

Current Concerns

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

English Edition of *Zeit-Fragen*

Iranian Red Crescent president calls on ICC to investigate attacks on civilian targets in Iran



Pictures that went viral. Rescue workers search for victims and survivors. Minab Primary School was destroyed by US cruise missiles on the very first day of the US-Israeli war of aggression against Iran. More than 170 people, including primary school pupils and their teachers, were killed (picture Wikimedia Commons)

cc. On 8 March, the Iranian news agency WANA published an official letter from Dr Pir Hossein Kolivan, President of the Iranian Red Crescent Society (IRCS), to the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court (ICC). In this letter, Dr Koli van calls for the “initiation of an Investigation into War Crimes Arising from Attacks by the United States of America and the Israeli Regime against Civilian Objects within the Territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran”. It is evident that the US-Israeli war of aggression against Iran is not only contrary to international law but also constitutes a massive violation of international humanitarian law. We are publishing the full text of the letter – being aware that the massive bombardments since 8 March have most likely represented further violations of international humanitarian law.

Dear Prosecutor,

I write on behalf of the *Iranian Red Crescent Society*, in the discharge of its humanitarian mandate and in reliance upon the binding principles and rules of International Humanitarian Law, to formally submit our protest and request for criminal examination concerning a series of military attacks carried out against civilian objects within the territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

According to field reports from relief workers, operational documentation, and data recorded by the *Iranian Red Crescent Society*, a wide range of residential areas, medical facilities, schools, humanitarian facilities, vital urban infrastructure, and public places were directly or indiscriminately targeted during the recent military attacks.

Based on consolidated recorded data 6,668 civilian structures have been damaged:

- 5,535 residential units have been destroyed or damaged
- 1,041 commercial units have been damaged
- 14 medical centers have been affected
- 65 schools have been damaged
- 11 facilities affiliated with the *Iranian Red Crescent Society* have been targeted
- 3 emergency response vehicles have been damaged
- 7 *Iranian Red Crescent* relief workers have been killed or injured

These acts constitute clear violations of the fundamental rules of International Humanitarian Law and represent multiple instances of war crimes under Article 8 of the *Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court*.

continued on page 2

"Iranian Red Crescent president ..."

continued from page 1

Violation of the principle of distinction between military and civilian objects

Pursuant to Article 48 of *Additional Protocol I* (1977) to the *Geneva Conventions*, parties to an armed conflict must at all times distinguish between civilians and military objectives. Furthermore, Article 51(2) of the same Protocol explicitly prohibits attacks directed against civilians.

However, documented reports indicate that the following civilian objects were targeted:

- Residential areas in several cities
- Markets and commercial centres
- Urban infrastructure including water and electricity facilities
- Civilian factories and production facilities
- Tourism sites and cultural heritage locations

Targeting such locations constitutes direct or indiscriminate attacks against *civilian* objects.

Disproportionate attacks against civilian areas

According to Article 51(5)(b) of *Additional Protocol I*, attacks expected to cause in-

cidental civilian loss or damage excessive in relation to the anticipated military advantage are prohibited.

The extensive attacks against urban areas and civilian infrastructure, which resulted in the destruction of thousands of residential and commercial units, clearly constitute disproportionate attacks.

Attacks on medical and healthcare facilities

Under Article 18 of the *Fourth Geneva Convention* (1949), Article 12 of *Additional Protocol I*, and Customary International Humanitarian Law Rules 28 and 29 (ICRC), medical units enjoy special protection under all circumstances.

Despite this protection, attacks have been reported against the following medical facilities:

- *Taleghani* Hospital, Urmia
- *Gandhi* Hospital
- *Motahari* Burn and Trauma Hospital
- *Shahid Rajaei* Hospital
- *Imam Ali* Hospital
- Persian Gulf Martyrs Hospital
- *Minab* Medical Clinic

Such actions may constitute war crimes under Article 8(2)(b)(ix) of the *Rome Statute* relating to attacks against hospitals and medical facilities.

Attacks against humanitarian missions and relief personnel

Under Article 24 of the *First Geneva Convention*, Article 71 of *Additional Protocol I*, and Customary International Humanitarian Law Rule 31, humanitarian personnel and relief missions must be respected and protected.

Nevertheless, the following incidents have been recorded:

- Attacks on *Iranian Red Crescent* branches in Mahabad, Baneh, Sardasht, Khomoin, and Qazvin
- Destruction of an *Iranian Red Crescent* relief warehouse in Bushehr
- Attacks on search and rescue bases
- Damage to emergency vehicles
- Killing and injury of relief workers while conducting humanitarian operations

These actions constitute attacks against humanitarian missions as defined under Article 8(2)(b)(iii) of the *Rome Statute*.

Attacks against educational institutions and children

Under Article 50 of *Additional Protocol I*, the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), and Customary IHL Rule 135, children and educational institutions must be protected from the effects of armed conflict.

However, an attack on a school in Minab resulted in the deaths of a large number of students, and several other ed-

ucational institutions have also been damaged. Such acts may constitute war crimes against the civilian population, particularly children.

Attacks on vital civilian infrastructure

According to Article 54 of *Additional Protocol I*, attacks against objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population are prohibited.

In the documented attacks, the following facilities were targeted:

- Water and sanitation facilities
- Energy and electricity infrastructure
- Civilian industrial facilities
- Transportation and communication infrastructure.

Requests to the office of the prosecutor

In light of the foregoing, the *Iranian Red Crescent Society* respectfully requests that the Office of the Prosecutor:

- Initiate a Preliminary Examination into the alleged war crimes committed during these attacks.
- Examine the criminal responsibility of those who ordered, planned, or executed these attacks under Articles 25 and 28 of the *Rome Statute*.
- Dispatch an independent international factfinding mission to investigate the consequences of the attacks on the ground.
- Record and document these acts within the legal framework of war crimes under Article 8 of the *Rome Statute*.

The *Iranian Red Crescent Society* stands ready to provide all relevant documentation, including photographs, operational reports, witness testimonies, and field data related to these attacks.

Respectfully submitted,

Dr Pir Hossein Kolivand
President

Red Crescent Society of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Furthermore, a copy of this letter has been sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the President of the United Nations Security Council, the High Commissioner of the Office of the *United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*, the President of the *International Committee of the Red Cross*, the Secretary General of the *International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies*, the President of the United Nations *Human Rights Council* and the Director-General of the *World Health Organization*.

Quelle: <https://wanaen.com/iranian-red-crescent-president-calls-on-icc-to-investigate-attacks-on-civilian-targets-in-iran/> of 8 March 2026

Current Concerns

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

Publisher: Zeit-Fragen Cooperative

Editor: Erika Vögeli, Eva-Maria Föllmer-Müller

Address: Current Concerns,

P.O. Box 247 CH-9602 Bazenheid

Phone: +41 (0)44 350 65 50

Fax: +41 (0)44 350 65 51

E-Mail: CurrentConcerns@zeit-fragen.ch

Subscription details:

published regularly electronically as PDF file

Annual subscription rate of

SFr. 40,-, € 30,-, £ 25,-, \$ 40,-

for the following countries:

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hongkong, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Qatar, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, USA

Annual subscription rate of

SFr. 20,-, € 15,-, £ 12,50, \$ 20,-

for all other countries.

Account: PostFinance:

IBAN CH91 0900 0000 8764 4472 4

BIC POFICHBEXXX

The editors reserve the right to shorten letters to the editor. Letters to the editor do not necessarily reflect the views and opinions of *Current Concerns*.

© 2026. All rights reserved. No reproduction, copy or transmission of this publication may be made without written permission.

“Justice has given way to force”

Cardinal Pietro Parolin on the US-Israeli war of aggression against Iran

by Karl-Jürgen Müller

“Stability and peace are not achieved through mutual threats, nor through the use of weapons, which sow destruction, suffering, and death, but only through reasonable, sincere, and responsible dialogue”. (Pope Leo XIV After the Angelus on 1 March 2026)

In an interview published by *Vatican News* on 4 March 2026¹, *Pietro Parolin*, the Vatican’s Cardinal Secretary of State responsible for political and diplomatic affairs, warned that the logic of violence was undermining international law. He made these remarks in the context of the renewed Israeli-US war of aggression against Iran. The peoples of West Asia, he said, had been “plunged into the horror of war, which brutally shatters human lives, brings destruction, and drags entire nations into spirals of violence with uncertain outcomes.” Cardinal Parolin referred to the Pope, who during the Angelus prayer on 1 March had spoken of a “tragedy of enormous proportions” and the risk of an “irreparable abyss”.

The Cardinal Secretary of State reiterated his view that “peace and security must be cultivated and pursued through the possibilities offered by diplomacy, especially diplomacy exercised within multilateral bodies, where states have the possibility of resolving conflicts in a bloodless and more just way.” Following the Second World War and its more than 60 million deaths, “the founding fathers, by creating the United Nations, wanted to spare their children the horrors they themselves had experienced. For this reason, in the UN Charter they sought to provide clear guidance on the management of conflicts.”

The *United Nations Charter* stipulates that “recourse to force must be considered only as a last and most grave resort, after all the instruments of political and diplomatic dialogue have been used, after carefully assessing the limits of necessity and proportionality, on the basis of rigorous verification and well-founded reasons, and always within the framework of multilateral governance. If states were to be recognised as having a right to ‘preventive war,’ according to their own criteria and without a supranational legal framework, the whole world would risk being set ablaze.

“This erosion of international law is truly worrying: justice has given way to force [...]”.



Cardinal Secretary of State Pietro Parolin delivering a speech at the United Nations. (picture ma)

“There are no first-class and second-class dead, nor people who have more right to live than others simply because they were born on one continent rather than another, or in a particular country.”

The Cardinal is asked why international law and diplomacy are experiencing such a decline today. His answer: “What has been lost is the awareness that the common good truly benefits everyone – that is, that the good for the other is also a good for me, and therefore justice, prosperity, and security are achieved insofar as all can benefit from them.”

This has a further consequence: “The system of multilateral diplomacy in relations among states is undergoing a profound crisis, inter alia because of the distrust states harbour toward legal constraints that limit their action. Such an attitude represents the other side of the will to power: the desire to act freely, to impose one’s own order on others, while avoiding the dramatic but noble toil of politics, made up of discussions, negotiations, advantages for oneself, and concessions to others.”

The “whole body of international law built up in areas such as disarmament, development cooperation, respect for fundamental rights, intellectual property, and trade and transit” is being questioned and gradually set aside. There seems to have been a loss of awareness of what *Immanuel Kant* wrote in 1795: “A violation of right in one part of the world is felt in all parts.” International law is now in-

voked only according to one’s own convenience.

Finally, Cardinal Parolin recalled the importance of international humanitarian law. Compliance with it cannot “depend on circumstances or on military and strategic interests”. The Holy See, the Cardinal said, “forcefully reiterates its condemnation of every form of involvement of civilians and civilian structures – such as homes, schools, hospitals, and places of worship – in military operations, and asks that the principle of the inviolability of human dignity and the sacredness of life always be protected.” He had previously emphasised: “There are no first-class and second-class dead, nor people who have more right to live than others simply because they were born on one continent rather than another, or in a particular country.”

Cardinal Parolin expressed his hope “that the din of weapons will soon cease and that we may return to negotiation”. He added: “We must not empty negotiations of their meaning: it is essential to allow the necessary time for them to reach concrete results, working with patience and determination.” Furthermore, he said, it is necessary “to resist every delegitimation of international institutions and to

continued on page 4

“Justice has given way to force”

continued from page 3

promote the strengthening of supranational norms that help States resolve disputes peacefully, through diplomacy and politics”. “This appeal,” Cardinal Parolin concluded, “should shake those who lead nations and all those working in the context of international relations, urging them to multiply their efforts for peace.”

In his words, Cardinal Secretary of State Pietro Parolin has expressed what reason and humanity demand – yet this is in danger of becoming obscured today amidst the fog of war and the accompanying spiritual, emotional and moral neglect. That is why the public statements from the Vatican and similar pronouncements from another source are so important.

By mid-1941, when *Hitler's* Germany and its allies had brutally subjugated almost all of Europe, millions of affected people had scarcely any hope left; many were in despair. Four years later, the Third Reich came to an end with its downfall. Donald Trump and *Benjamin Netanyahu* are not Adolf Hitler, but their brutally violent megalomania, expressed in words and deeds, must accept this comparison. Cardinal Parolin does not name any countries, peoples or those responsible. Anyone capable of reading, however, knows who and what is meant.

In 1930, foreshadowing what would become reality in Germany three years later and what was already all too evident in the behaviour of fascism throughout Europe in 1930, *Bertolt Brecht* wrote his famous parable “Measures Against Violence”. Brecht was a staunch communist. But the message of his parable was: open resistance against fascist brute force is futile. It makes no sense to sacrifice oneself against

“What has been lost is the awareness that the common good truly benefits everyone—that is, that the good for the other is also a good for me, and therefore justice, prosperity, and security are achieved insofar as all can benefit from them.”

violence. It is more important to survive. However, not to bow down inwardly despite all forced outward conformity – that is possible and sensible.

Those in power in Iran had to choose a different path. In the Western world, Iran has been demonised since the end of the Shah’s regime in 1978/79. Thus, the country’s current resistance is also being pilloried and distorted in a grotesque manner. There is a brazen disregard for who actually started the war again.

The Iranians are defending themselves against a *war of annihilation* waged against them. The reports from the Iranian *Red Crescent* must be a cause for major alarm. It’s a shame how Western power elites justify the war, refuse to respect the will to resist of large sections of the Iranian people, and how we are once again being inundated with distortions and misrepresentations, with propaganda and “alternative facts”.

We must therefore draw attention to the independent voices that are attempting to offer a different perspective on Iran and the war. Figures such as former US Army Colonel *Douglas Macgregor*, former US Army Colonel and *Colin Powell's* Chief of Staff, *Lawrence Wilkerson*, former CIA analyst *Larry C. Johnson*, and former US Army Major, intelligence officer and UN weapons inspector *Scott Ritter* – to name

just four former insiders of the US system here – deserve our thanks and high esteem.² Many more names could be mentioned. There are also courageous voices in the German-speaking world. One of them is that of *Michael Lüders*.³

Given the lies told during past negotiations, it is only logical that Iran no longer trusts any offers of negotiation from the West. And one can only hope that the analyses and predictions of quite a few experts – that the US and Israeli governments have overreached themselves in their megalomania this time – prove to be correct.

Above all, however, the key issue is that humanity finds ways to ensure that the political ethics expressed in Cardinal Parolin’s words do not remain a utopia, but can be realised step by step. •

¹ <https://www.vaticannews.va/en/vatican-city/news/2026-03/cardinal-parolin-interview-middle-east-iran-us-israel-war.html> of 4 March 2026

² see *Glenn Diesen's* interviews with *Douglas Macgregor* of 3 March 2026 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yd_uJiRcl0Q), with *Lawrence Wilkerson* of 5 March 2026 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H3r8Ie-yNZU&t=28s>), with *Larry C. Johnson* of 6 March 2026 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lligsWoPAx0>) and with *Scott Ritter* of 11 March 2026 (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rQt351IzD54>)

³ see, for example, *Lüders, Michael. Angriff auf den Iran. Armageddon im Orient? (Attack on Iran. Armageddon in the Orient?)*; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GhHwTxx96W0> of 2 March 2026

“The future of the world is not being written by us anymore”

“You can kill a leader, but you can’t bomb a civilisation into submission. And we’ve never understood what we were dealing with in Iran. Everybody talks about Iran as some sort of radical Islamic state.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Iran is ultimately Persia, and that civilisation is much older. And Persian civilisation, Persian thinking, Persian philosophy, Persian art and history — all of those things have been asserting their dominance over the last 25 to 30 years. And the people of Iran have largely walked away from this more ideologically rigid form of Islam.

They didn’t hate *Khamenei* and they didn’t dance in the streets when he was killed. On the contrary, people saw him as a very humble and decent human being. He sacrificed his life. He stayed where he knew he would be killed. Killing him has made him a martyr that even people that don’t like Islam can honour. So I think we’ve galvanised the place against us. We’ve mobilised the people against us. I don’t see anything good coming out of this.

And this is the problem with us. We project our values, our thinking, our experience onto others. Well, our experience may hold up in connection with Eu-

ropean experience, but it doesn’t match the experience of people in the Middle East and Asia or Africa for that matter, or even Latin America. So that’s why I think we’re in a different world right now, and we don’t even understand it. The world is changing and the old world is ending and we’re fighting the emergence of the new world.

I think we could say that the future of the world is not being written by us anymore.”

Spurce Glenn Diesen's interviews with Douglas Macgregor on 3 March 2026 (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yd_uJiRcl0Q)

Chessboard of blood: the Middle East's expandable pawns

by Raïs Neza Boneza*



Raïs Neza Boneza
(picture ma)

1 March 2026

Breaking news:

Bombs fall, leaders posture, markets tremble, and the world is told to stay calm. The United States and Israel strike Iran. Iran responds with missiles. Gulf skies light up. Airports shut down.

Oil prices twitch like nervous investors refreshing their screens.

Children die.

Anchors call it “retaliation.”

Officials call it “deterrence.”

Commentators call it “inevitable.”

I call it what it is: *a catastrophic failure of political imagination.*

We are watching so called “grown governments” with nuclear umbrellas some naming themselves “democratic” behave like teenagers with fireworks — except the “fireworks” land on apartment blocks and primary schools.

* Raïs Neza Boneza (Democratic Republic of Congo (Ex-Zaire) in Africa, 1979). He currently lives in Norway where he works as a peace researcher and practitioner. He is also a poet who besides writing his own poetry works to promote artistic expressions as a means to deal with conflicts and maintaining mental well-being and spiritual growth after surviving war. Although Boneza may sometimes at least have wished to forget his experiences of war in the conflict-ridden Great Lake region, he has never forgotten about both the richness and misery of Africa. He has lived in the east and in the west of the D. R. Congo, in Rwanda, in Burundi, and Uganda. He has learned seven African languages as well as the European imperialistic languages and has got first-hand knowledge of the cultures of various ethnic groups in the region. This background, combined with his sensitive artistic mind and his scholarly background including his collaboration with one of the founders of peace research *Johan Galtung*, has equipped his analytical faculties with unique instruments to extend the project that Galtung has developed since the mid 90ies, to the African continent. Besides, his work as consultant and lecturer for different NGOs and institution around world; He is a co-convenor for the *Transcend Global*; a network of specialist working for peace, development and environment. His work is a premise of peace, solidary and human dignity. Some works: *Nomad, a refugee poet* (2003): Poetry ISBN 0-9726996-1-9; *Black Emerald* (2004): Poetry ISBN 9788182530348; *Peace By African's Peaceful Means* (2005): Non-fiction ISBN 978-1593440992; *Peace through African's Peaceful Means* (2003), ISBN 978-8-2300-0080-9; *Sounds of exile* (2006): Poetry ISBN 978-1-4116-0990-7; *White Eldorado, Black Fever* (2013) ISBN 978-8-2998-5413-9

And somewhere, in a glass building in New York, the United Nations clears its throat.

The UN is strongly concerned since 1945: The Security Council meets. Statements are issued. “Deep concern.” “Grave alarm.” “All parties must exercise restraint.”

Restraint? The missiles are already in the sky.

The UN was built on the promise of “Never Again.” Today it looks more like “Again, again and again! – but with better wording.” When powerful states violate international law, the consequences are not sanctions; they are press conferences. International law is apparently sacred – unless you own aircraft carriers.

Imperialism with better branding

Let's not pretend this is ancient tribal chaos. This is geopolitical engineering.

Influence zones. Energy corridors. Strategic leverage. The language is always sanitised. Nobody says “empire” anymore. They say “security architecture.” Nobody says “control.” They say “stability.”

But when bombs redraw the political map, that's not stability. That's imperial muscle memory.

The Middle East is treated like a chessboard. The problem is that the pawns have names, families, and pulse rates.

And when Gaza bleeds – when entire neighbourhoods are erased and scholars use the word genocide with legal precision – we are told it's “complex.” Civilian suffering becomes a footnote in a security briefing.

Complexity is the new anaesthesia.

But we know the trend: *Racism in a suit and tie*. Notice the hierarchy of grief. When Western cities are threatened, it's a civilisational crisis. When Middle Eastern cities are flattened, it's “collateral damage.” When refugees flee bombs, they become “migration pressure.”

Whose lives are considered strategic assets – and whose are considered expendable?

This isn't accidental. It's structural. It's the quiet racism embedded in global power: some deaths shake markets; others barely shake headlines.

Accountability? Only for the weak

We've seen this pattern before. Financial elites caught in grotesque scandals. Political figures orbiting figures like *Jefrey Epstein*. Networks of power protecting themselves while ordinary people are lectured about “rule of law.” Whether

every detail is proven or buried, one thing is clear: *the powerful rarely fall the way the powerless do.*

When bombs fall, the children die.

When scandals break, the powerful retire comfortably.

When wars fail, the public pays the bill.

The system protects itself first.

The Empire's favorite mistake is that history whispers something uncomfortable: empires often begin to fracture during wars they thought would be easy.

Remember, Afghanistan was supposed to be swift; then Iraq was supposed to be decisive and now Iran is supposed to be manageable.

Iran is not a footnote. It is an ancient civilisation with 2,500 years of memory. The United States is younger than some Persian poetry. When leaders talk about “quick operations,” history usually prepares a lesson.

For sure, you cannot bomb your way into stability.

For sure, you cannot assassinate your way into peace.

For sure, you cannot sanction your way into legitimacy.

And yet here we are; for sure

Let envision the cost now; If the Strait of Hormuz closes, fuel prices spike in Oslo and Nairobi alike. Supermarket shelves feel it. Rent feels it. The “globalised world” suddenly remembers it is connected. But mostly the cost is more blood and endless revenge.

War is sold as regional. Its consequences are planetary.

So, *here is the unfashionable proposal*: Stop!

Stop before escalation becomes routine.

Stop before revenge becomes doctrine.

Stop before another generation learns that sirens are lullabies.

Peace is not weakness. Peace is the only way.

Negotiation is not surrender. Palaver is the only way.

The world does not need stronger missiles.

It needs stronger moral spines.

And if the United Nations still wants to matter, now would be an excellent time to prove it.

Because if we continue this way, the question will not be “Who wins?”

It will be “*Who survives?*” •

Iran as “the evil one”

The return of the “end time”

by Patrick Lawrence*



Patrick Lawrence
(picture ef)

It is remarkable – and there are stronger words for this – how Americans swoon into states of religious fervour in times of crisis, or when their character or national identity, or their conduct toward others, is

questioned. The best-known of these in history are called *Great Awakenings*, of which there have been three since the first in the 1730s – four if we count what Americans call “the *Jesus Movement*” of the 1960s and 1970s. By then the United States’ imperial aggressions in Southeast Asia threatened many Americans with the thought that their republic was not so providentially ordained as they had believed.

“America is a nation with the soul of a church,” *G. K. Chesterton* famously observed in *What I Saw in America*, his 1922 account of his trans-Atlantic travels. This is the thought. And always at the pulpit in the American church we find evangelical Christians. This has been so since *Jonathan Edwards*, a leader of the First Awakening, who, addressing the incipient dangers of the Enlightenment, assured his congregants that America would ever be holier than it would be enlightened.

Religious revivals of this kind are exercises in collective psychology and give those who take them up various sorts of reassurance. They impart a sense of conviction at just those moments when the convictions of believers are flagging. They foster faith in the possibility of redemption when sinners suspect that they may be in need of redeeming. Most of all, they give purpose amid suspicions that the endeavor to hand has none.

Who does not find the religious nature of the American consciousness regrettable, given how much trouble it has caused over the centuries? But it is a fact of history and seems indelible, as the face of a dollar bill suggests plainly.

And so to the Iran crisis. To the spectacle of three- and four-star generals and ad-

mirals telling their rank-and-file soldiers and sailors they are on “God’s divine mission.” And to President *Trump*, this rotund man of appetites, holding prayer meetings in the Oval Office.

What are we to make of this, the thought that extremist evangelicals in all their contradictions have returned once again to explain America to Americans – this time that the nation with a church’s soul is waging a religious war?

My mind goes in two directions when I consider these questions.

One, Trump needs to demonstrate to the Christian nationalists who are the backbone of his “Make America Great Again” cause that he is keeping the faith. And many of these are *Old Testament* Christians, let us not forget: The Zionists among them, of whom many, are the direct descendants of those who declared themselves God’s chosen people when they crossed the Atlantic four centuries ago and thought they had arrived

Trump turns to the Protestant god, Donald Trump is in some way of quaking.

As is well-reported, the Trump regime has offered Americans and the rest of the world so many explanations of the war the United States and Israel have launched against the Islamic Republic of Iran it is difficult to keep track of them. It is to support protesters, to keep Iran from developing nuclear weapons, to destroy the nation’s ballistic missiles, to change the regime, or it is because Iran is a direct threat to America’s national security.

Etc.

The official explanations change day to day and from one official to another, and as others have remarked, none of them bears scrutiny. It grows daily more evident, as more reports in independent media make a nonsense of official accounts, that *Ari Larijani*, who directs Iran’s military operations, was right the other day when he said Operation “Epic Fury” is better named “Operation Epic Mistake”.

“It is a dangerous madness that the Trump regime and much of its military command seem to dispense with all reason as they wage what they offer Americans as a religious war. This amounts to straight-out irrationality. We witness the determined de-modernisation of the republic.”

in the New Jerusalem. Crucifixes are de rigueur with these people even as they preach revenge and war without mercy. This is what you hear when *Pete Hegseth* carries on like a 19th century New England preacher. We can’t underestimate the political calculation in the swell of evangelical faith now coming out of this regime.

Many justifications for the war

Two, and this is what interests me most, beyond the political cynicism at work in the Trump White House the desperation abroad in this regime and in its military is by now, the second week of this war, unmistakable. Even “The New York Times” at last reports that the strength of Iran’s counterattacks has landed as a shock in Washington and on all those bases in West Asia. “The mood inside the Pentagon”, “The Washington Post” reported last week, “is intense and paranoid”.

Trump, I have to conclude, is a man who sees fate rolling at him like a big black bowling ball. And when Donald

Not for the first time, America does not know what it is doing or why it set out to do it.

The need for a narrative, a coherent story explaining this war, grows more acute with every opinion poll, all of which now indicate that the majority of Americans oppose this adventure. This can get only worse as it becomes more evident the United States is not in for the short war Trump still insists it will be. Americans have already begun to die in this war – almost certainly in numbers that are kept from the public. If the casualty count rises, as is likely, for what will these Americans die?

Revelation as a justification for war

Several days into the U.S.–Israeli assault, a non-commissioned officer serving in a combat unit, presumably somewhere in West Asia, reported that his commander had this to say in a daily briefing: “President Trump has been anointed by Jesus to light the signal fire in Iran to cause Ar-

continued on page 7

* Patrick Lawrence is a long-standing foreign correspondent, mainly for the “International Herald Tribune”. He is also a columnist, essayist, author and lecturer. His penultimate book is *Time No Longer: Americans After the American Century*, Yale 2013. His new book *Journalists and Their Shadows* was published by Clarity Press (ISBN 978-3-85371-543-7) in 2023. His website is patricklawrence.us. Support his work via patreon.com/thefloutist.



Early March 2026: Praying for Donald Trump in the Oval Office. (picture screenshot)

“Iran as ‘the evil one’”

continued from page 6

ageddon and mark his return to Earth.” This remark was first reported by *Jonathan Larsen*,¹ an independent journalist, and carried in *The Cradle*,² the Beirut news site that covers its region.

The N.C.O. related this incident to the *Military Religious Freedom Foundation*, a nongovernmental organisation that defends the constitutional rights of those in uniform. It is not the story of one true-believing officer or an isolated incident. The Foundation fielded 110 such complaints within the first 48 hours after the war began – these reported from more than 40 military units serving at more than 30 separate installations.

“This is coming from all over the military in all ranks, from flag officers [generals and admirals] down to enlisted men,” *Lawrence Wilkerson*, a retired colonel who serves on the Foundation’s board, remarked in a *podcast* the other night. Wilkerson cites repeated references to Revelations and to the imminent return of Jesus Christ in these presentations. “Personnel are being told not to fear what is to come,” he concludes.

Never mind that you can’t possibly take this kind of talk seriously. Many of those charged with leading soldiers and sailors into this war do.

“The Sun”, Nigeria’s leading daily (and I tip my cap to its journalists for this), posted a video on X on 6 March,³ a week into the war, showing what looks like a laying on of hands as Trump sits solemnly at the *Resolute Desk*, a semi-circle of parsons behind him. “President

Donald Trump hosts pastors from across the US in the Oval Office,” “The Sun’s” caption reads, “for a prayer vigil seeking divine guidance in the escalating Iran conflict.”

Look at this footage, about a minute and a half, and consider what you see and hear, I urge readers. As the Trumpster sits with his hands folded upon themselves, eyes closed, and his head bowed, one of the churchmen to his right intones incantatorily:

I pray for your grace and protection over him.

I pray for your protection of our troops.

And all of our men and women serving in our armed forces.

And, Father, we pray you continue to give our president the strength he needs to lead our great nation.

And so on.

Along the continuum running from political performance to anxiety and fear, video of this sort suggests Trump is now closer to the latter. The search for purpose when there is no purpose. The claim to righteousness as the first body bags arrive on C-17s at *Dover Air Force Base*.

Huckabee and Hegseth

There is in the background the case of *Mike Huckabee*, who Trump had no problem naming his ambassador to Israel. As was widely reported a couple of weeks ago, Huckabee, a limitlessly deluded Christian Zionist, told *Tucker Carlson*, the prominent independent webcaster, that Is-

rael has a “biblical right” to lands from the Nile to the Euphrates – territory the Zionists refer to as *Eretz Israel*, “Greater Israel.”

And in the foreground, there is Pete Hegseth, Trump’s defense secretary, who often appears lost in nostalgic fantasies of past military glory. In *American Crusade (Center Street, 2020)*, written while he was still a *Fox News* presenter, Hegseth referenced the 12th century adventures of European armies and wrote, “Today’s American Crusaders will need to muster the same courage against the Islamists.”

Reflecting the hopelessly muddled minds and beliefs of these kinds of people, Hegseth has also taken lately to holding hyper-Christian prayer sessions at the Pentagon with decidedly *Old Testament* themes of endless revenge. There is no making any sense of this. Parenthetically, I wonder what Trump’s “secretary of war” – and for that matter Huckabee – will make of *Moshe Gafni* and *Yaakov Asher*, two members of the Israeli Knesset, who have just submitted a draft bill that, if passed, will make it a criminal offense to speak publicly of Jesus or otherwise promote Christianity in all varieties of media.

What am I, shocked by this drift into the strange precincts of Christian messianism, or not surprised at all? Both, I think. It is a dangerous madness that the Trump regime and much of its military command seem to dispense with all reason as they wage what they offer Americans as a religious war. This amounts to straight-out ir-

continued on page 8

US Sanctions on countries responsible for 38 million deaths over 50 years, expert says

by Jim Cason and David Brooks, Washington and New York

Washington and New York. Most people in the United States see their country as an exceptional and generous nation, explains renowned international relations expert *John Mearsheimer*. In reality, however, this global power has wielded its immense economic strength through sanctions – particularly against countries in the Middle East, as well as Iran, Venezuela, and now Cuba – measures that have caused millions of deaths worldwide.

“The level of killing and violence we have created around the world is simply staggering,” Mearsheimer said at a forum at the University of Chicago, where he serves as a professor. “If you think about the consequences of the war in Iraq, what we are doing in places like Venezuela, Cuba, and Iran, you realise that we use our tremendous economic weight essentially to starve populations, to make them suffer, to inflict enormous punishment so they will rise up against their governments.”

He noted that a recent study estimated nearly 40 million deaths resulting from this US strategy over the past half-century.

The prestigious scientific journal *The Lancet* published a study late last year assessing the impact of US economic sanctions imposed on 152 countries between 1971 and 2021. The authors [*Francisco Rodriguez, Silvio Rendón and Mark Weisbrot*] found a significant causal link between sanctions and increased mortality, with the strongest effects stemming from unilateral US measures.

“We estimate that unilateral sanctions over this period caused 564 258 deaths per year,” the researchers concluded. For Mearsheimer, the study provides grounds to accuse the United States of mass homicide. “We killed 38 million people – 38 million,” he said, summarising the overall impact of sanctions imposed by successive administrations in Washington.

“This is what we are doing in Venezuela and Iran. We are inflicting massive

punishment on those populations. That is why it is very difficult for me to describe the United States as a noble country. I do not believe we are exceptionally virtuous when it comes to foreign policy,” he added.

The prominent scholar also expressed concern that President *Donald Trump* is reintroducing “old-style colonialism or traditional imperialism” in the Western Hemisphere.

“He’s going to govern Venezuela. Can you believe that? He thinks their oil belongs to us. He’s going to govern Cuba and Nicaragua. He’s even toying with Greenland and Canada,” Mearsheimer warned during the forum.

“And do you want to know when we will leave Iran – or how that will end?” •

Source: <https://www.jornada.com.mx/noticia/2026/03/11/mundo/las-sanciones-de-europa-paises-causa-de-38-millones-de-muertes-en-50-anos-experto> of 11 March 2026

(Translation from the Spanish *Current Concerns*)

‘Iran as ‘the evil one’’

continued from page 7

rationality. We witness the determined de-modernisation of the republic.

Immediately after 9/11: ‘Rid this world of evil and terror’

On the other hand, there is precedent. For this we need go back no further than 11 September 2001 and *Bush II* regime’s invasion of Iraq two years later.

“The great purpose of our great land is to rid this world of evil and terror,” the younger Bush had said after the events of 11 September. “The evil ones have roused a mighty nation, a mighty land.”

The evil ones. Are you listening carefully?

Later, as Bush sought the support of the Europeans amid preparations for the Iraq invasion, he telephoned *Jacques Chirac* – twice by reliable French accounts – and in his (failed) attempt to recruit the French president made reference to *Gog* and *Magog*, the satanic figures found in Revelations, who appear when the “end time” is near and the great war between good and evil was at last to be fought. Accounts of these exchanges – Chirac privately scoffed in amazement – were published in

France in 2009; they were unpublished in America until *William Pfaff*, my late colleague and friend, brought out *The Irony of Manifest Destiny* (*Walker*, 2010). It was Bill’s last book.

What do we hear when senior members of America’s political elite take to casting geopolitical events as biblical prophecies? In the immediate case, there are 30,000 to 50,000 Christian Zionists in the United States. As earlier mentioned, they must remain loyal to Trump and the M.A.G.A. cause, which by many accounts is suffering a lapse of conviction. These people must be assured that Trump buys the story they tell themselves, one that enables them to embrace a war, his war, which would otherwise make no sense to them: Yes, “God’s divine mission.”

More profoundly, and this is the lesson I urge we draw; this is the sound of an imperium that is deeply uncertain of itself. This is what I hear – a nation that sought “the end of history” long before *Francis Fukuyama* wrote his idiotic book but has never been able to find it. Confronted with 21st century realities – notably but not only the emergence of the non-West as a pole of power – the Trump regime, and Bush II before it, are no more comprehending or

confident of themselves than Jonathan Edwards as he sought to counter the arriving Age of Reason three centuries ago.

Power in combination with uncertainty, desperation, an assiduously submerged fear: These are not promising in combination. What Bush II handed Americans with his wars in Iraq and Afghanistan is a good guide to where this leads.

In one of his ever-changing, transparently hollow displays of grit, the other day Trump sent out another account of his policy toward Iran. “There will be no deal with Iran except *Unconditional Surrender*,” he wrote on his social media site, “and after selection of a great and acceptable leader.” These are the words of a regime whose material power is beyond dispute, but precisely one that is in some measure uncertain, desperate, and fearful of what will come of what it has begun. •

¹ <https://jonathanlarsen.substack.com/p/us-troops-were-told-iran-war-is-for>

² <https://thecradle.co/articles/us-commanders-tell-troops-iran-war-gods-divine-plan-trump-anointed-to-ignite-armageddon-report>

³ <https://x.com/thesunnigeria/status/2029875124904554513>

Source: *The Floutist* of 12 March 2026; An earlier version of this essay appeared, in German, in *globalbridge.ch* on 11 March 2026

The Law of Neutrality: No Foreign Troops in Switzerland!

by Dr iur. Marianne Wüthrich

The Federal Council is currently dithering over whether to allow the US to fly its warplanes through Swiss airspace on their way to the war in Iran – an unprecedented breach of neutrality! And this is no one-off slip-up, but part of a broader agenda: “In the area of military mobility in particular, Switzerland contributes to security and cooperation in Europe by facilitating and supporting the transit of personnel or equipment from other armed forces through Switzerland, in compliance with the law of neutrality.” (Switzerland’s Security Strategy 2026, p. 59)

This sentence, which must make every Swiss person’s hair stand on end, is tucked away on the penultimate page of this strategy – which is extremely disastrous for our country and is open for consultation until the end of March.¹

This autumn, the Swiss people will have the opportunity to put a stop to such un-Swiss activities by voting in favour of the *Neutrality Initiative*. Indeed, the ban on the transit of troops and weapons belong-



ing to other states through Swiss territory is one of the oldest cornerstones and an indispensable part of Swiss neutrality. It guarantees not only neutrality vis-à-vis the outside world, but also the internal peace of the Swiss people.

Historical digression: The 1647 Defensionale of Wil and the 1674 Declaration of Neutrality by the Federal Diet

During the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), the Swiss only just managed to avoid being drawn into this terrible con-

flict. Some cantons, however, granted one or other of the warring parties permission to march through Swiss territory. But at the end of the war, they jointly recognised that only by maintaining neutrality – and indeed, armed neutrality – could they preserve their freedom vis-à-vis the outside world and their internal cohesion. In the *Defensionale of Wil* of 1647, the Confederates resolved to protect their borders with armed troops against the passage of foreign armies. In 1674, the Federal Diet followed suit and officially declared Switzerland’s neutrality for the first time. Unfortunately, the cantons subsequently failed to implement the agreed organisation of a sufficient joint military force, leaving them unable to resist the French invasion of 1798. In 1815, Switzerland’s neutrality was then recognised – not created – by the major European powers. The lesson from history: Switzerland’s neutrality must necessarily be backed by military force to keep foreign troops off our territory. The Swiss successfully set about this after 1815, thereby protecting themselves from future wars.

The law of neutrality under the Hague Convention of 1907

The “Hague Convention respecting the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in the Case of War on Land” of 18 October 1907 establishes, as binding on all neutral states, the prohibition on the transport of troops and arms by any belligerent party – a prohibition which Switzerland itself has imposed upon itself for centuries:

Art. 1 The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.

Art. 2 Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power.

[...]

Art. 5 A neutral Power must not allow any of the acts referred to in Articles 2 to 4 to occur on its territory. [...]

Some Swiss historians sympathetic to NATO claim that the *Hague Conventions* are obsolete because the UN Charter now governs the rights and obligations of states in wartime. In reality, such a contradiction is a fabrication concocted by the Swiss NATO enthusiasts. The *Hague Conven-*

continued on page 10

Three billion for total surveillance of citizens?

mw. Federal Councillor *Martin Pfister*, Head of the *Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sport (DDPS)*, is demanding funding for Switzerland’s integration into NATO and EU security structures – as outlined in the “Security Policy Strategy 2026” – and for the monitoring of public opinion: 31 billion Swiss francs for the army over ten years (partly also for necessary national defence projects). With a hefty 0.8 per cent increase in VAT from 2028, the Federal Council intends to make the entire population foot the bill. We are expected to allocate three billion francs solely for the “expansion of civil security authorities”: “Additional revenue of around three billion francs is required for the federal civil agencies responsible for security tasks. This will strengthen civilian security instruments such as intelligence services, civilian alert systems, security communications and resilient crisis management capabilities, as well as the fight against disinformation. In a hybrid threat environment, these make a key contribution to Switzerland’s security.”¹ (emphasis added)

According to the “*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*”, the DDPS intends to create 420

to 520 new full-time posts (!) in the ‘security sector’ for this purpose – of which 100 to 200 posts will be at the Federal Office of Police (*Fedpol*) and 115 at the Intelligence Service.² An administrative bloat without parallel, aimed, amongst other things, at the total surveillance of citizens and the corresponding restriction of their freedom of information and expression!

We do have one small consolation: as raising VAT requires a constitutional amendment, the federal government cannot avoid holding a mandatory referendum requiring a majority of both the people and the cantons. The consultation period runs until the end of May 2026. According to the polls, a ‘no’ vote appears likely.

¹ Federal Council press release of 6 March 2026 www.news.admin.ch/de/newnsb/fJDRVJGpA_Y1vcW5SRHUKG

² Gafafer, Tobias and Schäfer, Fabian. “Bundesrat Pfister will die höhere Mehrwertsteuer im Eiltempo durchbringen – doch SVP und FDP winken ab.” (Federal Councillor Pfister wants to push through the higher VAT at breakneck speed – but the SVP and FDP are rejecting the idea.)

Neue Zürcher Zeitung of 6 March 2026

"The Law of Neutrality: ..."

continued from page 9

tions remain in force; 92 states plus the European Union have signed them, and no state questions the agreement on the rights and obligations of neutral states. In fact, it is now more urgent than ever that as many states as possible respect the Law of neutrality!

In today's geopolitical situation, the term "belligerent powers" must also be interpreted more broadly than it was at the start of the 20th century. Back then, troops generally only marched through other countries to go to war. Today, the distinction from direct participation in war is not always clear when members of military alliances, for example, deploy their troops and fighter jets to the Russian border or the Middle East. Switzerland would do well to stick to its principle – not only in the event of direct military deployment by other states, but as a matter of principle: no right of transit for other armed forces through Switzerland.

Calling the Federal Council to account

Back to the Swiss Federal Council, which seems to have lost all touch with reality and is commenting on US military flights through Switzerland without the US having even submitted a request. In fact, it is common knowledge that Switzerland does not permit over-

flights by warring parties. As reported in the press regarding the Iran war: "The airspace of neutral Switzerland and Austria is avoided, as is that of countries that do not belong to NATO."² The US government, too, has apparently so far found a different route from Germany to Iran for its flights. It is quite possible that the US might be dissatisfied if Switzerland does not tolerate military flights through its airspace – but that does not justify a breach of the law of neutrality. Whilst Federal Councillor Cassis ponders "whether the escalation in the Middle East fulfils the conditions for the application of the law of neutrality"³, it is apparently clear to the Spanish government that a war is taking place in Iran: it is prohibiting the US from using two Spanish bases and is prepared to accept being berated by President Trump.

Robert Kolb, Professor of International Law at the University of Geneva, makes it unmistakably clear: "This is an intense international armed conflict. As such, the law of neutrality applies." He adds that it is likely "politically motivated" that the Federal Council is "dodging its obligations under the law of neutrality" in this case.⁴ Even now that the US has submitted requests, Federal Councillor Cassis continues to dither, approving some and rejecting others (*press release* of 14 March). Professor Kolb: "Then the country must

draw attention to its obligations – otherwise it violates the law of neutrality itself and loses credibility."

During the 2003 Iraq War, we still had a Federal Councillor who was prepared to uphold Switzerland's obligations under neutrality law. Back then, he decided to close Swiss airspace to American military aircraft a full month before the war began.

The Federal Council's hesitation and manoeuvring do have one positive aspect: they provide the *Neutrality Initiative* with a golden opportunity. •

- ¹ Incidentally, back in 2024 the Federal Council already signed our country up to the EU's "Military Mobility" project under the "Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO)" framework, which is intended to "streamline the administrative procedures" for cross-border transport. The claim that PESCO is a "European" project is just as misleading as the planned regulation under the Security Policy Strategy: it is a NATO project, given that Canada and the US are also involved. (see <https://www.zeit-fragen.ch/en/archives/2024/nr-21-15-oktober-2024/sich-auf-den-wert-der-neutralitaet-zurueckbesinnen>)
- ² Monn, Julia and Shaw, Roland "Europa unterstützt die UA" (Europe supports the UA). In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 10 March 2026
- ³ Meier, Dominik. "Wann gilt Neutralitätsrecht? Bundesrat vor heiklem Entscheid im Iran-Krieg" (When does the right to neutrality apply? Federal Council faces a delicate decision in the Iran war). In: *SRF News* of 3 March 2026
- ⁴ Berner, Selina. "Der Iran-Krieg wird für die Schweiz zum Balanceakt" (The Iran war becomes a balancing act for Switzerland). In: *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* of 5 March 2026

Letter to  the Editor**The War against children**

On 28 February, the first day of the current war against Iran, American bombs destroyed not only the Iranian government in Tehran. They also bombed a girls' school in Hormozgan Province, although it was called a "high-precision strike". In the meantime, 165 children have been laid to rest in a mass burial.

We have already become accustomed to the fact that the Israeli army has, in some cases, deliberately targeted children in the Gaza Strip. According to UNICEF, about 18,000 children have been killed there so far. The killing continues.

In 1996, *Madeleine Albright* was asked in an interview with the CBS programme "60 Minutes" whether the deaths of more than 500,000 Iraqi children as a result of the sanctions imposed by the US had been



A gesture of sympathy. Flowers outside the Iranian Embassy in Berlin: "In deep mourning for the innocent victims of Minab." (picture me)

worth it. Her answer was clear: "I think that is a very difficult decision, but the price is worth it."

Killing children in war appears to be a viable strategy for the "values-driven" West. It is a reliable means of stoking hatred. The idea behind this may be that it will provoke opponents into emotionally rash counter-reactions that may become counterproductive for themselves. Or – for those who think in longer perspectives – the calculation is that this will prevent these children to become soldiers later on, after 15 years of time.

So this is the world we live in. How can we improve it?

Peter Schweizer, Neuhausen, canton Schaffhausen

Neutrality is needed now more than ever

As it already has become apparent, the world powers and their leaders are continuing to take the path of dividing and destabilising for their own profit. We should not allow ourselves to be drawn into this, neither through the non-UN sanctions which have caused more human deaths in the last 70 years than the wars, nor through ties to NATO or the European Union. We have a sacred duty, to promote peace and to prevent war. We still have (greatly reduced through politics) the possibility to achieve this. As a member of a world power, we would lose this opportunity and become party to conflict and an accomplice or victim. Humanitarian help is, in such power alliances, no longer possible. Neutrality and non-interference in other countries do not mean ignoring, rather looking closely and reaching out in the diplomatic restoration of peace and the preservation of humanitarian help.

Lutz Geisen, Trimmis, canton Grisons

Nord Stream and the journalistic challenge for reporting – a case study

by Hans von Sponeck, former UN Assistant Secretary-General



Hans von Sponeck giving a presentation at "Mut zur Ethik" 2025. (picture kp)

Today there are many journalistic publications available which suggest that, according to the *Pioneer Briefing* of 17 December 2025, "when journalists become activists, the way to fake news will not be far". This is indeed alarming.

There are studies which document the increasingly dire state of journalistic work. These studies include publications by *Patrick Lawrence*, for many years foreign correspondent for the "International Herald Tribune" (*Journalists and Their Shadows*), as well as by *Udo Ulfkotte*, correspondent for over 17 years for the German national daily newspaper *FAZ* (*Journalists for Hire*), and by *Lee McIntyre*, professor at Boston University and Harvard (*On Disinformation: How to Fight for Truth and Protect Democracy*). The unshakable journalist *Florian Warweg* must also be mentioned. In a lecture in Nuremberg last December, he addressed the topic of "Media, Power and Manipulation," highlighting the poor quality of reporting and the dwindling trust in the media. He reminded the audience that "the role of the media as the fourth estate and as a watchdog and controller of politics [...] has been rendered virtually absurd in light of increasing cross-subsidisation and the resulting growing dependence on government payments."

Our media – a mixed picture

However, a general assessment of "the" German and foreign media regarding geopolitical reporting makes little sense. Alongside the rising number of poorly researched articles, or worse, ideologically biased publications, both in Germany and in Western countries and elsewhere, there are still excellent analyses by independent journalists. These include, for example *Karin Leukefeld*, a renowned expert on the Middle East, who tirelessly advocates objective reporting despite facing considerable hostility, and the aforementioned journalist *Florian*

Warweg, who has repeatedly reminded government representatives at the *Federal Press Conference* (BPK) of their obligation to provide the public with truthful information instead of rhetorical and meaningless platitudes. At the beginning of 2025, he mentioned at the BPK that EU member states and the USA had concluded that "contrary to previous suspicions, Russia is not responsible for [...] the damage to underwater cables in the Baltic Sea." At the same time, the *Washington Post*, citing Western intelligence sources, declared: "Accidents, not Russian sabotage, are behind the undersea cable damage."

I would also like to mention the well-known, sadly deceased, Australian journalist *John Pilger*, who was known and respected worldwide for his journalistic independence and integrity. His statement is not forgotten that "the media are an instrument of power, but when we recognise this, we become aware of the official verbiage and understand that the truth is subversive. That is always true."

To avoid any misunderstanding, it is perfectly clear that journalistic work always involves a degree of selection and subjectivity. But this is only acceptable if it is not linked to the manipulation of opinion. This fourth estate should provide the basis upon which facts and opposing viewpoints can be debated, as a fundamental expression of a free society.

Many Nord Stream 'theories' without evidence ...

In any case, today the public is constantly confronted with a flood of disinformation and an often difficult-to-fathom absence of research and necessary fact-checking. It goes without saying that artificial intelligence represents a continuing uncontrolled and additional problem, further eroding trust in the media.

One of the "major" media topics that has repeatedly been featured in news reports over the past few years concerns the sabotage of the Nord Stream pipeline (NS) on 26 September 2022. Statements about the sabotage began to accumulate shortly afterward. As early as in October, US talk show host *Tucker Carlson* was already certain that the US had blown up the pipeline. On this occasion, *Victoria Nuland* (former US Deputy Secretary of State) responded, saying, "I am glad to see the NS at the bottom of the sea." *Peter Vonnahme*, a judge at the *Bavarian Administrative Court*, wrote in an article that there were two versions as to

who was responsible: either "it was the Russians, or the perpetrators were the US." He added, "A minimum of analytical thinking would lead to the conclusion that it is completely illogical to believe in Russian culpability."

August Hanning, former president of the *German Federal Intelligence Service* (BND), accused Poland of complicity in the NS attack. NATO Secretary General *Jens Stoltenberg* was quoted in March 2023 as saying: "It is not known who carried out the attack." On 11 July 2023, Member of Parliament (MP) *Konstantin Kuhle* (*Free Democrats*) stated: "[...] to date, there is no clear evidence about the perpetrators." MP *Roderich Kiesewetter* (CDU), on the other hand, asserted: "It is clear that Russia was involved in this attack." MP *Sevim Dagdelen* (*The Left Party*) commented: "The German government should have no objection to the establishment of an international commission of inquiry under the auspices of the UN." Shortly afterward, on 25 August 2023, the German television broadcaster ZDF concluded: "[...] there is no reliable evidence for suspicions towards Russia." MP *Lamy Kaddr* (*Alliance 90/The Green Party*) demanded: "The German people have the right to know who attacked us."

Over time, a further large number of similarly contradictory claims and indications regarding Nord Stream emerged. The French monthly newspaper *Le Monde Diplomatique* wrote that "some Western government officials and leading Western media outlets initially favoured the theory that Russia was responsible for the attacks". Among these officials was *Annalena Baerbock*. In the *ARD Tagesschau* news programme on 4 January 2025, *Markus Sambale* from the *ARD* Berlin studio stated: "Even though the investigations are still ongoing, Foreign Minister Baerbock makes no secret of her suspicions of Russia."

... but also, serious investigations

Many reports pointed out that the Nord Stream sabotage required a high degree of technical expertise, as Professor *Jefrey Sachs* (Columbia University) testified before the UN Security Council in February 2023. *Seymour Hersh*, the well-known American investigative journalist, reminded the UN Security Council of the radar surveillance, the images of US military helicopters over the Nord Stream 2 explosion site,

continued on page 12

"Nord Stream and ..."

continued from page 11

and the numerous political threats in the US to sabotage the pipelines. According to Hersh, a CIA working group had reported in early 2022: "We have a way to blow up the pipelines." Let us also mention here a statement made by US President *Biden* in the presence of German Chancellor *Scholz* on 7 February 2022, namely: "Should Russia invade Ukraine, there will no longer be a Nord Stream – we will bring it to an end."

Also relevant are the witness testimonies before the Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania state parliament's investigative committee in July 2025: "Representatives of the US intelligence agencies actively campaigned to prevent Nord Stream 2." Particularly revealing is the statement by the harbour master of Christiansen in Denmark, who, according to the Danish newspaper "Politiken" of 3 October 2024, said: "[...] A few days before the explosion of Nord Stream 1 and 2, US Navy warships were present and their transponders were switched off."

"Rheinmetall is breaking record after record"

km. This was the headline in the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" on 11 March 2026. And "Die Zeit" reported on the same day: "The Düsseldorf-based defence contractor *Rheinmetall* expects a rise in turnover of up to 45 per cent for the current year." The defence contractor had already recorded a rise of almost 30 per cent in 2025. Profits also grew by 30 per cent – and dividends accordingly. "The order books are bursting at the seams," adds *Die Zeit*.

The "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung" ran the subheading: "What could give *Rheinmetall* an extra boost". The article states: "The war in Iran is causing demand for *Rheinmetall's* anti-aircraft guns to skyrocket. 'The phones haven't stopped ringing over the weekend; people want our systems,' says CEO *Pappberger*." He proudly adds that his guns have "already shot down more than 100 Iranian drones" in the war in the Middle East. Each shot costs just 1,000 US-Dollar. Compared to US missiles costing around 2 million US-Dollar, that is "almost a bargain".

The CEO has promised that mobile anti-drone systems will be delivered to Germany as early as this summer, rather than next year as originally planned. These could then be deployed in German cities as early as this summer.

Yes, some people are profiting from the war! German defence contractors are right at the forefront of this. And: Germany is set to be "ready for war" sooner than one might think.

The statements quoted here, which are representative of the vast number of other relevant accounts, confirm that to this day there is no conclusive picture of who was responsible for the destruction of those pipelines.

The simple conclusion: It was sabotage. There was a sailboat with a Ukrainian crew. There are interpretable statements and indications given by both the American and Russian governments, as well as other official bodies. However, the masterminds – who were presumably needed to provide the necessary "technical assistance" for the successful execution of such a complex act of sabotage – remain unknown.

There are honourable as well as dishonourable attempts to fully ascertain who is responsible. It is regrettable that the results of the investigations by the governments of Denmark, Germany, and Sweden into the Nord Stream sabotage have still not been made public. After more than four years, the public remains incompletely informed.

Meanwhile, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung: 'Why not Moscow?'

Despite the vague and unclear state of affairs surrounding the Nord Stream sabotage, the Sunday newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* (FAS) decided on 10 November 2025, to publish an editorial by *Konrad Schuller* entitled "The Other Lead in the 'Nord Stream' Case," with the subtitle "Investigators are focusing on Kyiv after the explosion in the Baltic Sea. Critics ask: And why not Moscow?"

With 26 references to Russia, Moscow, and *Putin*, the FAS article aims to create the impression that Russia is responsible for the sabotage. However, this is done without providing any evidence. The US, as a possible perpetrator, remains unmentioned. Ukraine is implicated in the blast through a few brief allusions. "However," the FAS article states, "[...] there are indicators which point to a trail leading to Russia." The article mentions the existence of photos of Russian naval vessels at the explosion site four days prior. What it fails to mention is that there are also photos of American naval vessels at the scene.

Does the presence of ships, whether Russian or American, prove culpability? Does this even constitute a "trail leading to Russia," as claimed in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* article? A woman named *Diana B.* is also mentioned, whose company allegedly rented the suspected sailboat and who possesses both Ukrainian and Russian passports, and "publishes pictures of trips through Russia" – another "clue"? How can a major

German newspaper be so brazen as to publish such nonsense? This is certainly not a responsible report, but rather a voluntary "donation" to the flames of the burning East-West conflict.

The article goes on to argue that the (Ukrainian) boat *Andromeda* was part of the sabotage operation, but that it is "highly plausible that the actual job was carried out by the Russian flotilla [...]". Why could it not also be "highly plausible" that the job was carried out by the American Navy?

Deliberate misinformation?

The question arises once more: Is this serious evidence given by the FAS or irresponsible and deliberate misinformation? The journalist *Schuller* continues: "The traces could be part of a Russian deception operation." Without evidence, this statement, like the others, remains nothing more than dishonourable speculation.

Quoting MP *Kiesewetter* as evidence that Russia was responsible for Nord Stream sabotage is also unhelpful. *Kiesewetter* has made no secret of his Russophobic views, either in writing or in speech. During an interrogation period in the German Bundestag on 24 April 2024, *Kiesewetter* was asked about Nord Stream: "Why do you spread conspiracy theories?" His response: "[...] I advise you not to listen to disinformation from known Kremlin propagandists!" We should remember that MP *Kiesewetter* had already declared in the Bundestag on 11 July 2023: "Sure, Russia was involved in this attack."

The FAS had access to the statements quoted here. *Konrad Schuller* had every opportunity to write an article that could have presented the actual state of the sabotage investigations, i.e. to "report things as they are." The questions of why such an article was not written and what the underlying motives were will not be addressed here.

In his FAS article of 1 February 2026, "Kyiv Holds Out," *Konrad Schuller* writes, "[Chancellor] *Merz* could have chosen golden silence instead of a loose tongue." The same choice applies to *Schuller* regarding Nord Stream. In any case, according to the *German Press Code*, the public has the right to insist that "unconfirmed reports, rumours, and speculations are identified as such" and that "facts are contextualised and analysed".

The Nord Stream case is just one example, albeit a very serious one, of inadequate journalism in our country. However, it can be used to establish the quality and independence of journalistic work as an important fundamental principle for the "Fourth Estate" of a nation with leadership aspirations.

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Heinrich Heine: ‘When, Germany, I think of thee ...’

by Silvia Nogradi



Heinrich Heine
(picture Wikimedia commons)

Every so often, you take a familiar classic down from your bookshelf – a beautifully bound volume – and leaf through its pages. As you begin to read, you’re struck with amazement: here is an author from a bygone age who suddenly comes vividly to life, as though he had written these words especially for the present day.

That was precisely my experience recently with the work of *Heinrich Heine* (1797–1856), one of the most widely read poets in the German language – though he was far more than a poet. His work encompasses an extraordinary range: from the most delicate poems of nature and love to the sharpest, most biting pamphlets; from lucid analysis and satirical attack to verses filled with a plaintive longing for his homeland; from tersely phrased aphorisms to philosophical treatises.

In all his works, it is evident that Heine consistently strives for a clear, accessible, almost popular tone, eschewing any semblance of obscure or affected profundity. As both poet and prose writer, he enriched the expressive possibilities of the German language to an extraordinary degree. He writes as a remarkably perceptive and sharp-tongued observer and analyst of his own time, casting a critical eye not only on his era and his contemporaries, but also on himself. And when one returns to his work, one is struck by how many of his observations can be applied to our present circumstances.

In light of today’s political climate, many contemporary readers may find themselves sharing the sentiments expressed by Heinrich Heine, who wrote in his 1837 poem “Night thoughts”:

*When, Germany, I think of thee
At night, all slumber flies from me;
I cannot close mine eyes for yearning,
And down my cheeks run tears all
burning.*¹

Tender, yet wryly exposing

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Heine was a “modern” in the truest sense: He composed lyric poetry in an accessible style, closely attuned to the rhythms of spoken language, with the aim of making it widely available. It is no surprise that his poems are among the most frequently set to music.

In his poetry, he initially remained firmly within the Romantic tradition, which he adopted with a certain irony, even as he wryly exposed, subverted, and ultimately transcended it.

*’Twas in the beauteous month of May,
When all the flowers were springing,
That first within my bosom
I heard love’s echo ringing.*

*’Twas in the beauteous month of May,
When all the birds were singing,
That first I to my sweetheart
My vows of love was bringing.*²

That Heine was, on the one hand, thoroughly familiar with the Romantic intonation, yet also inclined to mock it and to set a sober, enlightened view of the world against sentimental rapture, is clearly expressed in these well-known lines:

*She stood beside the ocean,
And sighed as one oppressed,
With such a deep emotion
The sunset thrilled her breast.*

*Dear maiden, look more gayly,
This trick is old, thou’lt find.
Before us sinks he daily,
To rise again behind.*³

For a fairer world and against ‘romantic tinkling’

Heinrich Heine, who ironically styled himself the “last Prince of Romanticism,” was at the same time a clear-sighted critic of all “Romantic tinkling” and “nebulous fairy-tale trappings,” for he saw only in the spirit of the Enlightenment the basis for creating a more just world. The demand to improve the concrete living conditions of all people lies at the heart of his writing. As is expressed in the three stanzas of his well-known poem “Germany, a wintertale” (1844):

*Our object is, that here on earth
We may mount to the realms of heaven.
On earth we fain would happy be,
Nor starve for the sake of the stronger;
The idle stomach shall gorge itself
With the fruit of hard labour no longer.
Bread grows on the earth for every
one,
Enough, and e’en in redundancy,*

*And roses and myrtles, beauty and joy,
And sugarplums too in abundance.*

*Yes, sugarplums for every one,
As soon as the plums are provided;
To angels and sparrows we’re quite
content*

*That heaven should be confided.*⁴

This great concern – that dignified living conditions and a sense of joy in life must be made possible for all – runs throughout the entirety of his literary work. At the same time, he repeatedly emphasizes that beauty and art have an important place within this happier, more humane way of life.

Elites out of touch with reality – then as now

The young Heinrich Heine wrote not only poetry, but also travel sketches, as was fashionable at the time. In these, he describes landscapes, of course, but above all the social realities of his day, and he does not hesitate – often with a satirical edge – to expose prevailing injustices and abuses.

When, in 1825, in “Die Nordsee” (The North Sea)⁵, he denounces the arrogance and folly of the nobility in Hanover, describing their absurd pride in considering themselves superior and of higher worth as mere delusion – indeed as “delusions” – and shows how this “better society” is determined to impose its hollow pretensions by force, one cannot help but think of parallels with the arrogance, impudence, and lack of (historical) education among today’s elites. Of course, any resemblance is purely coincidental ...

In truth, Heine addresses the detachment from reality of socially privileged “bubbles” – at the time, young aristocrats (today one might perhaps update this to other privileged groups) – who lack any real connection to the experience of ordinary people.

Heine is well aware of the susceptibility to corruption and the self-delusion of those who chiefly aspire to influential circles and positions of power, and who pride themselves on belonging to the “better classes.” Thus, he speaks of the young aristocracy and “their early-imprinted delusion concerning the importance of certain drilled forms.” And, of course, he sees through all this empty pretence: “Oh, how often have I laughed when I observed how much pride was taken in these forms; – as though it were exceedingly difficult to learn this manner of representing, of presenting oneself, of smiling without saying anything, of speaking without thinking.”

continued on page 14

"Heinrich Heine: ..."

continued from page 14

Each one must bring his
weapons all,
And lay them down in the
guildhall;
And every kind of ammunition
Is subject to the same condi-
tion.

He who in any public spot
Ventures to reason, shall be
shot;
He who by gestures dares to
reason
Shall pay the penalty of trea-
son.

Confide in the authorities,
So gracious, but withal so
wise,
Who rule the fortunes of the
city,
And hold your tongues, or more's the
pity.¹⁰

Heinrich Heine thus formulates mat-
ters in accordance with the power rela-
tions of his own time. In practice, such
forms of censorship and the suppression
of free thought take on different guises
in every historical period. Our own era,
too, offers ample evidence that it is not
everywhere possible to express and pub-
lish one's views without facing repercus-
sions. One need only think of the sanc-
tions imposed on independent thinkers
such as *Jacques Baud*, *Nathalie Yamb*,
and others ...

Strikingly topical as well are the fol-
lowing verses from his late collection
of poems, *Romanzero* (1851), in which
Heine frequently draws on motifs from
Greek mythology. Here he clearly iden-
tifies the naïve failure of *Europe* (and
of other women ...), who allow them-
selves, in their ignorance, to be seduced
by the vast and at once alluring power of a
wealthy and cunning ruler.

Mythology

Yes! Europa must knock under—
Who could stand against a bull?
Danäe we'll forgive; no wonder
Golden rain made her a fool!

Sem'le was a victim real,
For she innocently thought
That a heavenly cloud ideal
Could not injure her in aught.

But poor Leda's tale notorious
Really stirs up all our spleen;
Vanquish'd by a swan inglorious,
What a goose must she have been!¹¹

(Zeus seduced Danaë, whom he passion-
ately desired, by transforming himself
into a shower of gold. Semele asked Zeus
to appear to her as he did to his divine
consort *Hera*; however, when Zeus re-
vealed himself in a blaze of lightning, Se-



Käthe Kollwitz: A weavers' uprising – a weavers' procession. (picture Wikimedia Commons.)

mele was consumed by the flames. Leda,
a queen and the mother of important fig-
ures in Greek mythology, allowed herself
to be seduced by Zeus when he took the
form of a swan.)

On the side of the oppressed

Heine adopts a quite different tone – no
longer ironic or satirical at all – in the so-
called *Weberlied* (weavers song), which he
composed in response to the brutal sup-
pression of the great Silesian weavers' up-
rising of 1844. Here we see the poet firm-
ly on the side of the oppressed, while at
the same time giving voice to the outraged
will to resist of the victims. They will fight
back and will no longer submit indefinitely
to the yoke of their oppressors:

The Silesian weavers

No tears from their gloomy eyes are
flowing,
They sit at the loom, their white teeth
showing:

"Thy shroud, O Germany, now weave
we,

"A threefold curse* we're weaving for
thee, –

"We're weaving, we're weaving!"

"A curse on the God to whom our pe-
tition

"We vainly address'd when in starving
condition;

"In vain did we hope, and in vain did
we wait,

"He only derided and mock'd our sad
fate, –

"We're weaving, we're weaving!"

"A curse on the King of the wealthy,
whom often

"Our misery vainly attempted to sof-
ten;

"Who takes away e'en the last penny
we've got,

"And lets us like dogs in the highway
be shot, –

"We're weaving, we're weaving!"

"A curse on our fatherland false
and contriving,

"Where shame and disgrace
alone are seen thriving,

"Where flowers are pluck'd be-
fore they unfold,

"Where batten the worms on cor-
ruption and mould, –

"We're weaving, we're weaving!"

"The shuttle is flying, the loom
creaks away,

"We're weaving busily night and
day;

"Thy shroud, Old Germany, now
weave we,

"A threefold curse we're weaving
for thee, –

"We're weaving, we're weav-
ing!"¹²

(*The targets of the three curses –
God, King, Fatherland – echo the Prus-
sian battle cry, "With God for King and
Fatherland." At the time, Silesia was a
province of Prussia.)

Heinrich Heine's poems arouse a sense of
concern; they move the reader, one way or
another, quite directly. His language is char-
acterised by vivid, concrete imagery rooted
in experience. Beyond that, his entire body
of work bears witness to a bold, incisive wit
and brims with vitality. It is far from form-
ing a flawless, self-contained whole. Yet, for
all the ambivalence and inner contradictions
he himself acknowledged with irony, he re-
mained, through his intelligence and his wit,
firmly on the side of humanity – a spirit of
humaneness that is fully aware of both one's
own and others' imperfections. With cour-
age and determination, he continued to write
and compose poetry without interruption,
despite years of severe illness that left him
almost completely paralysed and confined
to bed. From what he called his "mattress-
grave," he followed public life and contin-
ued to take part in it with committed and in-
cisive writing.

After such an "excursion into reading,"
the inspired and delighted reader becomes
aware once again: We today would do well
to reflect on our cultural roots and to re-
discover the treasures to be found in our
literature, to recognise their value, and to
allow them to inspire our thinking. •

¹ Heine, Heinrich. *The poems of Heine*, complete,
translated into the original metres by Edgar Al-
fred Bowring, C.B. London: George Bell and
Sons, 1908, p. 179

² Heine. 1908, p. 65

³ Heine, Heinrich. *The Poems of Heinrich Heine*.
Emma Lazarus, tr. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1881.
p. 144

⁴ Heine. *Germany: A winter tale*. 1908, p. 326

⁶ Heine. 1908, p. 165

⁷ Heine. 1908, p. 450

⁸ Heine. *Die romantische Schule*. cf. <https://projekt-gutenberg.org/authors/heinrich-heine/books/die-romantische-schule/>

⁹ Heine. 1908, p. 173

¹⁰ Heine. 1908, p. 537

¹¹ Heine. 1908, p. 449

¹² Heine. 1908, p. 395

Epigram for March 2026

by Alfred de Zayas



Alfred de Zayas
(picture ma)

Civilisation means ordered life among human beings in pursuance of common goals, a framework and process enriched by traditions, memory, a sense of identity and a moral compass. Civilisation builds on foundational values and entails an agreement to live according to rational norms, in an animus to observe the rules of the game, whether these rules are written or unwritten. Long before writing was invented, language and codes of conduct existed.

Hunters and gatherers had their own cultures and gradually devised their own rules of the game for survival and development – lived in small communities, improvised sports, invented stories, sang songs. Neanderthals and Cro-Magnon in Africa, Asia, Polynesia, Europe or the Americas, conceived their own codes and methodologies. Their civilisations found expression in religious ceremonies, initiation rites, music, dances, cuisine, practical rules of sanitation, irrigation, canals, bridges, funeral rites. They managed to survive and prosper in hostile environments, e.g. the Aborigines of Australia. Written laws came much later, when the Chinese, Indians, Mesopotamians, Persians, Greeks invented their respective symbols corre-

sponding to vowels and consonants. The ability to record financial transactions with written symbols facilitated commerce between peoples, and enabled the cross-fertilisation of cultures. History teaches us that civilisations decline and end when societies abandon their foundational values and no longer respect the rules of the game. Legal uncertainty leads to chaos, violence and war. A “culture of cheating”, double standards and bad faith betray the “human Covenant” and undermine the proper functioning of society. As civilisations rise and fall, the responsibility for maintaining our culture and values rests on each one of us.

Source: <https://www.alfreddezayas.com/>

Journalism and Responsibility

by Renate Dünki

Anyone listening to the news about the state of the world today would love to just pull the covers over their head. But of course, that doesn't help.

In Switzerland, much would already have been achieved if every citizen could reflect on their own history and the value of neutrality and good offices. For neutrality is a model for peace: A neutral country does not take part in armed conflicts, but instead offers mediation in times of conflict, and, through its good offices and as the headquarters of the International Red Cross, provides impartial assistance to people in need and in danger. Everyone can play their part here and, instead of being a spectator, become a helper.

In our current volatile situation, journalism would also have a far more important role to play than usual: it could act as a bridgebuilder in times of crisis. Such a goal requires an appreciation of one's own roots, education, knowledge of the

subject matter, and independent thinking, including a geopolitical perspective. Anyone who addresses us as citizens takes on a responsibility. Sources must be disclosed, interviewees named, and current events honestly contextualised. Facts must be stated and clearly distinguished from personal opinions. There is much more that could be said about journalistic ethics.

What is the situation today? On the fourth anniversary of the official start of the war in Ukraine, there was plenty to hear, read and see in our media; the title of a report by *Radio SRF* on 24 February should suffice as an example (*David Nauer* in the *SRF Swiss Radio and Television News App*).

“*Putin* is a miserable military leader.” A statement like that would have been very dangerous in our neighbouring country a few decades ago; there was no freedom of speech whatsoever, certainly not when it came to the Führer, the “greatest mili-

tary leader of all time”. Or *Napoleon*? He too was a great leader and “field commander” for whom human life meant nothing. Are “field commanders” in demand again today? And who, then, should be a “good field commander”? It is obvious what is urgently needed in the current global situation to protect people around the world. They are statesmen – politicians who, for the good of their country, seek to establish a security framework between nations, rely on dialogue and negotiation, and act as equal partners rather than as commanders or leaders. This approach is in line with the UN Charter.

When an SRF correspondent – a journalist in neutral Switzerland – titles a report for us listeners “*Putin* is a miserable military leader”, this is evidence of a grossly one-sided analysis. This journalist does not understand Switzerland's role as a neutral nation in promoting peace. I expect the public broadcaster SRF to provide, at the very least, balanced reporting. •

Current Concerns

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

Subscribe to Current Concerns – The journal of an independent cooperative

The cooperative *Zeit-Fragen* is a politically and financially independent organisation. All of its members work on a voluntary and honorary basis. The journal does not accept commercial advertisements of any kind and receives no financial support from business organisations. The journal Current Concerns is financed exclusively by its subscribers. We warmly recommend our model of free and independent press coverage to other journals.

Annual subscription rate of
CHF 40,-; Euro 30,-; USD 40,-; GBP 25,-
for the following countries:

Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brunei, Canada, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hongkong, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Qatar, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, USA

Annual subscription rate of
CHF 20,-; Euro 15,-; USD 20,-; GBP 12,50
for all other countries.

Please choose one of the following ways of payment:

- send a cheque to *Current Concerns*, P.O. Box, CH-9602 Bazenhaid, or
- send us your credit card details (only *Visa*), or
- pay into one of the following accounts:

CH:	PostFinance (CHF):	87-644472-4	IBAN CH91 0900 0000 8764 4472 4	BIC POFICHBEXXX
CH:	PostFinance (Euro):	91-738798-6	IBAN CH83 0900 0000 9173 8798 6	BIC POFICHBEXXX
D:	Volkshank in der Region, Kto. 67 517 005, BLZ 6039131	IBAN DE09 6039 1310 0067 5170 05	BIC GENODES1VBB	
A:	Raiffeisen Landesbank, Kto. 1-05.713.599, BLZ 37000	IBAN AT55 3700 0001 0571 3599	BIC RVVGTAT2B	