

Current Concerns

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English Edition of *Zeit-Fragen*

Taking the Principle of the Subject's Dignity Seriously A criticism of the Libya war, the necessary reform of the United Nations and the dialogue among the civilizations

An interview with Professor Dr Hans Köchler, Innsbruck/Austria*



Prof Dr Hans Köchler (photo ef)

Current Concerns: Professor Köchler, 3 months ago you published a memorandum to the attention of the UN Secretary General and the President of the Security Council (cf. Current Concerns No 5, June 2011). This memorandum deals with the Security Council's resolution 1973 (2011) of 17 March and the ensuing war against Libya 2 days later. Could you tell us the core ideas of your memorandum? What induced you to write this memorandum?

Professor Dr Hans Köchler: The principal reason, why I made this step and sent a text to the Secretary General of the United Nations and the President of the Security Council, lies in my fundamental refusal of the instrumentalization of the Security Council for superficial purposes in power politics. This resolution is more or less a full authorization for the interested states to intervene in another country at their own discretion.

As for myself, I was personally not only irritated, but shocked about the hard to beat hypocrisy forming the basis for the adoption of this resolution; the official reason for adopting this resolution or the

goal of this resolution was the protection of civilians in Libya. Actually, the resolution is about some countries' military intervention in Libya in the name of the United Nations, even if the United Nations themselves do not have any influence on the actions – on the one hand they wanted to install a so-called no fly zone, on the other hand they wanted to protect the civilian population, a goal separately formulated in the resolution.

In reality the use of armed forces has endangered the lives of civilians even more, and another fact is above that this resolution was decided when a civil war situation had already developed in Libya; so that now the intervention by these interested states – and it is not at all the international community of states – is more or less siding with one conflict party against the other one. In the meantime we have seen the implementation of the resolution degenerate into a war, by means of which the government in Libya is to be altered – a goal, that is not compatible with the spirit and the letter of the Security Council resolution.

However this kind of arbitrary interpretation is laid out in the text of the resolution, because a term is used which we in Austria would call an ambiguous clause, thus an empty formula.

To put it in a philosophical way: "All necessary measures" is a term, which is not at all defined and which is therefore misplaced in a resolution, which has concrete legal consequences – and that is definitely the case with compulsory Security Council resolutions.

To use such non-defined terms, is nothing but an invitation is to the interested states to act at their discretion. Each state will interpret an empty formula according to its own interests: Immediately after the beginning of the war we learned from the statements of, for example, British politicians that they regarded their attacks against the head of state in Libya, i.e. actions to kill him, as measures legitimized by the resolution.

What were the reactions to your memorandum?

I got support for my views in particular from Asia, but also from Africa; and in the media in Southeast Asia and also in African states there were reports on this memorandum, which we had submitted, and it prompted a lively world-wide debate.

Regarding the policy of the Security Council of the last 20 years one can gain the impression that there has been a certain kind of barbarization in the interpretation and application of international law. The guarantee that the UN Charter is taken seriously in its wording seems to have dwindled. What are your observations? And how could we explain such a development?

Yes, that is indeed my impression, too. And I see that there was a major paradigm shift in this period, when the bipolar world order changed relatively rapidly into a unipolar structure. That was around the year 1990. As early as in 1991, at the time of the second Gulf War, i.e. the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait, the Security Council adopted a resolution, which contained such an empty formula as well. At that time, in the resolution there was also talk about "all necessary means", and that also led to the fact that the interested states, especially the USA, Great Britain and France, more or less did what they liked in Iraq; regardless of the official objective – which was to end the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait – they destroyed the entire infrastructure in Iraq and performed actions, which led to the death of a great many civilians. It is thus indeed a barbarization, which the founders of the world-wide organization could not have at all imagined.

There is a structural problem concerning the position of the Security Council in the Charter of the United Nations. The Security Council actually is an authority,

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which cannot be challenged. In the framework of the UN Charter there is no separation of powers; this means that with regard to the Security Council there is no such thing as a constitutional court of the United Nations that could check whether the Security Council adopted its resolutions in agreement with the Charter of the United Nations.

As the Charter says, the Security Council is obliged to take decisions in accord with the principles of the United Nations like all other UN authorities; however, this obligation does not mean anything at all, if there is no possibility to independently examine within the framework of the organization whether the Security Council has followed this obligation or not.

Necessary reform of the UN

The big structural problem is that the international Court of Justice in The Hague, which is a part of the system of the United Nations, does not have any competence to decide on the accordance of the Security Council's resolutions with the statutes. Thus the following opinion has meanwhile evolved from the International Court of Justice: As soon as the Security Council has decided on a resolution in accordance with Chapter VII of the UN Charter, i.e. a resolution with an obligatory character for all member states, the international Court of Justice can no longer

deal with relevant complaints of member states.

If you have such a situation, it doesn't come as a surprise that a barbarization takes place, especially if there is no balance within the committee.

In the bipolar world a certain balance of power was predominant – of course this was often a kind of paralysis; however there was some kind of balance, because one superpower contained the other. Now the situation is completely different; there is no power balance among the five permanent members with the right to veto. That is the reason, why countries, which would actually have the possibility of preventing such arbitrary resolutions with the help of the Charter, do not engage but keep out, i.e. abstain from voting.

If there was a balance of power between the five permanent Security Council members, a resolution like the resolution 1973 on Libya would be inconceivable. In that case Russia or China, for example, would have had the courage to stand up against it.

But now the law of action is left to a country and/or a group of countries, and only to this single country and its vassals. I think this means a complete perversion of the concept of collective security, which is the basis for the regulations in Chapter VII of the United Nation's Charter. In fact, the development has shown so far that it is no longer about actions of collective security, i.e. actions, which are really accomplished in the name of

Drug Lords in the Financial Sector

Drugs (hash, cocaine...) are damaging social structures, health and economic foundations. Assistance is needed. People become dependent on the supplying drug lords who are classified as criminals and prosecuted, if the pursuers are not corrupted by enormous financial means. The Greek politicians – and not only them, have been put into a state of intoxication by extremely large, not secured loans. The finance-drug lords recommended the addicted to lie euphemistically towards the EU - knowing that thereby a financial drug market would be established across the entire euro zone. Taxpayers should pay off the "drugs". The not yet drug-addicted heads of state from the "Angela/Sargko": The drug lords should voluntarily renounce their profits.

Oeconomicus

the world community; however, it is indeed about unilateral actions, which a state performs together with its allies, and this state has the advantage to justify its actions with reference to the United Nations. I can only say: We can hardly imagine a situation where things are more hypocritical than now.

It has repeatedly been stated that military operations by NATO involve an excessive use of violence. NATO justifies

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Financial Industry, the Pursuit of the (Rediscovered) Mammon

We are witnessing a sociological transformation of our values which is fundamental in its complexity and which will have a profound impact on our epoch. It has eventually formed the permissive society of today. The pretended political helplessness is a sinister failure of policy without any doubt. The wrong developments of recent times are named here in randomized order: a turning away from monotheistic religions, loss of models, barriers against other cultures and civilizations, aggressiveness instead of harmony, pictorially poor against rich, destruction of the environment ...

Such reference points extracted from sociology are leading to symbols of power which are new and akin to fascism as to their structure. As always in times without orientation a model is being suggested that has been known before, but has gone through major transformations in recent times. In our case it is the idea of feasibility which is allegedly backing the new financial theory of finances. The significance of money handed down to us for centuries and the use of money as a means of conserving value, of gaining time (by postponing a consumption), of worthiness as a debtor or claimant of

a credit, power without any army, simplification of trades ... all that is now being extended beyond its traditional functions, is becoming a derivate, a substitution, an artificial product, that is – in a disordered and senseless way – composed of diverse, partially newly vested financial instruments – only for the purpose of being able to trade money in a new tremendous and limitless variety. And always with the treacherous reassurance that all needs will be satisfied and securities will be total. Because of the alleged first successes a financial fascism emerges that – like an octopus – not only influences, but shapes political thought and action and which is leading to the well-known misallocations. But such an inevitable fiction has always led to destruction. When afterwards politicians save banks they destroy currencies and at the same time their citizens' confidence in politics and in the establishment. A conclusion that suggests itself to any inexperienced layman. The program which is inherent in all of us tempts all generations into repeating the same mistakes all over again. Unfortunately, a correcting, if at all, is only slightly hinted at at the universities. In the end, destruction,

losses and a bitter currency reform leave us with a sense of déjà-vu. Conclusion: We have had it all before!

Readers who are interested in finances and who remember the past: Wars have always caused huge financial problems to the war waging countries ...

Table with 2 columns: Year and War Name. Rows include: 1618-1648 Thirty-Years' War, 1642-1649 English Civil War, 1775-1783 American War of Independence, 1789-1799 French Revolution, 1870/71 Germany/France, 1914-1918 First World War, 1936-1939 Spanish Civil War, 1939-1945 Second World War, 1946-1975 Vietnam War, 1950-1953 Korea, 1980-1988 I. Gulf War (Irak/Iran), 1990 II. Gulf War, ...

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this with the fact that the Libyan government threatens civilians and NATO therefore has to intervene and protect civilians. However, these are completely unsubstantial statements. But there is no corrective within the United Nations at present, and above all there is no possibility of taking legal action.

NATO arrogance

What strikes me most is this: We have advanced to the point that a military alliance of a special power bloc acts more or less as an executive body of the United Nations. NATO represents the particular interests of the USA and its allies, although NATO is a defense pact by its founding documents, by its statutes; its objective refers to the mutual assistance in case of attack on a member country. NATO has no authorization at all to intervene "out of area", i.e. in states, which do not belong to their contract territory. But the fact is that NATO now more or less acts as military

instrument of the only universal state organization, i.e. the United Nations.

This, too, represents a total perversion of the concept of a regional security alliance; a military alliance, that originally was directed against another military alliance during the cold war and which is also structurally directed against other countries and regions in the current constellation, is now acting more or less officially in the name of the world community.

There is a further fundamental structural problem in the UN Charter or a problem resulting from the fact that the UN Charter was not fully implemented from the outset. In Chapter VII a so-called Military Staff Committee was intended for the implementation of a resolution by military measures, which was to consist of the permanent members' Chiefs of Staff. However, this Committee exists only on paper. And it was also originally intended that the member countries would transfer contingents to the Security Council, including national air force contingents, which in the Libyan case would have been particularly relevant, because this case concerned no-fly zones, i.e. the employment of air forces. All that never happened; it was impossible in the cold war, but later it has never been implemented. According to the operational regulation of chapter VII it is therefore at the countries' will to send available air forces if they have any.

One of your main points of research and one of your main objectives is a reform of

the organization of the United Nations – as you say – a "democratization" of the world organization. What do we have to understand by that?

I launched this idea for the first time in 1990 after discussions, which we had in the context of the International Progress Organization (IPO)¹ in New Delhi, and my consideration primarily refers to the democratization concerning the crucial committee where according to the current Charter decisions are taken, i.e. the Security Council.

Fact is that the authority for the practice of "coercive power" for the implementation of international standards is exclusively up to the Security Council. The United Nations General Assembly – as the Charter says – can only give recommendations and if the Security Council is concerned with a topic, cannot even discuss the respective problem. It is subordinate to the Security Council in all central issues, so that from my point of view we have to think about how the decision making process in the Security Council could be rendered fairer and more balanced if we think about democratizing this body.

One of my considerations is to find a replacement for the current veto regulation. By the way, it is interesting that the expression 'veto' cannot be found anywhere in the Charter of the United Nations. The appropriate regulation is completely disguised and indirect and encoded in Article 27 of the Charter. It says that de-

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¹ The *International Progress Organization* (I.P.O., www.i-p-o.org) whose president Hans Koechler is, was founded in 1972 in Innsbruck, Austria, by students from Austria, India and Egypt who were concerned about relations between cultures and civilizations and the growing North-South divide. The I.P.O. aims to encourage cultural exchange between all nations, attempts to promote tolerance towards all nationalities and cultures, and emphasizes human liberties, social and economic development, peace, and the international rule of law.

Article 24 Charter of the United Nations

Functions and Powers of the Security Council

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.
2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII, and XII.
3. The Security Council shall submit annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.
2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members.
3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Chapter VII

Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.
2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.
3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.
4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

Article 27 Voting

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

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cisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of nine members, i.e. with 9 voices of 15 – 15 is the number of member states – and that for the resolutions to be valid the agreement of the permanent members, "including the concurring votes of the permanent members", is necessary. The word veto does not occur.

This regulation makes clear that a resolution cannot be valid if a permanent member abstains from voting. What else should be called agreement? For me it is inconceivable that in any language the expression agreement also includes abstention. However it has already been handled this way for decades that if a country abstains from voting, they pretend it had agreed; and this may explain also a bit what I said before about the veto. If the expression veto was actually used, the Charter would regulate that the five permanent members could prevent a coercive measure by a veto, which would make the issue much clearer.

My consideration is this: Instead of the veto, which grants privileges to a certain number of countries – at present these are five countries –, another regulation should be included. Because in the long run it concerns the following: The idea behind the veto was at that time that resolutions according to Chapter VII – which is about decisions on war and peace and their coercive implementation, if necessary also by military force – that these resolutions are accompanied by a guarantee that important countries won't be ignored. In 1945 the list of permanent members reflected the power constellation at that time. When the UN was founded, a majority of today's member countries had not yet existed at all, and many still were dependent colonial territories. We talk about the fact that with really important decisions today it should be guaranteed that a relatively small group cannot force their will upon the whole world – especially if it is a relatively small group in view of the representation of the total population of the countries, their heft and their responsibility – so we might think about introducing a so-called "supermajority", that is a majority of e.g. 3 quarters of the votes. Or, as I specified later, we could readjust this whole veto regulation with privileges for five states separately specified.

In 1945 the idea was that those, who had the biggest responsibility due to the power they exercised, should be able to claim a right to veto in the world system. Today that is different. I do not believe that France is a world power which would justify equipping it with the right to veto.

Therefore is my proposal is to think about restructuring the decision making process on a regional basis.

A better-balanced distribution of power

With reference to Europe we could illustrate this most easily. The idea would be that decisions, in particular those on coercive measures according to Chapter VII, would not only be agreed upon by the majority of member countries but also by the regions represented in the Security Council. That would mean that the permanent seats of Great Britain and France would become obsolete and that there was no more discussion about Germany getting an additional permanent seat – if this happened, Europe would obtain three permanent seats. It would also mean that the respective regional organization, in this case the European Union, would obtain such a permanent seat, while the representation in the Security Council could rotate among the member countries. It does not only work on the European level that a country holds the presidency in the European Union for a certain period. For Africa it would be the African Union etc. Africa is currently not represented at all.

I believe that this would be a better-balanced distribution of power within the Security Council. Only in case we redefined the term of permanent membership in such a way or replaced it by the membership of regions, we could maintain the concept of a veto – meaning that a region has the right to veto a decision.

If we are however not willing or unable to modernize the term "permanent membership" in such a way and if it is also impossible to "update" the list of veto countries – which pragmatically could be the case, as no country would be willing to give up its privileged status – in that case a fundamental reform would have to take place, after which a "super majority" would become necessary instead of this right to veto, as I said before.

One must also add another fact that concerns the present veto situation and that is frequently ignored. It is laid down in the Charter of the United Nations: Generally, a member state cannot vote for resolutions by the Security Council while this member state is involved in a conflict open to debate. This is a fundamental principle of justice: One cannot vote on an issue, in which one is involved. But: Article 27 has an additional clause according to which this regulation is valid only for decisions according to Chapter VI and Chapter VIII (without coercive character), i.e. not for decisions according to Chapter VII, i.e. where it really counts. This means that a permanent member of the Security Council can also make use of its right to veto, if it is involved in a conflict, so e.g. if

it has attacked another country. This is the reason, why in fact those cases, in which a permanent member country waged a war of aggression, remained unchecked. The USA attacked Iraq in 2003 and subsequently occupied the country. Since no country is willing to decide on coercive measures against itself it was impossible to do anything against it in the Security Council. From my point of view also something that would have to be changed in the context of a reform and a democratization – and above all also in the interest of a fairer organization of decision making.

Taking democracy and separation of power seriously

Then there are also further considerations, which concern the reconstruction of the Charter. If we take democracy and separation of power really seriously, we would have to expand the General Assembly and transform it into a legislative body, which it is currently not. Now it is an advisory body. If there has been a kind of legislative body so far – which according to the Charter does not exist – it could be seen in the form of resolutions by the Security Council, which has arrogated special authority to itself since 2001. Due to the circumstance that we do not have a separation of powers and that there is no legal examination of the Security Council's actions possible, and because a special kind of practice has been established with the Security Council taking the liberty to act independently, a precedent has been created, and there is the danger that in the future others refer to these resolutions.

Within the United Nations, in particular in the committees of the Security Council and the General Assembly, many plans for reform have meanwhile been discussed. Particularly since the anniversary year 1995 there have been a great many debates, which were initiated by the member states. Expert committees were established by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and of the president of the General Assembly. But there is a snag to the whole thing, which is again combined with the veto privilege of the five permanent members. According to the UN Charter a change of the Charter requires the agreement of the permanent members, i.e. not even a comma can be changed, if the permanent members do not agree. And why should a country, which in fact has ceased to be a superpower and which therefore needs the Security Council to push through its interests "as before" – as for example France and Great Britain in North Africa – why should such a country voluntarily re-

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Health governance

Research for the patients' benefit, not for the profits

by Dr rer nat Gerd Antes*, Freiburg i.Br./Germany

The six German Centres of Excellence for Research into common diseases should be beacons of a progressive strategy in medical research. In reality though, ethics and quality are on the verge of being dismissed. Clinical studies are weakened, health industries boosted.

It goes without saying that modern medicine needs a firm but fast developing scientific foundation. The way seems to be easy:

* Gerd Antes is director of the German Cochrane Centre at the Institute of Medical Biometrics and Medical Informatics at the university hospital Freiburg

New ideas from theoretical and bench research lead to new methods in a time period of usually many years, finally reaching the test phase of their curative value in clinical studies with human patients. Innovation and evaluation are a pair in which one part is nothing without the other. Making this allegedly easy interplay a reality is at the same time encouraging and sobering. On the one hand medicine makes a lot of progress in both research and health care. On the other hand, time and again we realize how limited this progress is and prone to failure, and how fragile the health care system can turn out to be in situations of

real challenge both at the systemic and the personal level.

Prior to their approval, the evaluation of diagnostic and therapeutic methods by suitable scientific studies is a decisive and indispensable step. In these studies considerable efforts are made to compare the new method in a sufficient number of patients with established standard care or – if there is none – with placebo control groups. The evaluation of every medical method therefore requires a contextual consideration of every other, similar study

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nounce its privileges, which were once granted by the Charter – in a situation in which it does no longer maintain the status due to which it once had these privileges.

My opinion on this is the following: If we do not succeed to perform any reform measures in due time, the organization of the United Nations will gradually be delegitimized; and in particular the countries outside the western world will gradually create new organization forms for themselves. We have already observed first steps in this direction with the BRICS states. Maybe the UN will once suffer the same fate as the League of Nations.

Above all the UN has unfortunately not been capable for a long time of fulfilling the central objective which it was established for, i.e. to guarantee peace. Nowadays, wars of aggression are waged in the name of this organization. That is a complete reversal of the objectives of the UN Charter; and if we are realistic, the consequence can only be that the text, which is fundamental to this organization, will no longer be taken seriously – if its interpretation is so arbitrary and if there is no possibility to undertake anything against this arbitrariness.

Strengthening the dialogue between the nations

Your second main objective, which you have been working on for 40 years, since the establishment of the International Progresses Organization, is the concept of the "dialogue of nations" – within the United Nations, but also far beyond. What does this concept contribute to peace?

My consideration is the following: A group, but also a nation on a legal and political level, can only have peaceful relations with another group, with another nation, if they fundamentally respect the other nation. If there is no mutual respect, there will be no corrective for the implementation of one's own interests. Then the nations think of nothing but themselves, and everything else is judged or assessed in accordance with their own interests. Therefore it is my conviction that first of all we have to have some knowledge on other identities in terms of culture and civilization. Then we can gradually get acquainted with each other and overcome what has been called euro-centrism, referring to our traditions here on this continent.

My philosophical-hermeneutic point of view is this: I can only understand myself completely if I am capable of establishing a relation to other identities. That is true for the individual as well as for the collective. A civilization, which exclusively knows its own traditions and merely teaches what its own identity has created before – for example at school – and excludes everything else, cannot achieve a status of civilized or cultural maturity.

If you realize that the knowledge about other cultures is a prerequisite for the possibility to get to know yourself, we will have a completely different basis for what we call peaceful coexistence, i.e. a peaceful living together of cultures and countries.

From my point of view we fall too short if we only refer to the economic dimension when talking about the international peace order. If we limit international relations exclusively to economy, we will remain on the level of utilitarianism; and there is actually no possibility of contradicting a

position which in the long run implies that each foreign policy measure is assessed by its economic use for one's own group. Therefore the cultural aspect is a substantial corrective for me.

Europe has to offer something different with regard to utilitarianism. For example: Europe and its tradition of the Enlightenment.

I agree; I also mentioned it in my lecture on Kant this term. For me, the Kantian tradition is something very important; his transcendental philosophy, his philosophy of the subject. The subject's status is autonomous and, according to Kant, distinguished by an inalienable dignity. This means that humans may never be made bare objects, and "humanity" – one's own humanity, one's status as a subject – must be divine to us, as Kant puts it. And this is also true for our behavior towards all other people – on the individual as well as on the collective level.

For the relations between nations, taking the maxim of the subject seriously means that no nation can force its identity, its principles and its world view upon others; and it may not try to reeducate the other nation according to its own self portrayal, i.e. to try to recreate the other in one's own similitude. No civilization may ever possess this kind of quasi "divine" authority. If we interpreted it in such a way – as the USA have obviously done, at least for some time – such a policy would firstly not be in line with human rights and secondly, it would lead towards a totalitarian world order.

Thank you very much for this interview. •

(Translation Current Concerns)

"Research for..."

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previously performed. That is the only way to make sure that information of patients who used to be treated with similar methods is taken into account.

The essential scientific dogma that each progress has to be founded on the current body of knowledge has so far not been considered to the necessary extent in our contemporary study design. This would mean that there is knowledge of all studies performed so far. Neither can this be guaranteed by ethic committees and approval administrations at present, nor is it expected from the principal study investigators. Since this totally unacceptable state of affairs does not only violate the scientific quality of scientific studies, but also leads to poor quality which puts study participants at risk and constitutes a non-compliance with ethical standards, it is viewed more and more critically and with increasing concern.

Modest funding resources

In several scientifically leading countries those well-known shortcomings and ethical weaknesses have led to structural measures being taken in recent years, apart from considerable financial investments. The UK and Canada for instance have founded National Institutes for Health Research. Various units with different affiliations are co-ordinated in one institution, in order to shape research ac-

tivities, develop strategies and support health research with sufficient funding (992 million pounds per year in the UK) and infrastructural facilities. It is all the more astonishing that the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) is apparently planning to leave the economic development scheme for clinical studies which it had been running together with the German Research Foundation (DFG) since 2003.

This scheme, together with the structural assistance measures of recent years, had sustainably improved framework conditions for clinical studies. Visible sign are the study centres created at medical faculties. Crucial if less visible is, in addition to that, the increase in professional competence which has been achieved with planning and performing of studies as well as training activities for study personnel. Credit needs to be given not only to the BMBF, but also to the DFG, a traditionally bench research oriented body who sent a clear signal in favour of clinical studies with their commitment.

However with these positive results one should not forget that a funding volume of 30 million per year is anything but impressive. An increase from 10 million Euros to the current figure may be read as an enormous percental replenishment, but this refers only to the tiny volume at the start. Currently one should assume a growing gap to the leading countries. The reason is the financial volume, but even more so the structural changes allowing for a more

efficient use of the money. In view of this situation the question remains, why this programme, which seems humble compared with international standards, is about to be stopped, and why the not even half-full glass is about to be spilled.

Focus on six centres

The most plausible answer might be found in the governmental programme "Health research: scientific research for the people" which was introduced at the beginning of the year and is meant to strategically outline medical research of the years to come. This brochure takes pride in stating that Germany has been holding the top position in the number of clinical studies within the European Union since 2006, which should be self-evident for the country with most inhabitants and sufficient finances. More importantly: this claim rests on so weak methodological preconditions that the statement has to be regarded as simply wrong. What really counts is the cash per inhabitant. In this category a dramatic fall to a position behind several less wealthy and influential countries has to be noted. Germany's contribution to the global knowledge base of clinical studies is certainly no reason to cut public spending in this field.

The overall impression from this governmental programme suggests that publicly funded studies will have no lobby in the years to come. The funding structure is focussed on six centres of health research

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Medicine – for the People or for the Stock Market?

ab. It is not the fields of health and education which have ruined the once rich economies of the western world, but rather wars and a financial industry far removed from the people and the country.

What is needed today is to rethink, including in terms of health policies. In the last twenty years, what was given free rein worldwide was an complete focus on returns, even in the fields of health and education policies. The upshot is a world economy on the verge of collapse. Now that we, the US and Europe, are dependent on the support of the BRICS countries, we must abandon our arrogance. The nations of the world want to take care of themselves – of their people – and not to gild an inventive financial industry. People-focussed health policies can only mean patient-focussed health policies.

Since the Second World War Switzerland has sufficiently demonstrated its ability to provide good training for doctors. Any older-generation taxpayer who is already personally experienced the health service knows that precise diagnoses are much cheaper at the end of the day than chronic cases with lasting consequences. Everybody knows that good family doctors are a blessing.

University hospitals are where they are trained and for this reason are particularly sensitive fields. All citizens need to be made aware again of the merits of a physician, otherwise students will choose not to study medicine, a subject which they would have chosen with joy and idealism twenty years ago. Havoc has been wreaked by the tendentious media campaign of the last decade.

While back in the eighties the greatest wish of many medical students was

still to take over or start a GP surgery – preferably in the countryside – hardly any of today’s first-year students express such a wish. The flood of media articles against the medical profession has suffocated this valuable career ambition both among medical students and qualified doctors. However, there are teachers of medicine who are committed to the notion that the function of a GP is to provide a top-quality medical service. They must be given a platform to promote these values.

It is we, the people of today, who must undertake this rethinking, a rethinking that is indeed possible. Both the GP’s letter from 2004 and the open letter from the senior USZ (University Hospital Zurich) physicians to Didier Burkhalter, Member of the Federal Council, of 23 June 2011, reprinted below, contribute to that objective.

“Research for...”

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into common diseases which were presented to the public recently. The rationale for this prioritization was not disclosed. Additionally several action fields are listed, both the wording and content of which are reminiscent of an economic programme rather than a health research programme. While terms such as methodology, ethics or quality of life turn up one to six times in the entire document, terms like “economy” or “health economy” can be counted more than fifty times. Consequently, health economics is listed as an action field of its own right, presumably a novelty in a German research strategy paper. The way how marketability, health issues as boom market and the removal of barriers are emphasized in this programme makes one fear for the violation of scientific and research principles.

From the patients’ point of view it should be added that innovation is no value in itself, but new methods, compounds and instruments have to prove their significant usefulness in patient centred scenarios. This demand seems to have less importance in the governmental programme. The message is rather that good basic research is the key and everything else, especially implementation in clinical practice, works out automatically.

In a European context

At this point of patient-oriented research the increasing gap between Germany and the leading countries becomes especially evident. In the concept of “com-

mon diseases” one particularly important and widespread disease is missing – that is ignorance. It hits the common citizen hard, but high society, including the parliament, are affected, too. That is why the phrase “knowledge translation” was coined in 2001. It covers “the exchange, synthesis and ethically-sound application of knowledge”. While in the US, Canada, Australia, the UK and other countries this concept of thought is crucial for research structures, it is not even mentioned in the German governmental programme.

The fact that knowledge and management of knowledge start to be appreciated even outside the before-mentioned countries becomes evident from the future outlook of

the European Science Foundation (“Implementation of Medical Research in Clinical Practice”), presented in May 2011. This paper discovers the shortcomings and deficits of the German governmental health research programme. Conclusion: knowledge and its intelligent implementation should be valued as the only unlimited sustainable resource even in the German health system. Patients and the quality of their care would benefit. After all, not only stakeholders of pharmaceutical companies have a right to profit by return of investment, but tax and health insurance paying citizens as well. •

Source: German original in *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung*, 22/06/2011, by friendly permission of the author

(Translation *Current Concerns*)

Bureaucratisation Aggravates the Shortage of GPs

GPs attack the Zeltner position 2004 – all forecasts by family doctors have meanwhile become true

Some of the ideas and theses included in Professor Zeltner’s lecture on the new law on professions in the medical sector held at the symposium “20 Jahre Hausarztmedizin” (20 Years of Family Medicine) on 26 August 2004 in Basel/Switzerland should not pass unchallenged.

I infer the following statements from the oral remarks:

– GPs have to care for the well-being of the entrusted families, in fact for all significant concerns of their health and illnesses. They are accountable

for physical, psychological and social problems, for health preservation and prevention. They are the first person in charge for the whole family’s health.

– The GPs have to triage according to prescribed rules; they are ideally the only ones to transfer their patients to specialists.

– You claim that today’s GPs do obviously not fulfil these demands and obviously act differently.

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"Bureaucratisation aggravates..."

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- According to your remarks, GPs behave like mini psychotherapists or as full-time alternative medicine practitioners, which you disapprove of. Likewise you criticize GPs who practice mostly internal medicine. In the future, the FOPH (Federal Office of Public Health) wants to limit these fields of activity with the help of the *Medizinalberufegesetz* (MedBG – law on professions in the medical sector). Patients and practitioners have to act according to your conceptions.
- The patient's pass is to help to avoid multi-tracking in the future. In addition, the patient's pass is to include the greatest possible amount of patient data. These data are completely transparent for parties involved in the treatment (insurances? national checkpoints?). The patient's pass is an ideal instrument for dirigiste measures.
- According to your statements, the new MedBG is unique, because it aims at prescribing to academically trained medical personnel what they are to perform and what not. The list of achievements and the quality standards are subject to national regulation and control.
- The MedBG declares only scientifically proven medical procedures to be legitimate. For you the term "scientifically" is to be understood exclusively in the sense of natural sciences.

Here are a few comments on your statements: For years, it has been repeatedly emphasized that Switzerland has got one of the best health care systems on international level. As far as I know, there is no serious contradiction against this statement. We owe this system of health care to a generation of physicians and nursing staff, who were taught to mould and perform their occupational and scientific tasks on the basis of extended direct responsibility and autonomy.

It is incontestable that making mistakes and erring are human. Nobody ever doubted that there are "black sheep". Behind the modern term of "quality management", however, there is the hidden illusion that errors and failures as well as black sheep can be eliminated to a large extent by bureaucratic control and strategies of error elimination. It becomes increasingly obvious that this demand bears a heap of regulations, control mechanisms and bureaucratic government, which threatens to destroy much of what has worked well so far. It inevitably reminds us – *horribile dictu* – of centralistic planned economy.

As Prof *de Maeseneer* explained at the same symposium, an internationally staffed "Joint Quality Initiative Group"

has listed, among others, the following conditions for the "award of master's degrees": A master's degree will only be awarded to someone who has the learning skills to enable him to continue to study in a manner which may be self-directed or autonomous.

The new form of bureaucratisation of service provision as well as of further studies seem – in complete opposition to this consideration – to be conducted by the errant conception that university trained practitioners do not have sufficient abilities for self-directedness and autonomy in order to carry out their profession as independent physicians in the appropriate quality. It looks as if only laws and bureaucratic control can guarantee the quality of medicine. I do not want to criticize the autonomous further education guided by the FMH (Swiss Medical Association) and the specialized societies. This fits into the needs of the general practitioners. However, what we expect are more far-reaching regulations for the service provision in our everyday practice.

At the symposium Dr *Hansueli Späth* answered that the shortage of GP will still be intensified by the undermining of autonomy and self-responsibility which results from increasing bureaucratization.

We can constantly hear and read that hospital physicians as well as GPs must make an enormous effort (expenditure of time and energy), in order to manage the increasing paper work and other bureaucratic requirements. This contributes in no way to patients' well-being. Wastage of energy and time prevent the physician from placing his services at the patients' disposal. Moreover, those who have to care for and medicate exclusively as a function of legal requirements and bureaucratic laws, will lose both their professional motivation

and satisfaction. Without autonomy and self-responsibility there won't be any motivation. In reverse relation to the deregulation process in economy, regulation mania rages in health service and grows ad infinitum in the medical and educational sectors. All those concerned lament and they apparently do not find a sympathetic ear.

Some audience members accused you of unrealistic views about your image concerning the professional GPs. The habits and expectations of the patients vary and develop parallel to the other social changes. Did you consider whether your image of the GP corresponds with the expectations of the patients and the population?

As GPs we develop towards the needs of the patients (and not to those of the FOPH and its boss). An increasing number of patients do not only want to be understood and treated physically by the GP. They also want to be looked after with regard to their psychosocial problems (and don't want to be referred to the specialist for every problem).

Spouses often do not select the same GP for the entire family (neither for themselves nor for their children) so that none of the GPs involved is able to take over responsibility for the whole family. The patients themselves want to decide who of the treating physicians is getting information about them. Regarding important life data and psychological conflicts they do not want to entrust themselves unreservedly to all involved physicians. In other words: Patients do not want to be directed in their decisions according to bureaucratic plans. The health care system is no commodity in the usual sense, and many of the participants act according to other values and needs than economists refuse to believe.

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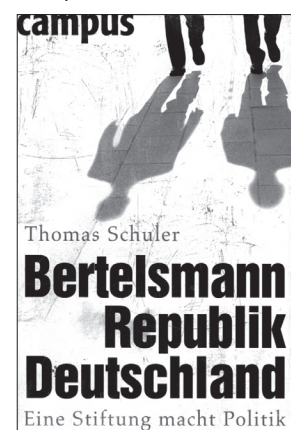
"No matter who governs in Berlin, the Bertelsmann Foundation in Guetersloh always takes part in the government. It positions its personnel within the highest political ranks in Berlin and Brussels. Whether it concerns social reforms, health care or education policies: The experts of the foundation manipulate draft laws and reforms so that they meet the company's or the owner's interests. All of us can feel the consequences. The foundation undermines common public interest and influences political decision making to meet its company's interests. This is how good ideas have bad outcomes." (Front page flap text)

"Company interest means: Taking over communal hospitals at a very low price in order to maintain and extend lucrative hospital services and get rid of or cease less lucrative services. The planned return on investment of the operation should then be around 10%. This does not have anything to do with an inclu-

sive and comprehensive service for all citizens." (S. 194)

Thomas Schuler: Bertelsmann Republik Deutschland: Eine Stiftung macht Politik. Frankfurt am Main 2010.

(Translation Current Concerns)



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Open Letter to Bundesrat Didier Burkhalter, Swiss Minister for Internal Affairs

Statement of head physicians at the University Hospital Zürich regarding a moratorium for the introduction of diagnosis related groups (DRGs)

Dear Bundesrat Burkhalter,

We as head physicians at the University Hospital Zürich oppose the introduction of DRG's by 1.1.2012 and argue for a DRG moratorium.

There are a number of severe and sound reasons for this position:

Alleged cost savings and quality improvement, which used to be the main arguments for the introduction, are no longer predicted even by the Swiss DRG inc. executive board. Even this supposedly well-informed body talks about initial increase in costs now. This increase is mainly due to new posts that have to be created in the administrative area and necessary hard and software investments. Patients will not benefit from it.

– Accompanying research, always claimed to be the specifically Swiss approach to DRG introduction, hasn't happened so far. Therefore the main argument for a method to maintain specific Swiss requirements and guarantee a controlled DRG introduction in Switzerland has become invalid. If it should make any sense at all such a research would have to start at least one year prior to the introduction deadline. Consequences can only be studied once the starting conditions have been defined. This is not the case as yet. Therefore an essential argument in favour of the 1.1.2012 as DRG introduction date is invalid.

– The concept of professional post graduate education hasn't been included or considered in the DRG system at all. Contrary to present plans, it cannot be negotiated between individual hospitals and insurance companies since there are nationwide concepts and guidelines for this education. These standard guidelines cannot be replaced by individual agreements.

– DRG's require more administrative input, thereby binding medical resources and reducing time even further that doctors can spend with their patients.

Rising administrative efforts with decreasing time for nurses and doctors to attend to patients is counter-productive for a good health care.

– Switzerland will experience a loss in opportunities for innovation in medicine. A translation of innovations into DRG clinical practice will be possible only with delay. Especially highly innovative hospitals like the university hospitals will see compromised quality and a loss of medical care. They will no longer be able to fulfil their ac-

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Why is E.coli HUSECO41 so malignant?

The newly invented Coli-bacterium EHEC leaves a terrible record behind. Along with causes of death in the younger part of the population there is another heavy setback for medicine: The kidneys of the survivors remain largely damaged. Patients require two new kidneys or lifelong dialysis.

On June 30th 2011 the "New England Journal of Medicine", one of the leading journals in internal medicine, published a study, according to which a US scientist had died from the consequences of an attenuated vaccine strain of *Yersinia pestis* (KIM D2) (Article of *Wun-Ju Shieh* fo CDC¹). He had died on 13.9.2009.

What is remarkable: The strain had been manipulated genetically with the result that combined with a ferric salt (Iron-dextran-complex) it causes death in animals. The 60-year-old scientist called *Malcom J. Casadaban* suffered from an iron overload (haemochroma-

tosis) and he died of this vaccine strain within 13 hours in hospital despite attempts at resuscitation.

This iron-binding receptor is also located in E.coli HUSECO41 with the genetic markers *irp2* and *fyuA* (see also the article by Professor *Helge Karch*² et al., *The Lancet* 23.6.2011). How the scientist became infected remains obscure. In contrast to the *Yersinia* strain CO92, the KIM-D27-strain is not considered to be contagious. These two found genes originate from *Y.pestis* and render E.coli more virulent, more dangerous.

Mankind could have done without this.

Sources : *New England Journal of Medicine*, 30.6.2011 ; *The Lancet*, 23.6.2011 ; *Der Spiegel*, 30.6.2011, furthermore 21.9.2009 and 15.1.2008

¹ MMWR, 25.2.2011, 60(7), page 201ff.

² Head of the Institute for Hygiene of the University of Münster

"Bureaucratisation aggravates..."

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When the patients begin to realize that the patient pass you are planning carries very sensible data about them, they will not want these data to be at the disposal of all treating physicians. They will resist the decree of such a pass. Already today the treatments and consultations which the patients demand and which are "on record" lead to problematic reservations of insurance. This considerably limits the patients' rights. As it is heard, the data protection commissioner assumes that the patients themselves can decide which data the card may comprise and which not.

A great majority of the patients wish the inclusion of complementary medicine – this trend is well known and constantly confirmed by interviews and research. The patients explicitly welcome the fact

that their GP can offer one of these treatment methods or has undergone training in them. It is not important for the successfully treated patient if the procedure that was applied is considered effective by natural science. By reducing the definition of medical science as being an exclusively natural science (intentionally?) it is denied that medical science contains aspects of human sciences. (cf: "Zukunft Medizin Schweiz" – Future Medicine Switzerland – edited by the SAMW, Schweizerischer Ärzteverband, in 2002, as well as the SAMW expertise "Ziele und Aufgaben der Medizin zu Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts" – Aims and targets of medical science at the beginning of the 21st century", 2004)

We GPs see ourselves exposed to a "double bind": On one side we are bound – according to regulations (TARMED, KVG, MedBG) – to do extra trainings

and certificates for all kinds of abilities we have acquired in the course of years – on the other hand you are reproaching us of playing the part of the specialists and you are menacing us with bureaucratic limitations of the services GPs should offer! That means in plain language: the time given to a patient will be limited. And this happens in a time where it becomes increasingly obvious that the quality of treatment being claimed by all sides cannot be guaranteed in a competent and serious way in the given time.

The growing dissatisfaction and frustration of the GPs seems to go unnoticed by politicians. Obviously only a perceptible shortage of GPs will force politicians and officials to reflect upon many of the current conditions and correct undesirable developments.

Klaus Halter, Therwil

“Public Health Preventionism” – a New Instrument of Statist Arrogance “Corpus Delicti” by Juli Zeh* – an enlightening novel

Well-timed for the debate on the prevention law before the Swiss Federal Chambers, a book has been published which illustrates what happens when state institutions seem to think they are better at knowing what is good for people than the individuals themselves. What at first seems positive – who would not like to be healthy, and how can anyone be against prevention? – upon closer inspection turns out to be totalitarian control over politically mature citizens.

Were the measures carried out during the avian and swine flu epidemics a test run to show what we citizens may expect when the state presumes it can direct our behaviour via “prevention”? How far WHO protagonists and other highly-paid and internationally networked chief strategists as representatives of national health authorities are just motivated by money greed or are indeed intending, and always have intended to establish a

“new world order” is something that needs to be analysed more in detail. In her novel “Corpus Delicti – ein Prozess” (Corpus Delicti – A Process) Juli Zeh paints a picture of where all of this is heading. Is it science fiction? Maybe today. But those for whom peoples’ sovereignty, direct democracy and the dignity of man is a deep concern are well advised to read this book. Before the interested reader goes on to peruse this article, one comment must be given as instruction, quasi as “direction for use”: Thinking is allowed; making correlations to real operations are very welcome; then take the prevention law and put it where it belongs, namely on the scrapheap of history, category “isms”. Doing this is nothing more than fulfilling one’s primary civic duty!

ts. The novelist Juli Zeh, born in 1974 in Bonn and residing in Berlin, accomplished in her book “Corpus Delic-

ti” what could be called a sequel to the novel “100 Hours” by the French physician Jean-Christophe Rufin¹. Where Rufin’s documentary novel made an appeal to vigilantly counter the real existing threat posed by deep ecology, Zeh directs our attention to the danger posed by a form of public health dictatorship in which an anonymized rule of method aspires to world governance. Each of the nationally active public health authorities and their favour-seeking chiefs together form an understructure which of course appropriates the WHO. Indonesia’s former public health minister Dr. med. Siti Fadilah Supari² a few years ago called attention to the US’ dangerous attempts to take over the WHO. In view of such operations it is time for citizens to wake up, go outside and examine what is happening in one’s own front yard, as Got-

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“Open letter to ...”

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tual task of further developing medicine any longer.

- DRG’s distort competition in favour of private providers. To bulwark against this by legislation is currently attempted in Zürich, for instance. At the same time the DRG’s introduce elements of socialist planned economy by fixing prices for procedures regardless of their quality. This is anything but fair competition.
- The only remaining arguments for an introduction of DRG’s are those of transparency and comparability of medical procedures. However two bagels sold at the same price will not necessarily taste the same. Fixed prices don’t say anything about the quality of procedures.

Therefore we leading physicians at the University Hospital Zürich demand a return to reason and sanity. Instead of stubbornly sticking to obviously wrong decisions efficient, performance-related, transparent and sensible solutions should be sought. Solutions should be preferred that will not increase bureaucracy and administration but those patients and therefore health insurance payers will benefit from. In this process decisions were made ignoring those who were actually affected – the patients, that is – in a highly undemocratic manner. Together with a mor-

atorium of DRG introduction we therefore demand a limit for administrative costs. The influence of bureaucrats on medical decisions, the necessity of procedures and meaningful therapies has to be restricted. Ethical considerations are paramount, not monetary interests and profit maximization. When planning the DRG’s however, considerations of the patients’ well-being seem to have been neglected.

We as we leading physicians at the University Hospital Zürich also demand to solve the question of how continuous professional education can be made compatible with a DRG system prior to its introduction, as well as the question of how university hospitals can maintain their commitment to medical innovation. A worrying signal is certainly the proposed budget cut of 48 million Swiss francs for the Zürich University Hospital. We demand to clarify how an accompanying research is to be performed and to actually start this research. Moreover we demand that it is publicly announced in an official statement that DRG’s will not lead to cost reductions to be made public in an official statement. For the sake of the inherent task of any health care system, which is curing patients, we argue for a DRG moratorium.

Sincerely,

PD Dr. David Holzmann, Pfaffhausen; Prof. Dr. Dominik Straumann, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Jean-Claude Fauchère, Gockhausen; PD Dr. Gabriela Studer, Uerikon; Prof. Dr. Philippe Gertsch, Bäch; Prof. Dr.

Jürg Hafner, Zürich; Dr. Roman Kocian, Pfaffhausen; PD Dr. Urs Schanz, Dübendorf; Prof. Dr. Hans Jung, Zürich; PD Dr. Stefan Hegemann, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Huldrych Günthard, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Reinhard Dummer, Zürich; Dr. Walter Künzi, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Thomas Pfammatter, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Beat Müllhaupt, Ennetbaden; Prof. Dr. Roger Lehmann, Zürich; PD Dr. Christoph Thalhammer, Hersberg; PDDr. Oliver Distler, Zürich; PD Dr. Stephan Seegerer, Illnau; Dr. Pius Brühlmann, Küsnacht; PD Dr. Urs Schwarz, Küsnacht; PD Dr. Daniel Schmid, Zollikon; PD Dr. Dominique Bettex, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Barbara Buddeberg, Zürich; PD Dr. Marc Husmann, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Peter Schmid, Oberwil; PD Dr. Michael Müntener, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Dr. Jens Funk, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Georg Noll, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Paul Schneider, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Barbara Ballmer-Weber, Winterthur; Prof. Dr. Alexander Huber, Küsnacht; PD Dr. Nicolas Müller, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Dr. Gerhard Rogler, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Thomas Fehr, Zürich; Dr. Didier Schneiter, Zürich; PD Dr. Emanuela Keller, Kilchberg; PD Dr. Nicole Ochsenbein-Kölble, Zürich; Dr. Peter Steiger, Gossau/ZH; Dr. Christoph Nöthiger, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Johann Steurer, Zürich; Prof. Dr. Peter Bauerfeind, Erlenbach; Prof. Dr. Christoph Schmid, Uster; PD Dr. Marco Zalunardo, Uster; PD Dr. Romaine Arlettaz, Feldmeilen; Prof. Dr. Rosmarie Caduff, Luzern; Prof. Dr. Mario Lachat, Hinteregg; Prof. Dr. Spyridon Kollias, Erlenbach; Prof. Dr. Christian Ruff, Andelfingen; Prof. Dr. Annette Böhler, Zürich; Dr. Stephan Regenss, Basel



To recollect the essentials. (photo zvg)

"Public Health Preventionism ..."

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fried Keller wrote in the 19th century in his avowal of direct democracy.

The fight against disease becomes a fight against the sick

Where Rufin shows how the fight against poverty mutates into the fight against the poor in the sick minds of deep ecologists around *Arne Naess*, where mass murder is a deliberate consequence from introducing cholera in an attempt to reduce the world population to a billion, Zeh puts her finger on a point which threatens to turn the fight against disease into a fight against the sick. Both approaches are totalitarian: Where the deep ecologists form a subterfuge terrorist group seeking to play God and presuming to have the power over life and death, here Zeh's public health dictators do the same with the difference that the entire power of state with its comprehensive surveillance and spy apparatus is at their disposal: Zeh paints a picture of a dictatorship equipped with the most state-of-the-art technological capabilities that alternately reminds one of the Jacobin rule of terror and its "Committee of Public Safety" under *Robespierre*, the "virtuous", but also of the Third Reich's "healthy folk sentiment", its block wardens and their mentality, as well as of a secret police with its torture activities. The torture scene described in the book is an almost photographic reproduction of what we saw happening in Abu Ghraib,

it smells of Homeland Security, false flag operations, dirty tricks – or for those who prefer cold war categories: The GDR State Security and its famous Directive 1/76 on the treatment and disruption of enemy groups and their activities jumps out from every page turned. With the difference that every individual has to carry a chip placed under the skin of their upper arm and that everything is equipped with sensors – including toilet bowls – so that the foremost and hindmost bodily functions and activities can, or even must be registered: Whoever fails to transmit their data runs the danger of becoming an enemy of the system and of the general good, becoming the focus of a merciless machinery of justice. Chips? On people? Today? Well, dogs have chips already, and horses are to have them too, and then ...?

From "Green Adolf" to "Health-Adolf"

But let us start from the beginning: How is this new society structured? The willing reader may keep our current situation in the back of his or her mind in order to assess how far we have already gone toward totalitarianism along the path of public health issues. The hero *Mia Holl's* primary opponent is the editor of the journal "Gesunder Menschenverstand" (health and common sense), the ideological mouth piece of the system called "Die METHODE" (the METHOD). Although actually a journalist and thus representative of the fourth estate, he functions at the same time as a kind of

grand inquisitor, public health commissioner or steward: Do you know how many positions this would-be public health steward has caught his eye on? In the book this modern *Robespierre*, this Public Health Adolf (*Rudolf Bahro* with his 'green Adolf' would have been delighted!) is simply named *Kramer*. And *Kramer* explains to the readers how the new system structured itself: "Our society has reached its goal. In contrast to all systems of the past we neither obey the market or any religion. We don't need overstrung ideologies. We don't even need a bigoted belief in a popular government to legitimize our system. [...] We have developed a METHOD directed toward guaranteeing each individual an undisturbed, meaningful healthy and happy life for as long as possible. Free of pain and suffering. To this end our state is extraordinarily complex in its organization; it is more complex than any other before it." (p. 36) And, as all totalitarian systems claim to be, this system is infallible: "Infallibility is a major pillar of the METHOD. How else would be able to explain the existence of a rule to the people in this country if this rule weren't reasonable and valid in all cases, meaning completely infallible?" (p. 37)

The reign of the METHOD – WHO and BAG (Bundesamt für Gesundheit) in one?

THE METHOD represents a centralistic state, a state that gets a grip on every indi-

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"Public Health Preventionism ..."

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vidual in a totalitarian way, in this novel this is done by absolutizing the body. Soul, ethical principles, individual rights, separation of powers – do no longer exist. The state is the Jacobinical "comite du salut public" (Committee of Public Safety), only in modern guise. The statement "There is no question, whether – there is just the question, when!" is only too well remembered with us. In today's reality it is the WHO that never stopped to propagate this parole referring to an allegedly imminent pandemic, in the novel by Zeh it is the Security Minister who uses these words referring to a biological weapon – which is clearly a manoeuvre for intimidation and diversion. The WHO, however, other than the figure in the novel, is also in for commerce (Note *Tamiflu*, respectively *Ramiflu*, after Rumsfeld's holding of assets became known).

The historical period that was concluded by the reign of the METHOD is described by Kramer in such a way that today's reader will certainly recognize our time with all its problems. But Kramer suppresses the fact that the disintegration of our societies is not a natural event but was initiated by exactly those circles who intended to straighten out their self-induced chaos by a dictatorial rule. Why do people not become aware of that? Because they don't believe in anything any more, except in what is written in the newspaper – according to the novel. But here is Kramer's analysis of our time: "After the two wars of the 20th century a great enlightenment impetus led to a wide de-ideologization of society. Concepts like nation, family religion, etc. rapidly lost significance. A great period of abolition began. All the time there was talk about the decline in values. All self-assurance was gone and people began again to fear each other. Fear commanded the life of the individual. Fear reigned politics. People had been oblivious of the fact that after each abolition there must be a re-creation. What were the actual consequences? Drop in the birth rate, an increase in stress-induced diseases, killing frenzies, terrorism. Moreover there was a too strong emphasis on private egoism, the vanishing of loyalty and last not least the breakdown of the social security systems. Chaos, diseases, insecurity. The METHOD took care of these problems and solved them. The logical consequence is: Whoever fights the METHOD, is a reactionary. He does not only turn against an idea, but he turns very practically against the welfare and security of everyone of us. Anti-METHODISM is a war-like attack, an attack which will be answered by us with war." (p. 88f) If the reader is reminded of the vaccination campaigns and the exclusion of vaccination op-

ponents by the media and their labeling as a health risk, he has left the realm of the novel and has arrived at our reality. It is just this crossover between the plot of the novel and the real world of today which makes reading the book enthralling and very enlightening even though strenuous.

**We equal each other
by our bodies, not by our minds**

By the following words Kramer gives evidence that the followers of the METHOD as well as today's health commissioners are nothing but fanatics: "I am an offender by conviction. You should know that. I am convinced that a political right to health results from the natural desire to live. I am convinced that a system is only just if it proceeds from the body – for we equal each other by our bodies, not by our minds. And I am convinced that the METHOD's concept of man is superior to all others that have existed throughout history" (p. 180). The cult of juvenility, of beauty, of the peachlike skin of young models, the facelifting of corrupt politicians who like to present themselves with 50-year-younger women, is all this reality or just fiction? Our World is being deprived of values like compassion, mutual help, respect for the dignity of each and every man, especially the old-aged, the sick and helpless – just think of the attacks of the CIA-steered Frankfurt School with their OSS/CIA agent *Herbert Marcuse*, the brutalization campaigns by the US-GB-Israel war alliance, the dehumanizing theses spread by a *Peter Singer* and by the mushrooming Neo-Malthusians. That the most primitive, mechanistic and reductionist-utilitarian systems are being established instead becomes obvious in Kramer's message: "For centuries weakness has been adored, it was even raised to a world religion. People kneeled down and bowed to the image of a bearded meager masochist, wearing a barbed-wire roll on his head, blood streaming down his face. The pride of the sick, the holiness of the ill, the self-love of the invalid – those were the evils eating up man from inside" (p.180f.) Compassion for the sick? No, bleak hatred for Christendom and its maxime: "Love your neighbor as yourself and you may live." And here the fight of disease is becoming the mockery, the decrying of and finally the fight against the sick.

Do "Natural Parks" and "Metropolitan Areas" come to your mind?

In this "brave new world" crying is prohibited, since tears do merely release Lipids and Mucins. Love is only permitted if it is carried out within the same immune system group. Otherwise one may be charged with the spread of pandemic diseases, People with depressions are dangerous, since they have a disintegrating effect. "Once

sick, always sick" is the motto: Something once recorded in one's personal dada file can never be deleted and is downloadable by the METHOD protection at any time. As a father or a mother, does it also strike you as disquieting, when every observation of your Kindergartner must be fed to some central background computer that is gathering and storing data? There is no right to resistance any longer in Juli Zeh's novel, neither for groups nor for individuals; whoever cherishes the idea of personal freedom is regarded as a reactionary. Pain is no private matter, but an affair of state. Anybody who fancies himself lives in a guarded certified germless house and is granted a discount on the energy and water account. Besides the hygienic cities there is the unhygienic forest, the unhygienic country with high infection risks, large bacteria with fur and horns. The zone borders are equipped with signs reading: "Here ends the safe area controlled according to paragraph 17 of the *Desinfection Regulation*. Leaving the hygienic area will be punished as an administrative offence of second degree. "(p. 90) Whoever thinks of "Nature Parks" with park zones, park regulations and front gates as well as of "Metropolitan Areas" which will be granted full stately funding, is by no means a conspiracy theorist but simply connects the dots realistically.

**The terrorist group R.A.K.
stands up for the "right to disease"
(Recht auf Krankheit)**

No wonder that resistance arises against this germfree, brain- and soulless glass world? Public enemy number one is the R.A.K. (Recht auf Krankheit= right to disease). It assembles people who do not want to do without moving in free nature, feeling the water of a creek in the banned area under their naked feet, who want to fish, light a fire and eat what they have caught themselves, who feel that the carbonized, badly gilled fish taste better than any protein tin from the supermarket (p.91)

Without leaking more about the story of the protagonist and her brother – the latter will be convicted for rape by means of a DNA-analysis which is said to be infallible but is not – the surprising end shall at least be hinted at, the words of resistance against this murderous system that goes around under the disguise of prevention are to be quoted here. It is the protagonist Mia Holl who dictates Kramer out of her hand a real manifest for human freedom and against patronization and serfdom by state authorities:

"I withdraw confidence in a society that consists of human beings but is based on the fear of humans simultaneously. I withdraw confidence in a society that betrayed

Giving Youth a Home

An interview with Dr Edgar Most, the former Vice President of the GDR state bank and former director of the Deutsche Bank, Berlin

Edgar Most, born in 1940, grew up in the middle of Germany between the Rhön and the Thüringer Wald, and has always been an independent thinker. He has learned banking from the bottom up, was the youngest bank director of the GDR, Vice President of the GDR state bank during the transition phase in 1989/1990, founder of the first private bank in the GDR, then director of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin. Since 2004 he is retired, but not at all tired. Edgar Most knows East and West Germany. One out of three jobs in the new [east] German states is also owed to his decisions as a banker. During his visit in Switzerland he spoke about the "re-unification", his roots and his activities – and about the youth.

Zeit-Fragen: Dr Most, is the German re-unification a success?

Dr Edgar Most: Politically, the re-unification went smoothly, economically it was a catastrophe. If the economy does not work, people are left behind and, as a consequence, there has not been a re-unification of minds until today. That is a very critical point.

A Unification Treaty has been formulated and many things were accomplished, but in the end the GDR has thrown away 40 years of knowledge and abilities – positive and negative – and abandoned itself to the western world, which mainly means to western capital. And capital is not social; it does not have a home – neither has the market.

What would you have wished for?

First of all: to give people a home, so that the following generations can stay at

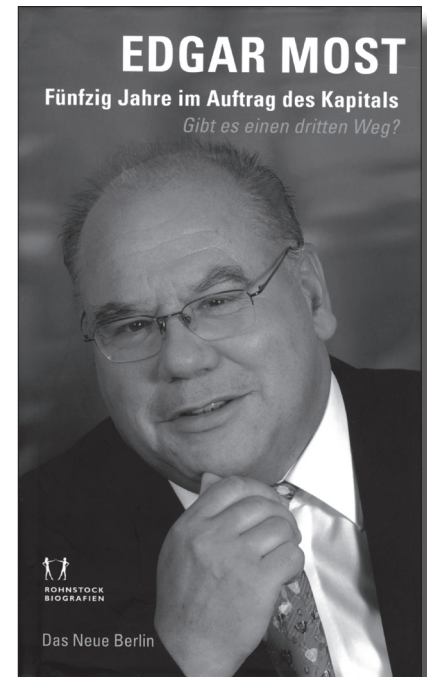
home and do not have to dissipate into the world. Of course you can go out and sniff the breeze there, no problem, but at the end of the day you have to know where your home is. It is also important to dedicate oneself to the home country, develop something for it, etc.

Second: Do acknowledge that there have been mistakes in the unification! I do not care about who was responsible; I just want to have the flaws removed.

The next point would be: Let us draw up a pact for the East where we structure things like: What is it supposed to look like in 20 or 30 years? With which methods is it to be achieved? This starts with education or with family life. Children should be brought up in communities; so that they can early on learn to live in a community with others. If children only develop as individuals – one goes to a private school, the others do other things – they will never be able to represent the community. They will only be able to represent themselves. That's what was different [in the GDR]. We did not have much; we had to cooperate more intensely. Possibly the party was interfering too much, surely. I do not want to deny this. Sometimes I also was fed up, if I may say so. But today we could go many new ways and that is what we need.

We would like to talk about your personal work. Which are the values you have grown up with and how did you try to live them?

I was born during the war, in 1940, and I enrolled in school when it first opened after the war. I was born on a farm – part-time farmer we would call it today – of some



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10 acres. We did all that on the side. Apart from that we all had a profession. My grandfather was a bricklayer, my mother was a forest worker, my father was an electrician, and my other grandfather was a painter. It was mainly the grandparents who brought us up; my father returned from war imprisonment as late as 1949. He was the last German prisoner of war in Grosny, Chechnya. When he returned home, we were almost self-reliant youngsters.

My grandfather was church elder in our 4000 soul parish, close to the Wartburg

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"Public Health Preventionism ..."

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the spirit to the body. I withdraw confidence in a body that is not my flesh and blood but represents a collective vision of the "normal body". I withdraw confidence in normalcy which defines itself as health. I withdraw confidence in a moral which is too lazy to face the paradox of good and evil and rather uses categories like "functioning" or "not functioning". I withdraw confidence in a law that trusts in its success only by completely controlling its citizens. I withdraw confidence in a people that believes that total x-raying of people only harms those who are hiding something; I withdraw confidence in a METHOD that believes in the DNA-analysis of a man rather than in his words. I withdraw confidence in general welfare because it considers self-determi-

nation an unacceptable expense factor. [...] I withdraw confidence in politics which bases its popularity solely on the promise of a risk-free life. I withdraw confidence in a science that maintains that there was no free will. [...] I withdraw confidence in parents who call a tree house "risk of injury" and a pet "risk of infection". (p. 187)

Only a totalitarian state "knows" what is best for the citizens

Enough points to make the readers contemplate: How far have we come this way already? Can our children and youth still have real experiences, also such with pain, with soil and experience of real nature? How do we eat? What about the city children's increase in allergies? What about our dignity and self-determination, not only of sick people? What about electronic surveillance?

At the end of her manifest the protagonist gets to the heart of the matter, when she says what should be taken to heart by today's self-appointed health governors and commissioners: "I withdraw confidence in a state, who knows better than I, what is food for me." And: "I withdraw confidence in any idiot who dismantled the sign that read: "Caution: Life may lead to death." (p. 187)

A recommendation in the end: Do not read the novel before going to sleep! And for national and state councilors: Read Schiller's "Wilhelm Tell" afterwards! •

* Juli Zeh. *Corpus Delicti: Ein Prozess*. Frankfurt am Main 2009. ISBN 978-3-442-74066-6

¹ Jean-Christophe Rufin. *100 Stunden*. [100 hours] Frankfurt am Main 2008. ISBN 978-3-596-17891-9

² Dr med Siti Fadilah Supari. *It's Time for the World to Change*. Jakarta 2007. ISBN 978-979-24-3342-5

"Giving Youth ..."

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near Eisenach and of course he was a Lutheran. And that is how I was brought up; I was a member of the *Junge Gemeinde*.

Thus I grew up in the village. At home, when I returned from school, I found a piece of paper on the table: this and that work needs to be done. There was no scolding; there was only doing. That's what it was like for my grandfather and also for my father, when he had returned, and also for the children. That was our community!

After the war, when everything was scarce, a farm, even if it was very small, was still a better place to live than a city. We had many settlers from the east in our village. My grandmother was often visited by a woman begging for a pot of milk. My mother as a Christian took this seriously and always gave her something, sometimes just a piece of potato or a cup of milk. As children, we experienced this: living in solidarity. Not just talking about it, but practising it. I think this has formed my character and that of my siblings. And when times got better, we still kept this attitude.

"Since 1990 I have been asking myself: Why don't we make use of the gift of the reunification of Germany, to unify our nation mentally as well? Instead, we made it a point to divide the public into winner and conquered and marking Germany's East as looser for a second time. If one lost a war, even if one was wounded, one stands up out of the ruins quite quickly. Whereas, if one has lost a cold war, the winners keep on tramping on the conquered for generations. I clearly felt this with regard to the German unification."

Edgar Most: Fifty Years of Serving the Capital. Is there a Third Path?, 2009, p. 9f.

Next we learned ethics and moral at work. My grandfather was a bricklayer foreman in a private firm, and as a foreman you are acting as the right-hand man of the owner. I often walked through the streets with him and saw him stroke a brick or a limestone as if they were cows. That was his work, his life; I liked that. If he had mended a chimney or built a house – he took pride in his work; he did not just work in order to make money; he wanted to do something meaningful. I saw the same with my father, the electrician. Being educated to see work not just as a means for making money but as a contribution to the community and not to place oneself above the others is an exercise of responsibility for the community. I began to understand this much later; as a child

you just absorb it. But later when I started my professional life, I realized what my parents and grandparents had given me.

This was not imposed, this was experience, experience by example. And I am so grateful to my grandparents and my parents for this experience. In the evenings we used to sit at the table: four children, the grandparents and the parents and we all ate from one pan. Each had his spoon and a bit of sour milk and the big pan. That's what it was like.

So it was all these experiences which shaped us. For many this is unthinkable in our consumer society. And I have to say: with this attitude that I had experienced as an example by my ancestors, I have tried – not consciously but simply from my character – to contribute to society when I was old enough to work and started to work in a bank which nobody did in our neighborhood. I was the complete outsider: they are all craftsmen and I becoming a banker!

How did it happen that you became a banker?

It came about because it was for the first time that men were allowed to apply for an apprenticeship, which had not been possible before – men were soldiers or miners. But now one was allowed to become a banker! Actually I was supposed to become an electrician. But then I applied for an apprenticeship in a bank. And finally I was accepted as the only one out of 18 candidates, just because I was a good chess player. I had twice been Blitz Champion for Thüringen and three times youth champion at school. We had our own team at school. And since many employees were also active chess players, including the head of the bank, he said: "You are the right one: logic thinking in chess, thinking ahead – what will happen tomorrow and later – you can become a good banker." That was my boss's attitude.

And so I became a banker. And as soon as you have started, you want to make something of yourself. When I had finished my apprenticeship as a banker, I wanted to study. But then I was not allowed to because I was a member of the church, a member of the *Junge Gemeinde*. The staff managers who were very oriented towards the SED [the Socialist Unity Party of Germany] said: "Surely you will be off to the west". I was living close to the Hessian [West German] border. There was no trust in me. "You listen more to the pastor and the good Lord than to us". Complete nonsense. We were youths like all the others. We did it all: play football, chess, we boxed and were always active in clubs and what they insinuated was simply wrong. In three consecutive years, I was interrogated by the State Security Service; when I was 14, 15 and 16 years, always on

the same day of the year when I had allegedly worked against the FDJ [Free German Youth, the official youth movement of the SED]. The same time I was secretary of the FDJ in the bank!

But this also created some kind of spite. I said to myself: I will prove it to you; I am so rooted to the soil; I will not get escape; I will always stay at home; I also have my duties with respect to the older generation. They cared for me and they are growing older, so I have to contribute. But I will do it all in addition to my work. So I got my *Abitur* [high school diploma], business school, university, a diploma in business economics and a diploma in national economy in 12 years of correspondence courses. That is something you do not do in passing...

"It would have been advisable to change the east internally and not as appendix to the Federal Republic. ...None of us was against adopting the D-mark or against the unification. But the conditions should have been adjusted to our east-German reality."

Edgar Most: Fifty Years of Serving the Capital. Is there a Third Path?, 2009, p. 165f.

But after the turnaround [after 1989], I saw that all my degrees were not acknowledged. They just decided: Degrees from these universities and schools are no longer valid. Someone arrogated the right to decide about my life; someone who didn't know me, who didn't know anything..., just because I had studied there. Schools where I had studied as a Christian were labeled as "red schools". Imaging that! That was the "reunification".

But you sure stood up against that?

At the time I was already head of the *Deutsche Bank* and the *Deutsche Kreditbank* and I wrote a letter to the Minister-President of Thüringen, Mr. Vogel, and told him that I had studied at the School of Economics in Gotha and that I did not accept that someone should have the right to decide if that is still valid or not. I wrote: "I categorically reject this and demand compensation." And he did give it. He had just wanted to know what I had been doing since we had met before.

Then I wrote to *Eberhard Diepgen*, the mayor of Berlin on behalf of my university degree. I studied at the University of Economics and got my degree from the Humboldt University. This also was not acknowledged at first. Three or four years later the ban was lifted. Most people did not even realize what was going on there. For me it was a humiliation! A debase-ment of my achievements in 12 years of study in correspondence courses, making

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a career in my profession and founding a family with two children. And then someone says: that was all in vain, all that is no longer valid.

But I tried to live according to what I had experienced at home: the roots, everything that my parents and grandparents gave me by their example. I tried to give something back. This is not always easy. But, as I said, it was not just imposed on me: "that is what you have to do". It came from inside. And when I went from Thüringen to Schwedt, my grandmother said: "Put your nose in the wind, it won't make you any dumber. But no matter what you will do in your life, don't forget where you come from!"

"The causes for the global debts and the proportional rising of the financial wealth are closely linked to the development of the budgetary deficit and military spending of the USA which is evident in the spending for wars in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Isn't it just schizophrenic that through elimination of values by wars the concentration of capital rises and the rich are getting richer?"

Edgar Most: Fifty Years of Serving the Capital. Is there a Third Path?, 2009, p. 246.

And eventually I was the vice president of the state bank; the president had already left. So it happened that, during the worst of times, I was the most powerful man in the money sector in the East. I was responsible for 13,000 people and many more, including those in economy since my credits would decide if their firms lived or died. And it was only in these times, when I had this important function, that I became fully aware of the basic statement: "Do never forget where you came from and do never forget that you do not live only for yourself." Sometimes I was sitting there, thinking: "Oh dear, how would grandfather have reacted, what would father have done?" That was my soliloquy. They do not really help you, but they help you in the sense that you look back: how was it after the war, how did they decide then? Well, and if I look back in my life, I think: I did not consciously but indirectly do things like my ancestors would have expected me to do them and like I had intended it to do. But not as an imposition – life is so full of probabilities and suddenly issues arise where we simply have to react.

Could you give an example for that?

I do remember my time as a bank manager of a branch office with the largest balance sheet total, with 26 years the youngest director in the GDR. Then, I also had

two drivers and two secretaries. One of the drivers had had an accident, when overtaking a low-loading truck that had loaded tiling. In front of the truck, someone suddenly appeared with a moped and crashed against the Wolga. The driver's knee was broken and much more. Then he was in hospital, shortly before the elections. Then the attorney, namely the district attorney wanted to make an example of it and filed a suit against the driver. By doing this, he wanted to show how this GDR state of law was in fact functioning. I joined the law-suit as co-defender since I knew it was not the driver's fault. Then I was accused, too, because I was being presumptuous against the state...etc. Anyhow, I was accused of not regularly sending my driver to the qualifying training and all that stuff that had nothing to do with the accident. I would have trusted my driver with my life! For many nights we drove through the GDR, to Leuna, to Buna. For me it was unthinkable that there was anything as the state attorney had claimed. Nonetheless, he was convicted to one and a half years imprisonment without probation! What could I do? I always visited him in jail, in Stendhal. I thought he would not survive this. During the imprisonment, he broke all norms, they manufactured furniture there. He was incriminated by his cell mates for his excellent work, they all did not want that. And then I said to myself: "You have to do something here. The man is going to die in prison, he is not going to hold out." And then I was off to the attorney general of the GDR, because I had a red identity card that granted me entrance everywhere; I just went in to the attorney general's office – unannounced, if one announced oneself one could not get through. So there I was, standing in the secretariat. The secretary did not want to let me pass, when the attorney general just then came in. I addressed him and he took me into his office and asked me a few questions. He asked: Was he drunk? Previously convicted?" And a third question. And then he said: "In that case he cannot be convicted, only on probation, but never in definite arrest." For me, this was already a tag I could hold on to. He said: "Mr. Most, I will have all the documents brought to me and I assure you that he will be out of prison immediately." And I said: "Alright, in that case I would like to appeal to the Court of Cassation, that the verdict will be repealed at state expense." Then he said: "No, I will not do that. But the district attorney who convicted him has to confirm the release, too. I shall call him and initiate this." But, for a start, this district attorney in Schwedt said: "For the time being let us wait until Christmas." So my driver had to stay in jail during Christmas and New Year's Eve. The first week of January he was released – what a harassment!

As a young bank manager I could have held my tongue and withdrawn from the case. But this man was too close to me and after all he decided about my life as well. And I knew that he was not guilty. All those pictures of the accident were taken sloppily, etc.

"With the present financial crisis, we just managed to get by a total collapse and we cannot look at the crisis as being resolved as long as the basic premises of financial and real economy have not been achieved."

Edgar Most: Fifty Years of Serving the Capital. Is there a Third Path?, 2009, p. 244f.

Then I got him out, but had to prove that he had work, otherwise they would not have released him. I called the CEO of construction and he said: "Well, he can work with me for a while, driving heavy machines or so." But he died five years later. He never got over it.

This has had an impact on my own life and I said to myself: "You did not fight enough, you should not have allowed for the trial to go on. They ought not to have come to a verdict." But at that time I was still too young and inexperienced. But I was courageous enough to stay on course get to the state attorney and demand that

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he be released, which I succeeded in! But those few weeks of his imprisonment killed him.

Such life stories leave a mark on you. I have always tried to take responsibility for others, too, when I was convinced of it.

For families and youths as well?

To take on responsibility for youths was important, too. I was godfather to an entire school, godfather to grades of school. That means I had to go there every month, be present, get something going with the children, plot something, had to look after the education— and was informed by the school when things did not work well with the children.

If someone was not able to follow in school, one looked around: I see, his mother is working with us. The mother - does she have a problem? Are there any family problems, should one get in contact, is it necessary to help? Should she have a week off so that she can look after her children instead of her job? Since all women were working. Today, no one can imagine this! We have lived a community life, like a large communal entity. Not everyone could do that, not everyone had the vein for it, not everyone was strong enough. But I experienced it like that. And I tried to play a part in it. The same way I actually was brought up in my small village.

I have lived and experienced a lot, I have always tried bring in what I learned at home. I hope my own children did see this,

as well, with their father, so that they know when they have their own children they can go on living this. My children always said: "Dad, you were too strict! With you we always had to ..." I did not beat anyone, but I did say: "When you are told to be home at ten, you have to be home at ten."

But when they were married themselves and their own children grew up, i.e. my grandchildren, they came and said: "Dad, it seems, you were doing it right."

Now as they are in their mid-forties we can talk about many things. Then I am glad to see with the grandchildren that they go on living in the footprints of the elders, of course in a new way, in today's time. But then I am grateful when I realise, that one's life goes on in them! Not the same way, but the corner posts are set. If every family had this advantage, had the chance to pass this on, society would look much better.

But, unfortunately, families and societies have drifted apart ever further. Because here in the East young people are moving away, the family can no longer live together. Cooperation and living together of the elders, middle-aged and young does not exist any longer. The generations are spread across the world. How then can family life, the entire life of society actually function? Sometimes, in small towns it is still possible, because the elders are still around, where the grandchildren can be handed over once in a while. But as a whole, it is a catastrophe. Especially because of its internationality, of this globalized world, society is developing entirely into/in the wrong direction.

This is my cognisance after 70 years of life and I must say: All this you you have been able to do better before, exercised a better influence, too. But even the influence is so small today. Therefore, one has to try new ways and say: "Up to here and no more. It must stop here. It is not money and capital that are the determinants, its society that does it. " And so it is the individual's responsibility for the whole issue. This has nothing to do with socialism. When I was discussing something like that at our place in the Deutsche Bank, they always said: "Do you want your GDR back or is it socialism for you?" I do not care about socialism, they all go to church, they are all Christians – supposedly. Some hundred years ago, the Church taught us this! Marx took the catholic model as his basis to write his manifesto, together with Engels. Today, many different people are preaching to safeguard the equality of humans on earth. Then I always say: "The GDR does not matter to me nor does socialism, although there are a lot of elements which would be good for society. What matters to me is that I can contribute something new because of my experience. We have lived for that!" That's why I always said: I have lived to work and not the other way round as many people have. To me this has always been the measure. But actually this was the same with my parents and grandparents. Yes, and this way you can initiate something.

Mr. Most, thank you very much for the interview.