

# Current Concerns

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English Edition of *Zeit-Fragen*

## Russia mourns Europe

by Guy Mettan, freelance journalist\*



Guy Mettan  
(picture ma)

*In mid-December, I had the opportunity to make a short trip to Moscow and Novosibirsk, the capital of Siberia, that is 4000 kilometres from the Ukrainian front. Enough time, after ten months of war, to assess the mood of the Russian population. What strikes foreign visitors first is the normality of everyday life. Since such visitors have become rare since 24 February, they are heavily courted by Russians eager to know what people in the West think about them.*

Reading and listening to our media, one gets the impression that Russians are living in a state of siege, spending their time surviving our merciless economic sanctions, digesting their military defeats and burying the countless dead that the victorious Ukrainians inflicted on them. None of this is true.

### Normality in everyday life – despite ...

In the big cities, the streets are full of lights and Christmas decorations, the ice rinks and outdoor markets are virtually stormed despite the cold and snow, and the avenues are still clogged with columns of 4x4 SUVs trying to make their way through the traffic jams. It is an atmosphere that contrasts with the flashing lights in our unadorned cities with their



Red Square in Moscow. (picture Guy Mettan)

drab shop windows and reduced street lighting imposed due to energy shortages.

This normality of everyday life is confirmed by economic statistics, showing that the decline in Russia's gross national product in 2022 will be limited to 2.5-3%; this is less than the loss recorded in 2020, the first year of the COVID-19 crisis. There are hardly any closed shops, and if there are, they are mostly of luxury brands, and here and there posters calling for support for the soldiers fighting in Ukraine – the only reminder that a war is taking place on one of the country's immensely long borders.

### ... awareness around the duration of the conflict

Is this normality not only apparent? Does it conceal a deep confusion among the population, a dull hostility towards the "regime", a fear of expressing oneself, as is so often suggested in our country? In this respect, too, I did not have the feeling that this was the case. On the contrary, I had the impression that the Russians have become aware that the conflict in Ukraine is set to last and that, whether they like it or not, they will have to live with it for a long time.

Like everyone else, Russians, too, were initially surprised and taken aback

by the "special military operation" in Ukraine, especially in the very many families – there are tens of millions of people being talked about – who have been isolated or divided in two by this conflict because they have relationships in Ukraine. After the initial shock was overcome, it was thought that the fighting would drag on but not last forever. The first setbacks at the end of August and especially the partial mobilisation in September dampened these hopes. Several hundred thousand mobilizable persons fled abroad – their number, taking into account those gradually returning, is estimated at between 300,000 and 400,000, or 0.3% of the population – while concern became palpable. Three months later, the concern has not disappeared, but has greatly decreased.

Did they fall for the propaganda? I don't think so either. A friend who works in the cultural field told me, "Since the Soviet era, Russians instinctively know how to decode state propaganda and tell things apart. They do not even pay attention to it. Whereas you in the West trust your leaders and institutions so much that you do not even consciously notice their propaganda." Food for thought!

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**"Russia mourns Europe"**

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**Support for government,  
army and soldiers at the front**

In any case, the poll ratings for *Vladimir Putin* have not changed since the end of February and are still very high at around 70% approval, with the approval rating higher the further away one is from the three largest cities of Moscow, Saint Petersburg and Yekaterinburg. Support for the soldiers at the front, if not for the army at all, has even increased. Russians are not fooled by the incompetence of some operational commanders – as was just made clear in the tragedy of Mareevka on New Year's Eve – nor by the logistical mismanagement that characterised the first weeks of the war, and they have not been sparing with criticism in private. They know that they must rely first and foremost on themselves and expect nothing from the state. In any case, the bad news has not changed their support for the military operation, and they now stand behind their soldiers, even if they leave out the hierarchies. It is worth noting that hundreds of civilians in far-flung Siberian villages are mobilising to organise convoys to bring food, chocolate, warm clothes and parcels to the soldiers fighting NATO forces in Ukraine. In contrast to the reluctant urban conscripts, the number of voluntary conscripts is also unbroken.

**For the majority of Russians, it is  
about the survival of their way of life**

Since autumn, the majority of Russians have begun to realise that their country is fighting not only against the Ukrainian nationalists, but against the entire West under the NATO banner, and that this is a vital, existential and protracted struggle for the survival of their way of life and their culture, even if this struggle was started against their will.

The realisation that the war and hostilities would continue was initially borne by the army; it was forced to fundamentally restructure due to the difficulties on the ground. The strategy was completely revised. There was a shift from improvised offensive mode to organised defensive mode, to more secure defensive lines, with a unified and integrated command under the order of an experienced general, *Sergei Surovkin*, and with the aim of conserving human resources and equipment as much as possible. The disorderly withdrawal from Kharkov region was followed by the orderly and successful withdrawal of troops and equipment from Kherson region. Investments were made in drones and small mobile units.

**Military reorientation**

Logistics lines have been revised and reserve divisions reorganised to respond to

emergencies. The bulk of the army entrenched itself and delegated its offensive capabilities to *Wagner* forces, to drone pilots and missile launchers against neuralgic Ukrainian targets, in response to Ukrainian attacks on civilian Russian targets – such as the sabotage of the *Nord Stream* gas pipeline, the attack on the Crimean bridge, the bombing of hospitals, schools and supermarkets in the Donbas, killing civilians every day, all this is never reported in our media.

Russia has taken note of the strategy of NATO and the USA, as pronounced by Pentagon chief *Lloyd Austin* in spring, namely to weaken the country until it can no longer stand up, and it is trying to turn this strategy in its favour. By concentrating and sparing its troops, Russia is allowing the Ukrainians and NATO mercenaries to exhaust their forces and material. More than on General Winter, the Russian army is now relying on the generals time and space. Like *Suvorov* and *Bagrati* in their time, one has become wise through harm and learned that patience is better than strength and anger if one wants to win in the long run.

**Economy – the West  
has got it all wrong**

After the border closure forced by the natural partner Europe, the business community also very quickly became aware that the entire production and trade cycles had to be redesigned from scratch. In Europe, there has been much mockery of the oligarchs and their alleged opposition to Putin. They were completely wrong. Even though the oligarchs regretted the outbreak of hostilities, they quickly understood that the confiscation of their property and bank assets in Europe and the USA – yachts, luxury residences, suites in Courchevel and St. Moritz – and the personal sanctions imposed on them made them pariahs for the West and condemned them to lose everything should they entertain the idea of defecting. The sanctions and Russia's exclusion from the SWIFT payment system and Western banking relations even had a positive effect on the Russian economy, because for the first time they stopped the capital flight – about 100 billion US-Dollar a year – that had been bleeding the economy for 30 years. From now on, people will have to think twice before depositing their money in a Swiss, European or American bank.

For some months now, the Russian economy has therefore been trying to adapt to the new circumstances. The distribution channels for oil, gas, minerals, wheat and fertilisers are being reorganised towards Asia, China, India, Iran, Emirates and Saudi Arabia (because of OPEC+ and banking easing). The same thing is hap-

pening with the import circuits. Parallel imports are created to supply industry with spare parts, superconductors and chips, and the population with household appliances, clothing, luxury goods, furniture and other consumer goods that the Russian economy cannot produce in large quantities.

The example of Belarus, being familiar to sanctions and, despite everything, recorded Europe's best performance in dealing with COVID-19 thanks to its health system and pharmaceutical resources, shows that the Russian industry is absolutely capable of taking up this challenge, provided it directs its investments towards industrial conversion and no longer relies inertly on oil and gas revenues.

The spectacular successes achieved by agriculture, the food industry, the aerospace sector and the defence industry after the sanctions imposed on them in 2014 also point in this direction. The transition will take several years, and experts expect two to three years of negative growth and lean years before growth picks up again. No reason to panic, especially since one can fall back on inexhaustible and very cheap energy resources, unlike Europe, who has to pay a high price for its energy imports.

**Ostracism and  
injustice leave bitter traces**

What is the mood of the population? How is it adapting to this new situation? To sum it up in one sentence, I would say that despite everything, they are not discouraged. You have to remember that most Russians took the measures taken in the West against Russian culture and against themselves very badly. They felt deeply humiliated by the censorship of artists, musicians, athletes and scientists, by the cancellation of academic colloquia, the abrupt termination of exchange programmes despite long-standing personal relationships, the rewriting of history regarding the Russian contribution to the victory over Nazism, the "cancel culture", even the destruction of monuments undertaken not only in Ukraine but also in the Baltic States and Poland. When one has counted 26 million dead in the fight against Nazism, it is unbearable to hear that the Normandy landings (50,000 dead) were the great event of the Second World War.

This ostracism and these injustices have left bitter traces in the living memory of Russians, made worse by the closure of borders and the de facto ban on travel to the West as a result of the suspension of direct flights. They can understand Europe's criticism of the armed intervention in Ukraine, but they cannot understand why Europe, calling it-

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# A state at war?

## A text for my German neighbours

by Karl-Jürgen Müller

My country of birth is Germany; Switzerland is my adopted country. I have more in common with Germany than just my birth. I grew up in the country, attended schools and studied there, lived there for decades, got involved and worked as a teacher until I retired. The relationship with my students, but also with many other people in the country was always important to me. I know about the country's changeful history, appreciate the diversity of the landscapes and regions, the rich literary, artistic, and cultural traditions ... and much more.

The fact that I have made Switzerland my adopted country has to do with the fact that this country is for me a place of freedom and democracy. A country where many people are very down-to-earth and think and act in a very practical way, usually without big-man attitude – even still

among many politicians ... and of course I also appreciate much more here. Above all, that this country has succeeded, through a clever policy, in not becoming involved in wars since its foundation as a state in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and that its armed neutrality has allowed it to become active in many places in the world in a humanitarian, mediating and peace-building capacity.

### “Never again war!”

“Never again war!” – that's how I grew up as a young German after the Second World War – and in a certain way it also connects my birthplace and my adopted country. But for 30 years this imperative has been antagonised by our “leading power”, also by those responsible in our own country. Not only in Germany, but very strongly there.

Just as the war in Ukraine has a long history and global political dimensions, so too have Germany's many steps towards becoming a country whose governments, whose politicians, whose media, whose social “elites”, yes, even whose intellectuals (but not all!) have lost “respect for war”.

For me, as a German after the Second World War, they were a German counterweight to the country forced into line under Nazi rule: the many great names of German intellectuals who left the country after 30 January 1933, had to leave it and went into exile. Many of them called out from exile for another, a better Germany. One of them appealed to Germans to “awaken to reality, to common sense... to the world of freedom and justice”. Also today we need many upright voices.

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self civilised, is attacking *Tchaikovsky*, *Chekhov*, conductors and the population in general in a banishment campaign unprecedented in history. The censorship of all Russian media in a European space that prides itself on defending its democratic “values” in Ukraine is also perceived as duplicity.

For us, these seem to be trifles that we forget as quickly as possible. But not for the Russians, who after the fall of the Iron Curtain finally felt part of the big European family. This rejection of Russia and of Russians as human beings since February last year has been painfully experienced. The country, especially in the cities, is painfully experiencing that it has to mourn for Europe because Europe decided all this because of a war that, although unfortunate and regrettable, has nothing to do with the extent of devastation caused by the armed aggression of the West in Afghanistan and Iraq, in Syria, in Libya, in Yemen, or even in Eastern Congo (6 million victims completely ignored by the Western media). This hypocrisy is felt very negatively.

The first fault lines came to light at the *Munich Security Conference* in 2007 and during the war in Georgia carelessly unleashed by Saakashvili in 2008. Then came the Maidan coup in 2014 that toppled the democratically elected President *Yanukovych*, the ostracism of the Russian-speaking population in the Donbas and the wave of sanctions in response to the takeover of Crimea. However, these

differences had remained political and geopolitical in nature and had not yet turned into a cultural, human and civilisational war. Now the cut is clear, deep and radical.

Until now, the Russian ruling elites had tried to combine both sides: they adopted from the West the principles of neoliberal capitalism, its cult of material progress and its democratic institutions, while at the same time nurturing the idea of an independent, sovereign Russia free to develop its own values – inspired by the conservative tradition – and to choose its partners. The war has made this dual path obsolete. It forces clear choices.

NATO's increasing involvement behind Ukraine, as well as the statements of former Ukrainian President *Poroshenko* and former German Chancellor *Angela Merkel*, confirmed by *François Hollande*, on the fact that neither Ukraine nor NATO had any intention of keeping the Minsk agreements and that they were only a ruse to buy Ukraine time to rearm, have made any prospect of negotiations uncertain from the Russian point of view, as it has become clear that neither the word given nor the agreements signed by the West have any value.

### The West is alienating itself from the culture of Russia and the global South

Moreover, the ideological rift between Europe and Russia has deepened to the point of becoming almost unbridgeable. The Russians, like the rest of the Arab-Muslim, Asian and African world, understand the social development of the West

less and less. The liberalism propagated by the West appears more and more as a subterfuge that serves it to disguise its constant interference in the affairs of others. The identity derailments based on sex and gender, anti-racism escalated to the point of racism, the dictatorship of ever smaller and more extremist minorities over the majority, the historical revisionism imposed by “cancel culture”, the multiplication of the sexes advocated from a very young age, wokism and the rejection of traditional humanist culture – all these have become increasingly alien to the culture of Russia and the global South in general.

The change in tone in Putin's speeches since last summer is, by the way, very revealing in this respect. For the first time, the Russian president made direct allusions to traditional values, criticised the Western fashion for sex changes, surrogate mothers, parent 1 and parent 2 to refer to father and mother, advocated a return to traditional humanist values in the face of the transhumanist temptations popular with us, and pleaded for a multipolar world where every country and culture has an equal right to preserve its values without fear of being bombed or invaded because its choices displease the West.

For the majority of Russians, the separation is a drama because it ends their dream of being recognised as full Europeans. They grieve painfully for Europe, but have resigned themselves to carrying the burden, however heavy it may be. •

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

**"A state at war?"**

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**History does not repeat itself, but ...**

History does not repeat itself, and most Germans would react indignantly if one were to compare today's Germany with the Germany of Hitler's time. They say: We are a liberal democracy, a constitutional state ... And unlike the "evil" National Socialists, our wars are those of the "good guys" against the "bad guys". Just like in the case against the Serbs in 1999 – there was no need to be concerned with international law. Same in Afghanistan. And Putin started the war, he is the "war criminal", he wants to "destroy" Ukraine. And if he really succeeds, he won't stop there... This or something similar is drummed into Germans day after day: my daily newspaper writes it, I hear it on the radio, and German television does nothing else. On top of that, what might happen if I still think differently?

And anyway, until a few days the official line still was: "We are not waging war against Russia" – for that we had the Ukrainians, fighting for our "freedom": also with German weapons, with German missiles, with German tanks, with German secret services, with German mercenaries – soon also with German fighter planes? Now, however, the German Foreign Minister has publicly stated that "we" – 80 years after *Stalin-grad* – are at war with Russia. And that not only is connected with the fact that she knows very well how to draw attention to herself.

**"Putin's plan"**

Thomas Röper published a new book a few weeks ago. The title is long and reads, translated: "Putin's Plan. 'The world does not end with Europe and the USA'. How the Western system is destroying itself and what Russia really wants". Thomas Röper is a German who has lived in Russia for many years, first as a businessman, now he has been writ-

ing for his website *Anti-Spiegel* for several years. For official Germany he is a "Russian propagandist", a "conspiracy ideologue". Anyway – his new book is very interesting. Röper's criticism of the West is not so far-fetched, and the speeches of the Russian president, which Thomas Röper has translated into German and in some cases quotes at length, are particularly interesting. Of course, I cannot say with certainty how serious the Russian President was and is about his words. But let's take him at his word for once: then what he says is worth many discussions, also among Germans; because "Putin's plan" is not "utopia", but it is thoughts for a better world.

**What to do?**

It would be good not to allow oneself to be taken over, either now or in the future. Not for the daily propaganda, not for a policy of hostility against anyone, not for an escalating war against Russia.

"Acts tending to and undertaken with intent to disturb the peaceful relations between nations, especially to prepare for a war of aggression, shall be unconstitutional. They shall be criminalised." That is a good yardstick. But what a distortion is it when, on the basis of this article in the German Basic Law and its concretisation in the Criminal Code, people are prosecuted in Germany today – just because they publicly say:

*"It is incomprehensible for me that German politics is again supporting the same Russophobic ideologies based on which the German Reich found willing helpers in 1941, with whom they closely cooperated and jointly murdered."*

*All decent Germans should reject any cooperation with these forces in Ukraine against the background of German history, the history of millions of murdered Jews and millions and millions of murdered Soviet citizens in*

*the Second World War. We must also vehemently reject the war rhetoric emanating from these forces in Ukraine. Never again must we as Germans be involved in any form of war against Russia.*

*We must unite and oppose this madness together.*

*We must openly and honestly try to understand the Russian reasons for the special military operation in Ukraine and why the vast majority of people in Russia support their government and their president in it.*

*Personally, I very much want to and can understand the view in Russia and that of Russian President Vladimir Putin.*

*I have no distrust of Russia, because the renunciation of revenge against Germans and Germany has determined Soviet and later Russian policy since 1945.<sup>1</sup>*

**A just peace**

"To serve the peace of the world", for which the "German people" are "inspired by the will" according to the preamble of the Basic Law, is no simple matter. To simply shout incoherently: "Lay down your arms", that can lead astray. "Just peace is a guiding principle for peace ethics and peace policy in Christian ecumenism. The basic idea of the guiding principle is that peace is more than the absence of violence." This can be read on Wikipedia. What about "justice" before 24 February 2022? Was it "just" that NATO had extended to Russia's borders? Was it "just" that more than 10,000 people, including women and children, had been killed in the Donbas by Ukrainian soldiers and Nazi worshippers since spring 2014? Was it "just" that the West, including German politics, turned a blind eye to this – and only misused the negotiated agreements for a peaceful solution to make Ukraine ready for war? Was it "just" that the government of Ukraine, together with its "allies" in NATO, prepared a war against Russia? Was the "world order" as we have had it since the end of the Soviet Union "just"? One never runs out of questions. •

**What is different today?**

"They did not see through the Nazis. They did not recognise the dangers of war. They didn't think much of democracy. They have not realised the synchronisation of the media, and they felt comfortable with the people's community which appeared to be. What is different today? Last evening and today, I looked at the media response regarding *Scholz's* decision to deliver tanks to the Ukraine. For example, in the *heute journal* and in the local newspaper and here, for example, the German foreign minister with her free-handed declaration of war 'we are fighting a war against Russia'. What we tolerate today in terms of hostility with other peoples,

in terms of conformity and agitation, and the consequences of this is so unacceptable as the agitation of the Nazis. It is brought forth in a refined way, proclaimed by harmless looking actors such as *Annalena Baerbock* although not in a SS uniform. But it is the same thing. The same seduction of people with the trick of offering them an enemy. And everyone together raises up against this enemy. Today, the same as it was with my parents at the time of my birth in the year 1938." (*Albrecht Müller*, former advisor to German chancellor *Willy Brandt*, in the *Nachdenkseiten* of 25 January 2023)

(Translation Current Concerns)

<sup>1</sup> On the basis of the statements quoted above, on 3 January 2023, a Berlin district court issued a penalty order (fine of 2,000 euros, or 40 days' imprisonment) against the speaker who had spoken at last year's Berlin peace rally on the anniversary of the German attack on the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941. In its reasoning, the court referred to section 140 of the *Criminal Code*, according to which the "rewarding and approval of criminal offences" is itself also punishable. The speaker, the court said, had endorsed Russia's "crime of aggression" against Ukraine and thus incited "the psychological climate in the population". Cf. for details [www.nachdenkseiten.de](http://www.nachdenkseiten.de) of 25 January 2023.

# The shadows descend in Ukraine

by Patrick Lawrence\*



Patrick Lawrence  
(picture ma)

Two of my favorite “New York Times” words are “shadowy” and “murky.” They are brilliantly suited to the Manichean version of our world the “Times” inflicts daily upon its unsuspecting readers. When the “Times” terms

someone or some society or some chain of events shadowy or murky it scarcely has to do any reporting. Two words more or less without meaning point readers’ minds in precisely the desired direction.

I do not mean to single out the “Times” in this, except that I do. None of the other major dailies and none of the network broadcasters comes close to the once-but-no-longer newspaper of record in the matter of shadows and murk. This is especially so of the foreign desk, and a murkier corner of American journalism I cannot think of.

There are lots of shadowy people in Russia, the “Times” will have us know, or think we know. Lots of murky things happen there. Donald Trump’s dealings with the Kremlin were very shadowy, and never mind it turned out there was nothing in them to cast any shadows. Shadows linger long after the lights go on, another of their useful features.

## No shadows with the “good guys”

It follows that there are never any shadows and nothing is ever murky among those people or nations the government-supervised “Times” counts among the “good guys” as opposed to the “bad guys,” and the most powerful paper in America does indulge in such language, if you have not noticed.

We come now to Ukraine. The shadows may be many and the murk very thick, but you will never read of either in the “Times”. The corruption scandal now erupting in Kyiv and across the country seem to me confirmation that Ukraine has made itself in the post-Soviet era less a nation than a crim-

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“Let us not forget: Now that Republicans are a majority in the House, they could any day begin demanding strict accountability for the profligate amounts of weaponry and money the Biden administration is pumping into Ukraine.”

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inal enterprise. This often happens in failed states, where no one believes in anything anymore for the simple reason there is nothing left to believe in. It is then the shadows descend and all grows murky.

This is my read of Kyiv’s latest – of countless – purported efforts to cleanse the pool of corruption in which many of its top officials, most it sometimes seems, have long swum their laps. The Zelensky regime’s announcements of various firings, dismissals, and resignations, late last week and early this, are the merest swab on a gangrene-like disease that has all but consumed what there was of a Ukrainian polity. But worry not. There are no shadows or murk in Ukraine. Volodymyr Zelensky, Washington’s puppet, is the very goodest of the good guys and will get this done.

## Corrupt top officials

By the best count I’ve read, in *Le Monde* and *France24*, more than a dozen top officials have so far been relieved of duty one way or another. There are a lot of deputies on this list – the level of administrator typically charged with seeing that things get done. The first of these to get the sack was a deputy infrastructure minister named *Vasyl Lozynsky*, who was arrested on 22 January. On Tuesday, 24 January, came the apparently forced resignation of *Kyrylo Tymoshenko*, Zelensky’s deputy chief of staff. This brings things quite high in the hierarchy.

And then the long list: a deputy defence minister, a deputy prosecutor, and two other deputies in charge of Kyiv’s provincial development programs. Along with these, the governors of five administrative regions – Kyiv, Sumy, Dnipropetrovsk, Kherson, and Zaporizhzhia – were also fired outright or forced to resign. As *France24* points out, the latter three of these regions are active battlefields; Kyiv and Sumy were on the front lines earlier on in the conflict.

Let us gather what facts we have and see what we can make of them.

Vasyl Lozynsky, the infrastructure man, was responsible for restoring the hardware of water, electricity, heating supplies in those areas of Ukraine where either Russian or Ukrainian artillery and rockets has damaged or destroyed them. Plenty of room for patriotic service there, you have

to say. Lozynsky is charged with embezzling roughly 400,000 US-Dollar of official funds in behalf of a crime syndicate of which he was a member. Some of these funds were supplied by foreign donors as part of the West’s war effort.

## Resignation over an SUV?

There is the case of *Kyrylo Tymoshenko*. A top aide to Zelensky, he has been by the president’s side since he was elected to office four years ago. Close, then. The Times’s explanation for his resignation borders on the cute. Tymoshenko’s transgression was to live a life of conspicuous consumption and “zip around Kyiv,” as the “Times” put it, in a flash SUV *General Motors* donated for use in humanitarian projects. This does not sound to me like the nadir of Ukrainian corruption.

*Le Monde’s* piece featured a photograph of Tymoshenko with an unmistakable smirk and holding up a resignation letter signed with a heart, exclamation marks, and other less-than-serious scribble. I would not call him a worried man – or a serious man.

The deputy defence minister, *Vyacheslav Shapovalov*, resigned after a Kyiv weekly, *Zerkalo Nedeli*, published an investigative piece revealing a kickback scheme wherein Shapovalov’s ministry paid extravagantly over the odds for food intended to supply Ukrainian troops. The fraud – I am reading *Le Monde’s* account of the *Zerkalo Nedeli* account – was in the amount of \$330 million.

Not much has come out about the others in Kyiv or the provincial governors, but the running theme is impossible to miss. A lot of these people had wartime functions giving them access to funds that were supposed to finance various dimensions of the war effort. Foreign funds would have to be prominent among these, given Kyiv is dead broke. This is in keeping with what we’ve read for many months: The Ukrainian political, security and military cliques are massively ripping off the US.

## “No signs” of misappropriation of Western funds (!)

Never mind that. The “Times” asserted high in its coverage – two stories to date

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– that all these officials casting no shadows scrupulously avoided stealing any of the billions of dollars the US and the rest of the West are pouring into Ukraine. "There was no sign that the Ukrainian army's food procurement scandal involved the misappropriation of Western military assistance," *Michael Schwirtz* and *Maria Varenikova* wrote in Wednesday's [25 January] editions.

And further on: "The Biden administration is 'not aware that any US assistance was involved' in the corruption allegations, the State Department spokesman, Ned Price, told reporters on Tuesday. 'We take extraordinarily seriously our responsibility to ensure appropriate oversight of all forms of US assistance that we're delivering to Ukraine,' he added."

"No sign," "not aware": Know what you are reading, readers. These are elisions. They are not denials. Are we supposed to think Ned Price is going to risk the acquiescence of most Americans if, in the land of no shadows and no murk, the Ukrainians have been misappropriating U.S. taxpayers' dough? As to the oversight assertion, it is patently false, as that explosive *CBS* exposé aired last year made perfectly clear. In it we learned that up to 70 per cent of the matériel the West ships in via Poland is siphoned into Ukraine's immense black market in arms.

It is perfectly plain what is going on here by way of the timing. The US has gone from "no lethal arms," in the years after it sponsored the 2014 to promising, as of this week, main battle tanks. Here is *Yuriy Sak*, who advises Defence Minister *Oleksiy Reznikov*, talking to Reuters on 26 January:

*"They didn't want to give us heavy artillery, then they did. They didn't want to give us HIMARS [advanced rocket] systems, then they did. They didn't want to give us tanks, now they're giving us tanks. Apart from nuclear weapons, there is nothing left that we will not get."*

**US cash cow for Kiev**

As Sak made clear, the Kyiv regime is about to start pestering the US for F-16 fighter jets. "Not just F-16s," Sak added with breath-taking impudence. "Fourth-generation aircraft, this is what we want."

These kind of statements from officials of Sak's rank make it bitterly clear that Kyiv is confident the conflict with Russia has landed it with a cash cow that will keep on giving far into the future. Unfortunately, this is an accurate read of the Biden administration's obsession with de-

"I have called Ukraine a failed state. I do not think there is any question of this. I have been on the way for some time to concluding Ukrainians are a failed people, too. By this I mean a broken people. The tragic suffering, they endured during the Soviet era left deep scars, a kind of national pathology. Did this leave them incapable of making a nation of themselves in the post-Soviet years? I can only pose the question."

**Is the Biden administration fed up with Zelensky?**

To turn this dimension of things another way, there are reports here and there that the Biden administration is growing fed up with Zelensky and the mess of corruption, in combination with severe anti-democratic repression, he oversees. I cannot verify these reports and I don't think anyone can at this moment. But as the war outlook dims, Zelensky's political fortunes may well dim with them.

There is a deeper, profoundly saddening point to consider as this newest corruption scandal unfolds, and all indications are that it will continue to do so. What kind of people are these? What kind of polity is this? What kind of country is Ukraine?

Kyrylo Tymoshenko's nonsense is not altogether nonsense: It is worthy of a few moments' thought. What kind of man is he to behave as he has in this passage of the Ukrainian story? As to the others, same questions: What kind of man would steal funds meant to keep his own people warm? What kind of man would embezzle the money meant to feed troops defending their country, setting aside in behalf of what?

I have called Ukraine a failed state. I do not think there is any question of this. I have been on the way for some time to concluding Ukrainians are a failed people, too. By this I mean a broken people. The tragic suffering, they endured during the Soviet era left deep scars, a kind of national pathology. Did this leave them incapable of making a nation of themselves in the post-Soviet years? I can only pose the question.

What I see now, is a failed state wherein many people are left with nothing in which they can believe, where there is nothing to which they can belong. At the top, a sordid greed fest. Everywhere else it is sheer survival in a state of constant anxiety. It is a terrible thing to recognise how utterly inadequate the people running the criminal state of Ukraine are to respond to this moving tragedy. •

Source: <https://scheerpost.com/2023/01/28/patrick-lawrence-the-shadows-descend-in-ukraine/> of 28 January 2023; with friendly permission of the author.

stroying the Russian Federation and, in the service of this project, keeping the war going indefinitely.

Think about the Tymoshenko resignation in this context. Here is a man who probably saw Zelensky on a daily basis and enjoyed his boss's confidence. The expropriated SUV and the expensive living had to be obvious in the presidential circle. Nothing was said for as many as four years. Suddenly, Tymoshenko's vulgar displays, penny ante as they may be, are just as damaging as the big-time theft at this moment.

I see only one conclusion: We witness a faux purge fashioned to look ruthless when it is nothing more than cosmetic. I do not think Zelensky, to put this point another way, is at all interested in rooting out Ukraine's structural corruption. There are signs aplenty in his past that he does not stand so supremely far above it.

Zelensky is more a creature of the Biden administration than he is of Washington per se, it seems more accurate to say at this point. The distinction is important. It is very likely the Biden White House – and who knows who runs it these days? – has ordered its puppet to clean up the act, even if it is an act and nothing more.

*Victoria "Cookies" Nuland*, among the architects of the 2014 coup and an infinitely tolerant patron of the Kyiv regime ever since, made this clear Thursday. "We have been very clear that we need to see, as they prosecute this war, the anti-corruption steps, including good corporate governance and judicial measures, move forward," she said in Senate testimony. It's boilerplate, said many times over the years, but it is telling Nuland is called upon to say it again and now.

Let us not forget: Now that Republicans are a majority in the House, they could any day begin demanding strict accountability for the profligate amounts of weaponry and money the Biden administration is pumping into Ukraine. Kyiv will look shadowy and murky indeed if the newly seated House gets going on this project. This leaves Biden just as vulnerable as Zelensky appears to be.

# RAND-Corporation: Neutral status for Ukraine as a path to peace?

## New study by army-affiliated US think tank on US interests in Ukraine

ts. In the USA, the voices of those who advocate an end to the war in Ukraine are increasing. Recently, the think tank RAND Corporation (R-AN-D is an acronym for research and development) published a study entitled “Avoiding a Long War in Ukraine”.<sup>1</sup> The lead states: “U.S. interests would be best served by avoiding a protracted conflict. [...] Although Washington cannot by itself determine the war’s duration, it can take steps that make an eventual negotiated end to the conflict more likely.” Four policy instruments are being presented “the United States could use to mitigate these impediments: clarifying plans for future support to Ukraine, making commitments to Ukraine’s security, issuing assurances regarding the country’s neutrality, and setting conditions for sanctions relief for Russia”.

But who is this think tank that is now suddenly bringing up the issue of Ukraine’s neutrality again, a demand made by Russia even before 24 February 2022?

Consulting the website of the RAND Corporation, the following is to be read:

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“Therefore, we highlight four options the United States has for shifting these dynamics: clarifying its plans for future support to Ukraine, making commitments to Ukraine’s security, issuing assurances regarding the country’s neutrality, and setting conditions for sanctions relief for Russia.”  
(RAND Corporation)

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“On May 14, 1948, Project RAND – an organization formed immediately after World War II to connect military planning with research and development decisions – separated from the *Douglas Aircraft Company* of Santa Monica, California, and became an independent, nonprofit organization. [...] World War II revealed the importance of technology research and development for success on the battlefield. It also drew attention to the wide range of scientists and academics outside the military who made such development possible.” And we further learn: “Adopting its name from

a contraction of the term research and development, the newly formed entity was dedicated to furthering and promoting scientific, educational, and charitable purposes for the public welfare and security of the United States.”<sup>2</sup>

### Strategies of Russia’s Destabilisation and Reflections on War with China

Furthermore, we find that RAND is “a nonprofit institution that helps improve policy and decisionmaking through research and analysis.” And: “As a non-partisan organisation, RAND is widely

continued on page 8

## “Avoiding a Long War in Ukraine”

### Four options available to the US according to the RAND Corporation

[...] The debate in Washington and other Western capitals over the future of the Russia-Ukraine war privileges the issue of territorial control. Hawkish voices argue for using increased military assistance to facilitate the Ukrainian military’s reconquest of the entirety of the country’s territory.<sup>71</sup> Their opponents urge the United States to adopt the pre-February 2022 line of control as the objective, citing the escalation risks of pushing further. Secretary of State *Antony Blinken* has stated that the goal of U.S. policy is to enable Ukraine “to take back territory that’s been seized from it since February 24.” Our analysis suggests that this debate is too narrowly focused on one dimension of the war’s trajectory. Territorial control, although immensely important to Ukraine, is not the most important dimension of the war’s future for the United States. We conclude that, in addition to averting possible escalation to a Russia-NATO war or Russian nuclear use, avoiding a long war is also a higher priority for the United States than facilitating sig-

nificantly more Ukrainian territorial control. Furthermore, the U.S. ability to micromanage where the line is ultimately drawn is highly constrained since the U.S. military is not directly involved in the fighting. Enabling Ukraine’s territorial control is also far from the only instrument available to the United States to affect the trajectory of the war.

We have highlighted several other tools – potentially more potent ones – that Washington can use to steer the war toward a trajectory that better promotes U.S. interests. Whereas the United States cannot determine the territorial outcome of the war directly, it will have direct control over these policies. President *Biden* has said that this war will end at the negotiating table. But the administration has not yet made any moves to push the parties toward talks. Although it is far from certain that a change in U.S. policy can spark negotiations, adopting one or more of the policies described in this Perspective could make talks more likely. We identify reasons why Russia and

Ukraine may have mutual optimism about war and pessimism about peace. The literature on war termination suggests that such perceptions can lead to protracted conflict. Therefore, we highlight four options the United States has for shifting these dynamics: clarifying its plans for future support to Ukraine, making commitments to Ukraine’s security, issuing assurances regarding the country’s neutrality, and setting conditions for sanctions relief for Russia. A dramatic, overnight shift in U.S. policy is politically impossible – both domestically and with allies – and would be unwise in any case. But developing these instruments now and socializing them with Ukraine and with U.S. allies might help catalyze the eventual start of a process that could bring this war to a negotiated end in a time frame that would serve U.S. interests. The alternative is a long war that poses major challenges for the United States, Ukraine, and the rest of the world.”

Source: <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA2510-1.html>

**"RAND-Corporation ..."**

continued from page 7

respected for operating independent of political and commercial pressures. Our core values are quality and objectivity." Not only was the think tank concerned about the well-being of the US, but also people around the world: "RAND is a research organization that develops solutions to public policy challenges to help make communities throughout the world safer and more secure, healthier and more prosperous."<sup>3</sup>

If you take a look at *Wikipedia*, it sounds more critical: it reads that "the non-profit organisation RAND Corporation was founded with the support of the *Ford Foundation*". And: "RAND experts played a role in the Korean War and in Cold War propaganda". The main objective was to advise the US military. RAND employs over 1880 people from 50 different countries. "Of the 2020 revenue of \$349 million, about 55 % comes from the Department of Defence budget or the US armed forces. Other government agencies contribute about 27 % of the revenue. The rest is distributed among universities, non-governmental organisations, foundations, non-profit organisations, and the private sector. Research accounts for most of the expenditure (75 %)." Even more the following *Wikipedia* entry makes you keener: "Among the topics worked on by RAND in recent years were strategies for destabilising Russia and considerations for war with China, as well as future requirements for military aircraft construction and protection possibilities against terrorist attacks." But social issues also were taken up, such as "the growing obesity in the USA or the problem of drug abuse in American high schools."<sup>4</sup>

If one searches for the mentioned studies on "Russia's destabilisation", one comes across the two texts "Overextending and Unbalancing Russia" of 2019<sup>5</sup> and "Extending Russia. Competing from Advantageous Ground", also of 2019.<sup>6</sup>

**2019 RAND Report I: Overextending and Unbalancing Russia**

About the first report the introductory summary on the RAND website says: "This brief summarises a report that comprehensively examines nonviolent, cost-imposing options that the United States and its allies could pursue across economic, political, and military areas to stress – overextend and unbalance – Russia's economy and armed forces and the regime's political standing at home and abroad." Despite Russia's vulnerabilities as analysed by RAND, "Russia remains a powerful country that still manages to be a U.S. peer competitor in a few key domains. Recognising that some level of competition with Russia is inevitable, RAND researchers conducted a qualitative assessment of 'cost-imposing options' that could unbalance and overextend Russia. Such cost-imposing options could place new burdens on Russia, ideally heavier burdens than would be imposed on the United States for pursuing those options." This assessment by the US think tank in 2019 is unlikely to have gone unnoticed in Moscow.

**RAND Report 2019 II: Overextend Russia Militarily and Economically**

The second report mentioned by *Wikipedia*, "Extending Russia: Competing from Advantageous Ground", was written with funding from army agencies, according to the RAND website. The RAND website goes on to say: "The purpose of the project was to examine a range of possible means to extend Russia. By this, we mean nonviolent measures that could stress Russia's military or economy or the regime's political standing at home and abroad. The steps we posit would not have either defense or deterrence as their prime purpose, although they might contribute to both. Rather, these steps are conceived of as measures that would lead Russia to compete in domains or regions where the

United States has a competitive advantage, causing Russia to overextend itself militarily or economically or causing the regime to lose domestic and/or international prestige and influence. This report deliberately covers a wide range of military, economic, and political policy options. Its recommendations are directly relevant to everything from military modernisation and force posture to economic sanctions and diplomacy".

This analysis is also unlikely to have been taken lightly in Moscow.

**"Smart power" 2019 – and today?**

And this same RAND Corporation that provided the above analyses in the best "smart power" manner – the term was coined by *Joseph S. Nye*<sup>7</sup>, touted by *Hillary Clinton* as the *Obama* administration's foreign policy doctrine<sup>8</sup> – now provides a new analysis.

The entire report cannot be printed here, but it is available free of charge as a PDF file on the homepage of the RAND Foundation.<sup>9</sup> Here we are content with reproducing the report's conclusion (see box, page 7). You can be curious to see in how far the US government will adopt the recommendation of the army-affiliated think tank in the coming weeks and months. •

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PEA2510-1.html>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.rand.org/about/history.html>, (emphasis in original)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.rand.org/about.html>

<sup>4</sup> [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/RAND\\_Corporation](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/RAND_Corporation)

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.rand.org/pubs/research\\_briefs/RB10014.html](https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB10014.html)

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RR3000/RR3063/RAND\\_RR3063.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR3000/RR3063/RAND_RR3063.pdf)

<sup>7</sup> e.g., Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Get Smart: Combining Hard and Soft Power". In: *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (July/August 2009), pp. 160–163. Published by: *Council on Foreign Relations*.

<sup>8</sup> before her appointment as Secretary of State under *Barack Obama* in her hearing before the *Senate Foreign Relations Committee* on 15 January 2009. cf. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PNQyKBml04>

<sup>9</sup> cf. fn 1

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# The West ultimatum to Serbia

by Živadin Jovanović, Yugoslav Minister of Foreign Affairs 1998-2000



Živadin Jovanović  
(picture ev)

*ef. A conflict between Serbia and Kosovo has been simmering for over 20 years. Serbia does not recognise Kosovo as its own state, citing United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 of 19 June 1999. The resolution had ended the 78-day NATO aggression against Serbia at the time; it guaranteed Serbia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, Kosovo's affiliation to Serbia under international law, and substantial autonomy for the province of Kosovo and Metohija within Serbia. Nevertheless, Kosovo unilaterally declared its independence in 2008, which was subsequently recognised by NATO and EU members.*

*In recent weeks, the EU and the USA have issued an ultimatum to Serbia.*

*An initiative originally presented by Germany and France, the "International Settlement Plan for Kosovo", stipulates, among other things, that the two neighbouring countries should not formally recognise each other, but should mutually accept their state existence. In addition, Belgrade would have to refrain from preventing Kosovo from joining international organisations in the future. As Serbian President Aleksandar Vucic himself said in his speech to parliament on 2 February, several points of the international plan were difficult or even unacceptable from Serbia's point of view: the negotiators – representatives of Germany, France, Italy, the EU and the USA – had threatened that the EU accession talks with Serbia, which had been going on since 2014, could be stopped and foreign investments halted. After Vucic indicated in his speech that he was in favour of the plan, tumultuous clashes broke out in parliament. Below, former Serbian Foreign Minister Živadin*

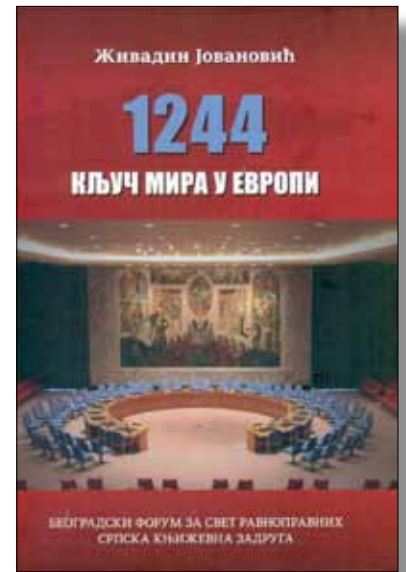
*Jovanović (1998-2000) comments on the "solution plan".*

*If the wording of the "Basic Agreement" presented by the western "Great Five" (EU, USA, Germany, France, Italy) on Kosovo and Metohija which has been circulated for a while in the Albanian media and as of 20 January in the Serbian social networks as well, is anywhere close to the authentic one, it cannot be viewed as any sort of an agreement – but rather as an ultimatum compelling Serbia to de facto recognise the enforced secession of her Province.*

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## Humiliation of the Serbian nation

The document, originally attributed to French President *Macron* and German Chancellor *Scholz*, leaders of two largest European democracies, stands out as another gross violation of UN Security Council Resolution 1244, the basic principles of democratic international relations, the UN Charter, the *Paris Charter*, and the OSCE's *Helsinki Final Act*. Inspired by their own power and greatness, this text is humiliating Serbia and the Serbian nation by telling Serbia to observe equality, sovereignty, territorial integrity and state insignia of so-called



Živadin Jovanović "1244 – Key to Peace in Europe" (2018); for a review of the book in English see *Current Concerns* No. 2 of 23 January 2019

yielding to ultimatum as a way for non-recognisers (Spain, Romania, Slovakia, Greece, and Cyprus), which involve five EU and four NATO members, to recognise the so-called Kosovo and thus "heal"

“Such status and reputation of Serbia are reaffirmed by the majority of countries in the world, by some two-thirds of the planet’s population, who did not and wish not to recognise this illegal construct as a state; among those is a not so small number of countries which, at Serbia’s request, withdrew their previous recognitions without fearing ultimatum-fashioned pressures from the West not to do so.”

Kosovo and, for that matter, of all other states but her own sovereignty, territorial integrity and her internationally recognised borders confirmed as such by the UN, the OSCE, other international organizations, and the *Badinter Arbitration Committee*.

The *Scholz-Macron* paper demands Serbia to not oppose the so-called Kosovo’s membership in all international organisations, including the United Nations. Therein, Serbia is expected to cooperate in deconstruction of her own integrity, own Constitutional order and international standing, so that the “Kosovo case” subsequently could not be utilised by any party as a precedent for future unilateral secessions. The authors intend to use Serbia’s

internal disunity within both the EU and NATO. Their another objective is to transfer all responsibility for casualties, devastation and consequences of using weapons with depleted uranium during NATO’s 1999 aggression onto Serbia, even though Serbia herself was its victim. Their final objective is to incorporate Serbia into a so-called “alliance of democracies” set up to confront Russia and China alleged “autocracies”. This shameful paper will stay in the future as illustration how the expansionist objectives of the military NATO aggression against Serbia (FRY) in 1999 had for decades been continued by other means such as ultimatums, threats of economic and political coercion.

\* Živadin Jovanović is President of the “Belgrade Forum for a World of Equals”. He studied law at the University of Belgrade, from 1964 to 2000 he worked in the diplomatic service of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (from 1992 Federal Republic of Yugoslavia FRY). From 1988 to 1993 ambassador in Luanda/Angola, from 1995 to 1998 deputy foreign minister, from 1998 to 2000 foreign minister, in 1996 member of the Serbian parliament and in 2000 in the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. In addition to numerous articles and interviews, he has published the following books, among others: “The Bridges” (2002); “Abolishing the State” (2003); “The Kosovo Mirror” (2006). Živadin Jovanović sent the text on 21 January 2023.

**"The West ultimatum to Serbia"**

continued from page 9

**US und EU ignore****UN Security Council Resolution 1244**

The so called Scholz and Macron proposal now turned into a US-backed EU initiative, coupled with the latest activities of the "Big Five" in Belgrade, are nothing short of usurpation and prejudging the prerogatives and decision of the UN Security Council as the only body in charge of deciding on issues pertaining to the peace and security; they ignore UN Security Council Resolution 1244 as a universally binding legal act of the highest force and seek to drag Serbia, a peaceful and militarily neutral country, into a global confrontation. This reckless, one-sided and arbitrary course of action, in addition to being anti-Serb, is fraught with unforeseeable consequences.

Kosovo and Metohija is not a frozen conflict, as purported by the West and echoed in Belgrade, nor can it be resolved by presenting an ultimatum to Serbia. A hypothetical acceptance of ultimatum would not save either peace or safety of Serbs in the Province, only help the conflict potential accumulate, other separatisms encourage, and humiliate Serbia and the Serbian nation. The root cause and the essence of the problem concerning Kosovo and Metohija lies in the geopolitics determined by the dominance of the leading Western powers and their expansion to the East. NATO does its utmost to turn Kosovo and Metohija, as well as the entire Serbia, into a springboard for its incursion eastwards, to pit Serbia against Russia and China.

**Serbia must not give in**

The issue of the status of the Province of Kosovo and Metohija, however, cannot be resolved by accepting any ultimatum but instead by insisting on the observance of the Constitution, as well as of the internationally recognised borders and UN SC Resolution 1244. Even if Serbia surrendered to ultimatum, the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija would remain unsafe, their illegally occupied property would not be repossessed, some 250,000 expelled Serbs and other non-Albanians would remain unable to return to their homes freely and safely, Serbian state-owned and socially-owned property would remain usurped. If anything, Serbia should be aware that yielding to ultimatum could only result in speeding up dangerous trends of confrontation and escalation, at the regional and the European level just the same.

A potential consent given by Serbia to the so-called Kosovo joining the United Nations and other international organ-

"Even if Serbia surrendered to ultimatum, the Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija would remain unsafe, their illegally occupied property would not be repossessed, some 250,000 expelled Serbs and other non-Albanians would remain unable to return to their homes freely and safely, Serbian state-owned and socially-owned property would remain usurped."

isations would be tantamount to the recognition of the latter's international legal personality, entailing all sorts of consequences, beginning with an escalation and going all the way to the creation of Greater Albania at the expense of state territories not only of Serbia but also of few other Balkan states. Is there a soul in Serbia believing in new guarantees and promises given by the West? Was it not *Angela Merkel* who recently cautioned us to not trust their assurances! Or has our gullibility already entered the stage of no limits!

**Unconvincing diplomatic cosmetics**

The promises involving self-governance for Serbs, the Community of Serbian Municipalities (albeit one established 'pursuant to the Kosovo Constitution', according to *Chollet*), and 'formalising the status of the Serbian Orthodox Church', do not in the least alter the true character of the Scholz-Macron (EU's) ultimatum. Why? Because its essence lies in the request that Serbia firstly tacitly and later on formally legally, recognise the independence of the so-called Kosovo and accept its membership in the United Nations and other international organisations. The rest is merely a part of a more or less convincing diplomatic cosmetics and the tactics to 'save the face' of the victim.

History warns that peace, stability, and better life cannot be preserved by means of conceding to ultimatum at the expense of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Let us recall that the Munich Agreement of 1938 on carving out the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, an ultimatum made behind Russia's back, was also publicly touted by the then-leaders of Germany, France, Italy and the United Kingdom as the one saving peace in Europe. It is very perilous that those countries' contemporary leaders are unaware of past lessons.

**Serbia's survival  
as a contribution to peace**

The position taken vis-à-vis the Constitution, UN SC Resolution 1244, internationally recognised borders of Serbia, and

international law, is not a matter of an ultimatum or of a one-off deal, but rather the matter of the position taken vis-à-vis the survival of Serbia as an old European state, and of Serbian nation as a factor contributing to peace, stability and progress in the Balkans, Europe, and the world. Such status and reputation of Serbia are reaffirmed by the majority of countries in the world, by some two-thirds of the planet's population, who did not and wish not to recognise this illegal construct as a state; among those is a not so small number of countries which, at Serbia's request, withdrew their previous recognitions without fearing ultimatum-fashioned pressures from the West not to do so. •

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# Restoring a sense of community to our schools

On the new publication by Jochen Krautz: “*Bilder von Bildung. Für eine Renaissance der Schule*” (Images of Education – For a Renaissance of Schooling)

by Eliane Perret



School and parents are united by the same concern to support and challenge the child in mastering age-appropriate tasks. (Relief at a primary school in Roudice nad Labem, Czech Republic. © Jochen Krautz)

It is a lucky coincidence when from difficult situations, people draw positive, inspiring impulses leading to something new. Jochen Krautz has done so successfully and excellently with his new book “*Bilder von Bildung*” (Images of Education). In its foreword, he writes that, among the soaked books he was able to rescue from his study after the 2021 floods in the Ahr Valley had drained away, was one by Otto Friedrich Bollnow entitled “*Krise, Kritik und Neuanfang – Crisis, Critique and New Beginnings*”. This is an outline of the task we are also facing in education today.

## A found object and its consequences

For the author, these “findings” became the occasion to stimulate a long overdue debate. We are challenged to put an end to the unfortunate development in education that has been going on for years, and to give our schools back their true meaning. As the subtitle of the book says, it is about the renaissance of schooling. Under discussion are the many past reform steps that need to be honestly thought through. They have made our schooling entirely different in the past decades. Jochen Krautz, Professor of Art at the University of Wuppertal, knows what he is talking about, and he does it in a way that makes reading a pleasure. On the left, we always find a thematically and artistically carefully selected work by a well-known artist – all from different eras, works by their students or photographs by the author – it is quite feasible to linger over each of them. Cor-

responding short, content-rich texts on 67 themes can be read on the right. They reflect the key points of the current discussion on education and point to what would constitute the sense of community in schooling and education. All this is presented in a language that makes the book easy to read, as does the coherent interrelatedness of the topics. Personally, reading the book stimulated me to give my own thoughts to the topics, which is something I wish to other readers as well. In order to make the content of this book tangible and visible, the author himself will therefore often have his say in the following comments on the content of his book and will also inspire you as readers to think and do.

## “We are social beings ...”

Starting with the anthropological and developmental psychological foundations, the author points to the essentials of school as a place of learning. They prove the social nature of human beings, which must be the starting point of all teaching: “We are social beings and at the same time we only become so in human relationships”. After years or decades of contrary school reforms, a renaissance is urgently needed. Only then will school once again become a place where children and young people – accompanied and guided by mature relationship persons – can learn according to their social nature and acquire education in an individual development process. Here, too, a renewed focus on the essentials is necessary, because instruction or guidance have acquired a negative reputation

today, says Krautz: “People suspect brash authoritarian bearing and would rather see the child develop on its own.” (p. 15) With this view, however, the adult denies his or her responsibility in the process of a child’s personality development: “The ability for responsible self-development does not come about by leaving children to their own devices. The child’s inner creative power that makes it ‘grow’ needs guidance and frameworks for the child to become a social being.” (p. 15)

## “... requires careful and committed pedagogical work”

These insights are crucial to any learning process, a holistic process in which a child individually develops his or her intellectual, emotional and social skills. Here Krautz also takes a critical look at the teaching concepts that have become fashionable and are one-sidedly focused on neuroscience: “Mind, however, is not only located in the brain, which is why brain researchers never find it there in their colourful pictures. That is why there is no such thing as ‘brain-friendly’ teaching. No, the whole human being with body and soul is mind, is spiritual.” (p. 21) That is why real education needs a pedagogical relationship that educates professionally and educates through the subject matter. Relationship and learning are interconnected and find ideal conditions for success in classroom teaching (today often wrongly disparaged as ‘frontal teaching’, in deliberate association with military drill).

It is about the core of pedagogical work, and the class becomes “a community that works together on the matter at hand and in which the separate persons grow together in the process. However, this does not happen by itself, but requires careful and committed pedagogical work”. (p. 37) Such a teaching process “does not end with the application of methods. It demands and educates the teachers in their wholeness. Otherwise, it will remain a business conducted with a distanced attitude, in which both sides lose”. (p. 35) In an inner connection with the children and young people, the teacher then creates a lesson in which “questions of fact are clarified as questions of fact, judgements are linked to arguments, consideration is shown for and a share is taken in others, others are understood, conflicts are solved constructively and without violence, cooperation and mutual help are practised, etc.” (p. 33).

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**"Restoring a sense ..."**

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**"This is the key factor of a successfully practised pedagogy"**

These premises of teaching based on new scientific findings relegate the currently propagated self-discovering and self-organised learning SOL (also called "school without teachers") to the rank of mere outdated teaching methods, because they neglect anthropological, psychological and didactic findings, or as the author puts it:

"So, it is not 'modern' to teach against human nature, which has produced our culture over hundreds of thousands of years. It is simply foolish. And as a result, man does not become more independent and wiser, but unfree and stupid." (p. 45)

And it is always a matter of enabling the children and young people to accept and master their life's tasks with confidence and courage, tasks that every child faces and which can strengthen their sense of self-efficacy: "Tasks can teach us not to evade the demands of life, but to face them courageously, to start, to persevere, even if it is not always clear whether we will succeed and what the result will be". (p. 59) Such teaching places high demands on the teacher, both humanly and professionally: "This is the *key factor* of a successfully practised pedagogy: professional challenges, clear announcements, tailor-made help, unshakeable confidence and a big heart for the young people in their life and work. A basic principle as simple as it is forgotten." (S. 47)

**"Learning by showing therefore sets us free"**

This also includes the necessary practice phases, here lies "the path to real independence, the path to freedom!" (p. 49) And to become free, independent in thought and responsible in action, requires careful guidance, a teaching principle that also needs a renaissance, because "if someone shows me something, I can replicate this inwardly and imitate it outwardly. In doing so, I learn how that something works". (p. 45) This learning process is as simple as it is logical and helps the child to appropriate the world: "Learning by showing therefore sets us free: We can then do it ourselves and can do with it what we think is right. Otherwise, someone else must always knit, read, calculate, think, decide, etc. for us." (S. 45)

**"Where there is no stimulation ..."**

Not all children move through this with the same ease, some do not understand something and get into trouble: "The didactic art is to dose these subject-related crises of understanding in such a way that they challenge the pupils, but



*Showing and imitating is a contemporary pedagogical form of passing on knowledge and skills. (Picture Jean-François Millet. The knitting lesson, 1869. Source: Wikimedia Commons)*

do not overtax them." (p. 57) Often a broader subject-related understanding is needed to support children and adolescents whose "crises of understanding" are more persistent or who are conspicuous in class because of a hectic restlessness that visibly impairs their ability to concentrate. A deeper understanding on the part of the teacher can open the door to giving such children a perspective instead of giving them a diagnosis and stopping them in their tracks, as is common today. Or as Krautz says: "Also children lacking in concentration have become such in the first place. But it is not a disease." (p. 61) The same applies to children from so-called educationally disadvantaged homes. Here, too, schools are called upon to provide stimu-



*Practising enables the child to make something their own, an important step on the way to independence and freedom. (Pupil drawing with coloured chalk after a photo by David Seymour; class 5.*

© Jochen Krautz)

lation and broaden horizons if the so often-heard postulate of equal opportunities is not to remain an empty phrase:

"Where there is no stimulation, there is less development. That precisely is the task of schooling: to give all children opportunities for development through stimulation". (p. 65) For the schools' task must not be limited to "skills training".

**"Education needs not only closeness, but also distance"**

However, it is precisely with such children that support in school succeeds best when close cooperation with parents or other important relationship persons becomes possible. Not all children can fall back on reliable, courage-giving relationships that enable them to build up self-confidence, turn to learning in peace and explore the world. Attachment research has turned its attention to this topic and has recognised the importance of secure attachment for a healthy personality development. However, this should not be understood as constantly and directly fulfilling the child's material and emotional desires. "It is precisely the attachment theory which shows that education needs not only closeness, but also distance – the distance to look beyond the child to its tasks in our world. From these tasks, our own educational attitude can be meaningfully derived." (p. 85) This means encouraging the child to be independent according to its age and allowing it to make its way in the world. In the words of Krautz: "Go out into the world, I am inwardly with you and will help you where it is necessary. But you can and must cope with things yourself." (p. 83) Otherwise, the child's natural willingness to cooperate would be ignored and possibly even paralysed by excessive praise. "The enormous implications of this finding have not yet been illuminated at all from a pedagogical point of view ..." (S. 87)

**"Will the investment in your learning be profitable?"**

This is why it is urgently necessary to review the teaching concepts that have been in vogue for decades. Because "teaching is not a technical wheelwork, but a cooperation of people". (p. 97) Nor should it be guided by the question: "Will the investment in your learning be profitable? 'Human capital' is what the education industry calls it." (p. 119) Such concepts of education based on industrial optimisation processes are far removed from human needs and shy away from current scientific knowledge. They are but a tragic remnant of what education should and ought to be.

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# Armed neutrality is a peace offering

by Robert Nef\*

*There is a growing tendency in Switzerland to relativise neutrality by using woolly adjectives and by moving closer to defence alliances. This shows fickleness and a lack of historical awareness.*

Can one be for both freedom and neutrality? The answer is yes. Neutrality is an option for cosmopolitan people and states that makes sense both economically and in terms of security policy. Those who offer something on open markets do not expect ideological, political or religious conformity and consciously refrain from discrimination that has nothing to do with the transaction. Neutrality is neither selfish nor cowardly, it has a strategic component in addition to the economic one, which promotes world peace and helps to avoid the escalation of conflicts.

Unfortunately, there is a widespread misconception in Switzerland – especial-

ly in politics – that neutrality is “yesterday’s news”, that it is merely a nostalgic concern of national conservative patriots. Hardly anyone explicitly calls for its abolition, but it is only a small step from relativisation by adjectives to de facto abolition.

## Threats from joining alliances

Membership in a defence alliance may well act as a deterrent to potential aggressors, but at the global level it gives the respective alliance’s supremacy an increase in power. This can provoke other alliances with different power-political goals to attack. While common enemies make friends, common friends can also make enemies.

An independent country should not allow itself to be defended at the expense of others, even though this would relieve the budget considerably. What a country saves at the expense of allies, it pays for with dependence. Self-defence does not guarantee total security, but such security is not to be had in alliances either. In every alliance there is a superpower that sets its own priorities in the event of a crisis or war.

The attractiveness of global networking in combination with non-alignment or neutrality under international law has tended to increase in recent years and decades – especially for smaller and medium-sized states. However, this basic attitude is only credible if it is linked to the willingness to defend oneself militarily in the event of an attack. Otherwise, it really does become a “bush behind which the scaredy-cats hide”, as the writer *Lukas Bärfuss* recently put it. As a neutral, one must not offer a potential aggressor the “ideal case” of an intact country with a functioning infrastructure for conquest without a fight.

## Illusion of eternal peace

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many politicians, diplomats and military officers in Europe and also in Switzerland tended towards a view of the world without history or a view that suppressed history. For them, there was an irreversible development trend towards an “eternal peace” in Europe and a linear progression of an integration process. Other

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## “Restoring a sense ...”

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They are “... a way of running schools supposedly trimmed for ‘quality’ and ‘efficiency’, ludicrously bureaucratized and controlled, often concerned only with formal trappings”. (p. 121) And in addition we must not forget the political dimension of these reform processes, because behind the economic talk there is a social vision that must also be critically questioned.

## “Those who bluster about educational reforms and educational revolutions of all kinds”

The main victims of this development are children and young people who have a complicated learning biography and are in urgent need of specific support embedded in a binding relationship, instead of being placed in whitewashed inclusion settings that are hardly ever subject to independent scrutiny: “But children are not laboratory animals. Where animal experiments are quite rightly discussed, human experiments should be taboo all the more. For these children with special needs have not only learned less in real life, but have experienced failure.” (p. 125) This is an accusation that today’s educational leaders must face. Especially in Switzerland, they must also disclose with what aim they have subjected our elementary school, which has its genesis in

the social-historical development towards direct democracy and has also created the conditions for this, to these reform processes. “Those who bluster about educational reforms and educational revolutions of all kinds must always allow themselves to be asked what progress in education and upbringing is actually supposed to be.” (p. 131)

## “There is a push for renaissance”

For teachers, the renaissance of school is linked to the question of meaning, as Krautz notes: “The question of meaning, what can what I teach actually mean for people, is something I have to ask myself first of all as a teacher. Then I will have the right attitude towards teaching and can design lessons in such a way that they contain possible answers to the question of meaning.” (p. 101) What Jochen Krautz captures in his book in an easy-to-read, condensed form are the fundamental pedagogical pillars of every educational process. They must once again become the basis of educational concepts. The book is recommended reading for all those honestly interested in pedagogical, contemporary historical, political and human issues. Then it is justified to believe in “the spectre of pedagogical hope”, which the author addresses in his last chapter: “It does not urge revolution, but renaissance.” (S. 137)



Krautz, Jochen. *Bilder von Bildung. Für eine Renaissance der Schule. München 2022 (Images of Education. For a renaissance of the school.) Munich 2022. Claudius-Verlag. ISBN 978-3-532-62874-4*

Jochen Krautz, Professor Dr, Professor for Art Education at the Bergische University of Wuppertal; President of the Society for Education and Knowledge; main fields of work: art education and art didactics, general education and education policy.

**“Armed neutrality is a peace ...”**

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scenarios were no longer even considered. The war in Ukraine has frighteningly exposed this idea as an illusion.

Periods of relative peace have been repeatedly interrupted by unexpected irrational outbreaks of violence, and in view of the rampant rush for change and adjustment, it is important to include this in the long-term foreign and security policy considerations of our country. In terms of time horizon, the simple men of Rütli were more courageous and far-sighted when they concluded their covenant “in perpetuity”. And the diplomats who stipulated “perpetual neutrality” at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 were also aware that the strategic world situation can change so much within a single generation that it is wise not to leave the foundations of foreign and security policy at the mercy of the fluctuating assessments of the situation and enemy images of day-to-day politics.

Neutrality is anything but obsolete worldwide. It is in the interest of the permanently neutral to free its maxim (and also its non-membership in international organisations such as the EU and NATO) from the smell of crude egoism at the expense of the so-called community of states and to make others aware that neutrality could also be of benefit to them. The effectiveness of the neutrality maxim depends on its credibility, and credibility can only be expected “from outside” if one appears reliable and consistent and communicates one’s concern with good arguments.

There are two adjectives that do not relativise the principle but accentuate it: “armed” and “everlasting”. They underline the function and show to the outside world that neutrality in general is not “yesterday’s news”, but has a global future and promotes peace, not only for Switzerland. Anyone who credibly renounces the ability to attack, but at the same time ensures the defence of their own territory with their own means (and reserved, but free decisions of cooperation), makes a more promising contribution to world peace than anyone who joins (and at the same time submits to) a world power that fights against other emerging world powers.

**Neutrality and foreign policy**

After the Second World War, the principle of neutrality was supplemented by the principle of solidarity. Here, too, the question arises: can one be both neutral and in solidarity? And here, too, the answer is: yes, if it is a matter of solidarity with the



*In 1871, neutral Switzerland grants asylum to the French Bourbaki Army. A woman bandages the arm of a soldier. Detail of the Bourbaki panorama. (picture Wikipedia)*

victims, which always exist on both sides in wars. This is also the basic idea of the International Red Cross, which places itself at the service of the victims of all belligerents without taking sides.

The concern to place neutrality in a larger context with other foreign policy objectives is the subject of reports by the Federal Council on foreign and security policy. In this context, the twin formula of “neutrality and solidarity” has been supplemented by two further objectives, both of which underline the central importance of neutrality: availability and universality. Availability stands for the permanent offer of mediation services, universality for a fundamental globally oriented openness.

**Reliable maxims instead of relativisation**

The four maxims were drawn up as early as the 1950s by a commission with the participation of the international law expert *Rudolf L. Bindschedler*. Today, only the tension between neutrality and solidarity is discussed in the foreign policy debate. However, the goal quadrangle that was gradually worked out is still meaningful and increasingly topical, and it can convey reliability in times of insecurity, both internally and externally.

The three complementary maxims of solidarity, availability and universality do not relativise neutrality, they describe functions that neutrality, contrary to all prophecies of doom, can and does fulfil if it is handled properly. It is not “although we are neutral” but “because we are neutral” that we can target the other three goals. Neutrality is not an antithesis, but

a prerequisite for humanitarian (not political!) solidarity.

Neutrality is also a prerequisite of availability for intermediary services and universality in the sense of worldwide openness and global free trade. The importance of the principle of universality is increasing. It is compatible with membership in the UN, but not with association with the EU.

The popular initiative “Safeguarding Swiss neutrality” (neutrality initiative) launched in November, which wants to anchor perpetual and armed neutrality in the constitution, enables a fundamental debate on neutrality and its relationship to the other maxims. It restricts itself to the two adjectives mentioned and attempts to put a stop to all softening and relativisation as well as a gradual abandonment at the constitutional level. However, it cannot influence the tension between international law and national law. It is unlikely that there will be organised opposition to the idea of abandoning neutrality. What cannot be ruled out, however, is an attempt to push the initiators into a national-conservative corner in terms of party politics and at the same time to relativise the principle of neutrality by using vague adjectives. A rejection would probably be perceived worldwide as Switzerland’s farewell to neutrality. Because “neutral” is first and foremost what is perceived as such by third parties, and not what one declares oneself to be.

Source: <https://www.robert-nef.ch/2022/12/01/die-bewaffnete-neutralitaet-ist-ein-friedensangebot/>; first published in *Schweizer Monat* December 2022/January 2023; reprinted with kind permission of the author

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

# A return to Swiss neutrality

We have other options than supplying weapons to states at war

by Dr iur. Marianne Wüthrich

*“Many people believe that neutrality per se is amoral. Is that so?” “Amoral? No, on the contrary. Neutrality is one of the highest moral values. If all countries were neutral and would actively advocate armed neutrality, there would be no more war in this world.” (Stephan Rietiker, member of the initiative committee of the Neutrality Initiative).<sup>1</sup>*

The fact that the German government is eagerly serving its masters on the other side of the Atlantic with ever more “powerful” weapons (i. e., weapons that will extend and prolong the terrible slaughter) into the Ukrainian war is intolerable enough. But an intolerable bursting of the dam from the Swiss point of view is that some Social Democrats in the Swiss National Council want to follow the “big party brother” in Berlin and throw the remaining neutrality of our country completely overboard. On 24 January, the *Security Policy Committee of the National Council (SPC-N)* adopted two proposals by 14 votes in favour – not only from the Social Democratic Party! – and with 11 votes against, that are clearly contrary to neutrality. The National Council is urged to put a clear stop to this proposal.

## Even the UN Security Council would hardly order Swiss arms deliveries to a country at war

“The idea of redefining neutrality through exceptions would weaken the predictability of Swiss neutrality for potential belligerents [...]. Exceptions would expose Switzerland to pressure from belligerents to adopt their views on the justification of their use of force”. (Marco Sassòli, professor of international law at the University of Geneva)<sup>2</sup>

According to the current *War Material Act (WMA)*, the legal situation is crystal clear: an arms export to a foreign government can only be approved if the government has signed a non-re-export declaration (Art. 18 para. 1). And further: “Export trade [...] shall not be authorised if: a. the country of destination is involved in an internal or international armed conflict” (Art. 22a para 2).

The majority of the Committee now wants to overturn this ban, which is based on neutrality and humanitarian views, so that foreign governments can supply arms purchased in Switzerland to Ukraine. The Federal Council (the executive!) is to be given the power to “declare the non-re-export declaration as reversed at the re-

quest of a foreign government”. It is that simple to abolish neutrality ... The draft of the National Council’s Security Policy Committee requires as a prerequisite a resolution of the UN Security Council or – if no decision is reached due to a veto – that “a violation of the prohibition of the use of force under international law pursuant to Article 2 (par.4) of the Charter of the United Nations has been declared by a two-thirds majority of the General Assembly of the United Nations”.<sup>3</sup>

Oliver Diggelmann, professor of international law at the University of Zurich, comments: “Only the UN Security Council can dispense a neutral state from its duties, and only if it orders coercive measures. Then, and really only then, do UN decisions take precedence over the law of neutrality.”<sup>4</sup>

It should be added that although the UN Security Council can order military coercive measures against a member country in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter (Art. 42 f.), it is rather unlikely that it would demand of Switzerland to renounce non-re-export agreements. What is quite certain is that the UN General Assembly can politically condemn an attack as contrary to international law, but this has no legal effect.

## “Lex Ukraine”: an absolute absurdity

“Is it possible to be both neutral and in solidarity? [...] Yes, if it is a matter of solidarity with the victims, which always exist on both sides in wars. This is also the basic idea of the *International Red Cross*, which devotes itself at the service of the victims of all belligerents without taking sides.” (Robert Nef, long-time editor of the “Schweizer Monatshefte”)<sup>5</sup>

The majority of the National Council’s Security Policy Committee is far removed from this profoundly compassionate attitude, which underlies the Swiss understanding of neutrality. Rather, their second proposal of 24 January, the proposed “Lex Ukraine”, tramples on the principles of the rule of law and neutrality and would even turn Switzerland into a true warmonger: “The non-re-export declaration will lapse if it is established that the re-export of the war material to Ukraine takes place in connection with the Russian-Ukrainian war”. This with a temporary amendment to Art. 18 of the War Material Act (WMA), which is to be declared urgent – that means, it would already come into force before a possible referendum vote.



Professor Oliver Diggelmann: “But that is not possible, under international law, under neutrality law. You can’t say at the same time: Look, we’re neutral, and then immediately follow it up with: Look again, we also show a little military solidarity with the right side.”<sup>6</sup>

## Green Party of Switzerland opposes this

11 out of 25 members of the Security Committee of the National Council voted against the unilateral lifting of the ban on arms exports to countries at war and thus against the weakening of Switzerland’s neutrality (*media release* of 24 January 2023). The “no” votes came from the Greens, the SVP and individual members of other parties. The clear positioning of the *Green Party* is particularly gratifying.

*Current Concerns* asked *Marionna Schlatter*, National Councillor of the *Green Party (ZH)* and member of the *Security Policy Committee of the National Council*, why she voted no.

*Current Concerns: Yourself and the two other commission members from the Green Party have rejected both proposals. What are your most important reasons from a neutrality perspective?*

*Marionna Schlatter:* The Greens grew out of the peace movement. We consider the export of war material for a militarily neutral country to be fundamentally problematic. That is why we are critical of any relaxation of the legislation on the export of war material. We do not consider making an exception for the war in Ukraine to be compatible with the law of neutrality, which requires that parties to a conflict be treated equally with regard to the export of war material.

### "A return to Swiss neutrality"

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*From a democratic point of view: the parliament banned arms exports to countries at war and civil war in 2021 as an indirect counter-proposal to the popular initiative "No weapons to civil war countries (corrective initiative)" in order to persuade the initiators to withdraw the initiative. And now to reverse the tightening?*

With the indirect counter-proposal to the corrective initiative, more restrictive legislation on arms exports to civil war countries came into force in May 2022. The proposal was supported by a broad coalition of political parties and civil society, as well as by a large part of the population. This wish for strict export conditions for war material should finally be respected. Instead, the first opportunity is being taken to weaken the issue again.

#### The Swiss' debate about sense and purpose of neutrality is at hand

"The permanent neutrality of modern Switzerland [...] acts as a promise, not only to act neutral according to any given situation, but to be willing to act neutral towards all potential conflicts in the future. The very core of the logics of neutrality is not to refrain from all international affairs, but to engage in active relationship management to be on good (or at least acceptable) terms with all parties involved in a certain conflict. Hence, diplomacy is always committed most when wars or international conflicts prevail." (Pascal Lottaz, Dr. phil. Historian and Philosopher)<sup>7</sup>

We as Swiss people have to hold on to neutrality as an indispensable pillar of the swiss state model even stronger these days. Especially because we have to be able to manage the urgent upcoming humanitarian and diplomatic tasks within the many wars and crises on this globe.

From another perspective, the NZZ editorial department is thinking about to where an open discussion on the future of neutrality among the population may lead; If one wants to wave through the passing on of armament goods, Switzerland has no way around an altercation about this question. It is dawning on the journalist that the neutrality initiative could "suddenly gain chances" during such a debate. The fact that neutrality is deeply rooted in the national identity of the vast majority of swiss men and women, even nowadays, does not suit the mainstream medias' book at all for a long time now. The "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" explains their reservations against the neutrality initiative with the following: "Its approval would restrict Switzerland's ability to cope with internation-

al conflicts even more than it is the case today."<sup>8</sup>

That means: The acceptance of the initiative by the swiss people would avoid the ever-growing integration into the EU and NATO as intended by the "Neue Zürcher Zeitung" and other actors. So let's get going!

The closing words shall be given to SP National Council member *Fabian Molina*: "The value of neutrality according to the Den Haag convention in 1907 is the fact that Switzerland can take on a very special role as a peace power. As a state without alliances, we can invest into peace promotion, act as mediators and open doors, unlike the NATO countries. We should use this opportunity even more than we have done in the past."<sup>9</sup>

So even EU-Turbo Fabian Molina has internalised a piece of neutrality. This is also a part of Switzerland. •



Active service monument on the Maloja Pass near Casaccia in Bergell. Monument in honour of the active service generation in the Swiss army in 1940. (picture keystone)

<sup>1</sup> Grob, Ronnie. "Tauziehen um die Neutralität" (Tug of war over neutrality). Interview with Pro-Schweiz President *Stephan Rietiker* and SP National Councillor *Fabian Molina*. In: Schweizer Monat of December 2022/January 2023

<sup>2</sup> Sassöli, Marco. "Neutralität gibt's nicht à la carte" (Neutrality is not à la carte). In: *Schweizer Monat* of December 2022/January 2023

<sup>3</sup> "Kommission will Wiederausfuhr von Kriegsmaterial in die Ukraine erlauben" (Committee wants to allow re-export of war material to Ukraine). *Media release* of the Security Policy Committee of the National Council, 24 January 2023

<sup>4</sup> Wanner, Christine. "Soll das Schweizer Kriegsmaterialgesetz angepasst werden?" (Should the Swiss War Material Act be adapted?) In: *Radio SRF, Echo der Zeit* of 26 January 2023

<sup>5</sup> Nef, Robert. "Die bewaffnete Neutralität ist ein Friedensangebot" (Armed neutrality is a peace offering). Guest contribution in *Schweizer Monat* of December 2022/January 2023

<sup>6</sup> Wanner, Christine. "Soll das Schweizer Kriegsmaterialgesetz angepasst werden?" (Should the Swiss War Material Act be adapted?) In: *Radio SRF, Echo der Zeit* of 26 January 2023

<sup>7</sup> Lottaz, Pascal. "Im neuen Kalten Krieg ist die Schweiz Konfliktpartei". (In the new Cold War, Switzerland is a party to the conflict). In: *Schweizer Monat* of December 2022/January 2023

<sup>8</sup> Gerny, Daniel. "Die Schweiz in der Neutralitätsfalle: wie es so weit kommen konnte – und drei Wege, wie sich die Politik befreien kann" (Switzerland in the neutrality trap: how it could come to this – and three ways in which politics can free itself). In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 28 January 2023

<sup>9</sup> Grob, Ronnie. "Tauziehen um die Neutralität" (Tug of war over neutrality). Interview with Pro-Schweiz President *Stephan Rietiker* and SP National Councillor *Fabian Molina*. In: *Schweizer Monat* of December 2022/January 2023