that unites us, and also because maintaining and cultivating a good relationship with Russia is the guarantee for stability and prosperity in Europe and the world. The consequences of the current crisis are unfortunately affecting Eu-



Pierre de Gaulle and Irina Dubois during the interview at the association “Dialogue Franco-Russe”. (Screenshot/Globalbridge)

“The Americans, since the Vietnam War and since the economic crises that followed, which were linked in particular to the abandonment of the gold standard for the dollar, have always tried, by force, by cunning and by their policy, to compensate for this loss of influence both economically and politically, to redeem the loss of influence of the dollar as the only trading currency in the world.”

rope, the world and also France. Everyone is suffering from this and the balance that my grandfather always tried to maintain, even in the most difficult times in history and during the Cold War and the Second World War, is being severely affected. Since Russia was one of the countries that, together with France, was on the side of the victors against the Nazi occupiers, my grandfather ever tried to always, always preserve this relationship with Russia.

I think it is in France’s interest to continue this policy and to preserve this balance because it is crucial for the stability of Europe. I think public opinion is starting to become aware of the perverse game and the lies of the Americans and espe-

cially NATO, who are using the Ukraine crisis to destabilise Europe. Europe, allied with Russia, forms a politically as well as economically, culturally and socially strong bloc of about 500 million people. The Americans, since the Vietnam War and since the economic crises that followed, which were linked in particular to the abandonment of the gold standard for the dollar, have always tried, by force, by cunning and by their policy, to compensate for this loss of influence both economically and politically, to redeem the loss of influence of the dollar as the only trading currency in the world. And this policy continues.

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I am highly indignant and I protest against this intellectual dishonesty in the Ukraine crisis, because it is the Americans and NATO who have started the war. As proof, I would cite the recent statements by Mrs *Merkel*, who said that she never intended to implement the Minsk agreements – the Minsk agreements that were negotiated and signed to ensure the security, integrity and respect of the Russian-speaking population in the Donbass. The Germans and the French have formally vouched for these agreements for the balance, stability and protection of the population in this region.

Mrs *Merkel*, who said she never intended to implement the Minsk agreements, has thus done everything to allow NATO to arm Ukraine, has done everything to lay the foundations for this conflict, and I find that terrible because millions of people are suffering as a result.

By allowing this Ukrainian nationalist expansion, it has allowed 16,000 to 18,000 people to be bombed and killed [in the Donbass]. She has allowed these Ukrainian nationalist populations to destroy Russian culture, to erase their sense of belonging to Russia. It has deprived them of the possibility to speak their own language and, unfortunately, it has allowed these crimes to take root. In other words, one has knowingly contributed to this war and one has knowingly contributed to this escalation. Unfortunately, the US is continuing this military escalation, from which the Ukrainian population is the first to suffer, but also the rest of the European population.

The extent, the number and the depth of the sanctions show that this was all organised a very long time in advance and that it is in fact also an economic war from which the Americans benefit. The Americans are selling their gas four to seven times more expensive to the Europeans than they are doing for their own country, and unfortunately everyone in Europe is now suffering in their everyday lives because all this is leading to an economic and financial crisis that is absolutely unprecedented. Well, one will tell these people, "It's the Russians' fault!" It's the Russians' fault, very good ... But the Russians are defending themselves, because 11,000 sanctions have been imposed on them, plus a ninth package of sanctions that was adopted yesterday. It is perfectly legitimate and normal for the Russians to defend themselves.

I would say: we are currently in a model where the basic qualities of patriotism, love of the fatherland and defence of the people are considered abnormal. I think this is very serious, and I am glad that a number of politicians, intellectuals,

economic representatives and elites are returning to considerations of balance, to a certain logic, to what has always been the history of relations between France and Russia, which is to preserve this balance, to preserve understanding, to preserve co-operation, to preserve the dialogue of civilisations, and I am thinking, with Christmas coming, of all that unites us for the future and for our community of destiny.

Therefore, for me, this need, this imperative to preserve a good relationship with Russia is not only perfectly legitimate, but a duty for Europe and stability in the world and in Europe.

Exactly, since you talk about stability, we talk a lot in the French-Russian dialogue about sovereignty, about the sovereignty of states. General de Gaulle's famous formula "L'Europe des Nations" no longer exists. How can you build an independent international relationship in today's globalised world?

"As regards the, in my opinion, completely unrealistic victory of Ukraine in this war the Americans, by the way, have completely deceived the Ukrainian population and the Ukrainian government because the big loser of this war is anyway the Ukrainian population itself and, as a consequence, also Europe with the whole crisis into which it has manoeuvred itself by will of the politicians."

So, as far as Europe is concerned, my grandfather *Charles de Gaulle* was indeed a proponent of a Europe of nations, meaning that each country would cooperate with the others in terms of a European Union, both economically and politically, but of course with a certain political autonomy and freedom of choice.

We are in a system that is about a technocracy that imposes directives that have to be implemented in each member state, a technocracy that is unfortunately extremely corrupt. People don't talk about it now, but back when the President of the European Commission was appointed, after all, she left behind a mountain of debt of about 100 million euros in unexplained costs for employing external consultants and consultancies from the time when she was Germany's Defence Minister.

These things are being kept quiet. There has also been a lot of talk about the European Commission President's links with the pharmaceutical industry. I would like to remind you that her son works for an American biotechnology company and that recently, as far as the links between Mrs *von der Leyen* and the CEO of *Pfizer* are concerned, the CEO of *Pfizer* was asked twice to testify as a witness before the European Commission. Twice he has refused.

I would like to see a little more honesty and transparency at the level of the European Commission, which makes certain laws. They, who are not elected, have no respect for the word given. That, unfortunately, is where the evil lies. Today's European leaders! I would like to see a little more transparency there.

Recently, in the Qatar affair, we saw money suitcases which, strangely enough, were in the flat of one of the Presidents of the European Parliament.

So, at a time when we are in the midst of a major crisis, a political crisis, an economic crisis, which again is perfectly wanted and deliberately orchestrated by the Americans and NATO, I would like to see once again more transparency and honesty in dialogue and, above all, respect for the word given. Once again, if Germany, France and the OSCE, which vouched for the Minsk Agreement, had kept their word, we would not be in the current situation.

The General [de Gaulle] always wanted, and you just said it too, to continue the relationship with Russia at all times. And in his war memoirs – just yesterday before our meeting today I read the extracts of his trip to Russia, in 1944, when he met Stalin – he wrote, and I take the liberty of quoting:

"I noted how much the fact that Russia and France had separated had influenced the unleashing of German ambitions. In view of the German danger, joint action by Russia and France was in the nature of things."

The General considered the Franco-Russian relationship to be natural, a point he takes up and repeats several times in various excerpts from his memoirs.

I would like to ask you: do you think that Gaullism is still alive in France today? Who do you think these politicians are - if you want to name them? Where do you see something like a legacy of the General?

Look, I'm not going to take sides with any particular politician in France, except to say that I'm against the policies currently being practised by the President of the Republic and his government, especially with regard to relations with Russia. I

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think, as I have often said in interviews, that you cannot do “at the same time” with countries as strong, as independent and as important as Russia, China or even Algeria.¹ That would mean not understanding Russian culture and not understanding the Russian mentality. It would also mean not respecting all the history, all the past and all the closeness of the relations one has had with Russia.

As for Gaullism, it is a heritage, an example, the ability to promote, above all, the greatness of France, of the nation and of the country, which are normal and fundamental values that are unfortunately frowned upon today.

Your president [Putin] just had a programme, I think it was called Basic Values or Basic Realities for Russian Youth, in which the fatherland, raising the flag and patriotic values and love for the nation were honoured. That was completely normal. I also grew up in such an environment.

In many countries like Algeria, like China, like the UK, or even the US, people celebrate the raising of the colours, the flag and the love for the fatherland. This is perfectly normal and is now being elevated to abnormality by a system that tends to dismantle essential values such as family, tradition and religion. Fortunately, in your country, President Putin upholds these values and I would like to see a political leader in France who also promotes these values and the greatness of France.

The legacy of General de Gaulle is indeed a certain idea of France. A France that is present on the international stage, but also a France that provides itself with the means for its policies. It is also the legacy of a charismatic leader with a vision, a real strategy and a republican legitimacy.

I think developing an independent international relationship means, of course, having the means for this policy, but also having this whole perspective of looking ahead to decisions, having a clear strategy, having a clear vision, having open messages, precise messages, having a real strategy for the French and for the people, because that is what these leaders represent, because they are at the service of the people. They are at the service of the nation, they are at the service of the fatherland, and they must promote and carry the values of their country in everything.

Unfortunately, I don't see any emerging personalities in France taking up this torch, but my grandfather worked all his life for the greatness of France, he also left a legacy, and this legacy is in the hands of the French. It has been written by history and it is up to each and every one of us to continue this work and take up the torch.

Society in France is divided on the conflict in Ukraine: into groups of people who think that it doesn't matter what Russia does, but they are against it because they think Russia is a dictatorship, a country that has nothing to do with the democratic values of Europe. There is another category who thinks that, after all, France's economic interests are not in Ukraine and have nothing to do with this conflict. And then there are those who, I think, are simply indifferent to the conflict. And there is another group of people who really believe that it is about a clash of civilisations, something that goes beyond the war in Ukraine. You (Monsieur de Gaulle) mentioned this at the very beginning. Could you elaborate a little on this aspect?

This conflict has an impact on the world and on Europe. It was triggered by the will of the Americans and NATO and it is largely maintained by the European Commission. It is a fundamental and major crisis that affects everyone's daily lives.

Yes, I have received statements from small craftsmen, small businessmen, from people who are suffering from this situation, for example bakers. About 50% of them, both in France and in Belgium and in the rest of Europe, are already bankrupt because their electricity bill has gone from 1500 euros per month to 5000 euros, which makes it completely impossible to continue their activity and will plunge hundreds of thousands of people in Europe into unemployment and into crisis.

This crisis is serious because the repercussions go much further, which is unfortunately kept secret by journalists and by the intellectual community, who divide people into pro-Russian or pro-American or pro-Putin or who knows what dictatorship in order to avoid any debate and dialogue. You have to know that less than 50 per cent of the aid or – to be more precise – the subsidies that are now given to the Ukrainians actually reach the Ukrainians. You have to know that 50 per cent of the weapons given to the Ukrainians are resold on the international markets to supply terrorists, to aliment political crises, conflicts and revolutions. Recently, the Ukrainian government published an almost 1000-page catalogue of weapons to be sold to South America, Africa and Arab countries that will fuel terrorism around the world. These are heavy and light weapons.

Ukraine is unfortunately one of the most corrupt countries in the world. I am not criticising the Ukrainians at all, but the regime that was put in place by the Americans in 2014 with that infamous coup d'état in which *Victoria Nuland*, who is of Ukrainian descent, as well as this *Biden*, uttered the words “Fuck the EU!”. Forgive me, I'm quoting her, I'm quoting her ver-

batim, which is to say that she established a dictatorship with disregard for any consideration, even for Ukrainians.

I protest against and I am outraged that in France and Europe a battalion called Azov is glorified, which uses the same emblems as the [SS-] division “Das Reich”!

My parents fought against Nazism, my grandparents were even deported for reasons of resistance, and for me it is absolutely scandalous that today people are being promoted who perpetrated massacres, murder and discrimination against the population in the Donbass.

Already in 2019 there were statements by the closest advisor of the future president *Zelensky, Arestovych*. He said in an interview in February 2019 that it was imperative to wage war against Russia, that he wanted it, and that they would definitely receive subsidies, weapons, support from Europe and the European Union, support from NATO, and that Ukraine could not lose.

As regards the, in my opinion, completely unrealistic victory of Ukraine in this war the Americans, by the way, have completely deceived the Ukrainian population and the Ukrainian government because the big loser of this war is anyway the Ukrainian population itself and, as a consequence, also Europe with the whole crisis into which it has manoeuvred itself by will of the politicians.

This is actually very, very sad, it is the suffering of Europe, it is the suffering of the people ...

It is sad, but I believe in this resurgence, in this return to realities, so it is very important for me to expose all these lies and all the logic that have led to this conflict.

But in this conflict, they try to make us believe that Russia is isolated.

This is completely false, first of all because there are people who are aware of the challenges and realities both in France and in Europe and in the world, and these people have to restore the fundamental truths, expose the lies and denounce the logic that led to this war.

And I also believe in renewal, I also believe in the reconstruction that will quite simply follow, because I believe – and I come back to what you said about my grandfather –: you cannot do without Russia, you cannot do without this continent itself. It's not quite a continent, but it's definitely the largest country in the world, which, because of its geography, culture and history, represents an absolutely considerable economic, political, industrial, geopolitical and cultural potential.

Russia, in this crisis, rightly benefits, in my opinion, from a realignment of the political, economic and financial centres of interest towards the East and will be one

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of the arbiters of what is called Eurasia, i. e., a fantastic continent uniting both Europe and Asia, where new centres of decision-making will emerge.

Unfortunately, Europe will miss this absolutely fantastic opportunity, which is absolutely fantastic considering that Eurasia is a self-sufficient continent.

I would also like to denounce the hypocrisy of the sanctions regime, because we continue to buy Russian oil, which of course we cannot do without. We continue to buy Russian gas; we continue to buy industrial metals. 60 per cent of the industrial metals on the world markets are dominated, I would say, by Russia.

We continue to buy uranium. So do the

This goes far beyond culture. Apart from that, culture and economic exchange are what bring nations closer together, what unites us and what endures beyond conflicts and differences of interest.

What I would also like to say is that in this common history, peace must be made – and peace is inevitable.

Peace follows every conflict. It is peace that unites people.

This peace necessarily requires a restoration of dialogue, then understanding, and then economic cooperation.

This is what restored continuity even at the time of the Cold War, I would say what constitutes continuity between peoples, and I want to convey a message of hope and unity because I believe in this community of culture and destiny.

"That is what makes your strength and cohesion, that is what also makes the strength of the French, that is what makes the strength of every nation of every European country, just like the concepts of patriotism, love of the nation, family and religion, which unfortunately are values that today one tends to want to destroy in order to better reduce the ability of peoples and individuals to emancipate themselves, because that leads to a loss of orientation. The aim is to destroy the integrity of peoples and individuals in order to better manipulate them."

Americans. We continue to buy and supply magnets for the new generation of nuclear reactors and, fortunately, we continue what unites us, namely art, common historical destiny and all that makes up the scientific community, what makes up the exchange of the intellectual community.

The international space station will continue thanks to this cooperation, which goes beyond this conflict, and that is what unites us and what we absolutely must continue.

There are just things that still unite us, and that is in particular the culture on the eve of the Christmas celebrations. The French will celebrate Christmas a little earlier, before the Russian Orthodox Christmas, which is celebrated on 7 January, and it is precisely in the French-Russian dialogue, because we believe in our very strong historical and cultural ties, that we organise a Christmas concert on 22 December. But is it only the culture that remains at this moment, that unites us?

There are many other things that unite us. I told you, and my grandfather emphasised this: that France and Russia are both daughters of Europe, have common origins and are linked by a community of destiny and interests.

I believe what unites us, the relations between France and Russia are extremely old, and everyone is talking about peace at the moment.

I was one of the first to denounce the lies, the injustice and the dispossession of your people, which I think is absolutely scandalous, because you cannot punish a nation, you cannot punish a people for reasons of crisis, knowing that this is not only against fundamental freedoms, but also against international law and is a very great injustice.

I believe that since the persecutions of the Jews during the Second World War, no other people has suffered as many expropriations as the Russian people are now suffering.

For me it is shocking, it is a great injustice. I think that beyond the current crises, one has to see the balance of peoples, the balance of nations, the balance of the world and the balance of Europe.

Of course, culture is one of the privileged and universal ways to bring our two peoples closer.

I think what unites us is also our common history, and what unites us is the rest, how shall I tell you, the love, the immense appreciation that I and my family have for the richness of Russian culture and the Russian world.

Recently, a Nobel laureate in physics said the following:

"People want to destroy Russian culture, but how can you destroy a country that is responsible for more than half of the fundamental discoveries in chemistry, physics and mathematics?"

You [Madame Dubois, i. e. Russia] are a great country, you are a country with a fantastic history, and unfortunately the American-inspired neoliberal model aims to destroy something much more fundamental than just managing an economic and political balance. It also aims to destroy an entire culture, and as I told you, you undermine the foundations, you undermine the consciousness of a people because you want to destroy the two pillars of civilisation, religion and faith, in order to replace them with a culture of short-termism, of personal gratification.

You attack the foundations, and I have just seen, you even attack the foundations of education, and I think that is a serious thing, and you have to preserve your bulwarks. This is what has traditionally connected us to Russian culture for a long time.

It is this idea of, how shall I say, a little bit irrational, a little bit crazy, which *Dostoevsky* described very well, and it is what constitutes faith. In fact, faith is one of the pillars, one of the pillars of Russia, and I think *Dostoevsky* quoted him:

"No one can snatch the faith from the Russian except he himself."

That is what makes your strength and cohesion, that is what also makes the strength of the French, that is what makes the strength of every nation of every European country, just like the concepts of patriotism, love of the nation, family and religion, which unfortunately are values that today one tends to want to destroy in order to better reduce the ability of peoples and individuals to emancipate themselves, because that leads to a loss of orientation. The aim is to destroy the integrity of peoples and individuals in order to better manipulate them.

Thank you for this hopeful message. We will continue our actions in the coming years, I stress: in the coming years, because we will need these strong, strategic and cordial relations between Russia and France, and because dialogue must never cease. Thank you very much.

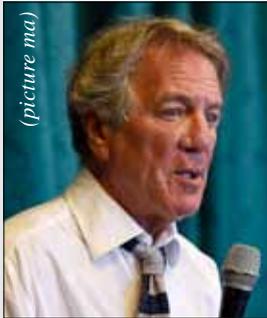
In any case, you should know that you are not alone, that there are many people in the world, once again, two thirds of the world's population, in France and in Europe, who are with you and who will continue this work with you, and you can count on my support and my cooperation to continue this reconstruction in hope

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Between myth and history

Why the USA must give up its claim to an exceptional position in the world

by Patrick Lawrence



Patrick Lawrence is a writer, commentator, a longtime newspaper and magazine correspondent abroad for many years, chiefly for the "International Herald Tribune". He is a columnist, essayist, author and lecturer and writes often on Europe and Asia. Patrick Lawrence has published five books; his most recent book is *Time No Longer: Americans After the American Century*. His Twitter account @thefloutist has been permanently censored without explanation. His web site is patricklawrence.us. Support his work via his [Patreon](https://www.patreon.com/patricklawrence) site.

ScheerPost. Patrick Lawrence delivered the following remarks, based on his book "Time No Longer: Americans After the American Century", before the Committee for the Republic in Washington on 15 December. The Committee is a nonpartisan group founded in 2003 that advocates a restoration of the US Constitu-

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and renewal. Thank you very much, Madame.

¹ With the term "en même temps", *Pierre de Gaulle* alludes to a critical discussion of *Emmanuel Macron's* frequent use of this expression. It addresses the seductive component of this term: one presents oneself as if one represents a true middle ground, takes into account the complexity of the problems, but in reality, mentions incompatible political aspects side by side in order to ultimately only really pursue the one. For example, one speaks of preserving the authority of the state and outsources its tasks "at the same time", "en même temps", by leaving them to financial speculation. One invokes the sanctity of the social in order to install at the same time (and in reality) the technocratic-economic paternalism of the peoples, etc. In principle, de Gaulle is also addressing the issue of dishonesty or the need for honest dealings with other countries. [Editor's note]

Source: <https://www.agoravox.fr/tribune-libre/article/nouvelle-intervention-de-pierre-de-245717> of 27 December 2022. The interview was conducted on 16 December 2022.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

tion, notably the War Powers Act, which assigns Congress, and not the Executive, the power to declare war.

It is a fine thing to live and work in a village of 1,600 souls in rural Connecticut, and the telephone rings one morning. The man at the other end has taken the trouble to read your columns, and then taken the trouble to purchase your most recent book, and then taken the trouble to telephone you and invite you to speak to the Committee for the Republic.

I am grateful to *John Henry*, your co-founding chairman, for the invitation that brings me before you, and it is a pleasure to be with you this evening, as I have admired the Committee's work for some time, if at some distance.

Since I address you as a hack of a certain age, I'll begin as I was trained to begin long ago – with the pyramid method: You put the most important thing you have to say at the top, and all else follows in descending order so your editors can cut, as they inevitably do, from the bottom up, and if nothing is left but one sentence, you've got your point across.

We need the failure and the defeat

Here's my lead this evening:

How sweet it will be for our Republic when the day arrives on which we admit we have failed. What splendid vistas will lie before us when we at last accept that our idea of who we are and what we are meant to do in the world has been defeated.

In short, we are a nation desperately in need of failure and defeat. We need these things precisely so that we can realize ourselves and our great, underserved potential in new ways and as fully as we can – this for our own sake but also for the world's.

When I write this kind of thing in a column or a commentary, I feel compelled to remind readers not to miss the optimism beneath the apparent pessimism. The impression I have of the *Committee for the Republic* is that no such guidance is necessary, so I won't belabor the point. I assume we share an understanding that to get anywhere in a given endeavor you must begin with a clear-eyed acceptance of where you are, your starting point.

"Where are we?" is the obvious question.

"What is the endeavor?" is the follow-on line of inquiry.

The myth of the chosen people

Americans, always with dissenters who also count as part of the American story,

have lived a long, long time with the idea that we are an exceptional people, a Providentially chosen people, with special things to do on earth. This is the essence of the mythology at the root of our national consciousness. Taking my date from *Winthrop's* "eyes of the world" sermon (1630), we're eight years away from marking four centuries of such mythologically generated assumptions.

Later came the "Manifest Destiny" editorial in 1845.

Then *Wilson* and his universalism.

Then *Henry Luce's* "American Century."

Then our obnoxious post-Cold War triumphalism and Fukuyama's "End of history" thesis: Can something be obnoxious and supercilious at the same time?

Always a renewal of the ideology, more or less intact. For my money, every president since *Wilson* has been a *Wilsonian*, or a neo-*Wilsonian*, or a closet *Wilsonian*, or what have you. The think tanks in these parts are full of *Wilsonians*. It seems to be in the district's water.

Then came 11 September 2001, and all changed, changed utterly to quote the *William Butler Yeats's* poem, and for now I'll leave out the line about a terrible beauty a-borning. We will have to wait for that.

The end of the "American Century"

I take September 11th as the uncannily abrupt date when the orthodox American narrative finally failed. It was on that morning that what we had long told ourselves about ourselves, and ourselves among others – the story of our exceptionalism – proved illusory.

We can all remember the television newscasts endlessly looping footage of the collapsing twin towers in Lower Manhattan. It seemed to me the wreckage we obsessively watched was an objective correlative, to borrow the literary term: The blows of greatest magnitude were to our hearts and minds. We had lived for centuries on the assumption that history, as *Toynbee* wonderfully put it, was something that happened to other people. We considered ourselves immune from it – from the depredations and uncertainties of time itself.

All of a sudden it landed on us that we weren't.

The issue instantly before us was whether we could accept this. In an equally powerful jolt to our collective psyches, and a closely related matter, the "American Century" as *Luce* proclaimed it in

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his LIFE editorial of February 1941, also ended that day.

So I have long argued.

There are many ways to understand this, but, drawing from Luce's text, no longer could Americans "exert upon the world the full impact of our influence, for such purposes as we see fit and by such means as we see fit."

The choice

As I saw it, the events of 2001 confronted us with a choice.

We could have accepted that our national narrative had failed at that moment and that we had entered a new time and faced new circumstances. This would require of us imagination, our native wisdom, and a necessary measure of courage. We Americans are not short of these things, after all. They would have guided us well as we walked on unfamiliar soil and found our way across a new, unmapped landscape. Since when are Americans afraid of unexplored territory?

Or we could resist our new century, a post-American century we can call it, and enter a state of denial that would lead us into all manner of destructive conduct.

I gave us 25 years to make this choice, counting from 2001. As it has turned out, those who purport to lead America needed far less to choose wrongly.

"We have made a lot of messes since 2001"

We have made a lot of messes since 2001 – we make one in Europe and Ukraine



American Progress (1872) by John Gast. Depiction of "Manifest Destiny": Columbia – as personification of the USA, carries the "light of civilization" westward to the American settlers and displaces Indians and wild animals into insignificance. (picture Wikipedia)

as we speak, and we can hardly wait to make another with China – but we have never since that day been able to do what we want, where we want, as we want – not with any kind of result to our benefit – or anyone else's for that matter.

There is no trace of creativity left in our foreign policies. As a departed friend used to put it, we've assumed the role of spoiler, and how infra-dig is this?

Our unwise course since September 11 leaves us more or less paralyzed in an awful place. We are suspended between

myth and history, as I see it – the one failing us at last, the other inducing fear as it beckons us forward.

William Appleman Williams titled his last book, published five years after Saigon rose, as I prefer to put it, and I hope you don't mind, *Empire as a Way of Life*. This is where we are – hooked on a faded, collapsing hegemony that cannot be salvaged and in any case is not worth salvaging.

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US-American exceptionalism

ef. The term "City upon a Hill" goes back to the English Puritan *John Winthrop*, who coined the term in his sermon "A Model of Christian Charity" (1630) in reference to the Sermon on the Mount. Winthrop inculcated in the Puritan colonists of the *Massachusetts Bay Colony* that their new colony was a "City upon a hill" watched by all the world. In American history, the term "City upon a Hill" often became an expression of American exceptionalism. This is where the later term "Manifest Destiny" took up its content. Put simply, "Manifest Destiny" was the idea that Americans were destined by God to rule the North American continent.

The concept of "Manifest Destiny" was first formulated by the journalist *John Louis O'Sullivan* in 1845 in an article dealing with the annexation of Texas. O'Sullivan wrote that it was America's "Manifest Destiny" and its obvious destiny to spread across the continent. In this way, the USA would become a recognised political and social superpower,

the wilderness would disappear and civilisation would take hold. This doctrine was used to justify the settler movement westwards and towards Mexico, as well as the Spanish-American War of 1898. It also included the exclusion and extermination of the Native American peoples.

In the 20th century, the meaning of the term "Manifest Destiny" was slightly modified. Now it was said that Americans were uniquely destined to spread democracy in the world ("Make the world safe for democracy"). This old-new doctrine was and is still used today as a legitimisation for American interventionist policy and for American wars of expansion. This policy essentially goes back to US President *Woodrow Wilson*, who led the USA into the First World War.

Woodrow Wilson's "Universalism" meant: What applies to Americans must apply to all people. The chosen country will only do itself justice if it reaches out "helpingly" into the world, if it assumes responsibility not only for itself.

Wilsonianism essentially includes: Promoting the spread of its (the US) idea of democracy worldwide, promoting the spread of the market economy and capitalism, opposition to "isolationist" policies and military intervention in conflicts when "world peace" or its own interests are threatened.

The term "The American Century" was coined in 1941 by the "Time" publisher *Henry Luce*, who used it as the title of a "Life" magazine editorial. In it, Luce called upon his compatriots to have the courage to take action against the fascist states and thus increasingly determine international politics. The "American Century" refers to that era, especially in the 20th century and up to the present day, in which the USA has assumed a position of global supremacy in political, economic and cultural terms. These include military strength, very high financial power and the global influence of American youth culture and Hollywood films.

"Between myth and history"

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Very saliently, the choice those who purport to lead us have made has deprived us of something we greatly need during this passage in our history.

Plea for the value of defeat and the dangers of victory

Here I'll draw from a wonderful book by *Wolfgang Schivelbusch*, the German writer and a good student of America, called *The Culture of Defeat*. Wolfgang makes an eloquent case for the value of defeat and the perils of victory.

A defeated nation must retreat into itself and think again. It must face the reality that it had it wrong. All that it had assumed was enduring and superior in itself had failed. So are the defeated forced to reconsider their very world view, their identities, and all they had assumed to be so.

In this process, Wolfgang Schivelbusch argues, lies the promise of rejuvenation, of renewal. To acknowledge failure is to open oneself to new ways to do things, to new understandings and identities. In time the vanquished can return to the fray and present themselves to others in a new and imaginative way that answers to the painful discovery of past errors.

Victors, by contrast, work on the assumption that they have it right, they have proven out, and all they need to do is keep on as they have. Victors have no great need to think about anything.

When John Henry invited me to come see you, he remarked on the telephone, "What a pleasure it is to speak to someone else who still thinks."

I took that kindly, of course, but let us consider the subtext. We have made ourselves into a nation that no longer thinks very much.

One of Wolfgang Schivelbusch's studies in "The Culture of Defeat" is the American South. He writes in that chapter, "Victory, like revolution, can devour its children, particularly those who expect more from it than what it actually delivers."

This is where we are, enraptured by the post-1945 decades of primacy, caught up – especially but not only when we look across the Pacific – in a pitiful, unbecoming nostalgia for the once-was-but-no-longer-is.

Nostalgia, I have always thought, is a form of depression that seizes people who cannot bear the present.

From a nation with a destiny ...

Maybe it is evident by now that I think our present predicaments two decades into a new century are at bottom psychological questions – or have a pronounced psychological dimension. To advance from our

present condition, I would argue, requires first a new consciousness.

Let me turn to this briefly.

In *The Promise of American Life* – 1909, I think – *Herbert Croly* asked, more than a century ago, whether America can transform itself from a nation with a destiny into a nation with a purpose. This is one way to describe our project today.

Destiny is the stuff of the exceptionalists. It leads us into – or provides alibis for – all our semi-scared "missions."

Purpose gives a people agency – earthly things to do. It makes us, not Providence, responsible for our decisions.

To me this is the transformation we have to make. The question before us is what we propose to do once we have got this done. What kind of nation do we want to be, with what kind of policies? What will be our purpose?

I define the objective as a post-exceptionalist America. Much else, and maybe all else, will flow from this, it seems to me.

This means that before we get to doing anything, there is a very great deal we have to stop doing. This means we must cease doing all those things America has long done in the name of exceptionalism and its insidious sibling, universalism.

... to a nation with a purpose

All that must cease, we must withdraw from it, and in its place begin to contribute to an orderly, multipolar world in which international law reigns and different histories, traditions, cultures, priorities, and perspectives are not merely accommodated but taken as a given and respected, valued, even celebrated.

I will be forever damned if most Americans, properly informed, would not choose an orderly world over military, material, and ideological dominance. All of us, were we to have leadership with the guts to embark on a new path, would soon discover that our claim to exceptionalism and all the responsibilities it imposes upon us have been an immense burden.

And how fine it is to imagine the relief when this burden is lifted – or better put when we lift it from ourselves.

Imagine a world where a multitude of voices and sensibilities are aroused to address tasks, challenges, crises that are common to us all.

What new ways would things open up to us – providing we first have the courage to open our minds and escape our obsession with our own voice as the only one the world needs to hear.

The path forward

I address a gathering with some constitutionalists among you. This suggests to me that you are already well aware of the path

forward. It lies in our return to the ideals we long ago abandoned and to the rule of law as set out in the Constitution.

This will more than do as we seek fundamentally to alter our course. *An alternative foreign policy based on respect for international law, instead of this "rules-based order" people bang on about, the dismantling of the military-industrial complex and all of its associated apparatus in the national security state, a rebalanced economy, an end to the official lawlessness that is rampant all around us, a rethink altogether of our place in the world and how we should conduct ourselves among others: All such advances require only that we live by the principles we claim to espouse but have too long ignored.*

Enormity of the transformation

I am well aware, as I am sure you are, of the enormity of the transformation I'm trying to describe. So be it, I say. The magnitude of the task does not constitute an excuse for not undertaking it. It is just the opposite, in my view. The magnitude of the task is a precise measure of how urgently we need to address it.

The French have a wonderful word for otherworldly idealism. They call it *angélisme*, and when I take up these topics I am sometimes charged with it – or, truer to the point, I accuse myself of indulging in it. I reply – to others or myself – with a mention of *Henri Bergson*² and how he understood the coming of great change, so I will end with this passage from his final book. *The Two Sources of Morality and Religion* [1932] was a brief elaboration on one of his big ones, *Creative Evolution* [1907], wherein he made his case for what he called our *élan vital*, a sort of spirit or innate energy that drives us forward.

Here is what he said about how fundamental change arrives among us:

"It is a leap forward, which can take place only if a society has decided to try the experiment; and the experiment will not be tried unless a society has allowed itself to be won over, or at least stirred ... It is no use maintaining that this leap forward does not imply a creative effort behind it ... That would be to forget that most great reforms appeared at first impracticable, as in fact they were." •

¹ *William Butler Yeats* (1865–1935) was an Irish poet and one of the most important English-language writers of the 20th century. In 1921 he wrote the poem "Easter, 1916", in which he commented on the Dublin Easter Rising of 1916. In the serious poem, he commemorates the Irish freedom fighters with the words, "All changed, changed utterly / A terrible beauty is born." (Editor's note)

² *Henri Bergson* (1859–1941) was a French philosopher and is considered one of the most important exponents of the philosophy of life. (Editor's note)

Source: <https://scheerpost.com/2022/12/20/patrick-lawrence-between-myth-and-history/> of 20 December 2022; with friendly permission of the author

Germany 2023 – what we should keep in mind

by Karl-Jürgen Müller

Unfortunately, the following text cannot give hope for better German politics in 2023. Considering the oath that all members of the government had to take when taking office – “I swear that I will devote my strength to the welfare of the German people, increase its benefits, avert harm from it, uphold and defend the Basic Law and the laws of the Federation, fulfil my duties conscientiously and do justice to everyone.” –, the German federal government in office since December 2021 is in many respects a total failure. This total failure does not only concern German foreign policy; also, in domestic policy, the increasingly authoritarian German state is alarming. Also, the just as authoritarian behaviour of German politicians and the leading political organisations in society – including the German media. Taking the comparison of democracies and autocracies seriously, Germany could no longer be considered a democracy.

The authoritarian tendency of German rulers and the German spirit of subservience

This is nothing new for Germany. The authoritarian tendencies of the country’s rulers are a common theme in German history, especially in times of political, economic and/or social crisis. Fifty-six years ago – on the occasion of the changes to the Basic Law planned by the German government through the *Notstandsgesetze* [Emergency Laws] – the book “*Wohin treibt die Bundesrepublik?*” (“The Future of Germany”, 1967, The University of Chicago Press), sensational at the time, by the German philosopher *Karl Jaspers* – by no means an extremist – was published.

This book is still worth reading today, as in many respects one feels as if one has been transported to the present. To illustrate this, the heading of one chapter is quoted here: “From the oligarchy to a dictatorship”¹.

A passage in the text reads:

“Centuries of authoritarian government have left us Germans with a residue of half-conscious attitudes which remain strong to this day. There is respect for the government as such, no matter what kind, no matter how established. There is the need to worship the state in its representative politicians, as substitutes for king and emperor. There is the subject’s awe of authority in all its forms, down to the lowliest clerk behind an office window; there is the readiness to obey blindly, the confidence that the government will do right. The subject thinks he need not



“Der Denker-Club” (The Club of Thinkers) (lithograph circa 1820). Contemporary anonymous caricature as a response to the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, which introduced harsh censorship measures throughout the territory of the then German Confederation for the purpose of suppressing the German freedom, democracy and national movement. Not shown is the lower margin of the illustration with the caption: “Der Denker-Club. Also a new German society”. The text on the left-hand sign reads: “Important question to be considered at today’s meeting: How long might we be allowed to think?” (picture Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Wikipedia)

bother his head about the government that looks after his welfare and his security in the world, the government that makes him proud to belong to a great nation entitled to make just and effective demands on other nations.

For a subject there is an aura about *de facto* rulers. However foolish they may act, their jobs hallow them, so to speak, and they themselves feel hallowed. They may take outrageous liberties, may sacrifice the public interests to personal feuds, may carry on intrigues and show the meanness of their spirit in political speeches. They still remain objects of reverence. In short, the way we feel toward our government is often still the way a subject feels; it is not the democratic attitude of a free citizen. A subject grumbles, to be sure, when grumbling is safe and will have no consequences, but he obeys, shows respect, and eschews action.” (p. 22–23)

“Devaluation of the free spirit”

Another passage in Jaspers reads:

“Another harbinger of dictatorship is the incipient depreciation of the free mind. The question today is whether a crippling of education, of research, of intellectual life at large has already set in, whether initiative is declining all over. A man’s advancement nowadays depends not so much on his mental and moral qualifications as on his connections, on the most varied kinds

of loyalties, and on specialized technical competence. We cry for personalities and do our best to hamper their emergence and effectiveness. Hence the debility, the sluggishness of a life whose vital energies will either go into mere toil or evaporate in a void of talk, of demands, of abuse, or tranquilization. Neither in the operation of our businesses nor in our passing, swiftly forgotten excitements is there a faith or an ethos. The resulting human masses are conditioned for a dictator; they are all but asking for him.” (p. 30–31)

At that time, however, the opposition to such developments was more solid, determined, and broad-based than it is today. This was not primarily the anti-authoritarian (student) movement of the time, which was itself authoritarian and also violent, but the citizenry as a whole: the CDU, which was the party of Federal Chancellor until 1969, was removed from government power, the SPD politician *Willy Brandt* became Federal Chancellor, and one of his main promises in his first government declaration was: “We want to risk more democracy.” – even though this was actually only implemented to a limited extent and *Willy Brandt* had to resign as early as 1974.

The new German “liberalism” behaves in a highly authoritarian manner

Today’s authoritarian German state – and this is what distinguishes it from its prede-

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“Germany 2023 – what we should ...”

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cessors – is characterised by the fact that on the one hand it presents itself as highly libertarian, preaching and practicing a kind of liberalism that promotes and favours all social groups that are hostile to tradition. On the other hand, however, it acts harshly against all who are questioning this kind of liberalism. Not to mention the media and social pressure groups (today called non-governmental organisations or NGOs) that vociferously and influentially pursue social exclusion.

Thus, the restrictions on civil liberties, especially freedom of expression, are increasing. Much has been said and written about this. The reference to the book by *Hannes Hofbauer*, published in 2022, “Zensur. Publikationsverbote im Spiegel der Geschichte. Vom kirchlichen Index zur YouTube-Löschung“, may suffice here (cf. also the book review in *Current Concerns* No. 14 of 5 July 2022). Since 24 February 2022 – after Hannes Hofbauer’s book was written – the restrictions on freedom of expression have further intensified.

On 7 December 2022, *MDR radio* published the results of a survey of around 27,000 citizens of the eastern German states.² 48 % of those questioned said they were afraid to express their own opinions. This fear is particularly strong when expressing opinions in social media. Here it is 70 % who stated this. 78 % of the respondents said that one must be careful how one expresses oneself on certain topics in Germany. Finally: For 59 % of respondents, freedom of expression in Germany is in a bad way. Such survey results have a real background.

Reminder of the importance of freedom of expression

However, the fundamental importance of freedom of expression for freedom as a whole, for the rule of law and for democracy should also be recalled here.

Still important today is a passage from *Immanuel Kant’s* prize essay “Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung?” [Answering the question: What is enlightenment?] of 1784 – five years before the then violent French Revolution:

“A deliverance, from personal despotism, and interested and tyrannical oppression, may perhaps be obtained by a revolution, but never a true reform of the cast of mind; new prejudices will serve, just as well as the old, for leading strings to the thoughtless multitude. [To this] enlightening however nothing is required but liberty; and indeed, the most harmless of all that may be named liberty, to wit, that, to make a public use of one’s reason in every point.” (emphasis km)

Even at the beginning of his writing, Kant had defined “Enlightenment” in his well-known diction as follows:

“Enlightening is, Man’s quitting the nonage occasioned by himself. Nonage or minority is the inability of making use of one’s own understanding without the guidance of another.”

“To make public use of one’s reason in every point”

All those who, from the beginning of the 19th century onwards, campaigned largely non-violently for a free democracy based on the rule of law in Germany, and also the draft constitutions and the constitutions of the Weimar Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany followed this view of “making public use of one’s reason in all matters”. The students at the *Wartburg Festival* in 1817 demanded in their 31st principle: “The right to express one’s opinion on public affairs in free speech and writing is an inalienable right of every citizen.” The *Hambach Festival* in 1832, another landmark of the German freedom and democracy movement, also demanded freedom of the press and freedom of expression. And it was no different with the March demands of the revolutionaries of 1848. Article 4 of the *Basic Rights* of the German People, adopted on 21 December 1848, stated: “Every German has the right freely to express his opinion by word, writing, printing and pictorial representation.”

In the 19th century, those in power in Germany were not yet prepared to comply with these demands. It was not until the constitution of the Weimar Republic that freedom of expression gained legal force. “Every German has the right, within the limits of the general laws, to freely express his opinion by word, writing, print, picture or in any other way. No employment or occupation may prevent him from exercising this right, and no one may discriminate against him when he exercises this right.” This was the wording of Article 118 of the Constitution. The *Basic Law* of the Federal Republic of Germany of 1949 followed on from its predecessors. Its Article 5 stipulates: “Every person shall have the right freely to express and disseminate his opinions in speech, writing and pictures and to inform himself without hindrance from generally accessible sources.” Going beyond the predecessor formulations, however, this not only guaranteed freedom of expression, but also freedom of information – an extremely important addition; because forming an opinion without freedom of information is a double-edged sword. Those who are denied access to comprehensive information are much more susceptible to manipulation of all kinds.

“The fundamental right to freedom of expression of opinion is one of the noblest human rights of all”

Since its fundamental ruling in 1958 in the *Lüth case*³, the German *Federal Constitutional Court* has repeatedly commented on the individual freedom of expression and its rulings have generally been in favour of this fundamental right. It has formulated sentences such as: “The fundamental right to freedom of expression is, as a direct expression of the human personality in society, one of the most noble human rights of all. Freedom of opinion is the very essence of a liberal democratic state order because it is what enables a constant intellectual debate, a battle of opinions, which is its lifeblood. In a certain sense, it is the basis of all freedom.” (BVerfGE 7, 198) But also: “An expression of opinion is every statement, every opinion, every opinion within the framework of an intellectual debate. The value, correctness or reasonableness of the expression is irrelevant.” (BVerfGE 61, 1)

Freedom of expression also has its limits, and rightly so. Article 5 mentions the “provisions of general law”, the “legal provisions for the protection of minors” and the “right to personal honour”. However, anyone who thinks that because of the wording “provisions of general laws” the legislature can use simple laws to nullify at will the freedom of expression is mistaken. “General laws” are only “those that do not prohibit an opinion as such, that are not directed against the expression of an opinion as such, but rather serve to protect a legal interest that is to be protected without regard to a particular opinion, the protection of a community value that takes precedence over the exercise of freedom of opinion”⁴. What this means in concrete terms must be decided by the courts in each individual case. What is certain, however, is that this barrier must not be directed “against the expression of an opinion as such” – as is now practised in Germany when an expression of opinion is politically “disturbing” and is to be put on the index by the state as well as by the media and press groups as “conspiracy theory”, “Russian propaganda” or even “delegitimation of the state relevant to constitutional protection”. – While the unlawful, hate and fear-inducing incitement of the people, which has become part of everyday life in the German media, has so far emerged unscathed. •

¹ Scientists such as *Hans Herbert von Arnim* and *Karl Albrecht Schachtschneider* made similar analyses a few decades later.

² <https://www.mdr.de/nachrichten/deutschland/politik/umfrage-meinungsfreiheit-100.html> as of 7 December 2022

³ cf. Stamm, Katja. “The Federal Constitutional Court and Freedom of Expression”; in: *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 37-38/2001, page 16ff.; <https://www.bpb.de/medien/26034/4U777R.pdf>

⁴ <https://www.juracademy.de/grundrechte/kommunikationsgrundrechte-rechtfertigung-eingriff.html>

Good news for Latin America

by Atilio A. Borón, Buenos Aires

The assumption of office by *Luiz Inácio “Lula” da Silva* as president of Brazil is good news for Latin America and the Caribbean. It is likely that the South American giant will regain the international importance it had in the past and that he will help revive or advance the various integration processes in the region. On the 200th anniversary of the ill-fated *Monroe Doctrine*, this is more important than ever.

The agenda ranges from the revival of *MERCOSUR* to *CELAC* (*Community of Latin American and Caribbean States*) and *UNASUR*, to name but the most important. A sign of the reorientation of Brazil's foreign policy is the new president's commitment not only to attend the next *CELAC* summit – to be held in Buenos Aires on 24 January – but also to return Brazil to this organisation, from which it had withdrawn following a decision by *Jair Bolsonaro's* government.

Obviously, however, this is only part of the agenda that Lula's foreign minister,

Mauro Vieira, has to deal with. Strengthening relations with the countries of the global South is another priority, as is pushing for reform of the United Nations Security Council to give Brazil a permanent seat on that body. Another priority issue will undoubtedly be the revival of the *BRICS*, the agreement between Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, which is currently undergoing a difficult (but not intractable) Beijing-sponsored enlargement process that will see the inclusion of Argentina, Egypt, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Nigeria, Senegal and Thailand. After his trip to Argentina, Lula has two highly explosive visits coming up: first to the White House and then to Beijing. Both in the first quarter of the year.

However, Lula will have to use all his diplomatic negotiating skills to avoid getting caught up in the crusade that the *Biden* government is waging against two of Brazil's partners in the *BRICS* group:

against Russia, through the “proxy war” being waged on Ukrainian soil with the participation of Europe's unworthy neo-colonial governments; and the increasing escalation of the war against China, the “main enemy”, as it is named in the latest document of the *US National Security Council*. For China is the only country that has the will and the ability to reshape the current world order in its favour. Russia has the will, but not the ability. The war in Ukraine is a move aimed precisely at weakening this capacity.

But it is different with China. For Brazil, this Asian country is by far the most important trading partner: In 2022, the volume of trade between the two countries reached \$135 billion, more than twice as much as with the US. Biden's approach to the Asian giant could not be more aggressive and at the same time more unpleasant for Lula: Biden invited a representative of Taiwan to his inauguration – an

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Brazil attempts a fresh start

by Gisela Liebe

On 1 January 2023, *Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva* has come into the presidential office of Brazil for the third time. Great hopes lie on the newly elected president, yet he is facing a very strong opposition as well. His election victory against *Jair Bolsonaro* was a close one with 50,9% of the votes. The centre and right-wing parties, including those parties confederate with former president *Jair Bolsonaro*, will continue to control congress.

During his inaugural speech as chief of state in parliament, Lula complained about the catastrophic state of the country with increasing poverty and extreme inequality:

“20 years ago, when I was elected president for the first time, I opened my inaugural speech with the word ‘Change’, together with vice president *José Alencar*. Our change back then had the simple intention of implementing the constitutional laws into practice. Starting with the right to live a life with dignity, without hunger, with access to employment, health and education.

On this occasion I stated that my life's work would be fulfilled by the time every Brazilian man and every Brazilian woman could eat a proper meal three times a day. Having to repeat this obligation today – facing the ever-increasing misery and the return of famine which we already had overcome – is the main symptom for the devastation which was laid upon the country during the last couple of years.” In addition to the consequences of *Bolsonaro's* neoliberal policy, the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil resulted in 700.000 deaths, an extremely high number in relation to the population.

Furthermore, according to Lula it is his prime goal to reduce the clearing of the Amazon rainforest to zero and to protect the indigenous territories. “We will initialise an energetic and ecologic shift to a sustainable agricultural production and sustainable mining and strengthen peasant agriculture”, he said in front of the national congress. The Amazon trust equivalent to 600 million USD, which is composed of German and Norwegian funds and had been suspended by *Bolsonaro* in 2019, will be re-activated. The future minister of the environment *Marina Silva* had already been employed as such under Lula before and had retired under protest in 2008, being without a chance against the agricultural lobby. Tensions with the agricultural industry are to be expected in the future, as the new minister of Agriculture *Carlos Fávaro* comes from the agricultural industry at Mato Grosso, where soy is produced in particular.

Stop of privatisations

On the very first day of his term in office, Lula signed several important decrees:

- The already initiated privatisations of eight federal enterprises will be cancelled, among them the oil company *Petrobras*, the Post Office, the Brazilian communications company and the federal data processing service. Lula declared that it would be necessary to “guarantee a strong analysis of the consequences of privatisation on public services or the market” and thus stopped the national privatisation program of the former government.
- The last decree of the *Bolsonaro* government, in which the tax rates for

large businesses had been halved, has been superseded.

- The benefit program *Bolsa Familia*, which supports 21 million families with 600 Reals or 112 USD, will be continued.
- The liberalisation of possession of firearms issued by *Bolsonaro* will be revoked. All firearms acquired since 2019 have to be registered anew, gun clubs and schools will not get new registrations. Between January 2019 and May 2020, over 1.000 gun clubs had been established, catering to civil armament rather than the shooting sport.

The extent to which Brazil will succeed in leading a sovereign foreign policy, challenging the USA, remains to be seen. The connections between the *Biden* administration and the newly elected Brazilian government have been tied quickly, as *Daniel Kersfeld* writes in “Pagina 12” from 5 January 2022. On the 5 December, a two-hour meeting between Lula and *Jake Sullivan*, security advisor of *Biden*, took place where the domestic situation in Venezuela and Haiti and “the future of democracy in the region” was debated, as well as global issues like global warming and the conflict in Ukraine.

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US-UK “democracy index” 2021: The hegemon clings

mw. The British magazine “The Economist” has been compiling an annual “Democracy Index” of states around the globe since 2006, the latest one is from 2021 and was published at the beginning of February 2022.¹ The blueprint for the index is provided by the US think-tank Freedom House funded by George Soros, among others. But today, more and more states are no longer accepting the order to reassess their values, their culture and their governmental system, but are turning their attention to a community of states on equal terms.

Calling a spade a spade: “The Economist” and “Freedom House”

The *Economist Intelligence Unit’s* (EIU) Democracy Index divides states into four types of regime: full democracies, flawed democracies, hybrid regimes and authoritarian regimes – based on extensive “scientific” indicators, of course!² Freedom House, the other actor, states its goals clearly: “We act as a catalyst for freedom through a combination of analysis, advocacy, and action.”³ (emphasis *mw.*) In plain language: Freedom House and its clique organise the colour revolutions and regime changes – so-called “promotion of democratic change”.

It is rather presumptuous that the elites in Washington and London, of all places, who cover the world with their bloody wars, give all other states “democracy” labels if they show good behaviour towards the only world power, or “autocracy” labels if they do not.

In fact, Freedom House has only one goal: to “Promoting US Leadership”. To this end, the think tank recommends that the government in Washington “to cultivate alliances with free nations and lend support to democracy advocates in authoritarian or transitional settings”. We know what they mean by this from Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Libya and currently from Ukraine, where NATO is fighting for the “freedom of the West” – down to the last Ukrainian.

It doesn’t get more absurd than this

The ranking reflects the stated geopolitical goals of the US-UK elites. Some particularly illuminating “assessments” shall be singled out here.

- A “new low for global democracy” would be the pandemic-related restrictions that “damaged democratic freedoms”.⁴ Not a word about the far more serious de facto abolition of freedom of expression and media freedom in the “free West”!
- The US narrowly made it to the bottom 35 of the “full democracies” in 2021, “Despite riots in the Capitol and attempts by the departing president Donald Trump to overturn the election results”. In the 2016 Democracy Index, the Economist, a few days after Trump’s inauguration, had “for the first time downgraded the US from a ‘full democracy’ to a ‘flawed democracy’”.⁵ Now these practices actually have something to do with democracy, or rather with its undermining. For in the USA, the ruling elite is in the habit of dictating who should become president. This failed in 2016: The US citizens elected the “wrong guy”. In 2020, the Federal Security Agency (FBI) therefore controlled the election propaganda via *Twitter*, as its new owner *Elon Musk* recently revealed (according to the Swiss radio news of 19 December 2022, Musk added that if he was found dead soon, it would not have been a suicide). So much about the US as a model democracy.
- From China will come “the biggest challenge to the Western model of democracy”⁶ (“The Economist”): Isn’t it embarrassing that China is prospering economically in such a way and at the same time successfully fighting poverty at home and in many countries around the world that are exploited and neglected by the West? And this country, of all countries, does not let

Washington and London dictate how it should run its state.

- The final rank for Afghanistan, maltreated and robbed by the hegemon for decades “because of the return of the Taliban” (or rather to whitewash its own ignominious defeat?) – is more than cynical!
- Switzerland, with its globally unique direct democracy, does not make it to the top of the US-UK rankings – that’s logical. The Western superpowers (including the EU) have long been concerned about the piece of sovereignty that we have been able to preserve. In Freedom House’s “Freedom in the World 2022” country report, Switzerland only gets 96 out of 100 points, because Swiss citizenship is a prerequisite for the right to vote and to stand for election, according to the will of the electorate at the federal level and in most cantons, because the federal popular initiative “Against the Construction of Minarets” was accepted at the ballot box. Plus, the Swiss wanted to control immigration from the EU themselves with the mass immigration initiative (which, as is well known, was not implemented by parliament in violation of the constitution).⁶ The alleged “lack” of freedom and democracy is therefore attributable to the strong Swiss popular rights, of all things. It doesn’t get more absurd than that. •

¹ “A new low for global democracy. More pandemic restrictions damaged democratic freedoms in 2021”. In: *The Economist* of 9 February 2022

² <https://www.eiu.com/n/campaigns/democracy-index-2021>

³ <https://freedomhouse.org/issues>

⁴ «A new low for global democracy. More pandemic restrictions damaged democratic freedoms in 2021». In: *The Economist* of 9 February 2022

⁵ Hunter, John Stanley. “USA zur ‘fehlerhaften Demokratie’ herabgestuft”. (US downgraded to flawed democracy) In: *Handelszeitung* of 30 January 2017

⁶ <https://freedomhouse.org/country/switzerland/freedom-world/2022>

“Good news for Latin America”

continued from page 10

unprecedented gesture since the US officially recognised the People’s Republic of China –, and he did the same on the occasion of his failed “Summit for Democracy”, where the envoy from Taipei sat next to none other than *Juan Guaidó*¹ and other representatives of his ilk. We should also remember the constant provocations of US forces in the South China Sea or *Nancy Pelosi’s* visit and her attempts to deny China access to microchips.

Lula knows that another of his BRICS partners, India, is also not welcome to

Washington today, because its trade with Russia has doubled and this is interpreted as economic support for the military action in Ukraine and as a weakening of Biden’s sanctions against Russia. Therefore, it is likely that behind the friendly smiles on display in the official photo in the Oval Office of the White House, the tensions that characterise the international system today will come full force to the meeting of the two heads of state once the photographers have left. Washington needs unconditional allies for its holy crusade against Russia and China, but the worst thing Brazil and any other Latin American and Caribbean country can do

is to get involved in a conflict that is completely alien to us and in which there is almost everything to lose and nothing to gain.

Lula surely knows that one of the few options he has to avoid being hired for this war is to strengthen the *Union of the Countries of Our America*. Hopefully he can act accordingly or, respectively, will be allowed to do so. •

¹ *Juan Guaidó* was the self-proclaimed and US-backed “interim president” of Venezuela. He has meanwhile also been dropped by the USA.

Source: <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/512674-lula-entre-dos-fuegos> of 3 January 2023

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

What we Swiss understand by liberty and democracy

Ueli Maurer takes his leave as Federal Councillor

by Dr iur. Marianne Wüthrich

On 7 December 2022, Ueli Maurer receded after 13 years as a Federal Councillor. A Swiss, who came from the “common people” and remained modest even in his “high” office – a real servant of the people. From the very beginning of his political participation Ueli Maurer has been committed to the idea of the greatest possible independence of Switzerland and the power of ultimate decision of the Swiss sovereign, the people. Even as a National Councillor and Federal Councillor, he did not let himself be dissuaded from the Swiss way, far from having his eye on EU- and NATO-dignities.

Not a “college man” – overestimated people we have enough

Admittedly, in Switzerland most Federal Councillors have a university degree, but the *United Federal Assembly* (National Council and Council of States) once again elects somebody to the federal executive who is not a “college man”. Legendary is *Willi Ritschard*, a social democrat (SP), Federal Councillor from 1974–1983, a heating installer by profession, or – in the time of the generation of active military service – the farmer *Ruedi Minger* from the Farmers’, Commercial and Citizens’ Party (BGB), today Swiss Peoples Party (SVP), head of the Federal Military Department from 1930–1940.

Ueli Maurer is not an academic either. He completed a commercial apprenticeship and obtained the federal accountancy diploma. Professionally, from 1974 he was for twenty years the executive director of the agricultural cooperative *Hinwil-Bauma* in the Canton of Zurich, where he grew up, and from 1994 he was executive director of the *Zurich Farmers’ Association*. He therefore had ideal qualifications for his last appointment as head of the Finance Department in the Federal Council in Berne. Ueli Maurer is married and the father of six children. As was the rule in Switzerland in the past, and still makes sense and is often seen today, Ueli Maurer has, as a politician (of the SVP), passed through all three governmental levels of federal Switzerland: First he was elected to the municipal council (executive) of *Hinwil*, then to the Cantonal Council (parliament) and from 1991–2008 he was member of the National Council.¹

In 2008, Ueli Maurer was elected to the Federal Council where he initially for six years was head of the *Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport* (DDPS). As a member

“Our greatest asset is our neutrality. In terms of domestic politics, we judge this completely wrong. [...] We can trade with everyone worldwide because we are seen as a reliable partner without political claims to power. Therefore, we would be well suited to play a role as a credible mediator in armed conflicts. Neutrality is Switzerland’s seal of quality.” (former Federal Councillor *Ueli Maurer*)

of the Swiss militia army, he knew his way around national defence: Ueli Maurer was a major and tried, against the resistance of some “NATO-Turbos” in the DDPS, to maintain a strong Swiss army – a difficult undertaking. As President of the Federal Council in 2019, he visited *Donald Trump* as well as *Vladimir Putin* and *Xi Jinping*, and as head of the Federal Department of Finance from 2016, he also visited numerous other heads of state and ministers of this world. As Federal Councillor of the SVP, Ueli Maurer was not, contrary to malicious gossip, in favour of an “isolation” of our country, but in his first years as defence minister with no affinity for NATO, however showed little motivation to scramble for the centres of power of the Great Powers.

“Ueli has long been underestimated in Federal Bern, due to his lack of a university degree and language skills. [...] Now, at the end, they must admit they were wrong. His satisfaction is that they did not overestimate him. We have enough of those. He has shown it to all. He was one of the best. He deserves the country’s thanks, for passing this ‘footnote in history’ with flying colours.”²

Switzerland in the world: “Neutrality is Switzerland’s seal of quality”

In a newspaper interview at the turn of the year the outgoing Federal Councillor Ueli Maurer declared fundamental principles for Switzerland’s place in the world: We should not only be fixated on the European Union, “but should have the whole world in view”. The EU is of course also part of this. “But Switzerland has achieved prosperity above all because it has always traded with the whole world.”³ On the Switzerland-EU relationship in a nutshell: “There are issues where one must not give in, for example on the question of EU-membership.”

With particular emphasis, Ueli Maurer reminds us of the great importance of neutrality as an indispensable part of the Swiss model. In response to the journalists’ question, how Switzerland is viewed abroad, he replies: “With great re-

spect. Our greatest asset is our neutrality. In terms of domestic politics, we judge this completely wrong. [...] We can trade with everyone worldwide because we are seen as a reliable partner without political claims to power. Therefore, we would be well suited to play a role as a credible mediator in armed conflicts. Neutrality is Switzerland’s seal of quality.” •

¹ *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz* HLS (Historical Encyclopedia of Switzerland)

² Blocher, Christoph. “Ueli gebührt Lob” (Ueli deserves praise). In: *Die Weltwoche* of 23 December 2022

³ Neuhaus, Christina/Biner, David. “Zwischendurch muss man es halt mal krachen lassen” (In between you just have to let it rip). Interview with Bundesrat Ueli Maurer. In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 31 December 2022

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Farewell address by Federal Councillor Ueli Maurer on 7 December 2022

“Mr President [of the National Council], ladies and gentlemen. Sometimes it almost sounds like an abdication! (Laughter) But it is not that far yet, although I am really looking forward to the time after that. Nevertheless, I would like to make a pit stop, so to speak, because today is important for Switzerland. Not because we are electing two new Federal Councillors or because two previous ones are stepping down, but because today, in the 174-year history of the Federal Constitution, Switzerland is electing Federal Councillors number 120 and number 121.

If we consider what has happened all around us in these 174 years – wars, empires, countries that have come into being and disappeared again, hundreds of governments that have been replaced – and we, we elect number 120 and number 121 in joyful excitement. That speaks for Switzerland, for our system. And therefore, I think it is really an important day for Switzerland: that we remember, as I said, how unique we are.

Of course, I ask myself: why is Switzerland such a special case? For me, I find the answer in the Federal Constitution, in the article of purpose, the article 2 paragraph 1, which says: „The Swiss Confederation shall protect the liberty and rights of the people [...]“. I believe that the secret of our state lies in this concept of freedom. Without freedom there is no democracy, and without democracy, without the participation of all levels of the people, this stability cannot be achieved. We must take care of this freedom. It also accompanies us in the mythology of our history, here in this room. Behind me, the Rütli meadow, *Gertrud Stauffacher*, *Wilhelm Tell* – all symbols that we associate with our freedom, with our state. And this freedom is enormous, is enormously important.

I also believe that we must always take care of this freedom. It has always been



(Bild keystone)

a little endangered, it is endangered and will probably always be endangered in the future. I mean the freedom of the country, but I also mean freedom of speech, freedom of opinion – these are all goods that contribute to stability in our democracy. We have to take care of that. Freedom, by the way, is also found in money, in my hobby, so to speak. A healthy financial budget also means freedom – freedom for you to decide what you can and want. After all, I have a bit of a reputation for being a money saver or a rapple splitter. I am proud of it! You know, there is nothing easier than spending other people’s money. I have always looked at this money carefully. For example, if you look at the five-centime coin, the ten-centime coin or the twenty-centime coin, you won’t see the image of *Helvetia*, but of the Roman goddess of freedom, *Libertas*. It is also written on her diadem: “*Libertas*”, freedom. So I was connected to freedom every day in my job. Besides, it doesn’t hurt to keep the cash. You then always have some freedom in your pocket. (Laughter)

I really believe: 174 years, the numbers 121 and 120 – that says a lot about our state system. It’s just the way it is: Federal Councillors are not the main characters, but they are, so to speak, the footnotes of our history. If something were to be written about me, I would be footnote number 111. That’s how our system works.

(in French:)

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to thank you for this excellent collaboration. It was always a great pleasure and an honour to work with you, to collaborate with you; all these discussions and emotions in this room will remain with me. And now, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, I am leaving, thank you.” (Standing ovation; the President presents a bouquet of flowers to Federal Councillor Maurer).

Federal Councillor Maurer thanks him with a “whoop.”

Source: https://par-pcache.simplex.tv/content/simvid_1.mp4?externalid=311415 of 7 December 2022”.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

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English in Switzerland? – A story for reflection

by Eliane Perret

“Yes, we can” was written on the canvas cover of a lorry with a Swiss licence plate travelling in front of me on the motorway. Let’s hope so, I thought, after all it was a logistics company that obviously wanted to distinguish itself through “logical” advertising slogans connected to logistics. But why in English (and with *Obama’s* election promise to boot), since, at bottom, their route led through Switzerland? Well, it was an advertising slogan, and I was sure that in their case I could rely on it not being a cheap lie and that the company would do its job responsibly.

Soon I noticed another transport company with its truck advertising its services with “We know the way”. Oh yes, knowing the way is important for such a company, I thought and was almost grateful for their sense of duty. I wondered why it was so advised by its advertising agency? Probably the truck was on its way to the Anglo-Saxon countries, I guessed, and there its offer had to be understood, hence the English language was used here, too.

Or maybe this wasn’t the case at all, and one simply relied on the success of early English lessons for Swiss children, though the effectiveness of these has not been proven by any serious scientific study (in contrast to the decline in German language skills, which is lamented by all and empirically substantiated). But this reason would not fit in with transporting refrigerators, as children prefer sweets. For them was intended “the world of sweets”, an advertising slogan for sweets that I soon discovered on yet another truck. The variety of English advertising slogans on the vehicles was remarkable. Soon I spotted the words “Oil of Switzerland” on a big truck, which made me take a deep breath in view of the worries about high energy prices. But I wondered what “Energy for free” meant in the current context.

After all these English translation tasks on my way to the next small town, I was glad not to find my bookshop there labelled a “library”. Nor did it have a “Sale” banner on its window, as many other shops in the same alley did. I was even pleased to have finally found an advertisement in one of our own four national languages, and as I had studied French extensively and successfully at school, I confidently translated “sale” to “dirty” – but did all these shops really sell dirty goods, or did the owners simply admit that their products had been produced at dirty wages in developing countries and were therefore so cheap? That, on the other hand, gave me pause.

I was looking forward to reading the new book in my rucksack on the mech-



Welcome – to what future? In the dissolution of our own multilingualism into linguistic simplicity? No, thank you! The multilingualism of Switzerland and its inhabitants was once one of the outstanding features of our country. The “American way of life” associated with English as the “fifth national language”, its mass culture and hegemonic aspirations are not compatible with our values of freedom, cooperation and our contribution to the global coexistence of people.

(Pictures Urs Graf and Caro)

anisms of propaganda¹, it would certainly make me understand better how the attempt worked to lead me around by the nose by means of these advertising slogans. Not on my watch! The book was in my rucksack, which made environmentally friendly packaging – “paper wrap” as it had been advertised on a delivery truck – unnecessary.

Finally, on the way to my car, I passed a poster bearing the motto “Be the game changer”, urging me to buy a new car and thus give important impulses for trend-setting innovations. Oh no, not that – I was getting fed up ... Stale, staler, platitudes! So even the enticing ads on a poster pillar for a “Beauty week” and for “Fun TV” could now only annoy me. Perhaps the offered course “Smile and breathe” would be my sheet anchor? But I no longer felt like smiling or even laughing, and fortunately I was still breathing regularly.

Then my “mobile” rang and a friend told me that she was now receiving messages from her Swiss university in English – my breath caught and I nearly threw a tantrum. At home I lay down on the sofa with my new book. Just as *William Tell* had fought the Föhn storm on Lake Lucerne and won his freedom, I was now fighting the storm of thoughts in my head in search of clarity: Where do we live anyway? What is the reason for this accumulation of English expressions in our everyday life? Isn’t this a form of “cultural appropriation” (or takeover), combined with the devaluation and neglect

of our German language? Wasn’t it always the case that colonial powers imposed their own language on the countries occupied by them, be it English, French, Spanish or Portuguese, thus degrading and displacing indigenous languages and cultures? Or what about Sri Lanka, the pearl in the Indian Ocean, after the withdrawal of the English colonial masters, when discrimination against the Tamil population set in, with the government banning their mother tongue and the hitherto second official language - all this in combination with discrimination against this language group?

Or more recently in Ukraine, when the Russian minority in the east of the country was no longer allowed to be taught in their mother tongue? Yes, economic-military imperialism has always come along with a language, this had already been the case with the Romans. And what does that mean for us? Why has the English language gained so much weight in our country in recent years? Not simply as an internationally recognised means of communication in science and business, but as part of a cultural change, spreading from the Anglo-American area: the *American Way of Life*. Yes, even in foreign language teaching in schools, English is preferred to a second national language, despite weighty objections. Isn’t this an “unfriendly takeover” of cultural dictates in music, literature and art, com-

continued on page 15

Understanding modern literature

by Alexander Meier

“The Structure of Modern Literature” – this is the title of the much-anticipated greatly expanded and thoroughly updated 6th edition of the standard work by Prof. Dr. Mario Andreotti, author and lecturer in Modern German Literature. It provides a unique, fascinating approach to the literature of the 20th and 21st centuries.

The starting point is the frequent lack of resonance of modern literature or even the distrust it is met with.

Enormous intellectual and social change since 1900

Modern novels in particular often disappoint reading expectations. The break with traditional forms, with traditional structures of bourgeois realist texts is irritating. A probably primal human desire for harmony and balance is not served.

Why is this so? Why do modern authors write differently from *Jeremias Gotthelf* or *Gottfried Keller*, for example?

Andreotti considers such questions in the context of the change in social conditions and the influence of spiritual forces since the beginning of the 20th century.

The rapid progress in technology brings man almost unlimited possibilities. New modes of transport and communication are leading to an increasingly interconnected world. Today, the exchange of files is largely done digitally via the virtual world of the internet. This has changed our awareness of space and time.

Has everything become better? A wide field. Many things have changed. Values have shifted since Christianity was increasingly questioned.

Especially after the Second World War, modern man finds himself in a mass society: without identity, anonymous. He feels at the mercy of technology and social conditions. Feelings of isolation set in. Rationalisation and globalisation of the econo-

my lead to an increasing scarcity of labour. Man gradually becomes redundant, ultimately a waste product of society, which simply discards its useless members. The anthropocentric view of the world, according to which man is the centre of meaning in the world, seems to have been finally abandoned. A circumstance that *Nietzsche* foresaw with his thesis of the death of man.

It goes without saying that literature has reacted to the change and continues to do so. But how does it do so?

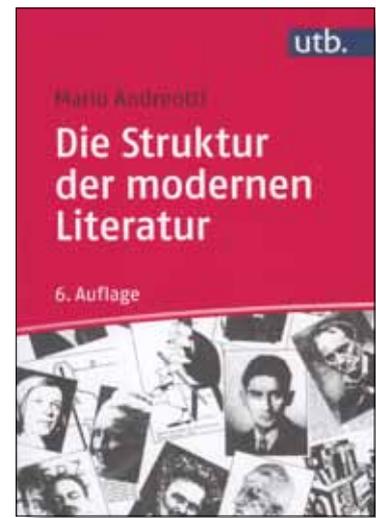
The author describes the innovations with many well-explained textual examples. Only three of them are mentioned here. In “Homo faber” by *Max Frisch*, the narrative style has obviously changed in comparison to older texts. How can this be seen? Frisch no longer tells the story chronologically. The past is experienced in the form of flashbacks. This discontinuous narrative reflects modern man, who has a different awareness of time and epoch. Since *Freud* at the latest, reality has been perceived in particles. The past and the future are mixed together. In “Homo faber”, the death of Professor O is communicated, and twenty pages later Professor O is alive again.

The image of man is also no longer the same. There are hardly any unique personalities in modern literature. The hero no longer exists, there is no longer any talk of the “big guy” as in the time of *Sturm und Drang*. What is modern now is the anti-hero.

Often the characters are nameless. In *Franz Kafka’s* “The Trial”, the world is experienced as a court, as a vast bureaucracy. K. is mercilessly at its mercy.

In *Elfriede Jelinek’s* “The Lovers”, no character emerges from the collective of characters. Everyone, absolutely everyone, is reduced to their market value. Quite the opposite of the traditional romance novel.

The innovations also affect the role of the narrator. In the traditional novel, for



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example in *Gotthelf’s* work, he looks down from above. An authorial narrator has the sovereign overview. The poet has a fixed view of the world. That no longer exists. The narrator, or more correctly, the personal narrator has a limited view. In *Kafka’s* novel, he knows nothing about the reason for the arrest, just as K. does. Reality eludes all interpretation.

Variety of themes and topicality of the 6th edition

At the book launch in St. Gallen, it was said that “The Structure of Modern Literature” is actually a volume consisting of many volumes. Rightly so, because the variety of topics is extraordinarily large. The development of modern literature is analysed from the montage novel to digital literature, to the mobile phone novel and mobile phone poetry using cutting-edge examples. The chapter “Book and Market” provides exciting insights into the laws of the literary business. The term “modern” is defined according to new, holistic criteria. Complex issues are always brought to the point in an excellent way. Never, and this must be said to avoid misunderstandings, is it a devaluation of older literature. Nevertheless, the question remains: what is good literature? Andreotti addresses the problem in the extended final chapter by inviting readers to reflect on twelve criteria that can contribute to the aesthetic quality of a literary text if they are considered with restraint. Quintessence, pointedly: Technique is not everything.

“The Structure of Modern Literature” is a reader-friendly book aimed not only at students and teachers, but quite deliberately at a broad audience interested in literature. It is also aimed at authors, to make it easier for them to get started with modern texts. It reads with great insight and with great intellectual pleasure.

“English in Switzerland? ...”

continued from page 14

bined with a creeping process of disregard for one’s own cultural values and achievements in coexistence as “stuffy” and no longer “up to date”?

I went to my bookcase. There I pulled out a book entitled “Die fünfte Landessprache? Englisch in der Schweiz”² (The fifth national language? English in Switzerland). It had been published twenty years ago and had stated that the English language was of eminent importance as a means of communication in a global market economy (thus pointing to the background of this development), but at the same time it had called for discussion

and added for consideration: “[...] does Switzerland, for this very reason, want to play one of its most important trump cards – its valuable experience with the coexistence of different cultures and their multilingualism? Yes, do we want to give up everything just to seemingly “be along for the ride”? But who in our country actually wants this and to what end?”

¹ Bernays, Edward (2021). *Propaganda: Die Kunst der Public Relations*. (Propaganda: The Art of Public Relations). Berlin: orange-press; Propaganda, New York, 1928

² Watts, Richard J./Murray, Heather (2001). *Die fünfte Landessprache? Englisch in der Schweiz*. (The fifth national language? English in Switzerland). Zurich: vdf (unfortunately out of print)