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PARTNERSHIP OR CONFRONTATION BETWEEN EUROPE AND RUSSIA?

Abstract

The war in Ukraine is anything but an unexpected war. The state of war and the bellicose situation between Europe and Russia were by no means inevitable. They are the consequence of political choices made since the demolition of the Berlin Wall. Understanding the past, its ideological and political battles is the key to facing the present and building a better future for the Eurasian continent. Edgar Morin's "complex thinking" is a good framework for reading the situation, and his understanding of the war in Ukraine has partly borne this out. Drawing also on the concept of "peoplenation" developed by Gabriel Galice, the article examines the respective roles of peoples, elites, and sovereignty in the implementation of foreign policies. It shows how propaganda, by distorting information and communication, creates a reality leading to war. The paper first recounts certain events, actions and reactions that led to the war, then describes the underlying vision of Euro-American supporters of confrontation with Russia, and finally studies the alternative positions in Germany, France, and Switzerland of those who promote a partnership with Russia. To conclude, the

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article embeds the Euro-Russian partnership in a balanced global architecture, replacing US-led “effective multilateralism” with genuine polycentric, multipolar multilateralism.

Key Words: *peoples, nations, sovereignty, Eurasia, powers.*

“On America’s side, Europe must always keep its eyes open and provide no pretext for retaliation. America is growing every day. It will become a colossal power, and a time must come when, placed in easier communication with Europe by the means of new discoveries, it will wish to have its say in our affairs and to put its hand in them. Political prudence, therefore, imposes on the governments of the old continent the duty of taking scrupulous care that no pretext should arise for such an intervention. The day America sets foot in Europe, peace and security will be banished for a long time”¹

Talleyrand, *Mémoires, lettres inédites et papiers secrets*, Paris, Albert Savine, 1891

In Europe - EU and associates - two opposing points of view clash, ordering the choices made by political leaders: a Europe subordinate to the interests and choices of the United States of America on one side, or an independent Europe of sovereign nations building its alliances according to its interests, with a commitment to peace and complementarity with Russia on the other side. If the choice between the two visions was uncertain in the aftermath of the demolition of the Berlin Wall, the supporters of “Euramerica” against Russia have permanently strengthened their positions. Ukraine was the fulcrum against Russia, the European Union the lever (BBC News 2013), the United States the architect on the Eurasian “chessboard”, as explained by Brzezinski (Brzezinski 2016). The Euro-American stakeholders have played their part, accelerating from the Maidan coup in 2014 to the Russian intervention in 2022.

¹ «Du côté de l’Amérique, l’Europe doit toujours avoir les yeux ouverts et ne fournir aucun prétexte de représailles. L’Amérique s’accroît chaque jour. Elle deviendra un pouvoir colossal et un moment doit arriver où, placée vis-à-vis de l’Europe en communication plus facile par les moyens de découvertes nouvelles, elle désirera dire son mot dans nos affaires et y mettre la main. La prudence politique impose donc aux gouvernements de l’ancien continent le soin de veiller scrupuleusement à ce qu’aucun prétexte ne s’offre pour une telle intervention. Le jour où l’Amérique posera son pied en Europe, la paix et la sécurité en seront bannies pour longtemps.», Talleyrand-Périgord, Charles-Maurice de (1754-1838), 1891. *Mémoires, lettres inédites et papiers secrets*. (Memoirs, unpublished letters and secret papers). Paris: A. Savine.

A CHAIN OF EVENTS LEADING TO EMPIRE'S WAR

The demolition of the Berlin Wall on 9 November 1989, then the absorption of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) by the German Federal Republic (GFR) marked the entry into the 21st century. The implosion of the USSR and the dislocation of the European communist bloc, ending the Cold War, opened a path to peace. Unfortunately, the Western hawks or owls² rejected Russia's offers - from Gorbachev to Putin *via* Medvedev - of a collective security, preferring supremacy to balance and peace. The subtitle of Brzezinski's book *The Grand Chessboard* is blindingly clear: "American Primacy and its Geostrategic Imperatives" (Galice 2022). The roadmap was followed to the letter. The EU and NATO have jointly expanded eastwards. When the crisis in Ukraine became severe in 2014, Brzezinski³ changed his mind, considering then that Ukraine joining NATO was a bad idea. Before that, the war against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) in 1999 (after sabotage of the Rambouillet negotiations, Kissinger considered the conditions imposed to the FRY as a provocation⁴) (La Gorce 1999), the first NATO war, the same year as the first NATO extension, then the two wars against Iraq separated by the deadly Oil-for-Food Programme, the joint declaration on UN/NATO secretariat cooperation 23 September 2008 (International Peace Institute 2010), the war to Libya 2011 turning from a R2P (responsibility to protect, Russia and China did not veto, for the last time) into a regime change (House of Commons – FAC 2016-17) with assassination of several leaders, including Ghaddafi, and about 30 000 killed, were the main steps toward a harsh confrontation. The Russian authorities reacted in words at the Munich Security Conference 2007, in act in Syria in 2014.

On December 15th, 2021, the Russian authorities made a last diplomatic attempt towards the USA and NATO when they met the

² Benjamin Barber poses the difference between subtle owls and brutal hawks, both raptors. Barber, Benjamin, 2004, *Fear's Empire – War, Terrorism and Democracy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Bush was a typical hawk, Obama more of an owl, promoting the "Leadership from behind" and supporting the Franco-British attack on Libya.

³ Brzezinski died in 2017.

⁴ Kissinger, Henry. "The Rambouillet text, which called on Serbia to admit NATO troops throughout Yugoslavia, was a provocation, an excuse to start bombing. Rambouillet is not a document that an angelic Serb could have accepted. It was a terrible diplomatic document that should never have been presented in that form", *The Daily Telegraph*, 28 June 1999. The historian Christopher Clark supports this view, asserting that the terms of the 1914 Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia appear lenient compared to the NATO demands."

US-ambassador (Russian MFA 2021). The western answer was:” The United States and NATO are committed to supporting NATO’s open-door policy” (Arms Control Association 2022). This “open-door policy” contravenes section 1 of the Charter of the United Nations:” To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace...” By denying the obvious, the west pretends: “NATO poses no threat to Russia. NATO believes that tensions and disagreements must be resolved through dialogue and diplomacy rather than the threat or the use of force.” After the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact (1 July 1991) the deepening (ceasing to be defensive and limited to the North Atlantic) and the enlargement of NATO were a *fait accompli* without any “dialogue and diplomacy”, contrary to the commitments made.

The Brezinski family embodies the dominant vision of the US elites: while the father, Zbigniew, conceived of the “primacy”, the son Mark strives to implement it as US Ambassador to Warsaw.

Indeed, such a hostile attitude towards Russia and the Russians is not the expression of the will of Europe’s peoples. The populations were either avoided (Germany), duly manipulated (France 1992) (Chevènement 1997) or spurned (Ireland 2011 and 2008, France 2005).⁵ The peoples have been deprived of their power, starting with the German people, the initiators of this historic process. Demonstrators in the GDR chanted “We are the people”, then “We are one people”. The West German ruling class opted for the rapid economic absorption of the eastern territories by big western companies and, in legal terms, preferred the “small door” of Article 23 of the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) of integrating “the five new *Länder*” to the “big door” of Article 146, which would have involved a wide-ranging national debate (Zielinski 2011).

The alleged “democrats” mistrust the people on the pretext of “the fight against populism”. The same dislike the nation, as historical form of the people. They prefer large companies that operate under the aegis of the holy ‘market’, preferably capitalist. The conservative Henry Kissinger cautioned against the “perils of globalism” (Kissinger 1998) while the new European social democrats supported the “market economy” enshrined alongside NATO in the Maastricht Treaty. It is to the extent that the left has abandoned the people that working-class voters have turned to far-right parties or taken refuge in abstention (Fourquet 2017). Citizens and

⁵ The referendum on the Constitutional Treaty was rejected by 54,67 % of the French voters. The parliament then decided to adopt the Lisbon Treaty.

Nation support each other. "Today, the nation's political strength lies precisely in its ability to stretch and tighten the bond between the people and the state" writes Gabriel Galice (Galice 2002). The involvement of a people in the nation's foreign policy is also an indication of democracy. The debates in France prior to the 2005 referendum on the Constitutional Treaty were a good example of democratic vitality. In 1992, only massive manipulation of public opinion through outrageous propaganda enabled the "Yes" side to win the French referendum on the Maastricht Treaty by a narrow margin (51.04%). Thirteen years later, thanks to the mobilization of social networks presenting alternative opinions, the citizens massively rejected (54.67%) the draft European Constitutional Treaty. Despite this result, the Parliament approved the text with only a few word changes.

Peoples are victims and hostages of a new global configuration of oligarchic "elites", transnational bourgeoisie. Edgar Morin and Sami Naïr explain the link between conflicting nations and clashing social classes: "But this empire of the liberalized market is not just (...) an abstract, socially disembodied monster. It is in fact identified with the dominant nations - the United States, Germany, Japan - and within them with social classes that have never been in such a favorable situation. This empire is in fact a system of elite alliances on a global scale" (Morin and Nair 1997). Christopher Lasch's observation about "the revolt of the elites" remains relevant, but the people are in turn revolting (Lasch 1996).

AN ATLANTIST OLIGARCHIC EUROPE AGAINST RUSSIA

For thirty years, the USA meticulously moved its pieces on the European chessboard according to Zbigniew Brzezinski's script. The demolition of the Berlin Wall also triggered a leadership change in Europe. By the weight of its population, the strength of its economy, its central place with privileged relations to *Mittleuropa*, unified Germany became the major power, instead of France. The USA therefore played the German card on the continent rather than the British one, much to the disappointment of Mrs. Thatcher (Thatcher 2012). In 1991, the two opposing visions of Europe - Atlantic or continental - broke down for the first time when French President Mitterrand failed to launch a European Confederation close to Russia in Prague (Dumas 2001; Musitelli 2011). The unconditional allies of the USA suggested to include the USA, Canada, and Japan. The Atlantic Europe won a first round against the continental Europe.

A second break occurred in 2003 with the second Gulf War, between the France-Germany-Russia axis resisting American leadership on the one hand and the 'New Europe' (Donald Rumsfeld) shaped by the Eastern European states nurtured by old conflicts with Russia on the other. It is worth noting that the 2003 Azores summit, which paved the way for the war with Bush, Blair, Barroso, and Aznar, was hosted by Prime Minister Manuel Barroso, who was to become President of the European Commission, against the French and German candidate, Guy Verhofstadt (Galice 2015). As the best advocate of the US cause, the UK opposed Verhofstadt, France and Germany resigned themselves and Barroso promoted the Euro-American vision for ten years long before he joined Goldman Sachs bank. Apparently, the new West European elites ignore the past, the interest of their people, the fundamental principles of international law and global challenges. President Sarkozy acted as a frankly pro-American activist when he led France's reintegration into NATO: "France also knows who its allies and friends are our friends and allies are first the Western family. The conditions for independence are first to know where one's family is" (Sarkozy 2009).⁶ At the time, François Hollande, leader of the opposition, gave a Gaullist speech in the National Assembly criticizing NATO membership. After his election in 2012, President Hollande endorsed and even reinforced with tax breaks Sarkozy's decision.

It should be noted that 2014 is an essential step in the Atlantic fight against Russia. The overthrow of President Viktor Yanukovych and his replacement by Petro Poroshenko was the culmination of the "Maidan Revolution", described by George Friedman as "the most blatant coup in history." Friedman's interview with *Kommersant* is an outspoken confession of the USA's objectives and methods against Russia (Friedman 2014). The German sociologist Ulrich Beck (1944-2015), a professor at the London School of Economics, theorised about the European empire, whose 'cosmopolitanism' goes hand in hand with the USA. "The mistake is to equate Europe with the contractual form of the "European Union",

⁶ The word « family » sounds here inappropriate. Nevertheless, the private background Sarkozy's family makes sense, as Eric Branca explains in his book *L'ami américain. (The American Friend)* Frank George Wisner is the central person. He married Nicolas Sarkozy's mother-in-law, Christine de Ganay, the third wife of his father, Pal Sarkozy. F.G. Wisner is the son of Frank Gardiner Wisner (1909-1965), one of the founding officers of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and played a major role in CIA operations throughout the 1950s. Frank George was officially a diplomat in strategic embassies or in major missions, he worked for or with the CIA, some assert. Later a businessman. Every summer, the young Nicolas was on holiday with the Wisner Family, with his half-brother and half-sister

when it was precisely the overlap, to some extent the fusion, of America and Europe, the transatlantic alliance, with its shared values (...) that enabled the creation of Europe. (...) Wasn't the United States an informal founding member of the European Union?" (Beck et al. 2007, 42-43 in Chevènement 2016, 181).

At the request of the journal *Recherches Internationales*, Gabriel Galice published the article *Complexes guerres "hybrides" en Ukraine* (Complex "hybrid" wars in Ukraine) in 2019. He concluded: "To understand what is at stake, the strengths and weaknesses of the protagonists on the Ukrainian scene involves considering the visions of the world, the strategic, tactical and operational levels, as well as the political, military and informational dimensions, linked together by the available technologies" (Galice 2019).

One year before the launch of Russia's "special military operation", senior French officers published an open letter to NATO Secretary General Jan Stoltenberg protesting the "NATO 2030" document (NATO 2021). Among other things, they make three criticisms: the designation of China and Russia as "threats", the relegation of consensus and the concentration of power in the hands of the US commander (Capital 2021). Nevertheless, the NATO leaders approved the document in June 2021 (NATO 2030 website).

The war in Ukraine is a test field for the new concepts "war amongst the people" (IRRC 2006), "political warfare" (hunting Russian artists or athletes, banning holders of bank accounts bearing a Russian consonant surname) and "cognitive warfare". The Chinese strategists Qiao Liang and Wang Xiangsui called this "Unrestricted Warfare" (Qiao and Wang 2015). For Edgar Morin, "There are three wars in one: the continuation of the internal war between the Ukrainian government and the separatist province, the Russian-Ukrainian war, and an internationalised anti-Russian political and economic war waged by the West and led by the United States" (Morin 2023, 75). The fourth war is the one against Europe and its partnership with Russia. Commenting on media disinformation, Morin notes: "Although we are not involved in the war in Ukraine and want to remain so, the French media only report Ukrainian news and thus banish any contextualisation of the conflict. We are exposed to war propaganda that makes us hate Russia, unconditionally admire everything Ukrainian, and obscures any context, including that of the uninterrupted war since 2014 between Ukraine and the irredentist Russian-speaking provinces, as well as the role of the United States, which we will one day

have to examine as historians” (Ibid. 29-30). In doing so, the European Union and its member states flout the “values” they proclaim loud and clear, first and foremost the freedom of expression. The ban on Russian media violates Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” In addition to that, the western media select the NATO oriented opinions of analysts, as many of us experience constantly who are no longer invited in the radio or TV shows. The social medias are also censored. The researchers and academics are obliged to self-censorship, especially the younger ones. The West mistrusts its own values and principles (De Gliniasty 2017). The slogans replace the arguments, the “manufactured emotions” substitute for reason (Redeker 2022).

A CONTINENTAL DEMOCRATIC EUROPE WITH RUSSIA

1. German Views on Continental Europe

Leading politicians, scholars and observers have predicted and warned of the risks of misguided policies, particularly in Germany, France, and Switzerland, highlighting national interests in relation to the future of Europe and Eurasia. Leading German statesmen spoke out against the long-standing control of Europe by the United States. They expressed their desire to break free. State Secretary and Federal Minister for Special Tasks in the Federal Chancellery beside Chancellor Willy Brandt 1969 to 1974, during the *Ostpolitik* (Eastern policy), later Director of the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy at the University of Hamburg, Egon Bahr (1922-2015) published a stimulating small book in 1998 entitled: *Deutsche Interessen* (German Interests). Bahr notes: “It is not foolish anti-Americanism that is at issue, but un-American sentiments of non-American humanity, not machinations against America, but assertion of one’s own ideas *vis-à-vis* America” (Bahr 1998, 99).⁷

⁷ „Nicht törichter Antiamerikanismus steht zur Rede, sondern unamerikanische Empfindungen der nichtamerikanischen Menschheit, nicht Umtriebe gegen Amerika, sondern Behauptung eigener Vorstellungen gegenüber Amerika.“ Bahr, Egon. 1998. *Deutsche Interessen - Streitschrift zu macht, Sicherheit und Außenpolitik* (German Interests - Argument on Power, Security and Foreign Policy). München: Karl Blessing Verlag. 99.

Bahr rightly points out the basic “sovereignty of thought”: “With the act of 15 March 1991, Germany retained its sovereignty under international law, but not the sovereignty of thought. We must manage that ourselves. And that is obviously difficult. Just one example. When America imperiously ended the discussion about the number of new NATO members with the declaration: “Three. More is not negotiable”, and France advocated five, German sovereignty exhausted itself in the Foreign Minister’s debunking answer: “You can find good arguments for three or four or five.” Now, cowardice can come in the guise of wisdom and decisiveness can be foolish, but it was not sovereign. Sovereignty can also make mistakes. But those who do not want to do so out of fear are not sovereign” (Ibid. 156).

In 1999, during the Kosovo crisis, former Chancellor (1974-1982) Helmut Schmidt (1918-2015) made his voice heard. Schmidt’s article: *NATO gehört nicht Amerika* (NATO does not belong to America) was published on 22 April 1999, the day before the bombing of the FRY state radio and television building. Schmidt supported NATO organization but favored political solutions, drew attention to the facts that “Russia remains a world power, simply because of its military strength” and that “The West must show consideration for the nuclear power China”. Helmut Schmidt promoted a NATO’s “European pillar” following in President Robert Kennedy’s footsteps (Schmidt 1999b). His interview with the Swiss magazine *L’Hebdo* proved prescient: “Most probably, as far as Slovenia and Croatia are concerned, the German government would have adopted a rather reserved stance under my presidency. (...) After the demise of the Soviet Union, the Americans believed themselves to be the world’s only superpower, a profound error that the next two decades will confirm. I say this because it is unimaginable that Russia, politically and economically, should continue to be in the same weak position” (Schmidt 2009a)

As for Willy Wimmer (born in 1943), he was a CDU (Christian Democratic Union) *Bundestag* MP for 33 years, Secretary of State in the Ministry of Defense (1988-1992) under Chancellor Helmut Kohl, later Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (1994-2000). Wimmer was deeply involved in defense issues and oversaw integrating the National People’s Army (GDR army) into the *Bundeswehr* (Federal Armed Forces). He worked closely with his British, American, French, and Russian counterparts as well as with high-ranking military officers. He spoke out against the illegal wars in Yugoslavia and Iraq. In 2016, he issued the 320-page book *Die Akte Moskau* (*The Moscow File*), with

documents and photos, to shed light on the debate and contribute to peace with Russia. Wimmer writes: “Russia has not only been denied a home in the “common house of Europe”, but it is also to be separated from its Western European neighbors in the American interest by a group of states stretching across the continent from the Baltic to the Black Sea. That was the clear message at a conference organized by the US State Department in the Slovakian capital Bratislava at the beginning of May 2000, which was attended by heads of government and foreign and defense ministers from Eastern and Central European countries, including myself. The message seemed clear: in future, there should be an American-dominated “backyard” against the Russian Federation on the European continent” (Wimmer 2016, 127-128).⁸

Another significant German witness is Klaus von Dohnányi (born 1928), who trained as a lawyer in Germany and the United States, then became Secretary of State in the Federal Ministry of Economics, Federal Minister of Science, Minister of State in the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Mayor of Hamburg. Dohnanyi published *Nationale Interessen*, sharing many thoughts with Bahr and Wimmer (Dohnanyi 2022). He writes: “Germany and Europe today are not sovereign in matters of security and foreign policy. It is the USA that sets the direction here in Europe”. (...) I also wrote this book as a close friend and admirer of the United States of America, to which I owe much for 70 years of our acquaintance and friendship. But precisely because of this, this book contains a concerned and critical attitude” (Ibid. 10). Dohnanyi rightly comments on the “watering down of the 1962-63 (Franco-German) treaty by introducing a (US-inspired) preamble. (...) The debate divided the parties in the Federal Republic between “Gaullists” and “Atlanticists”. (...) An opportunity for a strong and sovereign Europe was blocked with the help of the USA and Great Britain. They thus blew up the intended

⁸ „(...) wurde Russland nicht nur eine Wohnung im „gemeinsamen Haus Europa“ verwehrt, es soll gleichsam durch eine sich von der Ostsee bis zum Schwarzen Meer quer über den Kontinent erstreckende Staatengruppe von seinen westeuropäischen Nachbarn im amerikanischen Interesse getrennt werden. Das war jedenfalls die klare Botschaft bei einer vom amerikanischen Außenministerium Anfang Mai 2000 in der slowakischen Hauptstadt Bratislava organisierten Konferenz, an der Regierungschefs sowie Außen- und Verteidigungsminister, an den Staaten Ost- und Mitteleuropas teilnahmen, auch ich war dabei. Die Botschaft schien klar: In Zukunft sollte es auf dem europäischen Kontinent ein amerikanisch dominiertes „Vorfeld“ gegen die Russische Föderation geben.“ Wimmer, Willy. 2016. *Die Akte Moskau* (The Moscow File). Hör-Grenzhausen: Verlag zeitgeist Print & Online. 127-128.

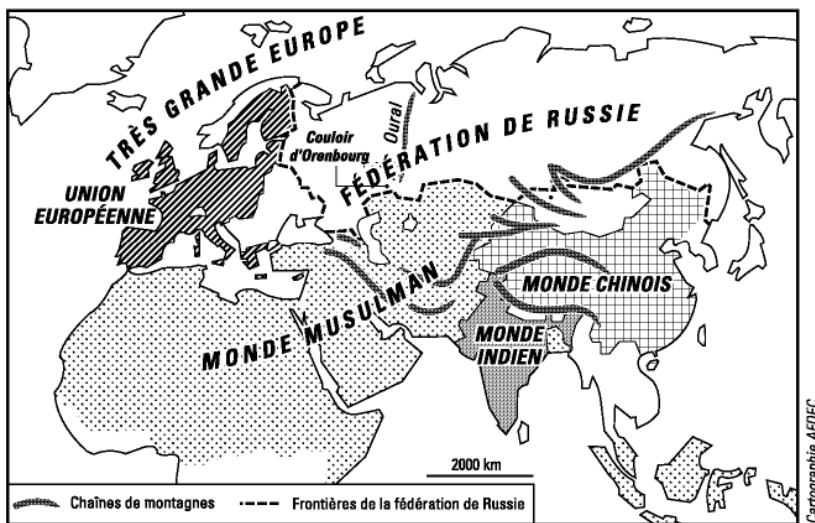
Franco-German cooperation to the great bitterness of de Gaulle. Helmut Schmidt regretted his approval of the preamble in 1986” (Ibid. 115-116).⁹

2. French views on continental Europe

The historian and geographer Yves Lacoste, author of *Vive la nation* in 1998, offered a visionary perspective in his 2005 article: *Dans l'avenir, une très grande Europe de l'Atlantique au Pacifique ? (In the future, a very large Europe from the Atlantic to the Pacific?)* (Lacoste 1998; Lacoste 2005, 202-212)

THE VERY LARGE EUROPE

LA TRÈS GRANDE EUROPE



Jean-Pierre Chevènement (born 1939) is a French Statesman, several times minister under François Mitterrand’s and Jacques Chirac’s Presidencies, former left-wing socialist and admirer of Charles de Gaulle’s foreign policy. The interest of France is his guideline, he resigned as

⁹ „Die Debatte spaltete in der Bundesrepublik die Parteien zwischen „Gaullisten“ und „Atlantikern“. (...) Eine Chance für ein führungsstarkes und souveränes Europa wurde unter Mithilfe der USA und Großbritanniens blockiert. Sie sprengten damit die beabsichtigte deutsch-französische Zusammenarbeit zur Großen Erbitterung de Gaulles. Helmut Schmidt bedauerte 1986 seine Zustimmung zu der Präambel.“ Dohnany 2022. 115-116

Minister of Defense in 1991 to protest the Iraq war. In 2012 he was appointed Special Representative for Russia. Chevènement founded the think-tank “Res Publica”, which devoted a conference in 2015 to “Russia in Europe” (Fondation Res Publica 2015a). He has consistently written university-quality political books rooted in history. “By keeping the Ukrainian crisis simmering, they (the USA) are playing Europe and Russia off against each other. In fact, they are using their closest allies, such as the United Kingdom and Russia’s neighbouring countries, which have a long-standing historical dispute with Russia, to prevent or limit any political or even commercial rapprochement between Moscow and the countries of Western Europe, particularly Germany, France, and Italy. The policy of sanctions is a cheap substitute for war” (Chevènement 2016, 207). Commenting Ulrich Beck quoted above, Chevènement notes: “This will in fact be Euramerica” (Ibid. 180). In the conclusion of a 2005 conference on Russia, Chevènement said: “Russia is a nation indispensable for peace on our continent and for world balance. (...) Russia needs Europe (...) If Russia needs Europe, Europe needs Russia, for the quality of its people, its culture, and its contribution to civilisation. (...) Europe also needs Russia for economic reasons” (Chevènement 2019, 1463-1468; Fondation Res publica 2015b).

Geopolitologist Caroline Galacteros founded the think-tank GEOPRAGMA in 2018. Her book *Vers un nouveau Yalta (Towards a New Yalta)* brings together articles published between 2014 and 2019. Galactéros describes the new emerging world where nations, peoples, sovereignties, and the partnership with Russia are all playing their cards. In the same year as George Kennan’s famous article *A Fateful Error*, former French Prime Minister (1988 – 1991) during François Mitterrand’s presidency, Michel Rocard, then European deputy (1994 – 2009), also tried and failed to draw attention to the risk of extending NATO. His ominous article was entitled: *OTAN: danger (NATO: Danger)*. Rocard wrote: “A serious and binding security treaty between the Atlantic Alliance and Russia must be a prerequisite for any enlargement of NATO. Not to understand this is to put peace at risk” (Rocard 1997).

Due to the “Cognitive Warfare” most of European citizens never heard from Brzezinski before and still do not know anything about George Friedman, who clearly explains the main strategic purpose of the USA for centuries, which is to avoid any emerging competitor in Europe and thereby any alliance between Germany and Russia (Mettan 2023). *Divide and conquer (divide et impera)* is a major political statement. Friedman and Brzezinski draw on Halford Mackinder: should Germany and Russia

ally, “the empire of the world would be in sight” (Blouet 2020). The US-manufactured coup in Ukraine in 2014 was a masterpiece on the Eurasian chessboard. The word “Ukraine” means precisely “march” (*Welsh marches*), border. It could have remained a bridge between East and West, instead of a bloody divide. In line with the American agenda, Barroso forced the Ukrainian government to choose the West against the East¹⁰

In pushing the EU and even other neutral countries like Switzerland to take unilateral coercive measures (UCM) called “sanctions” against Russia, then receiving “countersanctions”, the USA reached their goal, namely, to weaken the European economy and currency, to separate Europe from Russia. They will strengthen NATO with the new members Finland and Sweden. The counterattack is to strengthen the partnership between Russia and China, bringing together the BRICS and the SCO. Like his grandfather Charles de Gaulle (Carrère d’Encausse 2017), Pierre de Gaulle actively advocates friendly relations with Russia. (Dialogue Franco-Russe 2022).

3. Swiss Views for Peace and Neutrality

Federal Councillor and head of Federal Department of Foreign Affairs Didier Burkhalter was chairman of the OSCE during the Ukraine crisis in 2014. He reached an agreement with President Putin that was initially supported by the EU, then rejected by the United States and Ukraine (Segal 2014, 105-106). His action was in keeping with Switzerland’s tradition of neutrality and mediation. Eight years later, the Swiss authorities are aligning themselves with US and EU, as Professor de Zayas explains (De Zayas 2014; De Zayas 2021). In 2023, the creativity of the Federal Councillor for Foreign Affairs, Ignazio Cassis, is confined to bringing together the promoters of Ukraine recovery: business first. However, independent voices are being heard in Switzerland still now. Swiss essayist, journalist and Geneva MP Guy Mettan provides valuable insights into Europe and Russia. His book *Russia - Occident - A Thousand-year War* - first published in 2015, updated in 2023 - anticipates the fanatic debates and censorship that have blinded western public opinion since the “special military operation” (Mettan, 2023). As a disappointed European, Mettan puts forward proposals “for a democratic and sovereign Europe”

¹⁰ Dusan Sidjanski strongly disagrees with Barroso on Russia and Ukraine in the TV interview on RTS. 02.11.2014. <https://www.rts.ch/play/tv/pardonnez-moi/video/jose-manuel-barroso--dusan-sidjanski?urn=urn:rts:video:6270785>

in his 2019 book: *Le continent perdu (The Lost Continent)* (Mettan 2019). Chapter 5 deals with “la dictature de la norme et la peur du peuple” (*the dictatorship of the norm or the fear of the people*), and Chapter 6 with “Tutelle américaine, exclusion russe, hégémonie allemande” (*American tutelage, Russian exclusion, and German hegemony*). Guy Mettan agrees with Chevènement: “Allied with Russia, Europe would quickly become the world’s greatest power once again” (Mettan 2019, 163).

Former Swiss intelligence analyst Jacques Baud has been slandered as a “Putin supporter” and “conspiracist” for exposing the western Fake News of the last 30 years. The retired staff colonel has worked for NATO in Brussels, for the UN in New York, in the field in Sudan and elsewhere. Even though he provides verifiable information, evidence and strong arguments Baud is banned in his country by the mainstream media. Through the publication of numerous books and interviews to a wide audience, the officer has done nothing but disrupt the official foreign narrative.

CONCLUSION: WORLD LEADERSHIP OR INTERNATIONAL PARTNERSHIPS?

Why do reasonable European voices go unheard? Why do narrow-minded warmongers dominate European politics? Why have peace movements fallen silent? The US-American “smart power”, combination of “soft” and “hard power” does its job, with seduction (Lynch 2023), blackmail,¹¹ sanctions, spying, support of new technologies (Snowden 2019). The *Zeitgeist* and prevailing conformism give it all an air of normality. Pierre Conesa, a former senior civil servant in the French Ministry of Defence, describes the workings of the “military-intellectual complex” in his book *Vendre la guerre (Selling the War)* (Conesa 2022). This complex does not replace the “military-industrial complex” denounced by President Dwight D. Eisenhower but combines with it to the extent that the sectors under the direction of digitalised finance merge to form a “financial-technological-political-military-intellectual complex”.

A worrying aspect of the climate of war is the enlistment of intellectuals, academics, and journalists. Most of them are siding with the government against the people. The Brzezinski/Huntington roadmap set out in the 1975 Trilateral Commission report *The Crisis of Democracy: on the*

¹¹ Just one example with Pierucci, Frédéric. 2019. *The American Trap: My battle to expose America's secret economic war against the rest of the world*. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Governability of Democracies has been implemented.¹² Critical thinking is not permissible. Television censorship and internet brainwashing are now taking place in the home. From our sofas we are urged to wage war against the Russian authorities and people. That is called ‘political warfare’, while we wait for ‘cognitive warfare’ to be refined. Internet becomes a wild battlefield and a space of freedom. On the diplomatic front, the United States of America clings to its *exceptionalism* (Mirkovic 2021)¹³ and its “effective multilateralism” (Rademaker 2003) under its leadership. In Asia, South America, Africa, and elsewhere, many states and peoples want a just world order based on genuine, balanced multilateralism. The obedient European elites submit to US belligerent pressures more than to the interests and peace will of their peoples. How long?

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¹² Crozier, Michel, Samuel Huntington, Joji Watanuki. 1975. *The Crisis of Democracy*. New York: New York University Press.

¹³ Mirkovic, Nicolas. 2021. *L'Amérique empire*. Paris: Temporis.

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ПАРТНЕРСТВО ИЛИ КОНФРОНТАЦИЈА ИЗМЕЂУ ЕВРОПЕ И РУСИЈЕ?

Резиме

Рат у Украјини је све само не неочекивани рат. Ратно стање и напета ситуација између Европе и Русије уопште нису били неизбежни. Они су последица политичких избора који су настали са падом Берлинског зида. Разумевање прошлости, идеолошких и политичких битки је кључ за суочавање са садашњошћу и за изградњу боље будућности за евро-азијски континент. „Сложено мишљење“ Едгара Морина је добар оквир за читање ситуације, и његово разумевање рата у Украјини је делимично произашл о из таквог оквира. Полазећи исто тако и од појма „народа-нације“ који је развио Габријел Галис у чланку се разматрају улоге народа, елита, и суверенитета у имплементацији спољних политика. Показује се како пропаганда, мењајући смисао информација и комуникације, ствара реалност која води до рата. У чланку се најпре анализирају извесни догађаји, акције и реакције које су довеле до рата, а затим се описује визија оних који у Европи и Америци подржавају конфронтацију са Русијом, и најзад, разматрају се алтернативне позиције у Немачкој, Француској и Швајцарској, са стране оних који се залажу за партнерство са Русијом. У закључку, чланак евро-руско партнерство

смешта у балансирану светску архитектуру, замењујући „ефективни мултилатерализам“ САД са аутентичним, полицентричним, мултиполарним мултилатерализмом.

Кључне речи: *народи, нације, суверенитет, Евроазија, силе.*
