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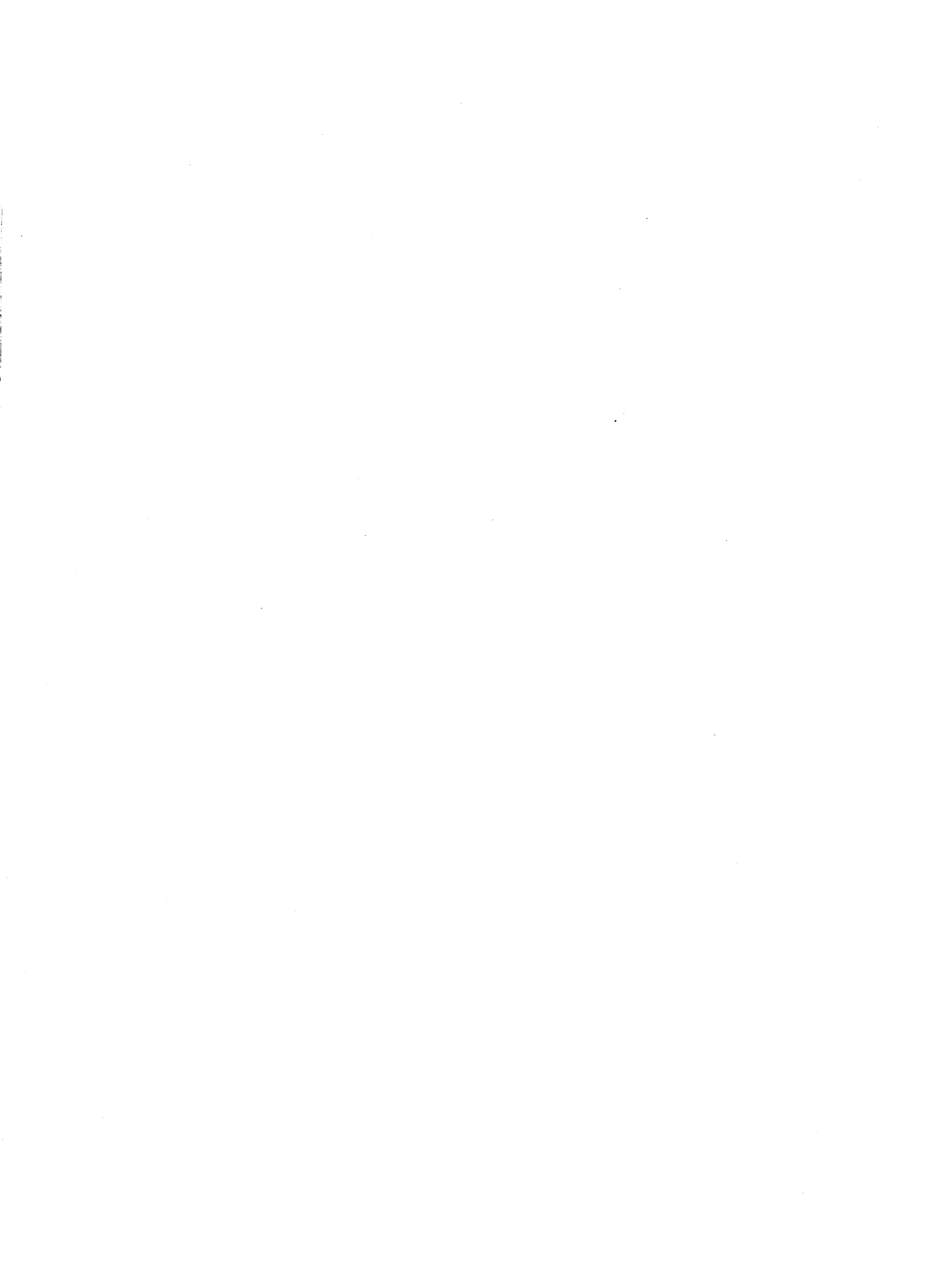
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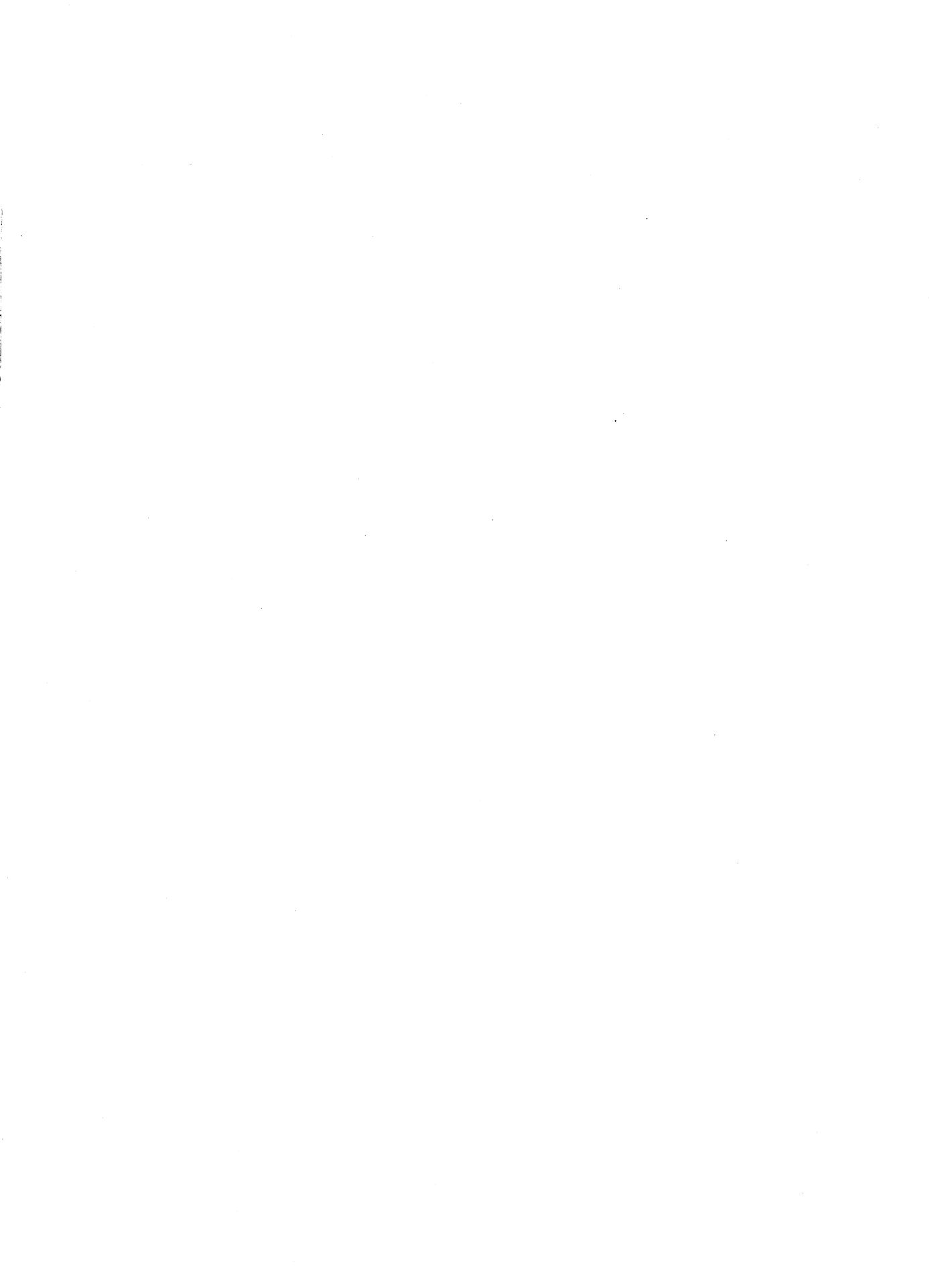
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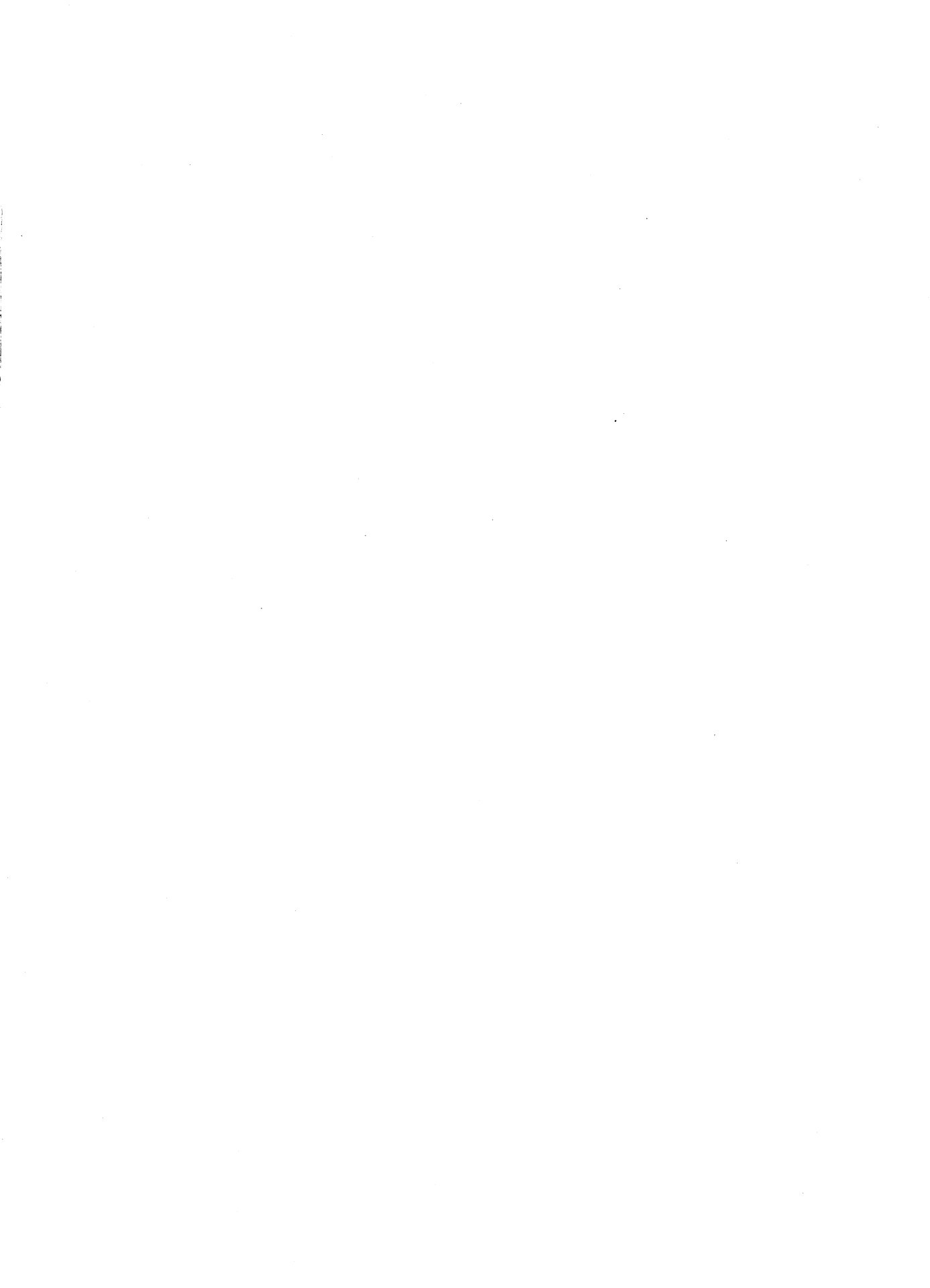
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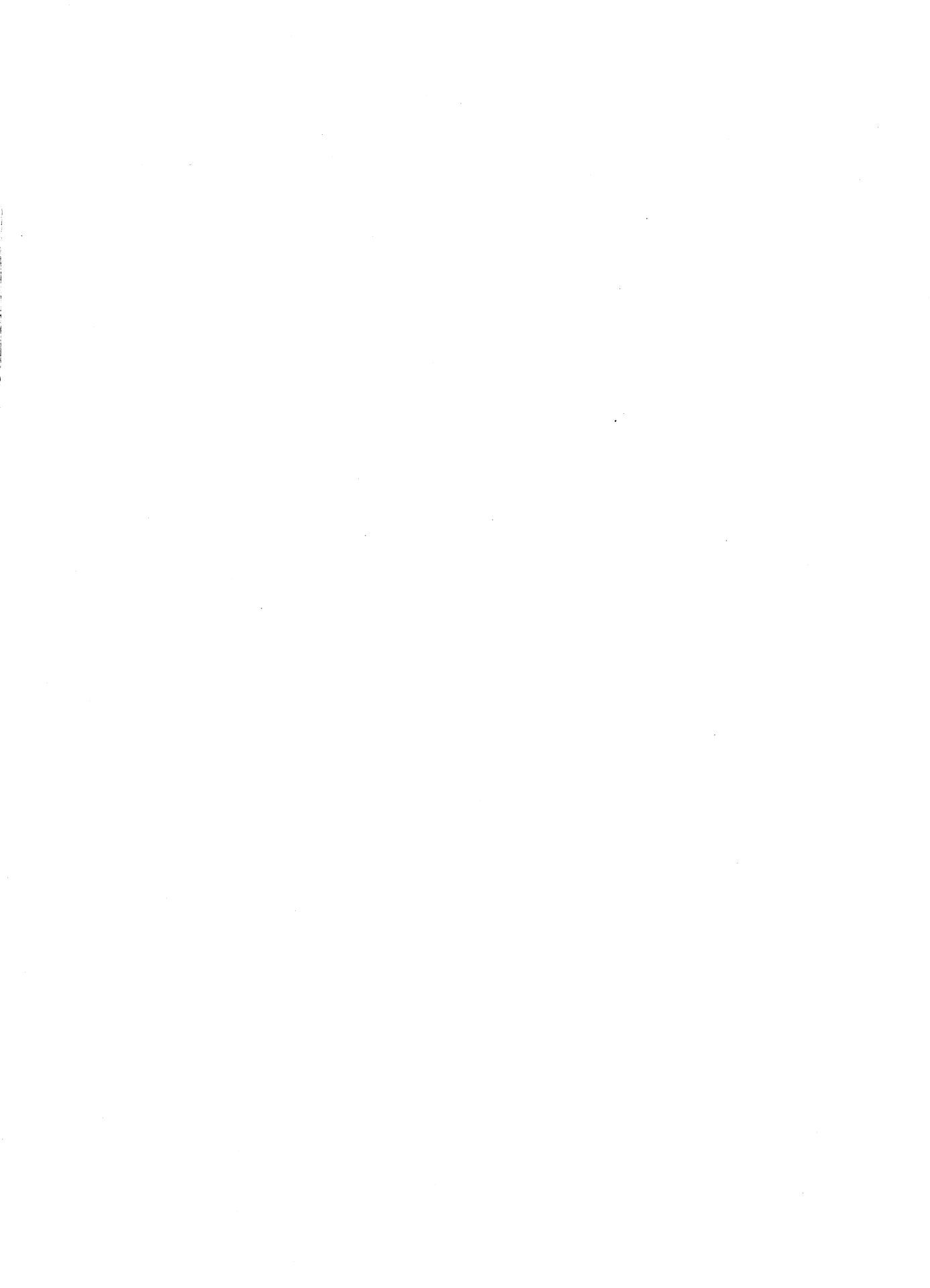


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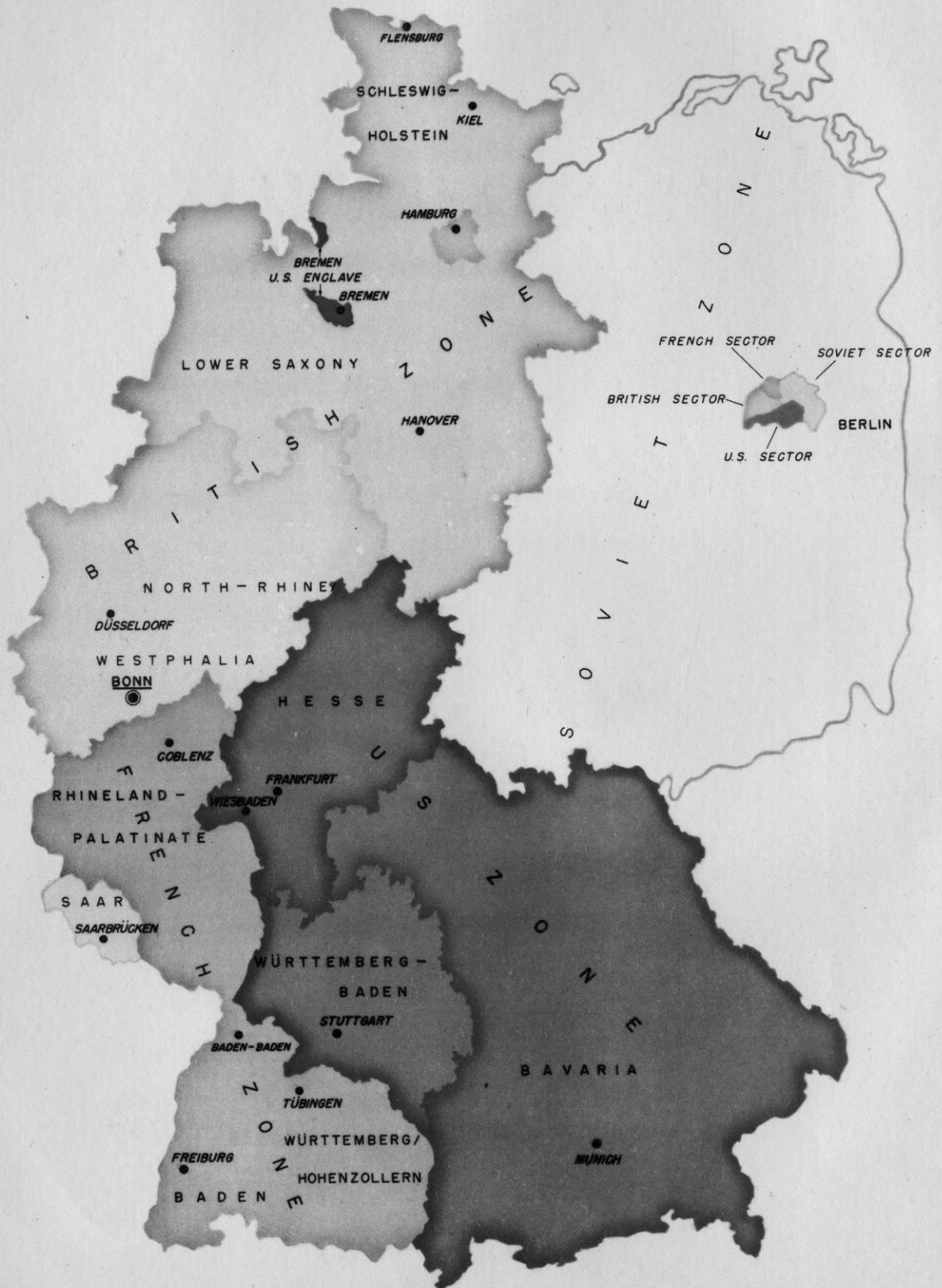
*Germany's
parliament
in action*

OFFICE OF THE US HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY



GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

ZONES OF OCCUPATION AND LÄNDER



OFFICE OF THE U.S. HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR GERMANY

GERMANY'S PARLIAMENT IN ACTION

**The September 1949 Debate on the
Government's Statement of Policy**



Prepared by

CFM & Research Branch
Foreign Relations Division
Office of Political Affairs

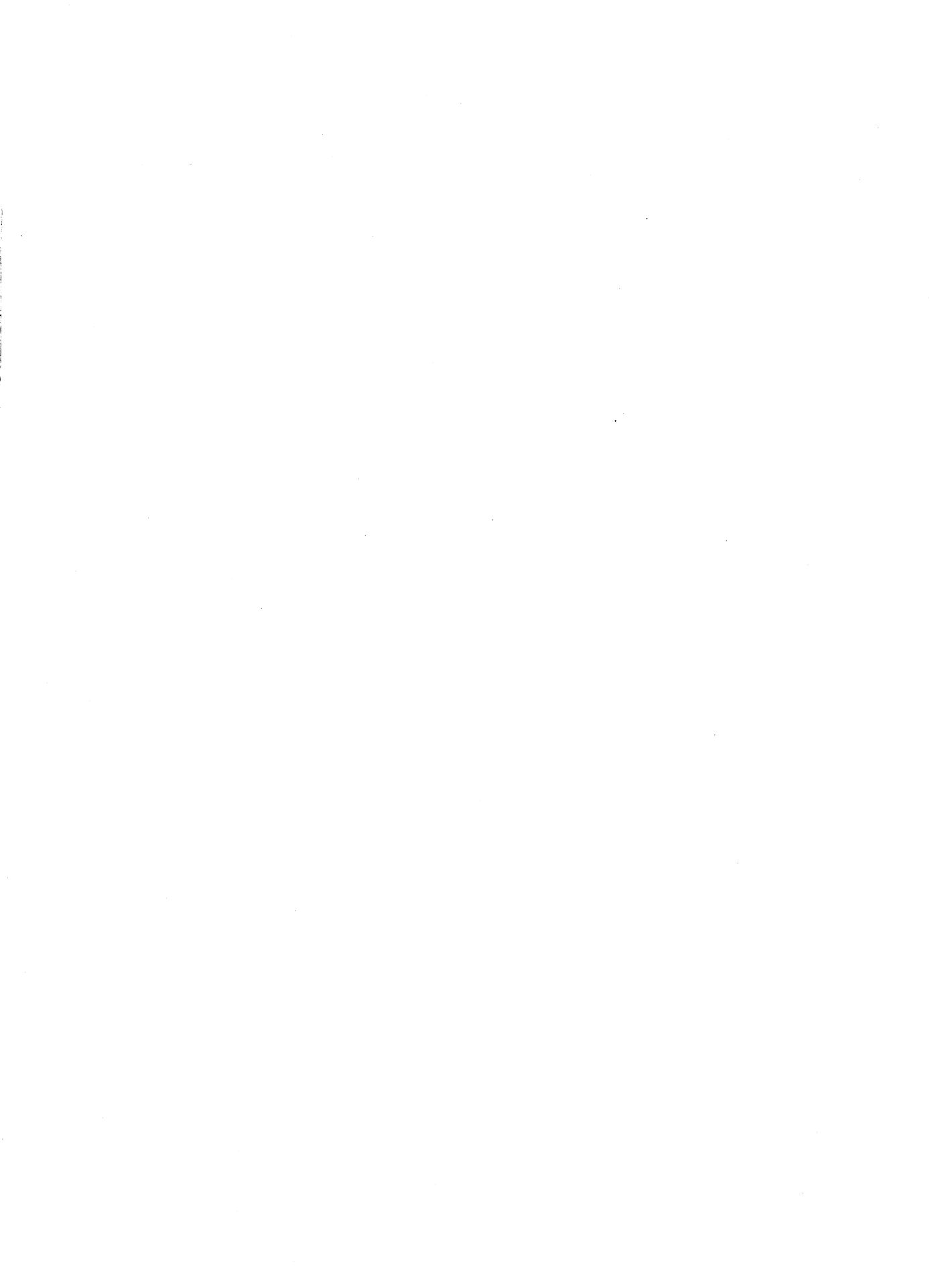
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INTRODUCTION

Like yesterday's headlines, political orations do not as a rule remain news for any length of time. Yet there are occasions when parliamentary debates illuminate the political complexion of a country and highlight the problems confronting it.

Such an occasion was the Plenary Debate on the Policy Statement of the newly-formed German Federal Government, carried on by the spokesmen for all political parties in the Bundestag at Bonn in September 1949. Both Statement and Debate are still of topical interest since they provide a comprehensive roundup of political programs, temperaments and methods of approach on the right, in the center and on the left. They show us how the issues that agitate Germans today are reflected in the views of their political leaders. True enough, such keynote speeches are made with one eye on the gallery and the folks back home, in Germany as elsewhere. Yet even promises and demands impossible of fulfillment at this time help the observer to evaluate the personalities and parties that were the choice of the people of Western Germany in the elections of 14 August 1949.

Those were the first free elections for a national parliament in seventeen years. Just over a century before, the middle-class revolution of 1848 had culminated in the election of a National Assembly. Germany's first democratic parliament assembled in Frankfurt, but its high-minded liberalism soon proved ineffectual in coping with the entrenched forces running the country. By 1849, these forces were again in the saddle. After a united Germany had been formed in 1871, a new national parliament, the Reichstag, was elected in direct and secret suffrage by men over twenty-five. The electoral system was based on single-district majority vote. Dealing with such strong-willed rulers as the "Iron Chancellor" Bismarck and later Emperor Wilhelm II, it was a restraining and democratizing influence even when it came off second best.

In November 1918 the Emperor was deposed and a democratic republic proclaimed. In its Article 22 the new Weimar Constitution provided for a Reichstag elected on the basis of proportional representation by direct, universal and secret ballot of both sexes over twenty. In the first ardor of the Republic's prime, the Reichstag was its democratic powerhouse. But when the Nazi vote soared from 1,075,000 in 1928 to 6,400,000 in 1930, while the Communists boosted their total from 3,250,000 to 4,600,000 in the same period, the two groups, united in their common hatred of parliamentary

democracy, made a mockery of the parliamentary process. As the economic depression deepened, radicalism swept the country. By 1932, the National Socialists had again more than doubled their vote, to 13,750,000, while the Communists reached 5,300,000; together these two held half the seats in the Reichstag. They abused its privileges and prerogatives and frustrated all constructive work. Nazi and Communist tactics so undermined the structure of democratic government that it collapsed before the goose-step of Hitler's cohorts.

Four weeks after Hitler's accession to power the Reichstag building in Berlin went up in flames. The conflagration and the propaganda campaign unleashed by it were part of the Nazi campaign of terror and intimidation. A week later, on 5 March 1933, the last Reichstag worthy of the name was elected. When it approved the "Enabling Act" on 24 March 1933, it signed its own death warrant and wrote finis to German democracy. One by one, all parties were eliminated; by July 1933 only the Nazi Party remained. The Reichstag lingered on, leading a sort of phantom existence. When it met at long intervals, the deputies listened to a Hitler speech, then ratified government measures unanimously. But the outer trappings of a functioning parliament remained and the Reichstag "deputies", mostly local Nazi bosses and hangers-on, drew full deputy's pay.

With the German collapse in 1945, this sham "parliament" vanished. Under military occupation, representative councils to give the German people a voice in the determination of their own affairs began to be elected at local level in early 1946. Gradually, elections were held at county level, then, for the most part in 1946 and again in 1948, at state (Land) level.

The failures of both the Moscow and the London Conferences of the Council of Foreign Ministers in 1947 demonstrated the impossibility of reaching an agreement with the Soviet Union on the political and economic unification of Germany, which had been called for by the Potsdam Agreement. In view of the deterioration of the general political situation and of the Western German economy, which had been financed since the beginning of the Occupation at great cost to the U.S. and U.K. taxpayers, the U.S., U.K. and French Governments were thus forced to revise their position. In the "London Agreements" of 1 June 1948, the three Occupation powers and the Benelux countries resolved to establish a Federal Government in

Western Germany on the basis of a democratic provisional constitution.

In August 1948, the legislatures of the eleven states of the Western Zones chose 65 delegates to a Parliamentary Council, a constituent assembly that met in Bonn to draft such a provisional constitution. After this charter had been adopted in May 1949, a national parliament, the Bundestag, was elected on 14 August 1949 by free, direct, secret and universal ballot of all Germans over 21 years of age. In the Soviet Zone, no election above Land level has been permitted. This state of affairs is one of the major obstacles that have hitherto precluded the unification of Germany.

The Bundestag elections of 14 August 1949 were conducted under an electoral system in which about 60 percent of the candidates in each Land were elected by single-district majority vote. Approximately 40 percent were chosen by proportional representation, on the basis of Land reserve lists compiled by each Land party headquarters. Votes were computed separately for each Land.

The Bundestag assembled for its inaugural meeting at Bonn on 7 September 1949. Two weeks later, a Cabinet had been formed and on 20 September 1949 Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer delivered the Government's Policy Statement, fol-

lowed on succeeding days by eleven keynote addresses from spokesmen for each party. All these speeches have been reproduced in this volume. Other representatives took part in the latter part of the Debate. Their addresses have been omitted here because they were, for the most part, in the nature of repartee, rebuttals of the points made by preceding speakers. Interruptions by hecklers have been reproduced wherever they appeared to facilitate an understanding of the Debate.

The Coalition Government of CDU, FDP and DP (see p. 13), sworn in just before Dr. Adenauer delivered the Policy Statement, is made up of center and right-of-center elements whose views differ widely on controversial topics such as centralism *versus* states' rights, planned economy *versus* laissez-faire, parochial *versus* non-denominational schools, etc.. Therefore, the Policy Statement of the Government was eagerly awaited as an indication of the policies it intended to pursue. By the same token, the Plenary Debate following it gave spokesmen for the Opposition parties their first opportunity to define their attitude towards the Government and the problems it must grapple with.

Resolved to do its best and to resist temptation, German parliamentary democracy for the fourth time marches towards the future.

*

*

*

AREA AND POPULATION OF THE GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

Land	Population *)	Square Miles	Capital	Population **)
U. S. ZONE				
Bavaria	9,327,500	27,112	Munich	800,000
Bremen	549,800	156	Bremen	450,000
Hesse	4,317,100	7,931	Wiesbaden	225,000
Württemberg-Baden	<u>3,917,600</u>	<u>5,961</u>	Stuttgart	500,000
	18,112,000	41,160		
BRITISH ZONE				
Hamburg	1,555,200	288	Hamburg	1,600,000
Lower Saxony	6,946,800	18,226	Hanover	425,000
North-Rhine/Westphalia	12,988,500	13,153	Düsseldorf	500,000
Schleswig-Holstein	<u>2,727,100</u>	<u>6,048</u>	Kiel	250,000
	24,217,600	37,715		
FRENCH ZONE				
Baden	1,289,800	3,842	Freiburg	125,000
Rhineland-Palatinate	2,900,300	7,665	Koblenz	75,000
Württemberg-Hohenzollern	<u>1,199,700</u>	<u>4,017</u>	Tübingen	40,000
	5,389,800	15,524		
FEDERAL REPUBLIC	<u><u>47,719,400</u></u>	<u><u>94,399</u></u>		
BERLIN (Western Sectors)	2,085,100	188		

*) Figures from Central Statistical Office, Wiesbaden, as of 1 January 1950.

***) Estimates as of 1 March 1950.

CHRONOLOGY

The Genesis of the German Federal Republic

- 1 June 1948: At the conclusion of the London Six-Power Conference, the U.S., Britain, France and the Benelux countries reach agreement on recommending to their Governments the establishment of a Federal Government for Western Germany.
- 1 July 1948: In Frankfurt, the approved recommendations of the London Conference are conveyed to the Ministers President of the eleven German Länder by the U.S., British and French Military Governors.
- 26 July 1948: The Military Governors and the Ministers President reach an accord on implementation of London Agreement.
- August 1948: Meeting on Herrenchiemsee Island in Bavaria, a group of German constitutional experts and politicians prepare a preliminary draft for a provisional constitution.
- 1 September 1948: The Parliamentary Council convenes in Bonn to draft a provisional constitution ("Basic Law"). The 65 Delegates (27 CDU/CSU, 27 SPD, 5 FDP, 2 Center Party, 2 DP, 2 KPD), plus 5 non-voting observers from Berlin, all chosen by the legislatures of their Länder, elect Dr. Konrad Adenauer as President.
- 22 November 1948: An aide-memoire clarifying the Military Governors' interpretation of certain parts of the London Agreement is presented to the Parliamentary Council.
- 10 February 1949: The Main Committee of the Parliamentary Council passes the draft of the Basic Law in third reading.
- 2 March 1949: The three Military Governors request changes of certain provisions of the draft Basic Law to bring it into harmony with the principles of the London Agreement.
- 5 April 1949: In Washington, the Foreign Ministers of the U.S., Great Britain and France express their "confidence" that the Parliamentary Council will "give the necessary attention" to the Military Governors' recommendations.
- 8 April 1949: At the Washington Conference of the U.S., British and French Foreign Ministers, the Occupation Statute is approved, and the transfer of authority from the Military Governors to civilian High Commissioners agreed upon.
- 22 April 1949: Acting under instructions from their Governments, the Military Governors transmit to the Parliamentary Council the views of the U.S., British and French Foreign Ministers on certain aspects of the Basic Law.
- 8 May 1949: The modified Basic Law is adopted in the Parliamentary Council by 53 votes to 12. Of the opposition ballots, 6 were cast by the Bavarian CSU, 2 each by Deutsche Partei, Zentrum and Communists.
- 12 May 1949: The Military Governors of the three Western Zones approve the Basic Law, subject to certain reservations contained in their "Letter of Approval", and at the same time promulgate the Occupation Statute.
- 18—21 May 1949: Ten Länder Parliaments ratify the Basic Law. The Bavarian Landtag rejects it while expressly recognizing its validity once it has been approved by two-thirds of the constituent Länder. The West Berlin City Parliament, although not required to express itself, unanimously approves it.

- 23 May 1949: The Bonn Parliamentary Council formally promulgates the Basic Law by its publication in the first issue of the Federal Gazette (Bundesgesetzblatt).
- 14 August 1949: Elections for the Parliament (Bundestag) of the Federal Republic of Germany take place throughout the Western Zones. Of the 402 parliamentary seats, CDU/CSU capture 140 and SPD 131. The rest are distributed as follows: FDP 52; Bayernpartei and Deutsche Partei 17 each; Communists 15; WAV 12; Zentrum 10; Deutsche Reichspartei (originally Deutsche Rechtspartei; later Nationale Rechte) 5; 1 Dane (SSW) and 2 independents.
- 5 September 1949: The eleven Länder name 42 (later increased to 43) Land Cabinet Ministers as their representatives in the Bundesrat. Berlin names 4 non-voting representatives.
- 7 September 1949: Both Houses of Parliament (the Bundestag and the Bundesrat) assemble in Bonn for their inaugural meeting.
- 12 September 1949: Professor Theodor Heuss (FDP) is elected Federal President by the Federal Convention with 416 votes out of 800.
- 15 September 1949: Dr. Konrad Adenauer (CDU) is elected Federal Chancellor by the Bundestag with a one-vote majority.
- September 1949: A thirteen-man Cabinet is formed by Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer, named by Federal President Professor Heuss, presented to the Federal Parliament and sworn in. Its members are: *Vice-Chancellor and Minister for the Marshall Plan*, Franz Blücher (FDP); *Justice*, Dr. Thomas Dehler (FDP); *Economics*, Professor Dr. Ludwig Erhard (CDU); *Interior*, Dr. Gustav Heinemann (CDU); *Liaison with the Federal Council*, Heinrich Hellwege (DP); *Reunion of Germany*, Jakob Kaiser (CDU); *Expellees*, Dr. Hans Lukaschek (CDU); *Food and Agriculture*, Dr. Wilhelm Niklas (CSU); *Finance*, Dr. Fritz Schäffer (CSU); *Posts*, Hans Schubert (CSU); *Transport*, Dr. Hans Seeböhm (DP); *Labor*, Anton Storch (CDU); and *Minister for Housing*, Eberhard Wildermuth (FDP). After the swearing-in ceremony, Dr. Adenauer reads the Federal Government's Statement of Policy (Regierungserklärung).
- 21 September 1949: The U.S., British and French High Commissioners receive Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer and members of his Cabinet at the seat of the High Commissioner on the Petersberg near Bonn and take official cognizance of the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. The Occupation Statute enters into force.

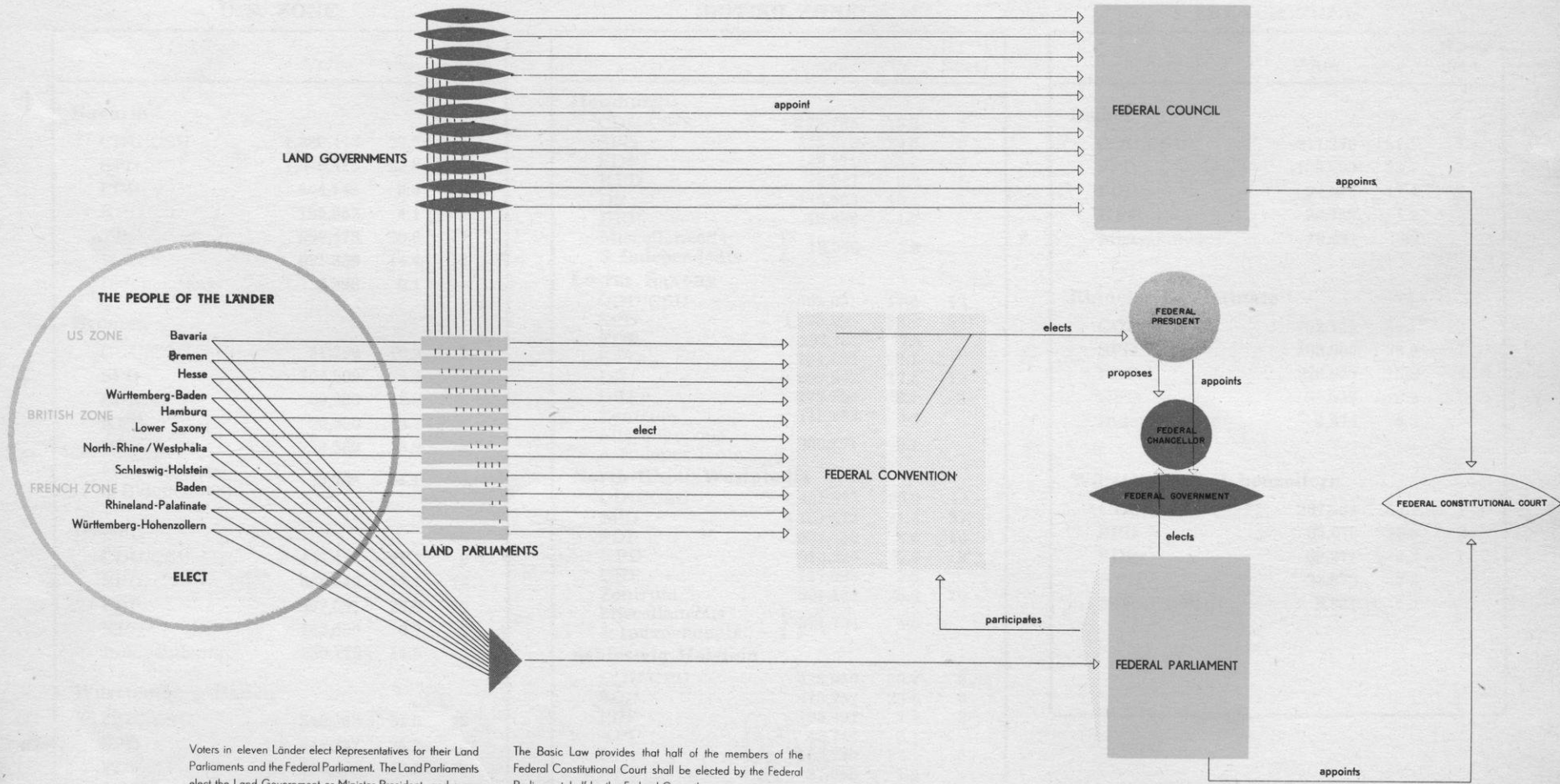
RESULTS OF THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS ON 14 AUGUST 1949 *)
(Bundestag Elections)

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

		Per Cent	Bundestag Seats
Eligible Voters	31,179,422		
Votes Cast	24,495,613	78.5	
Invalid Votes	763,215	3.1	
CDU/CSU	7,359,084	31.0	139
SPD	6,934,975	29.2	131
FDP	2,829,920	11.9	52
KPD	1,361,708	5.7	15
BP	986,478	4.2	17
DP	939,934	4.0	17
Zentrum	727,505	3.1	10
WAV	681,888	2.9	12
DRP	429,031	1.8	5
SSW	75,386	0.3	1
Miscellaneous and Independents	1,406,489	5.9	3
Total	<u>23,732,398</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>402</u>

*) as issued by the Wiesbaden Bureau of the Ministers President

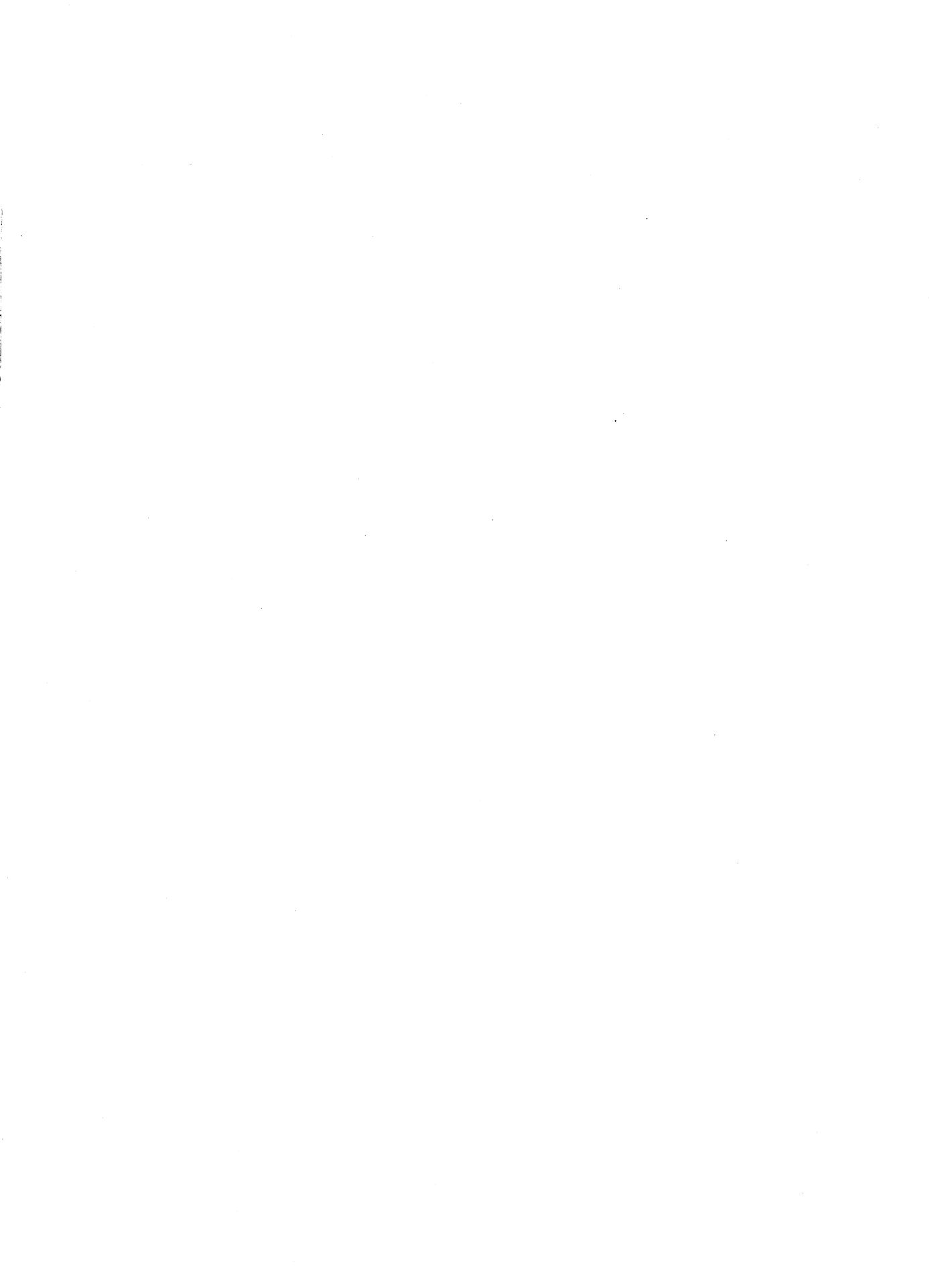
ELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF FEDERAL ORGANS



Voters in eleven Länder elect Representatives for their Land Parliaments and the Federal Parliament. The Land Parliaments elect the Land Government or Minister President, and every five years 402 delegates for the Federal Convention. 402 Federal Parliament Representatives join the Land delegates to elect the Federal President, who, on his part, proposes the Chancellor to be elected by the Federal Parliament.

The Basic Law provides that half of the members of the Federal Constitutional Court shall be elected by the Federal Parliament, half by the Federal Council.

The Land Governments appoint the Federal Council members. The Federal President appoints and dismisses the Ministers upon proposal of the Federal Chancellor.



RESULTS OF THE FEDERAL ELECTIONS ON 14 AUGUST 1949 *)

(Bundestag Elections)

BREAKDOWN BY LÄNDER

U. S. ZONE

	Votes	%	BT**) Seats
Bavaria			
CDU/CSU	1,380,448	29.2	24
SPD	1,075,416	22.8	18
FDP	404,145	8.5	7
KPD	195,852	4.1	
BP	986,478	20.9	17
WAV	681,888	14.4	12
Independents	3,396	0.1	—
Bremen			
CDU/CSU	51,290	16.9	1
SPD	104,509	34.4	3
FDP	39,228	12.9	
KPD	20,530	6.7	
DP	54,569	18.0	1
Miscellaneous & Independents	33,739	11.1	—
Hesse			
CDU/CSU	454,437	21.3	9
SPD	684,042	32.1	13
FDP	597,081	28.0	12
KPD	142,539	6.7	2
Independents	250,179	11.9	
Württemberg-Baden			
CDU/CSU	542,588	31.0	12
SPD	441,237	25.2	10
FDP	318,498	18.2	7
KPD	129,283	7.4	2
Miscellaneous & Independents	317,665	18.2	2

BRITISH ZONE

	Votes	%	BT**) Seats
Hamburg			
CDU/CSU	178,786	19.8	3
SPD	358,873	29.6	6
FDP	143,371	15.8	2
KPD	76,747	8.5	1
DP	118,583	13.1	1
DRP	10,838	1.2	
Miscellaneous & Independents	18,246	2.0	
Lower Saxony			
CDU/CSU	593,691	17.6	12
SPD	1,125,295	33.4	24
FDP	252,141	7.5	5
KPD	104,132	3.1	
DP	597,542	17.8	12
DRP	273,129	8.1	5
Zentrum	113,464	3.4	
Miscellaneous & Independents	306,571	9.1	
North-Rhine/Westphalia			
CDU/CSU	2,481,523	36.9	43
SPD	2,109,172	31.4	37
FDP	581,456	8.6	10
KPD	513,225	7.6	9
DRP	117,998	1.8	
Zentrum	601,435	8.9	10
Miscellaneous & Independents	321,734	4.8	
Schleswig-Holstein			
CDU/CSU	428,956	30.7	8
SDP	413,257	29.6	8
FDP	103,492	7.4	2
KPD	43,746	3.1	
DP	169,240	12.1	3
DRP	27,066	1.9	
SSW	75,386	5.4	1
Zentrum	12,606	0.9	
Miscellaneous & Independents	123,922	8.9	1

FRENCH ZONE

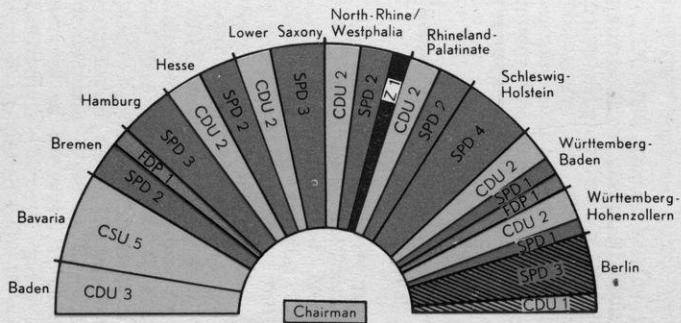
	Votes	%	BT**) Seats
Baden			
CDU/CSU	277,276	51.1	7
SPD	128,599	23.7	3
FDP	94,612	17.4	2
KPD	22,755	4.2	
Miscellaneous	19,481	3.6	
Rhineland-Palatinate			
CDU/CSU	702,125	49.1	13
SPD	408,905	28.6	7
FDP	226,625	15.8	4
KPD	89,026	6.2	1
Independents	4,874	0.3	
Württemberg-Hohenzollern			
CDU/CSU	267,964	59.1	7
SPD	85,670	18.9	2
FDP	69,271	15.3	1
KPD	23,873	5.2	
Miscellaneous	6,681	1.5	






*) as issued by the Wiesbaden Bureau of the Ministers President

**) BT — Bundestag

**COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL
(BUNDESRAT)**

Land	No. OF MEMBERS	BREAKDOWN BY PARTIES			
		CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP	ZENTRUM
US ZONE					
Bavaria	5	5			
Bremen	3		2	1	
Hesse	4	2	2		
Württemberg-Baden	4	2	1	1	
BRITISH ZONE					
Hamburg	3		3		
Lower Saxony	5	2	3		
North-Rhine/Westphalia	5	2	2		1
Schleswig-Holstein	4		4		
FRENCH ZONE					
Baden	3	3			
Rhineland-Palatinate	4	2	2		
Württemberg-Hohenzollern	3	2	1		
PARTY TOTALS:	<u>43</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Four members represent Berlin in an advisory capacity (2 SPD, 1 CDU, 1 FDP)					



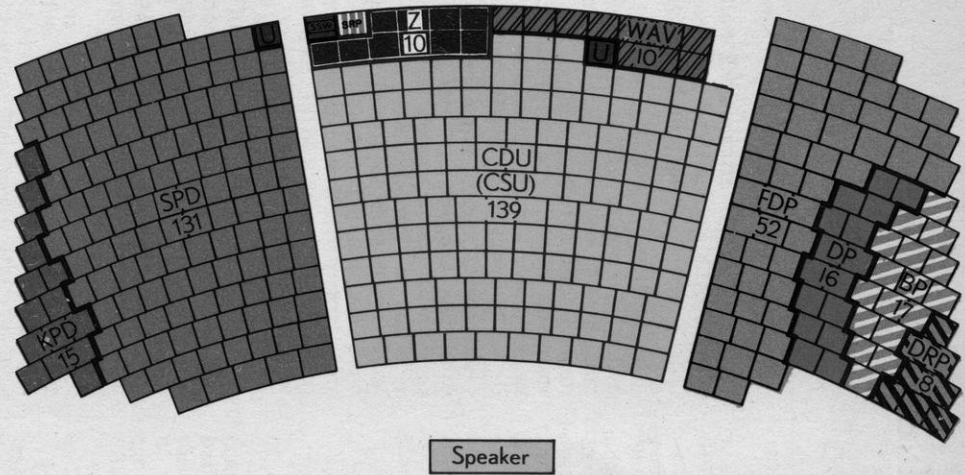
-  **Christian Democratic Union**
Christlich-Demokratische Union
(in Bavaria: Christian Social Union
Christlich-Soziale Union)
-  **Social Democratic Party**
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
-  **Center Party**
Zentrum
-  **Free Democratic Party**
Freie Demokratische Partei
-  **advisory capacity only**

COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

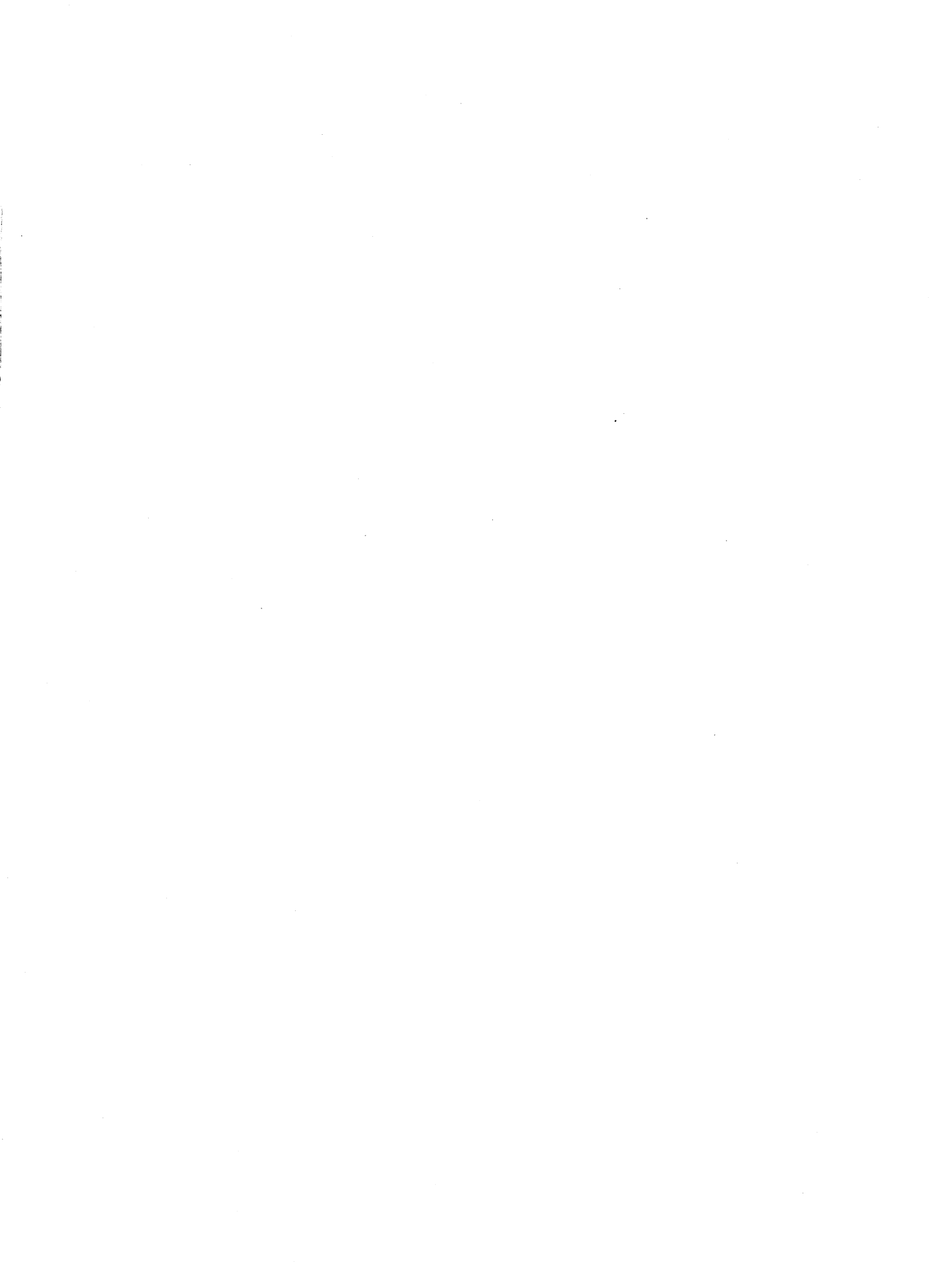
(BUNDESRAT)

PARTY STRENGTH IN THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT

(BUNDESTAG)



-  **Christian Democratic Union**
Christlich-Demokratische Union
(in Bavaria: Christian Social Union
Christlich-Soziale Union)
-  **Social Democratic Party**
Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
-  **Center Party**
Zentrum
-  **Free Democratic Party**
Freie Demokratische Partei
-  **Communist Party**
Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands
-  **Bavarian Party**
Bayernpartei
-  **German Party**
Deutsche Partei
-  **South Schleswig Voters, Association**
Südschleswigsche Wählervereinigung
-  **Economic Reconstruction Party**
Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung
-  **Socialist Reich Party**
Sozialistische Reichspartei
-  **German Reich Party**
Deutsche Reichspartei
-  **Independents**
Unabhängige



GERMANY'S PARTIES

POLITICAL GROUPS REPRESENTED IN THE BUNDESTAG

Christian Democratic Union

(Christlich-Demokratische Union — CDU/CSU)
140 Bundestag Seats

The Christian Democratic Union (CDU), known as Christian Social Union (CSU) in Bavaria, polled 31 percent of the vote in the elections of 14 August 1949, making it the largest party in the German Federal Republic. Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer and eight Cabinet Ministers are its members, as are five of the eleven Ministers President.

CDU is descended from the former Center Party (Zentrum), founded three generations ago as a Roman Catholic political group. It was Bismarck's chief antagonist in the "Kulturkampf" waged over religious and cultural issues of domestic politics.

After the democratic Weimar Republic had been established in 1918, the Center Party became one of its chief bulwarks. It had a stable following ranging from 14 to 19 percent of the electorate at all times. In the summer of 1933, the Center Party yielded to Nazi pressure and dissolved itself.

Nazi persecution strengthened the bonds of Christian fellowship. When new political parties were formed at the end of 1945, leaders of the former Center Party decided to create an interdenominational middle-of-the-road movement that would endeavor to tackle political, social and economic problems in the spirit of Christianity. To underline that the new party had outgrown the purely Catholic character of the old Center Party, a new name — Christian Democratic Union — was chosen. In Bavaria the party adopted a slightly different designation — Christian Social Union (Christlich-Soziale Union — CSU); before 1933, the Bavarian People's Party (Bayerische Volkspartei) had similarly been allied with, but separate from, the Center Party. For all practical purposes, CDU and CSU form an entity today.

CDU/CSU stands astride the center of the German political stage. Although it is split into many wings ranging from a Christian Trade Union leftist philosophy to die-hard conservatism, from advocates of a strong centralized government to upholders of Bavarian particularism, its cohesion seems assured.

Social Democratic Party

(Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — SPD)
131 Bundestag Seats

By attaining 29.2 percent of the popular vote in the August 1949 elections, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) became Germany's second largest political group, trailing CDU/CSU by only nine Bundestag seats. Five of the chief executives in the eleven Länder owe allegiance to SPD, as does the Lord Mayor of Berlin.

SPD traces its spiritual ancestry back to Karl Marx, its organizational existence to 1869. Before the first World War it had already risen to first place among German parties. Social Democrats supplanted the tottering Imperial regime by the democratic Weimar Republic in 1918. With 45.5 percent of the vote, it emerged as far and away Germany's largest party in 1919; its nearest runner-up polled only 19 percent. In the following

years a good deal of its strength ebbed away, but SPD continued to rank first in all subsequent elections until overtaken by the Nazis in 1932 and prohibited by them in the spring of 1933. After 1945, it was revived with headquarters in Hanover and attracted 29.2 percent of the voters in 1946. Except for the Communists, it is Germany's best-organized, most homogeneous political movement and has the largest number of registered dues-paying members. Although an increasing number of middle-class supporters have rallied to its banner, SPD is still essentially a working-class left-wing party. It now preaches social reform rather than doctrinaire Marxism and strives for a planned economy.

Free Democratic Party

(Freie Demokratische Partei — FDP)
52 Bundestag Seats

At the polling stations in August 1949, 11.9 percent of the voters in Western Germany cast their ballots for the Free Democratic Party (FDP). Ranking third among German parties, it is a member of the governmental coalition, to which it has contributed President Theodor Heuss, Vice-Chancellor Franz Blücher and two other Ministers. The Minister President of one German Land is also an FDP man.

The story of FDP's antecedents evokes the tragedy of German liberalism, of the free-enterprise middle-of-the-roaders. In the abortive democratic revolution of 1848, German liberalism had its fleeting day of glory. After that it never attained a position of real power and influence. The names of the political parties representing German liberalism changed almost every decade. In 1919, when under the name of German Democratic Party (Deutsche Demokratische Partei) it was the third member of the Weimar governmental coalition, it polled almost one-fifth of the total vote, but by 1932, when it had been metamorphosed into the German State Party (Deutsche Staatspartei), it had dwindled to less than one percent and turned into a party of leaders without followers. It stood for anti-militarism, anti-clericalism, internationalism, civil liberties and capitalism with a social conscience.

Today's Free Democratic Party, known as Democratic People's Party (Demokratische Volkspartei) in Württemberg-Baden, is, however, only a collateral descendant of the German Democratic Party and the German State Party. After it was founded in 1945, it attracted not only those who had sympathized with the liberal ideology of these two parties, but also individuals whose political home had been further to the right, in the ranks of the German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei), the Economic Party (Wirtschaftspartei), and even the German Nationalists (Deutschnationale Volkspartei), early allies of Hitler. As a consequence FDP, and especially some of its regional organizations, finds itself somewhat further to the right than its predecessors. It advocates a strong centralized government, free enterprise, the curtailment of church influence in public affairs. Many of its members are professional people and merchants.

Communist Party
(Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands — KPD)
15 Bundestag Seats

There were earlier apostles of communist theory, but the actual precursors of the German Communist Party (KPD) were the Spartacists (Spartakusbund), a revolutionary outgrowth of World War I. Together with the left wing of the Independent Socialists (USP), Spartacists founded KPD in 1920, but it was not fully organized until 1922. After that time the Communists never polled less than 8.9 percent of the vote; in the depth of the depression in November 1932, they attained a peak of 16.9 percent. In the elections of August 1949 (in which Eastern Germany did not, of course, participate), they were down to 5.7 percent. The KPD political line is identical with that of Communists everywhere.

Bavarian Party
(Bayernpartei — BP)
17 Bundestag Seats

The Bavarian Party (BP) is the political organization of Bavarians who are strong upholders of states' rights and who believe in "Bavaria for the Bavarians". Many of its members, most of whom are Catholic and conservative, sympathize with Bavarian monarchism, whose aim it is to restore the Royal House of Wittelsbach. The platform of the Bavarian Party stems from the ideology of the autonomy-minded wing of the pre-Hitler Bavarian People's Party (Bayerische Volkspartei) and of the "Bavarian Home and Royalist League". Although founded late in 1945, it was only in 1947 that BP actively entered the Bavarian political arena. When local elections were held in Bavaria in the spring of 1948, the Bavarian Party, overcoming the handicap of inadequate organization that prevented it from running candidates in many localities, was the choice of 8.9 percent of the electorate. In the Bundestag elections of August 1949, this jumped to 20.9 percent of the total Bavarian vote. The party being limited to the confines of Bavaria, this corresponds to 4.2 percent of the vote in the German Federal Republic as a whole.

German Party
(Deutsche Partei — DP)
16 Bundestag Seats

With two Cabinet Ministers, the German Party (DP) is the third member of the governmental coalition. Its nucleus is made up of Hanoverian patriots who mourn the disappearance, more than eighty years ago, of the kingdom of Hanover, and would like to see the province of Hanover declared a separate Land. Many of them are Guelphs (Welfen), monarchists who consider the British Royal House the legitimate rulers of Hanover. Before 1933, the Guelphs were organized as a political party under the name of Deutsch-Hannoversche Partei; in 1945 they emerged again as Niedersächsische Landespartei. Because the conservative complexion of this group placed it at the extreme right of the political spectrum as it existed in 1946—1947, reactionaries and chauvinists who did not greatly care about the Guelphs or Hanoverian home rule one way or another began to flock to its banner. The party spread beyond Hanover to Bremen, Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein. In recognition of its changed character, it adopted the name German Party (Deutsche Partei) in 1947. In August 1949, DP polled 18 percent of the vote

in Bremen, 17.8 percent in Lower Saxony, 13.1 percent in Hamburg, and 12.1 percent in Schleswig-Holstein; in the German Federal Republic as a whole, it captured 4 percent of the total vote.

Economic Reconstruction Party
(Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung — WAV)
10 Bundestag Seats

Of all major parties on the German political scene, only the Economic Reconstruction Party (WAV) has no visible roots in the pre-Hitler past. It is the brainchild and personal preserve of colorful Alfred Loritz, who founded it in late 1945. His program is vague, but he exploited the grievances of disgruntled lower middle-class Bavarians so successfully that, with 7.4 percent of the vote, WAV reached third place in the Bavarian Land elections of 1946. Through his alliance with an expellee group, he boosted WAV's share of the Bavarian vote to a stunning 14.4 percent in August 1949; in the German Federal Republic as a whole, this amounts to 2.9 percent.

Center Party
(Zentrum)
10 Bundestag Seats

The Center Party (Zentrum), carrying on the name of the pre-Hitler Catholic Center Party, is actually the successor of the former Center Party's left wing. The strongholds of this left-of-center Catholic group are in the Ruhr and Rhineland, where it favors measures such as the socialization of basic industries that do not meet with CDU's unqualified approval. Only in North-Rhine/Westphalia, where it captured 9.8 percent of the vote in 1947 and 9 percent in August 1949, has the Center Party succeeded in making itself an important political factor. In Lower Saxony it gained 3.3 percent of the vote, in Schleswig-Holstein 0.9 percent. In the German Federal Republic as a whole, 3.1 percent of the electorate cast their ballots for it.

German Reich Party
(Deutsche Reichspartei — DRP)
8 Bundestag Seats

The German Reich Party (DRP) is a confederation of extremist nationalists, formed in January 1950 by the National Democratic Party of Hesse (which, in the August 1949 elections, had concluded an electoral alliance with the Hessian Free Democratic Party) and the German Rightist Party (Deutsche Rechtspartei) of Lower Saxony. The German Rightist Party, renamed National Rightists (Nationale Rechte) in the Bundestag, polled 8.1 percent of the vote in Lower Saxony in August 1949; in the communal elections of April 1948, the National Democratic Party gained 3.4 percent of the vote in Hesse.

South Schleswig Electoral League
(Südschleswigsche Wählervereinigung — SSW)
1 Bundestag Seat

SSW is the political party representing the pro-Danish part of the population in northern Schleswig-Holstein, an area also known as South Schleswig (North Schleswig is part of Denmark). The party, which has a long history as the political arm of the Danish minority, polled 75,000 votes or 5.4 percent of the total in Schleswig-Holstein, corresponding to 0.3 percent of the total in the German Federal Republic as a whole.

BIOGRAPHIES

Parliamentary Leaders and Cabinet Ministers

(in alphabetic order)

**DR. KONRAD ADENAUER (CDU),
Chancellor (Bundeskanzler).**

Born in Cologne on 5 January 1876, the scion of an upper-middle-class family, he studied law and national economics, practiced briefly as a public prosecutor and as an attorney, then entered the municipal civil service of Cologne in 1906. By 1912 he had advanced to Deputy Mayor, by 1917 to Lord Mayor, a position he held until 1933. Before 1918 member of Prussian Upper House (Herrenhaus) by royal appointment. During the period of the democratic Weimar Republic (1919 to 1933), his influence mounted until he presided over the Prussian State Council and was commonly considered one of the three "Uncrowned Kings of Prussia", the man who exercised political control over the entire Rhineland. Because he was a member of the Catholic Center Party's National Executive and a determined fighter for Roman Catholic causes, the Nazis compelled him to retire from politics in 1933. For the next 12 years he lived quietly, was twice briefly arrested by the Gestapo. In May 1945 U. S. Military Government in Cologne made him a special adviser, restoring him to the Lord Mayoralty a month later. About that time Cologne became part of the British Zone. Shortly thereafter, British Military Government dismissed Dr. Adenauer for "non-cooperation and inefficiency", banishing him from Cologne and barring him from participation in all political activity. In December 1945 his political rights were restored. He became successively a charter member of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU)*; a member of the Zonal Advisory Council*; a deputy of the North-Rhine-Westphalian legislature; in 1948 President of the Parliamentary Council* and Chairman of its Council of Elders; in 1949 a Bundestag* representative and member of the Presidium of the CDU/CSU Faction (Fraktionsvorstand). Finally, crowning a career of 43 active years in politics, Dr. Adenauer was elected Federal Chancellor for a four-year term on 15 September 1949 by 202 votes, a one-vote majority; 142 ballots were cast against him, 44 Deputies abstained, 14 were absent.

KARL ARNOLD (CDU), Chairman of the Federal Council*, Minister President of North-Rhine/Westphalia.

Born 1901 at Herrlishöfen in Württemberg. Leather worker. 1924-1933 Düsseldorf secretary of Christian Trade Union, Düsseldorf City Councillor for Center Party*), member of Catholic Action. In 1945 charter member of CDU*). 1946 Lord Mayor of Düsseldorf, 1947 Minister President of North-Rhine/Westphalia (British Zone). In 1948 member of Bizonal Länderrat*) in Frankfurt, in 1949 of Bonn Federal Council (Bundesrat)*. Elected its chairman on 7 September 1949 by all votes, with Bavaria abstaining.

FRANZ BLÜCHER (FDP), Vice-Chancellor and Minister for the Marshall Plan.

Born at Essen 1896. Housing specialist and banker. 1935-1938 departmental head of a Ruhr construction firm, since that time bank director in Düsseldorf and Essen. After the German collapse, member of the Essen City Council; of the Bizonal Economic Council*), where he headed the FDP*) Faction; and of the Zonal Advisory Council*), of which he became chairman. During 1946-47 Minister of Finance in North-Rhine/Westphalia (British Zone). Aided in the preparation of currency reform. Deputy Chairman of British Zone FDP since 1946; of Western German FDP since 1948; Acting Chairman after Professor Theodor Heuss resigned the chairmanship of FDP in order to accept the Presidency in September 1949. Bundestag*) representative. German representative on the International Authority for the Ruhr. In February 1950, first Cabinet Minister to visit the U. S. while in office.

HEINRICH VON BRENTANO (CDU), Floor Leader of CDU Faction in the Bundestag.

Scion of a family of Italian stock (von Brentano di Tremezzo) prominent in German cultural and political life for two centuries. Born in 1904 at Offenbach as son of a former Hessian Minister of the Interior and of Justice, he opened a private practice as an attorney in Darmstadt in 1932. Affiliated with the pre-1933 Catholic Center Party*), he became a 1945 charter member of CDU*) in Hesse (U. S. Zone), Floor Leader of the CDU Faction in the Hesse Parliament, Chairman of the Western German CDU/CSU Constitutional Committee, and a member of the 1948 Parliamentary Council*). He is a co-founder of the German Electoral League (Deutsche Wählergesellschaft*) and President of the Darmstadt Bar Association.

HERMANN CLAUSEN (SSW), sole Bundestag Representative of the South Schleswig Electoral League.

Born near Flensburg in 1885, he was a minor railway official from 1912 until his retirement with the rank of Reichsbahnobersekretär, and a member of the Social Democratic Party*) from 1922 on. He represented SPD*) in the Schleswig City Council until 1933, was appointed Mayor of Schleswig by British Military Government and re-joined SPD in 1945, then switched to the South Schleswig Electoral League (Südschleswigsche Wählervereinigung — SSW)*), the political group representing the pro-Danish part of the local population. Was elected Mayor of Schleswig in 1946, an SSW Deputy to the Schleswig-Holstein legislature in 1947, Deputy Chairman of SSW in 1948. He is also Deputy Chairman of the "Südschleswigsche Vereinigung".

*) see Glossary

DR. THOMAS DEHLER (FDP); Minister of Justice.

Born at Lichtenfels near Bamberg 1897. Attorney, charter member of Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold*) and member of Democratic Party*). Forced labor in 1944. Appointed Landrat of Bamberg County by U.S. Military Government in 1945. Named as Bavarian Attorney-General in 1946. Briefly Denazification Prosecutor-General, then President of Superior Court for Bamberg Circuit (Oberlandesgerichtspräsident). Chairman of Bavarian FDP*), Deputy for FDP in Bavarian legislature and Bonn Parliamentary Council*), Bundestag*) representative.

DR. EDUARD EDERT, Bundestag Representative from Schleswig-Holstein.

Retired teacher, born 1880 at Bad Oldesloe in Schleswig-Holstein. Member of the Schleswig-Holstein Provincial School Board since 1921. On behalf of the German Foreign Office, took charge of cultural propaganda among the German minority in Danish North Schleswig after 1924. Transferred to Magdeburg as school superintendent (Oberschulrat) in 1934, recalled to Schleswig-Holstein (British Zone) as Director of the Kiel State Teachers' College from 1946 to 1948. Member of the Executive Board of the Schleswig-Holstein Home League (Heimatbund) and editor of its monthly organ "Schleswig-Holstein". To present a united front against the pro-Danish part of the local population and prevent a splitting-up of the German vote, the German political parties in Flensburg (a town close to Danish border) elected him to the Bundestag*) as a "non-partisan" unity candidate in August 1949. After making the speech reproduced on p. 91, he joined the CDU/CSU*) Bundestag Faction as "guest member" (Hospitant).

PROFESSOR DR. LUDWIG ERHARD (CDU), Minister of Economics.

Born at Fürth in Bavaria in 1897, he is a disciple of the famous sociologist Franz Oppenheimer and a liberal economist who believes in laissez-faire, for which he has coined the term "social free-enterprise economy" (soziale Marktwirtschaft). During the Nazi regime, he was head of an institute for industrial and market research in Nurnberg. As Minister of Economics in Bavaria (U.S. Zone) from 1945-1947 and Director of the Bizonal Economic Administration in Frankfurt since 1948, he was unaffiliated politically until he joined CDU*) in 1949. Honorary Professor of National Economics at the University of Munich since 1947. Bundestag*) representative.

HANS EWERS (DP), Bundestag Spokesman for Deutsche Partei.

Attorney and notary, born at Lübeck 1887. From 1921 to 1926 floor leader of Deutsche Volkspartei*) in Lübeck city parliament, from 1929-1933 member of Lübeck city government. Private practice as lawyer during Nazi regime. Member of Lübeck city parliament since 1945, of Deutsche Partei*) since 1947. Former DP*) Deputy Chairman in Schleswig-Holstein (British Zone). Bundestag*) representative.

DR. GUSTAV WALTER HEINEMANN (CDU), Minister of the Interior.

Born 1899 at Schwelm in the Ruhr. Took degrees in both political science and law, practiced law in Essen. Since 1928 Managing Director of major steel plant in Essen. Prominent layman in Protestant Confessional Church during Nazi regime. Member of a right-of-center Protestant political splinter group, the Christian People's Service (Christlicher Volksdienst) prior to 1933, of CDU*) after 1945. Elected Lord Mayor of Essen (British Zone) 1946-1949. In 1947-1948, Minister of Justice in North-Rhine/Westphalia. Now member of the Council of the German Protestant Churches and President of its General Synod.

HEINRICH PETER HELLWEGE (DP), Minister for Liaison with the Bundesrat.

Born 1908 at Neuenkirchen near Hamburg. Employee of import-export firms in Hamburg, after 1933 in father's grocery business at Neuenkirchen. Since boyhood militant member of Deutsch-Hannoversche Partei*), the Guelph monarchist movement to restore the Hanover Royal House. Corporal in army during war. After 1945 charter member and chairman of Niedersächsische Landespartei*) and its successor, Deutsche Partei*), in which he is the moving spirit of the Hanoverian-monarchist wing. Deputy in Hanover and Lower Saxony (British Zone) legislatures, Landrat of Stade, member of Zonal Advisory Council*), licensee and publisher of "Niederdeutsche Zeitung" in Hamburg. Active in Protestant church affairs. Bundestag*) representative and floor leader of Deutsche Partei Faction.

PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR HEUSS, Federal President.

Born at Brackenheim near Heilbronn in Swabian Württemberg on 31 January 1884 as scion of a Lutheran clan of Neckar river boatmen imbued with democratic tradition. While studying art and political science, he refrained from joining one of the hidebound, usually militaristic fraternities (Korps), instead threw himself headlong into agitation for the liberal (freisinnig) movement led by Friedrich Naumann, his political mentor. In 1908 he married Elly Knapp, daughter of a famed national economist; the officiating clergyman was Albert Schweitzer, world-renowned missionary, physician, philosopher and musicologist. Heuss edited "Die Hilfe"; the Heilbronn "Neckar-Zeitung"; the leading literary and political journal of the period, "März"; from 1918 on, the weekly "Deutsche Politik" in Berlin. From 1920 until the advent of Nazism, he lectured at Berlin's non-partisan Academy for Politics (Hochschule für Politik), and represented the Democratic Party*) in the Berlin City Council and Reichstag*). In 1933 he was dismissed, two of his books burned. Under a pseudonym he wrote colorful and erudite cultural essays for "Frankfurter Zeitung" until the Nazis put a halt to it. Author of many outstanding biographies. After the German collapse, U.S. Military Government frequently sought his advice, made him a licensee of Heidelberg's "Rhein-Neckar Zeitung" (he retained the license until his election to the Presidency), and in the fall of 1945, appointed him Minister of Education in Württemberg-Baden. In December 1946 he resigned. As charter member, then Land Chair-

*) see Glossary

man of DVP, the Württemberg-Baden branch of FDP*), he headed the German delegation to the 1947 Oxford Congress of the "Liberal World Union". The following year he was elected chairman of Free Democratic Party (FDP) for the Western Zones. He was a member of the Württemberg-Baden legislature and of the Bonn Parliamentary Council*), where his tireless and successful efforts to reconcile deep-seated differences earned him the designation "Father of the Constitution". Elected Germany's President by the Federal Convention on 12 September 1949 for a five-year term.

JAKOB KAISER (CDU), Minister for the Reunion of Germany.

Born at Hammelburg near Würzburg in 1888, he worked as journeyman bookbinder, was named a Christian Trade Union secretary in 1918. Business manager of Christian Trade Unions in Western Germany 1924-1933, Center Party*) Reichstag*) Deputy in 1933. Because of anti-Nazi activity, he had to go underground in 1944. Charter member and Chairman of CDU*) for Soviet Zone and Berlin since 1945, he was deposited by the Soviet Military Administration in 1947 and fled to West Berlin, where he became a member of the City Council, Berlin representative in the Bonn Parliamentary Council and publisher of "Der Tag", British-licensed Berlin daily. Bundestag*) representative and member of Presidium of CDU/CSU Bundestag Faction (Fraktionsvorstand).

Dr. ERICH KÖHLER (CDU), Speaker (Präsident) of the Bundestag.

Born in Erfurt (Thuringia) in 1892. After taking his degree in political science, manager of the Kiel Employers' Association and member of Central Executive Committee of German People's Party (Deutsche Volkspartei*) until 1933. Insurance agent during Nazi regime. In 1945 President of the Wiesbaden (U.S. Zone) Chamber of Commerce, in 1946 Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Hesse State Bank. Charter member of the Hesse CDU*), its Deputy Chairman, member of the Hesse Constituent Assembly and Land Parliament, member of the CDU/CSU Interzonal Working Committee, and delegate to the Bizonal Economic Council*), of which he was elected Chairman in June 1947.

ALFRED LORITZ, Chairman of Economic Reconstruction Party (WAV) and Floor Leader of its Bundestag Faction.

Son of a high Bavarian official, he was born in Munich in 1902, studied law and was admitted to the Munich bar in 1929. In 1931 he was appointed district leader of the German Economic Party (Deutsche Wirtschaftspartei*), but expelled the following year. He allegedly worked for the intelligence service of a Western power in the 'thirties. In 1938 he launched an anti-Nazi underground movement in Munich, escaped to Switzerland the following year with the Gestapo on his trail. Makes the uncorroborated claim to have organized the abortive November 1939 Bürgerbräu beer-hall bomb plot on Hitler's life and to have been sentenced to death *in absentia* by a People's Court (Volksgerichtshof*). In 1945 he returned to Munich from Switzerland and founded the Eco-

nomie Reconstruction Party (Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung — WAV)*). Deputy of Bavarian legislature. In January 1947 he was appointed Bavarian Minister of Political Liberation, in charge of denazification. Dismissed in July of that year, arrested on black-market charges, escaped from detention and went into hiding for 13 months. Charges and counter-charges, uproar and recriminations have formed the backdrop of his career since he was a young man. He has been engaged in a ceaseless violent intra-party struggle. All 12 Deputies elected with him to the Bavarian legislature on the WAV ticket have resigned from WAV.

DR. HANS LUKASCHEK (CDU), Minister for Refugees.

Born 1885 in Breslau, took law degree and entered the Senior Civil Service career. Member of Center Party*), devout Catholic. Mayor and Landrat of Rybnik (Upper Silesia) 1916-1922, in charge of plebiscite in Upper Silesia 1921/22, German member of League of Nations Mixed Commission for Upper Silesia 1922-1926. In 1927 Lord Mayor of Hindenburg (Upper Silesia), 1929 Provincial Governor of Upper Silesia. Forced into retirement under Nazism, he engaged in private practice as attorney in Breslau. Arrested after anti-Hitler putsch of 20 July 1944. In 1945 charter member of CDU*). During 1945/46 Director of Food and Agriculture Department in the Thuringian Government, dismissed by Soviets; 1946/47 attorney in Berlin; 1947 Judge in Hesse (U.S. Zone); 1948 Vice-President of the High Court in Cologne (British Zone). Since 1948 engaged in planning "Immediate Aid" measures (Soforthilfe) for expellees.

DR. HANS MÜHLENFELD, Acting Faction Leader of Deutsche Partei.

Attorney, born at Hanover 1901. Member of the militarist and nationalist "Steel Helmet" veterans' organization before 1933. After 1945 charter member and first secretary-general of Deutsche Partei*). In 1947 County Supervisor (Oberkreisdirektor) of Bremervörde (British Zone). Member of legislature of Lower Saxony; deputy of Bizonal Economic Council*); Bundestag*) representative.

DR. WILHELM NIKLAS (CDU), Minister of Food and Agriculture.

Born 1887 at Traunstein (Bavaria). Studied agriculture and veterinary medicine, embarked upon a civil service career concerned with problems in the field of agriculture. From 1925 to 1935 Chief of Department for Livestock Breeding and Animal Products in the Bavarian Ministry of Agriculture. Dismissed by the Nazis, he turned to managing large estates. He joined CSU*) and was reappointed to the Ministry of Agriculture in Bavaria (U.S. Zone) with the title of Staatsrat (State Counsellor) in 1945. Professor at the Veterinary Faculty of Munich University since 1947. Owns a farm near Schliersee in Bavaria. Deputy Director of the Bizonal Food and Agriculture Administration since 1948.

DR. ROBERT PFERDMENGES (CDU), Banker.

Born 1880. Reputedly one of Germany's wealthiest men, he acquired the Oppenheim Bank in Cologne in 1933. Chairman of the Board of many companies. Became financial adviser to Chancellor

*) see Glossary

Brüning in 1931. Dismissed as chairman of Cologne Chamber of Commerce by British Military Government in 1946. CDU*) Deputy in Bizonal Economic Council. Bundestag*) representative since 30 November 1949, where he serves out term of a deceased member. Considered a close friend and adviser of Federal Chancellor Adenauer.

MAX REIMANN (KPD), KPD Chairman and Floor Leader of Bundestag KPD Faction.

Born at Elbing (East Prussia) in 1898. Starting as a miner in the Ruhr, he became a charter member of KPD*) in 1920 and later a Communist functionary in the Essen and Hamm areas. Emigrated to Prague early in the Nazi regime, was arrested by the Gestapo 1939, kept in prisons and concentration camps until 1945. Communist district leader in the Ruhr (British Zone) since 1945, he has been Chairman of KPD for the British Zone since 1947, for Western Germany since 1948. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment by a British Military Tribunal in February 1949 for making a subversive speech. Deputy to Bizonal Economic Council*) and to Parliamentary Council*).

HEINZ RENNER (KPD), Communist Leader.

Born at Lückenburg on the Mosel river in 1892, he started out as a dental technician, but has been a Communist journalist for many years. He led the Communists in the Essen City Council, fled to the Saar in 1933 and to France in 1935, was extradited to Germany by the Vichy French in 1943. Released 1945, charter member of KPD*), Lord Mayor of Essen (British Zone), Minister for Social Affairs, then Minister of Transport in North-Rhine/Westphalia in 1946-1948. KPD Faction Leader in North-Rhine/Westphalian legislature, member of Presidium of Bundestag*) KPD Faction.

DR. FRANZ RICHTER, Chairman and Floor Leader of Deutsche Reichspartei Faction in Bundestag.

Born in Turkey in 1911, he studied philology at the German University in Prague, became a high-school teacher (Studienrat) in the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia. After serving in the German Army as an officer from 1940-1945, he was expelled from Czechoslovakia and resumed teaching at Luthe near Hanover (British Zone). Was co-founder and principal speaker for a local nationalist splinter group, the "German League" (Deutscher Bund). His insistence upon inculcating his students with ideas generally considered as savoring of neo-Nazism led to his dismissal in 1949, whereupon he was nominated and elected to the Bundestag by the "German Rightist Party" (Deutsche Rechtspartei, DRP)*). In the Bundestag, it changed its name to "National Rightists" (Nationale Rechte) of which Dr. Richter became faction leader. At Kassel in January 1950, the bulk of the National Democratic Party*) of Hesse and the German Rightist Party of Lower Saxony combined to form the German Reich Party (Deutsche Reichspartei)*), which he heads. In February 1950, his "National Rightists" adopted the new name.

FRIEDRICH RISCHE (KPD), Communist Journalist.

Born in Bochum 1914. Repeatedly imprisoned during Nazi regime. After 1945 Communist journalist in Ruhr (British Zone). Chairman of KPD*) Faction in Bizonal Economic Council*), member of National Executive of KPD, Bundestag*) representative.

DR. HERMANN SCHÄFER (FDP), Second Deputy Speaker of the Bundestag.

Born at Remscheid (North-Rhine/Westphalia) in 1892, he studied economics and political science, was Manager of the Association of Executive Employees (Vereinigung der leitenden Angestellten — VELA) in Cologne 1920-1934 and editor of its magazine. Official of a voluntary health-insurance firm in Hamburg since 1935 (save for a three-year interruption as an executive of Goering's Four-Year-Plan), its manager since 1946. Chairman of the Association of Employees' Health Insurance Companies. Publisher of the periodical "Die Freie Stadt" (The Free City). Member of Democratic Party*) since 1920, of its National Executive since 1925, of "Reichsbanner Schwarz-Rot-Gold"*) of the Austro-German People's League (Österreichisch-Deutscher Volksbund), and of the Cologne City Council. Deputy chairman of Hamburg FDP*) since 1946, of British Zone FDP since 1947, of FDP National Executive since 1948. Member of Zonal Advisory Council*), Vice-President of Parliamentary Council*), floor leader of FDP Faction in Bundestag*).

DR. FRITZ SCHÄFFER (CSU), Minister of Finance.

Civil servant and lawyer, born in Munich 1885. Chairman of the Bavarian People's Party*) 1929 to 1933. With title of State Counsellor (Staatsrat), Acting Chief, Bavarian Ministry of Finance, 1931 to 1933. Practiced law during the Nazi regime. U. S. Military Government appointed him Minister President of Bavaria in May 1945, dismissed him in September and enjoined him from all political activity. Restrictions lifted in 1948. Prominent figure of the particularist right wing of CSU, with following concentrated in "Old Bavaria". Bundestag*) representative and member of Presidium of CDU/CSU Parliamentary Faction (Fraktionsvorstand).

PROFESSOR DR. CARLO SCHMID (SPD), Deputy Speaker of Bundestag; Württemberg-Hohenzollern Minister of Justice.

Jurist, born in Perpignan (Southern France) in 1896 as son of a French mother and German scientist father. Judge 1927-1939; lecturer on international law, University of Tübingen 1929 to 1939. In German military administration in France during the war. Professor of international law at Tübingen University from 1945 to date. At various times since 1945, held high office in Land Württemberg-Hohenzollern (French Zone): Minister President; Minister of Education and Religion; State Secretary of Justice. Now Minister of Justice and Deputy State President of Württemberg-Hohenzollern. Chairman of South Württemberg SPD*) and member of SPD National Executive since 1945. Chairman of SPD Faction in Parliamentary Council.*) Member of Presidium of SPD Bundestag*) Faction. Considered one of the wittiest, most erudite and dominant personalities in German political life.

*) see Glossary

HANS SCHUBERTH (CSU), Minister for Posts and Telecommunications.

Born 1897 at Schwabach near Nürnberg. Lost a leg as World War I volunteer. After graduating from an Institute of Technology with a diploma in electrical engineering, he entered the service of the German postal system (Reichspost) in 1926 and lectured on electrotechnics at the Karlsruhe Polytechnic. From 1945-1947 Vice-President, then President, of the Regensburg, then Munich (Bavaria, U. S. Zone) Postal Administrations (Oberpostdirektion). State Secretary for Posts and Telecommunications in the Bavarian Ministry of Transport in 1947, elected Bizonal Director of Posts and Telecommunications in 1947. Member of CSU*), but considered a technical expert, not a politician.

DR. KURT SCHUMACHER (SPD), SPD Chairman and Floor Leader of SPD Bundestag Faction.

Born 1895 as son of a civil servant at Kulm in West Prussia (part of Poland since 1919). Took degree in political science. Fought as officer in World War I, in which he lost his right arm. Political editor of a Württemberg SPD*) paper from 1920 on. SPD Deputy in the Württemberg legislature 1924-1931, in the Reichstag*) 1930 to 1933; one of the leaders of the young Social Democratic generation at that time. The National Socialist regime imprisoned him in concentration camps for more than ten years. He was assigned Hanover (British Zone) as compulsory residence in 1943, returned there from a concentration camp in 1945 to reorganize SPD, was elected its chairman May 1946. Member of Zonal Advisory Council*). Left leg amputated in 1948, but continues his strong-willed, rarely-challenged leadership of SPD. Considered the leader of the Opposition in parliament and out.

DR. HANS-CHRISTOPH SEEBOHM (DP), Minister of Transport.

Born 1903 at Emanuelssegen (Upper Silesia). Mining engineer and mine manager since 1931, director of corporations and manufacturers' associations (machinery, metals, oil). Since 1947 Chairman of Brunswick (British Zone) Chamber of Commerce. Member of Executive of Deutsche Partei*) since 1946, Minister for Labor and Reconstruction in Lower Saxony 1946-1948. Deputy of Lower Saxony legislature, of Bonn Parliamentary Council*) (where he voted against the Basic Law) and of Bundestag*). Member of Presidium of DP*) Bundestag Faction.

DR. GEBHARD SEELOS (BP), Floor Leader of Bayernpartei Faction in Bundestag.

Born in Munich 1901, he entered the diplomatic service after obtaining his law degree in 1925. Secretary of Legation in the German Embassy in Madrid, later in Warsaw, then Vice-Consul in Sydney (Australia), Consul in Lwow (Poland) finally Counsellor of Legation in Copenhagen. Army interpreter 1943-1945. Joined CSU*) after the war and was made a Bavarian State Counsellor (Staatsrat). Appointed Bavarian plenipotentiary in the Executive Committee of the Bizonal Economic Council*) and later in the

Frankfurt Bizonal Länderrat*), he was stripped of these functions after he joined the Bavarian Party (Bayernpartei*) in 1949 and attacked the Bavarian government.

ANTON STORCH (CDU), Minister of Labor.

Born 1892 at Fulda, Hesse. Journeyman carpenter. Functionary of Woodworkers' Christian Trade Union 1920-1933, trade union chairman of Lower Saxony 1931-1933. Insurance agent till 1939, member of air raid police until 1945. Helped rebuild the trade unions in Hanover (British Zone) 1945/46. From 1946 to 1948 chief of Department for Social Policy of German Trade Union League. Member of Bizonal Economic Council since 1947, Bizonal Director of Labor since 1948. CDU*) Bundestag*) representative.

DR. FRANZ STRAUSS (CSU), Secretary-General of CSU.

Lawyer, born in Munich 1915. Army service after bar examination. 1945-1949 County Supervisor (Landrat) of Schongau in Bavaria (U. S. Zone). Charter member of CSU*) and its secretary-general since 1949. Deputy of Bizonal Economic Council*) and Bundestag*) representative.

VON BRENTANO (see BRENTANO, HEINRICH VON, page 15).

HELENE WESSEL (Zentrum), Chairman and Floor Leader of Bundestag Center Party Faction.

Born in Dortmund in 1898, this long-time social worker in the German coal-mining area is the first and only woman chairman of a German political party. Author of two books on social work, she has been active in politics for both the old and the new Center Party*) since, as a girl of seventeen, she was hired as typist for a local party chapter. Before 1933 she was a member of the Prussian legislature, after 1945 a charter member of the reconstituted Center Party, which she represented in the legislature of North-Rhine-Westphalia (British Zone), in the Zonal Advisory Council*), in the Parliamentary Council*) and in the Bundestag*). When Center Party Chairman Dr. Stricker died in 1949, she was named Acting Chairman. In October, she was elected Party Chairman with 95 per cent of the convention delegates' votes. Together with Berlin's mayor Louise Schröder, she is Germany's outstanding woman in public life.

EBERHARD WILDERMUTH (FDP), Minister for Housing.

Born 1890 in Stuttgart. Student of law and political science. Member first of Württemberg, then of Reich civil service. Executive in official and semi-official organizations dealing with industrial development, public housing and public works. Lieutenant-colonel and holder of the Knight's Cross in World War II. Minister for Economics in South Württemberg-Hohenzollern (French Zone) since 1947 as member of DVP, the Württemberg branch of FDP*). Sole Federal Cabinet Minister from French Zone. Bundestag*) representative.

*) see Glossary

Policy Statement of the German Federal Government
as delivered in the Bundestag on 20 September 1949 by

Federal Chancellor Dr. Konrad Adenauer of the Christian Democratic Union
(Christlich-Demokratische Union — CDU)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

After the lengthy negotiations of the Parliamentary Council and after the Bundestag elections on 14 August, no time has been lost in completing the establishment of the new Germany.

FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

On 7 September the Bundestag and the Bundesrat constituted themselves, on 12 September the Bundestag elected the Federal President and, on 15 September, the Federal Chancellor. Thereupon the Federal President appointed me as Federal Chancellor on the same day. Today, on 20 September, he has appointed the Federal Ministers as proposed by me. Thus the formation of the Federal Government has taken place today, and the Occupation Statute has therefore also come into force. Even though the competence of the Bundestag and the Federal Government is restricted by the Occupation Statute, this development, this creation of the nucleus of a German State, should nevertheless fill us with joy.

PROGRESS SINCE 1945

The progress in relation to the conditions which have existed around us since 1945, and also as contrasted with conditions under the National Socialist Reich, is great. We must, it is true, always remember that Germany and the German people are not yet free, that the latter still does not stand on an equal footing with other peoples, and that it is split into two parts, which is particularly painful. But at least, we do enjoy relative freedom as a state; our economy is on the upgrade and above all we have once more the protection of the rights of the individual. No one among us may be robbed of his freedom and life by a Secret State Police or by some similar organization, as was the case in the National Socialist Reich and to our regret is still the case in large parts of Germany, i.e. in the Soviet Zone. These assets, protection of the individual's rights and protection of his personal freedom, which we have not possessed for so many years, are so precious that, regardless of all we still lack, we must be glad that we enjoy once again these rights of the individual.

REJECTION OF PLANNED ECONOMY

My election to the Federal Chancellorship and the formation of the Government are a logical consequence of the political conditions which had arisen in the bizonal area as a result of the policy of the Frankfurt Economic Council. The policy of the Frankfurt Economic Council, the problem of a "social free-enterprise economy" (soziale Marktwirtschaft) as opposed to a "planned economy", has so largely dominated our whole situation that a renunciation of the program upheld by the majority of the Frankfurt Economic Council was impossible. The question of planned economy versus free-enterprise economy dominated the election campaign. The German people has declared

itself opposed to planned economy by a great majority. A coalition between the parties who rejected planned economy and those who supported it would have been directly contrary to the wishes of the majority of the electorate. Had a coalition between these parties nevertheless come about, the voters would have been justified in asking why the elections had been necessary at all. The democratic idea, the conviction that parliamentary democracy is a necessity, would have suffered in the broadest circles of the electorate, notably among the voters of the younger generation, had a Government been formed which would not have corresponded to the spirit and the results of this election. It is therefore irrelevant and undemocratic to lambaste with words of reproach those parties which have joined together here in this House to form a Government and to work together. In the same way, it is irrelevant to condemn the Social Democratic Party for not being ready to enter a so-called "Great Coalition". One cannot expect either side to disavow just about everything which had heretofore been presented to the people as being right, after both sides had fought for their principles, in Frankfurt for almost two years, after the electorate had been called upon to decide and after it had given its judgment at the ballot box.

OPPOSITION NEEDED IN PARLIAMENT

On the basis of general political considerations, I therefore welcome this development. I am not of the opinion that it would have better served the interest of the population as a whole, and the interests of Germany if one had set about to establish some coalition between the CDU/CSU and the Social Democratic Party. I am of the opinion that the State needs an Opposition, that the latter has a political function in the State, and that only by the juxtaposition of a Government majority and an Opposition can true progress and an acclimatization to democratic thought be achieved. I am further of the opinion that, under the unstable conditions obtaining in Germany, it is a much better thing that any opposition which may exist should show its true colors in Parliament than that it should run wild outside of Parliament in an uncontrollable manner because, gagged by the discipline of a broad coalition, it cannot express itself to any extent within Parliament.

APPOINTMENT OF 13 MINISTERS

I have proposed to the Federal President the appointment of 13 Federal Ministers. I am aware that this figure will at first sight seem too high to many people. I must emphasize that in our time, new tasks have arisen that demand the attention of the State — here I refer to the question of refugees — or that have assumed proportions exceeding the capacity of one of the classical Ministries. Here I refer to the problem of housing and of housing construction. Thus, several of the Federal Ministries will have a limited existence.

Once they have fulfilled their tasks, or once their tasks have been reduced to normal proportions, they will disappear again, leaving in existence the so-called classical Ministries such as Interior, Finance, Justice, Labor, etc . . . If one regards the number of Federal Ministries with due consideration for this point of view, one will not be justified in maintaining that the number is too large. The main point is that the ministerial apparatus as a whole be kept as small as possible, and that the Ministries be kept free of all administrative tasks which are not a part of ministerial responsibility, so that the necessary supervision and the working effectiveness of the Ministries are guaranteed, administrative costs are saved, and the Federal Ministers have time to fulfil their most important task, the coordination of varied interests, along certain broadly maintained political lines.

MINISTRY FOR LIAISON WITH BUNDES RAT

Among the Federal Ministries, one is charged with the particular task of maintaining close contact with the Bundesrat. I beg you to accept the setting-up of this Ministry as token of the earnest desire to make the Federal character of the Basic Law secure, to guarantee the rights of the Länder, and thus to bring the work of the Bundesrat into harmony with the activity of the Bundestag and the Federal Government, so that harmonious cooperation will be vouchsafed.

CONSULTATION ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Among the Federal Ministries, a Foreign Ministry is lacking. I have not acceded to the wishes, which have been brought to my attention, for setting up a Ministry for International Relations. I have not done so because, under the Occupation Statute, foreign affairs, including international agreements reached by or in the name of Germany, are a matter for the Allied High Commission. But that we have no such Foreign Ministry does not by any means imply that we renounce all activity in this sphere. The paradox is that, although Germany's foreign affairs are in the hands of the Allied High Commission, all activity of the Federal Government or of the Federal Parliament, even in Germany's internal affairs, involves by its very nature some sort of foreign relations. Germany is intertwined with foreign countries more than ever before, as a result of the Occupation, the Ruhr Statute, the Marshall Plan, etc. These matters will be incorporated in a State Secretariat to be set up in the Federal Chancellery. Apart from this, I believe that the High Commissioners, as a result of the great responsibility which they bear, will take no important decision in foreign affairs without previously consulting the Federal Government. My experience during the few days in which I have been in office completely justifies this assumption on my part.

VAST LEGISLATIVE TASKS

Extraordinarily extensive legislative tasks await the Federal Government and the Bundestag. Insofar as the competence of the Federation is concerned, the legislation promulgated in the eleven Länder must be examined to establish whether the same law applies in all of them. Further, laws and ordinances which have so far only applied in the Bizonal Area must be extended to what has hitherto been the French Zone; laws and ordinances promulgated by the various Military Governments in spheres which now come within the competence of the Federation must be examined and, where necessary, adapted to the present constitutional situation arising from the Basic Law

and the Occupation Statute, with the agreement of the High Commission. Thus, laws presaged in the Basic Law will have to be promulgated, and legislation which the Economic Council did not dispose of in its entirety will have to be completed. This work, which incidentally is all the more extensive because laws have in the past not always been issued with particular attention to exact wording, as a result of the urgency of the matters concerned, must not be rushed too much, so that we may in the end achieve what we lost both in National Socialist times and later: clarity, security, and unity of law.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

Furthermore, a great number of other tasks remain to be undertaken by the Federation. At the beginning of my discussion of them, I should like to affirm with every emphasis the coalition partners' full agreement that they will be guided in all their work by the endeavor to act as social-mindedly as possible in the most genuine and best sense of the term. The supreme guiding star in all our work will be the effort to relieve misery and to achieve social justice.

(Strong applause in the Center and on the Right —

Representative Renner, KPD: "Frankfurt set the example!")

DISTRIBUTION OF REFUGEES AND HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

From the multitude of tasks awaiting the Federation, let me mention a few of the more urgent. Refugees will have to be distributed among the different Länder more equitably than hitherto. This will be both in the interests of those Länder which are at present overcrowded and, above all, also in the interests of the refugees themselves. Housing conditions, which render impossible the social and ethical as well as political recovery of the German people and make the lives of the refugees and the bombed-out so infinitely difficult, will be improved by every means within our power. We shall encourage, by every method, housing construction,

(Strong applause in the Center and on the Right)

not by way of government construction, but by making funds available and ensuring that all possibilities in the sphere of housing are exhausted by the Länder. We shall, moreover, take steps to interest private capital in housing construction by appropriate, careful, and not over-hasty regulations to relax control of compulsory housing allocation and government rent control. If we do not succeed in interesting private capital once again in housing, no solution of the housing problem is possible.

(Loud assent in the Center and on the Right)

The importance which we attach to these questions above all others is illustrated by our creation of a special Federal Ministry for them. Its close coordination with the Ministry of Economics is assured. By means of this energetic encouragement of building activity, we shall also achieve a general revival of activity in the labor market.

ECONOMIC POLICY

In the field of economic policy, we shall continue to follow the trend initiated so effectively in Frankfurt.

(Hilarity on the Left —

Representative Renner, KPD: "More than three million unemployed!")

In the name of the Federal Government, I hereby take the liberty of thanking the top executives of the Bizonal Economic Administration, as well as all officials and employees, and above all the Directors of the various Offices, for the efficient work they have performed.

(Cheers from the Center and Right —

Representative Renner, KPD: "What about Pünder?")

My special thanks are due to the top executives for whom no opening could be found in the organization of the Federal Government at this time!

(Exclamations from the Left: "Is that so? What a pity!")

In implementing the principles of a free-enterprise economy,

(Hilarity on the Left)

we shall of course, as always, have to guard against falling victim to doctrinaire rigidity. As heretofore, we will have to adapt ourselves to changing circumstances in each case. We shall do away with compulsory economic control wherever we can possibly justify our doing so.

(Cheers and applause in the Center and on the Right — Interruption from KPD: "New price boosts in the offing!")

We hold out the prospect that fuel rationing will be abolished by January 1950,

Representative Rische, KPD: "When there will be no market left for coal!"

and the allocations of fuel for households increased in the last quarter of 1949, i.e. the beginning of winter.

In the field of economics we shall, by means of competition and the constantly increasing integration of Germany's economy into a world economy

(Interjection from KPD, "Marshall Plan!")

systematically remove the structural faults which have arisen in the German economy through fifteen years of straitjacket and war economy.

("Hear, hear!", from the Center and Rightist benches)

Our every endeavor will be to employ as few hands and heads as possible in the distribution and exploitation of economic production and as many hands and heads as possible in the sphere of production.

(Applause from the Right — Heckling by KPD: "Is that the reason why there are so many Ministers?")

We shall have to compensate for the lack of technical training, caused by the National Socialist era and the war, by providing opportunities for improving this training. The German economy achieved strength and greatness in the past to a great extent by virtue of its skilled workers and applied science. The sums of money which are at present being expended in America and England for scientific purposes for the benefit of economic production and competitive ability are enormous.

Representative Renner, KPD: "For atom bombs, among other things!"

The Federal Government will, in so far as its financial resources permit, work for the encouragement of scientific research. It will stimulate German industry to do likewise. We shall only be able to hold our ground in world markets if we succeed in distinguishing ourselves by our achievements. For a politically weak people always runs the

danger of being outstripped in economic competition unless it has outstanding achievements to its credit. Our particular attention will be devoted to the nurture and freedom of foreign trade.

DEVALUATION OF THE MARK

Allow me in this connection to utter a few remarks about the devaluation of the British pound and the consequences which arise for us therefrom. The change in the value of the pound will probably also cause an alteration in the exchange rate of the West German Mark in its relationship to the Dollar. We regret this measure, which has been forced on us by international events, all the more because the internal stability of the Mark could induce no such manipulation. The economic and financial policy of the last fifteen months has consolidated our currency increasingly from day to day, in the estimation of other countries also, so that the adaptation now becoming necessary is simply a consequence of the English measure, just as it is in other European countries. Without an equivalent measure on our part, the German export trade would lose its ability to compete in world markets, and the foundation of our economic and social life would be jerked out from under us. Together with the authorities responsible for German fiscal affairs, the Government is determined to achieve a just and organic coordination of economic necessities and social consequences while taking the necessary measures. The assumptions that have gained currency about the possible consequences of impending financial measures go far beyond what is factually justified. There is no reason to be alarmed since the anticipated changes in the sphere of wages and prices will, as a whole, lead to relatively insignificant fluctuations only.

("Hear, hear!" from the Communist benches —

Representative Renner, KPD: "So it's 'insignificant!'")

It will be the Government's particular duty in this connection to forestall social injustice and tension or speculative influences.

THE DISMANTLING PROGRAM

The problem of dismantling, as it affects our industrial installations, is of concern to the whole of the German people. There probably is hardly anyone in Germany who opposes the dismantling of genuine war industries, but the destruction of large economic assets is not a matter which should be shrugged off abroad as a matter that has been decided once and for all.

("Hear, hear!" in the Center)

The latest amendments to the list of plants slated for dismantling was admittedly, from a superficial point of view, a great concession to German wishes, but, when account is taken of production capacity and value, German wishes were only fulfilled to the extent of about ten percent.

("Hear, hear!" on the Right)

The question of dismantling is also a matter of great psychological significance. Large sections of the German people do not understand how economic help can be given with one hand while economic assets are destroyed with the other. There is a belief among the German people that it is difficult to reconcile with this state of affairs the frequent declarations of foreign statesmen that Germany is essential to European reconstruction. The leading statesmen of the USA, England and France are at present gathered together in Washington. The whole German people would be happy

if this meeting could be used to submit the German dismantling problem to reconsideration in the light of a benevolent study of German wishes. I believe one may cherish the hope that this will happen in Washington.

(Cheers in the Center and on the Right)

CONCERN FOR MIDDLE CLASS

The Federal Government will concern itself particularly with consolidating and helping the middle class in all its sections.

(Cheers from the center benches)

I am entirely convinced that the nation in which the optimum number of members of the lower and middle classes are their own bosses will lead the most secure, the most peaceful and the best life.

("Quite right!" in the Center and on the Right)

INCREASE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

In the future the functions of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture will assume a character different from the one they have so far borne. Agricultural production must be improved and perfected to an extent greater than has been possible hitherto. We are still importing 50 percent of the foodstuffs we require. If the German economy is to achieve a balance between exports and imports by the year 1952, it will be necessary to boost agricultural production very considerably in order to limit as much as possible the use of foreign exchange for food. The prerequisite for a speedy and continuing rise in agricultural production is a further reduction of State control of economic life. Equally necessary is the creation of assured and stable conditions of production and sale for agricultural products at prices which cover production costs of efficient average-size farms and at the same time allow the purchase of these products by lower income groups. A reorganization of agriculture will be necessary for the purpose of saving foreign exchange. If we are to attain this goal, we must have more enlightenment and instruction of the farming population.

Forestry, which produces one of the most important sources of raw material for the German economy must be put back on a normal economic basis as quickly as possible. The reforestation of cleared areas and the encouragement of timber growing by peasants must be seen to as speedily as possible.

ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

Financial policy must form a part of general State policy, especially of economic policy. To assist in the accumulation of savings as well as industrial capital will be our most urgent objective. Only if we do everything in our power to increase the accumulation of capital within Germany can we expect, through the release of counterpart funds and in other ways, to obtain foreign capital for the reconstruction of our economy. The reconstruction of our economy is the principal, indeed the only basis for any social policy and for integration of the expellees. Only a flourishing economy can in the long run sustain the charges imposed by the equalization of financial burdens. Only a flourishing economy can in the long run increase state revenues to the extent required by the budgets of the Federation, Länder and communities if these are to fulfil their tasks. Bear in mind that all these budgets must be considered from an overall point of view.

TWO PREREQUISITES FOR INCREASE IN CAPITAL

An increased accumulation of capital depends on the fulfilment of two prerequisites: a lowering of tax rates, and regaining the confidence of the man who saves his money.

We are convinced that a reduction of the income tax will not decrease the overall yield. The present excessive rate of taxation leads to uneconomic behavior in economic life. By preventing the rationalization of industrial concerns, it is a deterrent price for reductions in finished goods. A lowering of the income tax rates is absolutely essential, not only on the grounds of tax policy, but also on those of economic policy; and they must be reduced at least to the levels agreed upon in June 1948 almost unanimously by the Economic Council and unanimously by the Länderrat. We are certain that, after a few months of transition the tax yield will reach its former level, or an even higher one. These measures should be put into force by 1 January 1950. Then, in the course of 1950, a comprehensive tax reform must be initiated.

If this reduction of taxation is to create the possibility for a greater accumulation of capital, then an incentive must be provided to stimulate actual accumulation of capital reserves rather than a mere increase in non-essential consumption. It is necessary to restore confidence in national legislation among steady investors. This seems to me an obligation of primary importance in state policy. The currency reform proclaimed by the Allies involved avoidable social hardship, especially in its effect on steady investors of all kinds. Speedy investigation and action is indicated to determine to what extent this failing can be remedied.

FOREIGN ASSETS IN GERMANY

In order to regain the confidence of foreign capital as well, the blocking of foreign assets in Germany should be lifted at an early date. We are prepared to do everything in our power to find a mutually acceptable agreement with those foreign creditors who have borne such heavy losses for so long a time.

REDUCTION OF OCCUPATION COSTS

We hope that the promised reduction of Occupation costs will be considerable. This reduction would be thankfully welcomed by the entire German population. It will form the basis for an active promotion of housing construction and the integration of the expellees. It will ensure the political, social and economic consolidation of Germany.

EQUALIZATION OF FINANCIAL BURDENS

We shall strive to complete the definitive equalization of financial burdens (Lastenausgleich) as soon as possible, in order to remove the insecurity which has weighed heavily for so long both upon those who suffered indemnifiable losses and upon business, which will have to provide the funds for indemnification. The legislative settlement must be in consonance with the general spirit of tax and fiscal reform. The little people and those who suffered minor losses should be handled with kid gloves in the process.

PENSIONS FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL

As soon as possible it will also be necessary to solve by the Federal Law the problem of pensions for expellee officials and for former members of

the military forces. This regulation cannot ignore the unusually rapid promotions in the armed forces which characterised the war period, but it will nevertheless have to deal with army officials and military personnel in a fair manner.

Representative Rische, KPD: "For the sake of a new German Army!"

Why bring that up? We are not in the Soviet Zone, after all! —

(Hilarity and applause in the Center and on the Right —

Representative Rische: "What the Cabinet needs is a Minister of War!")

I can already see you parading in a pretty uniform!

(Hilarity and cheers in the Center and on the Right —

Representative Renner, KPD: "If that happens, you'll be an American general!")

Is that so? Then you'll have to snap to attention in my presence!

(Hilarity and applause in the Center and on the Right)

After this enjoyable interlude I will continue.

DANGERS OF DEFLATION

Deflation is just as dangerous as inflation. At the present stage of our economic development, an active and bullish policy is necessary, a policy which, without in the least endangering the currency, will serve as an instrument for the advance financing of projects whose financing is already assured in the foreseeable future, either from domestic sources or from counterpart funds.

ASSISTANCE TO BERLIN

Our particular concern will be devoted to the city of Berlin. From the time of the currency reform up to 10 September 1949, that is to say in about fifteen months, 414 million D-Mark have been channeled in the budget of the Bizonal area to the Berlin Magistrate.

(Interruption from KPD: "For the sake of the cold war!")

In addition, Berlin had received, up to 13 September 1949, 688 Million D-Mark from GARIOA funds. The funds included in the Bizonal Administration's 1949 budget to cover the period up to 31 December 1949 will be exhausted as early as October. Since we must under no circumstances abandon Berlin, it is absolutely necessary to discuss and decide upon the extent and continuation of assistance for Berlin as quickly as possible, and this must not be done by granting financial subsidies exclusively.

(Interjection from the Right: "Provided we control the use to which it is put.")

LEGISLATION REGARDING WAR DISABLED

I have already mentioned that the Party Factions who have joined in the common task and the formation of a Government regard it as their supreme duty to act with social consciousness in all spheres. In the narrower sphere of social policy, this is particularly true. The Federal Government will endeavor to adapt and develop this social policy to present conditions. As I have mentioned before, the best social policy is a sound economic policy that provides work and bread for as many people as possible. In the aftermath of war and of Germany's distress, we will nevertheless have a large proportion of people who must be helped in different and special ways. This is particularly true of persons disabled by the war. The Law on

Providing for the Integration of the War Disabled into Economic Life must be amended to conform with present conditions. Adequate subsistence allowances must be granted to totally disabled persons and to the widows and orphans of war casualties. It is necessary to create unified welfare pensions legislation for the whole Federal area.

REORGANIZATION OF BASIC INDUSTRIES

The legal relationship between employees and employers must also be adapted to present circumstances. Self-administration by the two social partners must take the place of state tutelage. The Federal Government upholds the principle that workers may join the trade union of their choice. The Government will leave it to the appropriate employers' and employees' organization to take, by virtue of free self-administration, any action calculated to further economic and social interests and better understanding between employer and employee. The sympathetic balancing of social contradictions is an unavoidable precondition of our people's recovery. This balance must be achieved by the social partners themselves. The recognition of the working class as an important component of social policy makes a reorganization of the ownership structure in basic industries necessary.

(Cheers from the Center benches)

But it also seems to me one of the fundamental principles of a sensible social policy that every possibility for advancement be given to the conscientious and industrious. We attach the greatest importance to the emphasis upon the possibility of working one's way up.

(Cheers from the Center and Right benches)

SURPLUS OF WOMEN

The surplus of women created by the war and by the forced removal of men is a problem which deserves our particular attention. I hardly need to assure you that we are determined, in spite of all opposing tendencies, to stand by Article 6 of the Basic Law which says "marriage and family shall be under the special protection of the State." The problem posed by the surplus of women extends beyond the inevitable unmarried state of a large number of women; it is more extensive and comprehensive. We must endeavor to open up new professions and possibilities of training for women. Furthermore in the designing of housing we must ensure that women who remain unmarried should be at least some equivalent for the home comforts which they lack. I should like to emphasize the importance of these problems, which we shall endeavor to solve as satisfactorily as possible by establishing a department headed by a woman, in the Ministry of the Interior.

ASSISTANCE TO YOUTH

We shall have to assist the young people, whose education in the family and at school has been deficient during the war and the confused times which followed it. In general we shall endeavor to regard our duties toward the younger generation in a way different from that customary once upon a time. Youth carries the future of Germany in its hands.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

The Civil Service law will have to be revised. Firmly and resolutely we stand on the principle of a career Civil Service.

(Applause in the Center and on the Right)

DENAZIFICATION

Much unhappiness and damage has been caused by denazification.

("Hear, hear!" in the Center and on the Right)

Those really guilty of the crimes committed during National Socialist times and during the War must be punished with due severity, but, apart from this, we should no longer distinguish between two classes of people in Germany, the politically reliable and the politically unreliable. This differentiation must disappear as soon as possible.

(Assent on the Right)

NECESSITY FOR AMNESTY

The war and the confused postwar period have brought such great problems and such temptations for many people that human understanding for certain offenses is called for. The question of an amnesty will therefore be examined by the Federal Government, and the possibility will also be examined of approaching the High Commissioners in an effort to secure an amnesty for sentences pronounced by Allied Military Courts.

In the conviction that many people have already atoned for guilt which, regarded subjectively, is not heavy, the Federal Government is determined wherever possible to let bygones be bygones. It is nonetheless firmly determined to learn the necessary lessons from the past as regards all those who endeavor to upset the foundation of our State, whether they be of a rightist or leftist radical nature.

(Laughter and heckling from the Communist benches)

You hecklers over there aren't really as radical as all that!

(Hilarity — **Representative Renner**, KPD: "And you aren't as social-minded as you claim!")

RIGHT-WING RADICALISM

Anxiety has been expressed about German right-wing radicalism, particularly by the foreign press. This anxiety is certainly exaggerated.

("Very true!" from the Rightist benches)

I regret it deeply that German and foreign newspapers have carried certain rude speeches. In that way the speakers assumed an importance they never had in Germany.

(Applause in the Center and on the Right)

But, ladies and gentlemen, one point I would like to emphasize again. Although we believe these reports to be exaggerated, we all agree that we must devote our fullest attention to the manifestations of rightist or leftist radicalism that might jeopardize the state. Let me say it once more: we will, if necessary, make determined use of the rights vested in us by law.

(Applause in the Center and on the Right — Exclamation from the Communist benches: "We've heard that one before!")

Ladies and gentlemen! In this connection permit me to say a word or two about antisemitic trends that seem to have arisen in a few cases. We utterly condemn such trends. After everything that took place in the National Socialist period we con-

sider it unworthy and incredible *per se* that there should still be individuals in Germany who persecute and despise Jews because they are Jews.*)

PRISONERS OF WAR

Ladies and gentlemen, I propose to touch upon a particularly serious and important topic. Because of its new status, Germany has now been placed in a position where it can take up more strongly than before the question of German prisoners of war and German deportees. There are still millions of prisoners in Russia.

(Interruption from the Right: "Herr Renner, are you listening?")

We do not know what has become of the between 1½ and 2 million German prisoners,

(**Representative Renner**, KPD: "Ask Hitler!" — Laughing and interruption on the Right)

a figure arrived at by deducting the number of prisoners which the USSR now claims to hold from the number given in Soviet war communiques. More or less the same thing applies to Yugoslavia.

(Exclamation from the Communist benches: "What about Indo-China?" — Shouts from the Right: "Czechoslovakia!")

The fate of these millions of Germans, who have already borne the bitter lot of imprisonment for years, is so hard, and the grief of their dependents in Germany is so great, that all nations must help in returning these prisoners and forced laborers to their homes and their families.

(Cheers in the Center and on the Right —

Representative Renner, KPD: "But you won't get anywhere by lying and hate mongering!")

Speaker Dr. Köhler, CDU: "Whom are you referring to, Representative Renner?"

Representative Renner, KPD: "To those German parties taking part in this hatemongering."

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "I call you to order. To throw in remarks of this sort during the Federal Chancellor's Statement of Policy is injurious to the dignity of this House. Please, Mr. Chancellor, be good enough to continue!" (Observation from Communist benches: "But hatemongering is permissible!")

Chancellor Dr. Adenauer resumes: Ladies and gentlemen, it is my happy duty to express our thanks for the extensive help received by our prisoners-of-war, above all to the Committee of the International Red Cross in Geneva, which has done such infinite good for our German prisoners. We also thank the Vatican and the present Pope, who after the war was the first to raise his voice for early release of German prisoners, and who endeavored to lighten the lot of the German prisoners by generous gifts which he urged the world to make. We likewise express our heartfelt thanks to the Ecumenical Council in Geneva for their work; particularly in the Anglo-Saxon world have they mobilized the forces of kindness of the Protestant faith. I would also mention the International Organization of the YMCA, who have helped our brethren in all countries by their exceptional prisoner-of-war service.

(Cheers and applause in the Center and on the Right)

*) This paragraph on antisemitism, translated on the basis of the stenographic transcript, was not contained in the official text of Dr. Adenauer's Statement of Policy published in the "Bundesanzeiger" (Official Government Gazette) of 24 September 1949.

We also heartily thank the Evangelic Aid Organization (Evangelisches Hilfswerk), under the leadership of Dr. Gerstenmaier, and the Caritas prisoner-of-war relief organization under the leadership of the late Prelate Kreutz.

GERMANS STILL IN EASTERN TERRITORIES

Our work will also have to be devoted to the 200,000 Germans who are at present in what was formerly East Prussia and Silesia as well as Czechoslovakia, and who are being retained there as specialist workers or as politically more or less compromised persons. Among them are many women who, in the first shock caused by the surrender and in the hope for the return of their menfolk who were still prisoners, decided to become Polish citizens, but whose men have in the meantime been released to Western Germany. The International Red Cross undertook to negotiate with the Western Allies on the one hand and with Warsaw and Prague on the other about the transfer of these substantial remnants of population. To our surprise the negotiations were later broken off by British Military Government, so far as we know, on the grounds that one must await the formation of the Federal Government. The Federal Government will also have to deal with the 300 000 voluntary workers who signed contracts in France, Belgium and England, so as to get out of captivity. Finally, we shall have to demand that proceedings against those Germans who have been retained in Allied countries on account of alleged war crimes be quickly concluded with all safeguards for proper legal procedure being vouchsafed to them.

(Representative Richter, German Reich Party — DRP: "It is high time that International Courts were established to try the war criminals on the other side!" —

Retort from the Left: "Have we already reached that stage?"

EXPELLEES

The lot of the expellees is particularly hard. The question of their future fate cannot be decided by Germany alone. This is a question the solution of which can only be approached by international cooperation. It must, however, be solved if Western Germany is not to become a center of political and economic unrest for a long time to come.

ODER-NEISSE LINE

Let me turn to a question which is very close to our hearts here in Germany and which is vital for us. It concerns the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements and the Oder-Neisse line. In the Potsdam Agreement it is expressly stated: "The three heads of Government reaffirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the Western frontier of Poland should await the peace settlement." Under no circumstances can we therefore be satisfied with a severance of these territories undertaken unilaterally by Soviet Russia and Poland.

("Hear, hear!" and lively applause from the benches of the Right, the Center and the SPD.)

This severance contradicts not only the Potsdam Agreement but also the Atlantic Charter of 1941, with which the Soviet Union also identified itself. The provisions of the Atlantic Charter are quite unequivocal and clear. The General Assembly of the United Nations, in its resolution of 3 November 1948, requested the Great Powers to conclude peace treaties as soon as possible in accordance with these principles. We shall not cease to pursue, in

an orderly and legal manner, our claims to these territories.

(Loud applause in the Center and on the Right — Representative Dr. Richter, German Reich Party — DRP: "Please don't leave out the Sudetenland, Mr. Chancellor!")

EXPULSIONS FROM EASTERN EUROPE

I must point out that the expellees were driven out in complete contradiction to the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement. In this Potsdam Agreement, mention was made only of a resettlement of the German population remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and it was agreed that every case of resettlement should be carried out in an organized and humane manner.

I find it difficult to speak with the necessary objective self-restraint when I think of the fate of the refugees who have perished by the millions.

(Interjection from the Center: "Five millions!")

Let me, however, point out that no less a personality than Winston Churchill protested publicly and formally in the British House of Commons, as early as August 1945, not only against the extent of the territorial expansion sought by Poland, but also against the practice of mass expulsions.

(Exclamation by **Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD:** "But he signed, too!")

Churchill described these mass expulsions as a "tragedy of unimaginable dimensions" and indicated that an unbelievably large number of these refugees had simply disappeared. On 10 October 1945 British Foreign Minister Bevin declared that Great Britain was in no way obliged to support Polish claims to the Oder-Neisse line. The same declaration was made by former American Foreign Minister Byrnes, on 6 September 1946, in his well-known speech in Stuttgart.

The Federal Government will devote its attention to all these questions and set itself the task of seeing that our rights, too, shall be respected.

(Lively applause in the Center and on the Right)

It will gather all the legal and material facts in an aide-mémoire which will be published and submitted to the Allied Governments.

RELATIONS WITH EASTERN BLOCK

Ladies and Gentlemen! Even though I said in the beginning that our foreign relations will be conducted by the High Commissioners, I stated at the same time that we are in close contact with all adjacent states, no matter whether our relations with them are good or not so good. This Governmental Statement of Policy would be lacking something if I did not dwell upon our relations with these countries.

Representative Renner, KPD: "But don't forget the Saar!"

First of all, do not allow me to forget the Soviet Union!

(Merriment on the Right and in the Center — Interruptions from the Left)

And for that reason I will begin with the Soviet Union.

Representative Renner, KPD: "This part of your speech was ghostwritten by an expert!"

Envy besets you, Herr Renner!

(Hilarity — **Representative Renner, KPD:** "It would be interesting to know what these peoples' political questionnaires would reveal!")

THE SAAR

We are fully prepared to live in peace with our Eastern neighbors, particularly with Soviet Russia and Poland. We urgently desire that the present tension between Soviet Russia and the Western Allies be peacefully resolved in the course of time. But when I say that we desire to live in peace with Soviet Russia, we make it a condition that Soviet Russia and Poland do not deprive us of our legal rights and allow our German compatriots in the Eastern Zone and Berlin freely to live the life that corresponds with their traditions, their education and their convictions.

REVISION OF OCCUPATION STATUTE

I have already explained elsewhere that the Occupation Statute is a step forward, a considerable step forward, in comparison with the existing situation. Everything will depend on whether it will be implemented in the spirit which found expression in the accompanying letter of April of this year, from the Foreign Ministers of England, France and the United States to the President of the Parliamentary Council. This Note says that "the Foreign Ministers stress that it is a major objective of the three Allied Governments to encourage and to facilitate the closest integration on a mutually beneficial basis of the German people under a democratic Federal State within the framework of a European Association." We are convinced that, if the Occupation Statute is interpreted in this spirit, it will enable us to lead a soundly-established life of our own and to make further progress.

(Representative Renner, KPD: "Once upon a time you termed it a Colonial Statute!")

I am convinced that, when the Occupying Powers reconsider the Occupation Statute in the light of experience after 12 months, and in any case within 18 months, as is provided in the Statute, they will certainly come to the conclusion that it will be possible to extend the jurisdiction of the German authorities in the spheres of the legislative, executive and of the judiciary.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I take the liberty of saying something about our attitude towards the Occupation Statute! The Occupation Statute is not an ideal solution. Until the Occupation Statute became effective, we were outside the pale of the law. By contrast with that state, the Occupation Statute is progress. After the complete collapse brought about by National Socialism, there is no way by which the German people can attain liberty and equality once again,

Representative Renner, KPD: "Oh yes, there is — a Peace Treaty!"

except by falling in step with the Allies on the path that leads upwards. There is only one way leading to liberty. With the concurrence of the Allied High Commission, we must make every effort to expand the scope of our activities, step by step.

GERMANY AS PART OF WESTERN WORLD

There is no doubt in our minds, that by virtue of our traditions and our way of thought, we belong to the Western European world. We wish to maintain good relations, including personal ones, with all countries and especially with our neighbors, the Benelux states, France, Italy, England and Scandinavia. The Franco-German antagonism, which has dominated European politics for centuries and has caused so many wars, so much destruction and the spilling of so much blood, must finally be eliminated.

(Lively applause)

I hope, yes, I dare say that, according to my belief, the Saar will not be an obstacle barring the way.

France has economic interests in the Saar that we must recognize. Germany has economic and national interests there.

("Very true!" — Interjection: "Only interests?")

But in the last analysis the Saar population itself is naturally hopeful that its own economic and national interests will be taken into account.

(Exclamation from KPD: "Wouldn't you like to say something about expulsions from the Saar, too?")

All these interests shall be coordinated and brought into a synthesis that will come about within the framework of the Council of Europe, which we would like to join as soon as possible.*) With genuine satisfaction and joy I recall that Foreign Minister Bevin told me in a personal conversation this summer that the war between our two peoples was now over, and that our two peoples have to be friends.

ADHERENCE TO COUNCIL OF EUROPE

As I just said we would like to be admitted to the Council of Europe as soon as possible. We shall cooperate gladly and happily in the work for the great aims of this Council. I must point out that in Article 24 of the Bonn Constitution we have foreseen the possibility of transferring sovereign rights to international organizations and of integrating ourselves into the system of collective security for the preservation of peace. This Article adds:

"The Federation will consent to those limitations of its sovereign powers which will bring about and secure a peaceful and lasting order in Europe and among the nations of the world."

I believe that this makes our Basic Law the most progressive among the constitutions of the world.)*

We are determined to do all in our power to follow the path envisaged in this Article in order to secure peace in Europe and in the world.

DIVISION OF GERMANY

When discussing the peace of the world and of Europe, ladies and gentlemen, I must take up the issue of the partition of Germany once again. It is our firm conviction that some day Germany will not be divided any longer.

(Strong applause)

I am afraid there will be no peace in Europe while this partition lasts. The division of Germany is due to tensions among the victorious powers. These tensions, too, will pass. Once that has come about we hope that there will be no further obstacles to keep up apart from our brethren in the Soviet Zone and Berlin.

Representative Dr. Richter, German Reich Party — DRP: "Or from the Sudeten Germans!"

*) This section on the Saar, translated on the basis of the stenographic transcript, was not contained in the official text of Dr. Adenauer's Statement of Policy published in the "Bundesanzeiger" (Official Government Gazette) of 24 September 1949.

For the time being the representatives of Greater Berlin have an advisory vote only while working with us in this House and in the Bundesrat. That is not to say that their votes are of less value because their ballots cannot be counted. No matter how compact the Iron Curtain that divides Germany, it cannot dent the spiritual solidarity among Germans on both sides.*)

(Enthusiastic applause from Rightist, Center and SPD benches)

CONCLUSION

Let me at this hour think with special gratitude of the United States of America. I do not believe that ever before in history has a victor power endeavored to help a conquered country and to contribute to its reconstruction and recovery in

*) This section of the division of Germany, translated on the basis of the stenographic transcript, was not contained in the official text of Dr. Adenauer's Statement of Policy published in the "Bundesanzeiger" (Official Government Gazette) of 24 September 1949.

the way that the United States have done and continue to do to Germany. It is our belief that history will record this attitude of the United States as a greater achievement than any of her efforts during the war. I know that innumerable Americans helped us Germans in a spirit of genuine sympathy and fellowship in the time of our utmost misery, when hunger and shortages stalked the country. The German people can never be able to forget this, and will never forget it.

(Lively applause on the Right, in the Center and from SPD)

Ladies and gentlemen, cultural and religious matters are within the competence of the Länder, but all our work will be based on the spirit of Christian occidental culture and on the respect for the rights and dignity of man. We hope that we shall succeed, with God's help, in leading the German people upward, and in contributing to the peace of Europe and of the world.

(Long and vigorous applause)

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 21 September 1949 by

Dr. Kurt Schumacher of the Social Democratic Party
(Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — SPD)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Statement of Policy of the Federal Government should not be regarded in isolation. It should be viewed in conjunction with the politics of the parties which today form the Federal Government, with the slogans of the election campaign, with the declarations issued subsequent to the elections, with the methods adopted in the formation of the Cabinet, and with the composition of the Cabinet itself.

SOCIAL POLICY

If one were to accept at face value that cardinal part of the Government Statement of Policy which proclaimed that social justice would be the guiding star of the Governmental program, then one would have to say: "With such a program, the Federal Chancellor would have won a stupendous election victory on 14 August over the policy of his Minister of Economics and Vice-chancellor." But social policy costs money, and the German property-owning class, the overwhelming majority of which now backs the new Government, has certainly not established this Government so as to indulge in particularly heavy expenditures for the sake of the people.

(Exclamation from the Right: "You imagine others will behave as you yourself would!")

The Government has now come forward with a declaration which contains a number of social promises, albeit not exactly defined. Clearest was perhaps the one regarding tax reduction. We, too, agree that the structure of the German tax system must be radically reformed, since neither its revenue nor its efficiency is up to the standards required by the state. But if tax reduction were the main basis of economic recovery, it would clash with social achievements on the one hand and occupation costs on the other. It is unlikely that social achievements and tax reductions can be implemented concurrently. Realizing this, the Chancellor made social achievements contingent upon a number of conditions, which, it may be assumed, will not be realized in the immediate future — namely a flourishing economy, plentiful tax revenue, and the like. So we must conclude that tax reduction is an immediate probability, while social achievements are likely to slide off into the realm of mere consolations.

(Interjection from the right: "Wait and see!")

Why? Do you have that much time?"

(Hilarity and loud applause from SPD)

The idyllic tone of yesterday's Statement of Policy has perhaps caused some astonishment. Its tenor was "Things aren't as bad as they look". To that we can only retort: "It looks as if everything were a good deal worse than the Statement of Policy makes it out to be". Ultimately the real heart of the matter, the point on which we have a clear avowal of the Federal Government's inten-

tions, is the declaration that the existing course of Frankfurt economic policy will be maintained.

(Interjection from the CDU: "Thank God!")

In the same connection a few other very concrete things have been indicated, such as the removal of restrictions on commodities for which controlled prices still exist. Similar remarks were also made in regard to government allocation of living space and government control of rents.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

The Government declaration is not only interesting by virtue of what it contains, but even more interesting because of what it does not mention. We cannot imagine any democratic form of state in which the workers play so small a role that the Statement of Policy does not even mention the word "worker", and we cannot imagine an effective social organism in which trade unions are left unmentioned. Failure to recognize that without the trade unions, and the role they have played, the German people's situation would be much worse internally and externally seems to me rank ingratitude. We have also noticed the lack of fundamental recognition for the equality of men and women before the law, as laid down in the Basic Law. We have noticed that lack although we appreciate the obliging expatiations of the Chancellor's Statement into the field of the difficulties experienced by unmarried women. Out of this thesis there arises a large number of tasks for the Government, and we should like to know how the Government proposes to deal with them.

OPPOSITION DEFINED

Now, we are the Opposition, and there has been unbelievably naive discussion among the German public as to what an Opposition is. That idea of Opposition and Government which generously overrates the functions of the Government and equally generously underrates the functions of the Opposition has its roots in the authoritarian state, and the ideas of the authoritarian state still seem to be very much alive in many of the minds of this House. An Opposition does not do its job of supporting the state if it is kindly regarded by the Federal Government or the Government parties. We have a Government which is quite cold-blooded in its defense of the property-owning class, and the Opposition will have to be just as cold-blooded in its defense of the interests of the working population. Egotism loves to appeal to feelings of fellowship. The Government and the Opposition will demonstrate their qualities by their achievements. However, dear Representatives, the Opposition sticks to its fundamental principle that it is up to the Government to produce, from within the ranks of the Government parties, the majority necessary for the adoption of its laws.

(Observation from the Center: "You're against everything as a matter of principle!")

Pardon me, you remarked that I am "against everything as a matter of principle". I think it is my

duty to reply to that interjection. I cannot express everything I have to say in three sentences.

Representative Dr. Hans Freiherr von Rechenberg, FDP: "But you ask the Chancellor to do that!"

Well, the Chancellor spoke for 82 minutes, which is a little longer.

The Opposition cannot therefore be a substitute for the Government and assume the responsibility when some of the Government parties are, on occasion, afraid of assuming responsibility. The Opposition is a component of state life, and not a behind-the-lines reinforcement pool for the Government. When there is opposition, the powers of the Government are circumscribed and its total domination is forestalled. The Opposition's unequivocal nature forces all parties, whether in the Government or in the Opposition, to show their hand by the way in which they act. It would be a mistake to permit the political parties to continue a line of propaganda that conceals their true character. Actions must speak. But it is equally right that the Opposition should not exhaust itself in flat opposition to all proposals of the Government. The nature of opposition is the continued effort to impose on the Government and its parties the constructive intentions of the opposition by means of concrete proposals regarding concrete situations.

DEMOCRATIC GOALS

Inherent in the spirit and composition of this Government is the great danger that this new state may become an authoritarian organ for the defense of the property-owning class. The composition of the Government and the tendencies expressed yesterday have indicated that the first Weimar period — if comparisons are permitted — has been completely bypassed and that we are already in a second period of complete restoration of the past, with features strongly reminiscent of the days before World War I. This brings with it the danger of the alienation of the worker from the state, a danger which we as an Opposition wish to combat. We cannot allow the present political complexion of power to become stabilized. It is the task of the Opposition to keep matters in flux with a view to the chances of evolution towards a democratic and social goal.

EQUAL TREATMENT FOR YOUTH

Much of what was said yesterday was retrospective. I should like to say clearly that the most benevolent of exhortations, and the somewhat worn-out remark that "youth means the future" do not mean much to youth. Our youth wants a firm foundation, a positive outlook on life founded on the bedrock of social policy, and treatment on an equal basis. Youth can even do without moral sermons and exhortations. It cannot give up the wish to be a factor of equal importance in state and popular life.

EXCESSIVE NUMBER OF MINISTRIES

The formation of the Government dots the i's and crosses the t's of the Government's Statement of Policy. It bears the hallmark of 14 August*): Admittedly its formation took longer than had been expected. The methods adopted were not as unequivocal as the election results of 14 August are made out by the Government parties to have been. The Government reflects the shift to the Right

* Elections to the Bundestag were held on 14 August 1949.

among the German people, a shift even more pronounced than the distribution of seats on the basis of the election returns shows. This pressure from the Right may have a paralyzing and disturbing effect, the repercussions of which will be felt right through to the Center. It is therefore understandable that, in an effort to counter dangers from all sides, refuge has been taken in social assurances. But it then remains incomprehensible why everything which is now offered to the working masses in Germany in the form of promises for the future has so far been prevented by the economic policy conducted in Frankfurt. The methods used in the formation of the Government, the length of time needed to bring it about and the way in which power in all spheres in the state has been handed out — all this has not made too happy an impression on the German people. The whole business was conducted too hurriedly and in too commercialized a manner, with too much political election arithmetics involved, to make a convincing and straightforward impression on the population. For example, if one were to take all the men who were promised ministerial portfolios without, in the end, getting them, and assembled them as a Party Faction here, it would certainly not be the smallest one in the Bundestag.

(Strong applause and hilarity)

As regards the organization of the Government, we must state clearly that, to take the word of important men now in the Government for it, we have been endowed with more ministries than seemed necessary before. There are three excess ministries. Moreover we are concerned about the internal organization of the ministries. The Federal Chancellor yesterday declared himself in favor of a career Civil Service. This principle is in need of development and modification with regard to efficiency and to abolition of the caste system. But great political significance attaches to it if the Civil Service is to be a trustworthy instrument in the hands of democratic constitutional Government. Here we emphasize that in the new organization of the administration, men of all political creeds who support the constitution must be accorded equal rights in appointments to the civil service.

(Applause from the SPD benches — "Listen to him!" and "Oh yeah?" on the Right)

The gentlemen who heckle me seem to confound their participation in the Government with the fact that there are large employment agencies in existence.

(Assent on the Left — Shout from the Right: "In the bosom of SPD!")

EQUAL LÄNDER TREATMENT

In the organization of the Government we must undoubtedly devote particular attention to the post of the Minister of Finance. We insist that a Federal Minister must with even justice exhibit the same principles and the same wishes when dealing with any German Land. We cannot permit a Finance Minister to succumb to the temptation of acting upon the prompting of an exaggerated love for his native Land. *)

(Assent on the Left — **Representative Dr. Gebhard Seelos, Bayern Partei (BP):** "To a Socialist, that would be too bad!")

What does someone like you know about Socialism? Can you spell the word?

(Strong applause and hilarity on the Left)

*) A reference to Finance Minister Fritz Schäffer's sympathies for Bavarian federalism.

Without the equal and fair application of financial sovereignty, no help for weak Länder is possible and there is no hope of overcoming the crucial social problems, particularly of providing assistance in the cardinal question of refugees. The elections in the Länder with low tax revenue have shown that a chance for radicalism (under present circumstances this means right-wing radicalism) always exists where an army of refugees is massed and where unemployment is greater for the reason.

(Exclamations: "So that's it!" — More exclamations from the Right)

Now listen! I hope you will not ask that a democratic German entertain sympathy for the radicalism of the Right. The thing we dislike most about rightist radicalism and hyper-nationalism is that its repercussions are bad for Germany!

(Applause from the SPD)

For this very reason, help must be given to the Länder with insufficient tax revenues, since it is there that social problems are greatest. It was interesting and painful for us that not a word was to be heard in yesterday's Governmental Statement of Policy about financial equalization, nor about communities, their self-government, their great tasks, their social burdens and the whole complex of questions which confronts each German citizen every day. We announce our strongest opposition if the Basic Law should be robbed of the unitary tendency expressed in its spirit and its letter, in favor of pronouncedly hyper-federalistic measures. We want no revision of the Basic Law by administrative organs, by selection of personnel or by the creation of precedents.

We were pleased at first when we heard of the proposed establishment of unified legislation in the eleven Länder, until it occurred to us that unification can be achieved by the adoption of two standards: that of the most progressive Land, or that of the most backward. We may perhaps be permitted to hope that we shall hear further statements on this point on the part of the Government.

USELESSNESS OF THREE MINISTRIES

When we look at the organizational structure of Ministries and administrative organs, we cannot avoid the feeling that they are the result of an opportunistic short-term policy, which had to form a government and could only do so by such methods. As a result, developments in this sphere may now be guided into the wrong channels, and can lead to a hypertrophy and unhealthy growth of ministries and administrative organs. As I said, we have three Ministries too many.

(Interjection from the Right: "Which ones, please?")

We need no special Minister for ERP. Either he will have nothing to do, or he will have too much to do because he has become a Super-Minister of Economics holding the whiphand over all economic, financial, and social departments.

In view of the hitherto uniformly unfortunate utilization of Marshall Plan funds, we demand the submission of a plan of expenditures and a subsequent detailed report, to be approved by Parliament, of the use of such money. But we do not want a special minister. Least of all do we want to hear, on flimsy grounds of a diplomatic nature, how necessary it is that German interests be represented in Paris by men of Cabinet rank. That sort of striped-pants thinking is somewhat out of date.

Nor do we need a special Minister for Liaison with the Bundesrat. Why should there be a special

minister for dealing with the Bundesrat? The broad lines of policy are decided by the Chancellor; he has his officials to implement them. This is merely an artificial creation to bind a certain political party to the Government.

(Loud applause from SPD)

And, ladies and gentlemen, we need no special Ministry for Eastern Affairs. We don't even need a State Secretariat under the Federal Chancellor. We need a department in the Ministry of the Interior to deal with concrete questions of relations with the Eastern Zone, and with a large number of social and administrative problems in the same sphere. By establishing a department in the Ministry of the Interior, we would demonstrate that from the German point of view the relation between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Zone of Occupation is an internal German problem. As a certainly involuntary consequence of setting up a special ministry, the danger might arise that these matters will come to be discussed on the international level of foreign relations. Social Democracy raised its voice for German unity as early as 1945. It was also the first German party which approved, on 31 May 1947, the attempt to exert some force of attraction on the Eastern Zone through an economic and administrative stabilization of the Western Zones. But the basic direction of this policy cannot be laid down in a Ministry for Eastern Affairs — these are matters affecting all of Germany, subject to the full responsibility of the Chief of the Government and to responsible cooperation by all the parties in this House.

FREEDOM ONLY IN UNITY

In order to remove misunderstandings, intentional misunderstandings, I should like to say that German unity is only possible on the basis of personal and civic freedom and equality. It is possible only if human rights are equally valued and respected in all Zones of Occupation.

(Cheers and applause from SPD benches and sporadic applause from the Right)

But German unity is not possible if it takes the form of unity as a Russian province or as a Soviet satellite state.

(Spirited assent from SPD and Center benches)

Relations between the parties here suffer from a major handicap arising chiefly from the fact that in the Eastern Zone the CDU and LDP still exist, technically speaking, and that in their upper levels they are Government parties. As Government parties they are fully responsible for all developments in the Eastern Zone.

(Cheers and applause from SPD)

As we don't care for this perversion and this commingling . . .

(Interruptions from the Right: "Look at Grotewohl! There are dozens like him!")

Well, we kicked out Grotewohl,

(Laughter on the Right)

but you remain the same "Nuschkotes!" — *)

(Great hilarity — Cheers and applause from SPD)

*) Otto Grotewohl, old-time Social Democrat, joined the Communist dominated SED in 1946, is now Minister President of the Soviet-Zone "German Democratic Republic". Otto Nuschke, pre-Hitler Democrat, 1945 charter member of Soviet-Zone CDU, became its chairman when Jakob Kaiser was forced out of the position by the Soviet Military Administration, is now a Deputy Minister President of the Soviet Zone "German Democratic Republic".

NO COMPROMISE WITH COMMUNISM

In this policy we must beware of a reversion to the missionary illusion of the "bridge" theory. Similar illusions arose in 1933 from the hope of reaching a compromise with a totalitarian opponent who grabs everything, a compromise designed to preserve one's own political existence and independence. We must not slip into recognition of "block politics" as practiced in the Soviet Zone. In reality they are nothing but the dictatorship of the strongest Government party, and of the Occupation Power backing it.

With all due regard for the fact that one cannot always remain detached from the facts of everyday life, we should refrain from such things as the two Godesberg round-table conferences.*)

I can understand that the character of certain gentlemen in Germany caught cold in the icy winds of the cold war. Some of these gentlemen are today Cabinet Ministers. Since they were not present at the second Godesberg meeting, we may perhaps express the fond hope that, politically speaking, they only caught a slight case of sniffles.

(Hilarity)

The Communists consider the initiators of such meetings as tools of Soviet policy. The new Communist line is interesting not because it reveals something about their tactics, but because by its very nature it cannot be anything but the carrying-out of orders given by their Soviet masters. Now, ladies and gentlemen, such temptations are not offset by uttering primitive and pathetic counter-declarations but by presenting an attractive picture of German national and social life. In the view of the Social Democratic Party, democratic socialism is the best possible basis from which this attack can be defeated.

(Applause from SPD — **Representative Dr. Freiherr Hans Albert von Rechenberg, FDP:** "They are fed up with Socialism!")

The Communists try it by every possible means. Since the first German Republic was formed we have been wooed more than a dozen times. It still makes little impression on us to hear the hoofbeats of the galloping Trojan cavalry.

But, ladies and gentlemen, make no mistake about it. The attempt to set up an all-embracing national front is more dangerous today, due to the intellectual and political devastation brought about in nearly fifteen years. Today it is not the Eastern slogans preaching social revolution, but those pleading for a national revolution that can well jeopardize German unity and the embryonic Federal Republic. We are in a situation in which the German people is once again ripe for the use of major social deficiencies as fuel for the flames of nationalism and neo-fascism. We must meet this danger.

Since, incidentally, the gentlemen of the Communist Party were kind enough to cast their ballots for me in the recent election of the Federal President, I would like to draw their attention to an awkward contradiction. In the East the authorities hew closely to the line expressed in the slogan that the "Schumacherites must be annihilated, not only morally but also physically". The concentration camps are filled with those who do not comply. Could the gentlemen of the Communist Party explain to the working masses of Germany how come they are a house divided against itself?

(Deputy Max Reimann, KPD: "I am going to give my answer tomorrow, Dr. Schumacher!")

Herr Reimann, political experience shows that there are not only wolves in sheep's clothing, but also sheep in wolves' clothing!

(Great hilarity and applause —

Speaker Dr. Erich Köhler, CDU: "Permit me to interrupt you for a moment. I presume that you had no member of the House in mind when you made the remark 'sheep in wolves' clothing'?" — Hilarity)

With your permission Mr. Speaker, I should like to leave the decision on that point to Herr Reimann.

(Renewed hilarity)

AID FOR BERLIN

When we discuss the question of German unity, then we cannot pass over the question of Berlin. Berlin does not want charity. It does not want ourselves give us to philanthropic airs. Special financial aid for Berlin is not a matter of voluntary contributions. It must be incorporated into the German Federal Republic's budget as a standing integral part. Nor must we be content with grants from the public purse. We must, by the granting of credits and the awarding of contracts, give more aid to Berlin in the economic sphere than has hitherto been the case. In this field, where the egoistic interests of Western manufacturers may clash with the interests of Berlin production, we of the German West have by no means done as much as we should have. Let us not forget that we cannot, on the one hand, enter the Berliners' fight on the credit side of the ledger of the German Federal Republic and then, when some lesser interests of our own are at stake, deny Berlin things that are vital necessities. Berlin has the will to become a busy workshop and a taxpayer. But if this will is to prevail, we need another line of economic policy and, among other things, the fulfilment of promises made early this summer in Berlin by a representative of the Federal Government.

GERMAN UNITY

Though many people may regard with relative and temporary equanimity this state of schism in Germany, we Social Democrats cannot do so. The question of German unity intrudes into every other political question affecting Germany. This question cannot be struck from the agenda. We can regard no one as a friend of the German people if his practical policy denies or prevents the unification of Germany on a democratic basis. Nor can we agree to making German unity a subject of political finagling or an instrument of agitation in the hands of a political movement. It is our desire that, irrespective of differences of opinion in social, political and cultural matters, the cause of German unity be a subject for equal warmth of feeling and equal political determination in all parts of Germany.

GRATITUDE TO RELIEF AGENCIES

If the Federal Chancellor yesterday, quite rightly, showed recognition of the thankworthy work of foreign and domestic organizations, we welcome the fact. We would, however, have liked the Federal Chancellor not to have remained so bound up in the conceptions of his own world. In this connection my thoughts went out to the Worker's Welfare Organization (Arbeiterwohlfahrt) and its efforts. I had to think of the great relief work of

*) See Glossary, p. 95, "Godesberg Talks"

foreign workers' organizations, and also of the Quakers, Mennonites and Jews and their relief organizations.

It may conform to the nature of politics to think relatively lightly of the efforts of opponents and one cannot take offense if antagonists do not sing the praises of each other's efforts from the rooftops. But the fact, for instance, that the fight of German Social Democracy on behalf of the German prisoners-of-war was just glossed over did not leave us with a particularly happy impression, considered from the point of view of national policy.

ANGLO-SAXON AID

We Social Democrats offer our heartfelt thanks for the tremendous effort of the American people and the American taxpayer on behalf of the German people. But yesterday's thanks would have made a greater impression, even on American ears, if they had not entirely ignored the fact that the British taxpayer and the English people, without distinction of party, have done a great deal for the needy German people at the cost of sacrifice and self-denial.

I regret to have to point out that many people abroad have shown considerably more understanding for the social distress of the Germans than many a German. It is painful, but must be said, that German Social Democracy simply cannot find it in its heart to express its thanks to the German hoarding profiteers.

(Applause and hilarity on SPD benches)

AID TO WAR VICTIMS

To remember the disabled veterans was doubtless praiseworthy, but something a little more concrete would be rather more necessary. In 1945, the Reich Law for Veterans Welfare (Reichsversorgungsgesetz), the social value of which was considerable, was rescinded with a stroke of the pen by the Allies, who probably intended thereby to exercise a policy of practical antimilitarism. It would be a good thing if the Federal Government could decide to announce a new Reich Veterans' Welfare Law, modified to suit changed conditions, to provide for those severely disabled in the war, and for the widows and orphans of war casualties. For the problem posed by those who have so greatly suffered is how to bring these young people back to normal life, how to imbue them with a positive attitude towards the state. A spirit of warm comradeship transcending the manipulation of financial and legal technicalities is of course a prerequisite if we are to achieve this goal.

VICTIMS OF FASCISM

On the other hand one omission cannot remain uncontested: after all, the German forces of resistance to Nazism and the German victims of fascism belong among the few assets of the German people and of German foreign policy. No word was said by the Chancellor about these people yesterday. One cannot be against Nazism without remembering the victims of fascism. One cannot feel enthusiasm for helping certain classes of the underprivileged — however necessary aid for them may be — if the victims of fascism are arbitrarily relegated to a position giving precedence to the rights of others.

ANTISEMITISM

What the Governmental Statement of Policy had to say yesterday about the Jews and the terrible Jewish tragedy in the Third Reich was too insipid

and weak. Spiritless statements and a rueful accent are of no help in this connection. It is not only the duty of international socialism, but of every German patriot, to train the spotlight on the fate of German and European Jewry, and to offer all the help that may be necessary.

(Applause from SPD)

Hitler's barbarism brought dishonor on the German people through its extermination of six million Jews. We have to bear the consequences of this dishonor for an unforeseeable long time to come. Only thirty thousand out of six hundred thousand German Jews live in the entire territory of the four Zones today. The majority of them are elderly people or invalids. Even they experience, again and again, shameful and degrading incidents. No political movement in Germany should forget that any nationalism bears within itself the seeds of antisemitism, and that all forms of antisemitism bear in themselves the seeds of nationalism. Anything along these lines means, in fact, the voluntary self-isolation of Germany in the world. Antisemitism indicates an ignorance of the great contributions German Jews have rendered to the German economy, to German intellectual life and German culture, and to the fight for German freedom and German democracy. Today the German people comes to grips with the construction of a new Germany. It would be in a better position if it had in its ranks those forces of the Jewish intellect and of the Jewish economic potential.

(Applause from SPD)

NEW TRADE RELATIONSHIPS

Now a new difficulty has arisen through the crisis of devaluation on an international scale. One gets the impression that people in Germany, and perhaps in other places besides, do not quite realize that a destiny is beginning to be fulfilled which has been in the making for decades. It has been prompted by a new distribution of industrial production, by the fact that other Continents which formerly used to supply raw materials and food-stuffs are today themselves industrialized and have as a consequence impaired the whole trading position of Europe. This antiquated political and economic structure of Europe is the root cause of its impotence. Major dollar transfusions are essential for the maintenance of life in the near future, but even they cannot bring about a permanent cure.

INADEQUACY OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Having been stuck in a dead-end road for several years, we now take part in the give and take of the European economic community. Our new status found its first expression in the undertow that dragged us into devaluation.

(Interruption from CDU: "Remember the Socialist experiments of Great Britain!")

No, you didn't understand my last three sentences. Please see to it that you know them by heart for tomorrow!

(Hilarity among SPD Deputies — Heckling)

Now comparisons will probably be in order, comparisons with countries alluded to by the gentlemen who just interrupted me. In this field familiarity with the subject would be a distinct advantage.

("Very good!" from the SPD benches — Interjection from the Right: "Let us hope so!")

One need only compare the special situation of Great Britain, with her chances of checking the

effects of devaluation on wages and prices, with the special situation of Germany. Quite aside from their share in the burdens of a lost war, the broad masses of the German people are more impotent in the face of devaluation than the working classes of any other European nation. And why are they more impotent? Because they are less cushioned socially than any other people in Europe, due to the inadequacy of real wages as well as the thwarted equalization of financial burdens, and due to the way in which currency reform was fixed to their disadvantage. When the Federal Chancellor declares that only a flourishing economy can bear the weight of the equalization of financial burdens, then we can only infer from that that the appropriate Governmental circles are not exactly over-enthusiastic about a radical and unequivocal equalization of financial burdens. This means the postponement of an equalization of financial burdens.

After all, the sort of equalization we need is an equalization conducive to a large-scale change in the pattern of property distribution, and above all in the pattern of income stratification. I do not believe that a new workable democratic state can be built up as long as the present social structure persists. We have learned that even today our real wages are below the real wages prevailing elsewhere in Europe. This relationship can hardly be said to hold true when we look at the larger part of those who possess real wealth. This coming winter there will be a further threat to wage scales, because lifting of the remaining economic controls has been announced. This will make itself felt above all in the index of food prices and rents. Upon this situation, namely the weakened social position of the working classes in Germany, devaluation has now been superimposed. We should show sufficient respect for the facts and have the honesty to say that quite a number of the soothing pills administered in the last few days were not compounded of chemically pure ingredients. The complete segregation of the external exchange value of the D-Mark from its domestic purchasing power is impossible: such segregation can be maintained to a restricted degree only. And even that only if the Government introduces special measures.

PRICE POLICY

Above all other things this holds true of our price policy. One cannot ask people to save when prices are rising. A savings movement is feasible only when prices are firm or, if possible, falling. One cannot pursue our present economic policy and then drop a remark like that of the Federal Chancellor's about "insignificant changes in the wage and price structure". The remark as such was commendably frank, but is still failed to indicate the seriousness of the matter. These changes will not be insignificant unless State subsidies are forthcoming. But the possibilities for State aid, especially in the form of a constructive price policy, have been annihilated by Germany's economic policy during the past fifteen months.

("How true!" from the SPD — Heckling from the Right)

Great Britain's better position at this time is directly attributable to the fact that she has a functioning system of planned economy with controls over investment.

(Hilarity and interruption from the Right: "Is that why they had to devalue?")

Gentlemen, all you seem to have read about planned economy and investment control are the clichés of electoral propaganda!

(Unrest — **Representative Dr. Freiherr von Rechenberg, FDP:** "The Nazis gave us an example of that sort of thing!")

Excuse me, but if I remember rightly it was the majority of you gentlemen who were Nazis, and not Great Britain!

(Animated cheers and applause from the SPD benches — Unrest and agitated shouts from the Right "What impudence! Call him to order!" — The speaker raps his gavel. —

Speaker Dr. Erich Köhler, CDU: "Representative Dr. Schumacher, I have a question to ask you. Did I understand correctly that you just told part of this House: 'You were the Nazis, but not Great Britain'?"

What I said was: The majority.

(Catcalls and loud boos in the Center and the Right —

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "Mr. Speaker, aren't you familiar with the political questionnaires of certain deputies?" — Unrest —

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "Representative Schumacher, I believe it will be conducive to the quiet progress"

Shout from the Right: "There's Prussian arrogance for you!"

Continued interruptions —

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "Will you please let me finish. Representative Dr. Schumacher, I should like to point out,"

Interruptions from the Left —

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "Ladies and gentlemen, I am speaking now and I beg of you not to interrupt me and to stop heckling.

Representative Dr. Schumacher, you accused part of this House of being Nazis."

Representative Max Reimann, KPD: "Rightly so!"

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "I draw your attention to the fact that the Denazification Laws"

Loud guffaws from KPD and SPD benches — Interjection: "All the same, they were Nazis!"

. settled this question in its legal aspects. Such characterizations will complicate this debate. I therefore appeal to you, Dr. Schumacher, not to repeat these epithets.")

Dr. Schumacher continues: Of course I shall abide by the directives given by the Speaker. However, I should like to state for the record that the term "Nazi" was introduced in this not altogether pertinent context by interjections from the Right side of this House. Perhaps we will come to terms more easily if certain gentlemen would focus their attention on two considerations. In the first place, we are not afraid of them, and in the second place democratic debate necessitates a certain discipline of the audience!

(Cheers and applause from the SPD benches — Great unrest and turmoil on the Right —

Interjection: "No insults, Mr. Representative!" — The Speaker raps his gavel —

Speaker Dr. Köhler, CDU: "Dr. Schumacher, I am forced to interrupt you once more. It is inadmissible to maintain that any of the parties in this House are afraid of debate. Here all factions have the same rights. That is why I have to reject this statement most emphatically. Please do not furnish me with another opportunity to take recourse to other forms of reprimanding you!"

Applause on the Right — Unrest and shouts on the Left: "This is intolerable!"

Dr. Schumacher continues: In that case I should like to state for the record that the progress . . .

(Constant unrest and interjections from the Left — **Representative Reimann, KPD:** "Dr. Köhler, if you think you are still presiding over the Economic Council, you are mistaken!")

I should like to state for the record that the progress of this session has been rather disorderly, and that the gentlemen of the other side of this House considered it convenient to prevent orderly progress of this debate through causing a constant racket and unrestrained heckling. But let us return to the subject. I would not wish to deprive the gentlemen here of the opportunity of learning something.

(Hilarity and heckling from the Right)

It is precisely the low level of real wages which has made the German economy and the working classes in Germany particularly vulnerable to a new threat. It would be a good thing if all sections of the population could be induced to keep the rate of devaluation lower than appears desirable from the selfish point of view of interested circles among importers and exporters. Great Britain now has the chance of sidestepping the wage-price spiral to a great extent. Germany's chance is very much smaller precisely on account of the Frankfurt economic policy.

WAYS TO KEEP PRICES DOWN

In the Government's Statement of Policy we looked in vain for recognition of the fact that German prices are not exclusively based on domestic costs. There are other prices based on imported foodstuffs and textile raw materials which are imported from abroad. Any price fluctuation here must in every case influence the living standards of the consumer. We would have liked to hear what is to be done to avoid the nefarious consequences of price rises of imported goods. We would have liked to learn how things will look in regard to the supply of bread and other essential groceries to lower-income groups. We would have liked to hear something about a subsidy program, in these fields above all others. For surely you cannot believe that the faces of the poor can be ground still deeper into the dust, that this policy can be pursued until real wages and the purchasing power of old-age and invalidity pensions will dwindle into nothingness!

Now, fellow Representatives, we have accumulated a certain amount of fat. We have certain possibilities of intervention. There is, for example, the possibility of applying a constructive price policy. There is the struggle for the reduction of Occupation costs. There is the possibility of purchasing foodstuffs from abroad more economically. Then there is the possibility of obtaining additional aid from abroad in the field of relief for refugees and expellees.

MERCHANT MARINE

Allow me to mention one further point, namely the resumption of our own merchant service. It would serve to earn foreign exchange and to

diminish the deficit of our balance of payments. Today we must spend 25 per cent of our Marshall Plan funds on sea transport of German imports. I should like to draw the attention of the Federal Government to the opportunity we now have of obtaining the release of the fishing and cargo boat categories decided upon in London.

THE FUTURE OF HEAVY INDUSTRY

Now, fellow Representatives, what we have today is a state which we Social Democrats regard as a state largely devoted to the restoration of economic Bourbonism. We have a state whose leadership, so we are afraid, may be tempted to utilize certain provisions of the Basic Law for the purpose of treating the masses of the population as inanimate objects. We will have to counter this in all fields of policy by our positive Social Democratic creative will. This applies, for instance, to the equalization of financial burdens as well as to socialization, which has not been struck from the agenda in spite of the election results. We would have liked to know how to interpret that solitary passage, which seemed so out of place in the Government's Statement of Policy, about a change in the ownership status of heavy industry. It would have been clearer if the Federal Chancellor had spoken of the property status, and even more clear, if he had explained what he actually meant by a change in ownership status. Perchance a restoration of the ownership status of the former proprietors? Or some pallid form of pseudo-socialization? Or certain forms of foreign capital investment? I have here a Catholic daily paper published in Switzerland, the "Neue Zürcher Nachrichten". In its pages the Federal Chancellor speaks about the Ruhr industry and the necessity for modernizing it with the aid of credits. In this connection he suggests ". . . here we have the possibility of foreign investments, including French ones, which would entail not only economic advantages but also important prerequisites for greater security"

("So that's it!" from the SPD benches)

We would have liked some details about all this.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

We should like to have heard, too, how matters stand with our major economic preoccupation, namely with the increase of employment opportunities. The policy of full employment is inextricably bound up with every positive policy connected with refugees and housing. It is impossible to isolate these problems from the overall economic situation. Each one meshes with the next. Even the most important problems are merely aspects of the cardinal problem of full employment. In this respect, too, please compare Great Britain and the Germany of the Frankfurt economic policy. Housing construction and aid for the refugees and the poor is impossible without planning and controls.

PROFITEERS

We should have liked to hear how it is planned to counter the exploitation for private profit of a boom predicated upon the concept of unfettered free enterprise. We have seen war profiteers, inflation profiteers, hoarding and dismantling profiteers living off the fat of the land. Now the danger of reconstruction profiteers is in the offing. Perhaps we will learn in the course of the debate what measures the Federal Government is preparing to forestall this development.

SOCIALIZATION

Socialization is not only an economic but also a political problem. In a functioning democracy, and especially in our country after Germany's ex-

periences, money cannot be the measure of all things in politics. Our people would not stand for it, nor would the theory and practice of European peace. The sanctity of property will be challenged with an intensity hitherto unknown.

The economic picture, especially of the last nine months, has been dominated by an abundance of false predictions and forecasts. But try as one may, no matter what point of view one starts with, one cannot escape the fact that the market is governed by the amount of national income, more particularly by the proportion of the national income in the hands of the broad masses. As long as the social yield shrinks and the real wages drop while unemployment rises, the turning of the economic tide cannot be brought about.

BANK DEUTSCHER LÄNDER

In the last few months we have heard a great deal of discussion about the issuance of additional credits and currency. I should like to take this opportunity of saying that in our eyes the orthodox financial policies of the Bank of German Länder (Bank Deutscher Länder) hamper our economic development. It is not only the personnel at the top which appears to us to be unsuited for providing impetus to the German national economy, but also its whole organizational structure.

FOREIGN INVESTMENT

When drafting blueprints for the future, we should fight shy of reliance on large amounts of private foreign investments. We have, I think, certain grounds for the fear that the stream of funds from abroad will hardly be greater than Germany's own contribution.

INCREASE OF PRODUCTION

The task which confronts us is boosting the volume of production, at a rough estimate, by a third of the present output in agriculture, industry and handicrafts. But such a boost in the volume of production can be successfully achieved only if there is a parallel reduction of prices. This is only possible by rationalization and by a concentration of the economic potential upon mass production. Unless prices are cut simultaneously, deficient purchasing power could not absorb increasing output. In that case, the building up of excess stocks would result.

AGRICULTURE

Turning to agriculture, I should like to say that here, too, a good deal is lacking. I am not so unfair as to require a survey of the multitude of problems in one brief Statement of Policy lasting an hour and a half. But certain outlines of policy should have been indicated, not just the negative announcement that rationing will be lifted. Goods that will be on free sale are mostly those whose prices should remain at fixed levels during the present period of devaluation, lest the entire wage structure collapse.

Agriculture has other problems as well. We still do not possess a uniform land reform. Exchange of fields to permit rational cultivation (Flurbereinigung) is not yet an accomplished fact. We have seen very little of the resettlement of expellees on vacant farms. The problem of the Import Balancing Fund (Importkasse) must still be tackled.

PLANNING OF PRODUCTION

If our economy is to recover, mass purchasing power must be boosted by lowering prices, increasing wages and the complete cessation of luxury goods manufacturing. But this calls for

planning in determining the relative priority of various products. The allocation of credits would be determined by these priorities. To ensure the proper utilization of credits, controls would, however, be necessary. The experience of the last 15 months has taught us that otherwise we would merely see the construction of additional factory capacity not needed for our national economy. The time factor does not allow me to outline such a credit program and such a roster of priorities in detail.

It must be said, with regard to price policy, that the effect of price dictatorship on the basis of agreements between the big merchants and manufacturers has been worse than prices fixed by the decree of some bureaucratic agency, no matter how abhorrent it may be made out to be. On the basis of our experience, I fear that current economic policy tends to maintain the monopolistic elements in our economy. I can see the danger that new monopolies and cartels will arise.

SOCIAL HOUSING

A shot in the arm for the building industry must not be twisted into a policy whose alpha and omega it is to provide incentives for private capital. Otherwise the fruits of housing construction will be beyond the means of rentpayers. What is to be primarily encouraged is the building of housing which the middle and lower-income groups can afford. Such housing must take precedence over the construction of commercial premises, sufficiently stimulated by present taxation policy and by the possibilities afforded by barter during the recent period of inflation.

Now we do have the announcement of a building policy as outlined by the Federal Chancellor yesterday. But before becoming head of the Government he sang a different tune. Then he said that the Federal Government would provide a home for every German. Well, the Frankfurt economic policy has proceeded in a different direction in this field also, but we will see to it that the Government is reminded of these words of the present Federal Chancellor, from the cradle to the grave.

(Hilarity and assent among SPD Deputies)

The Social Democratic Party has presented to the German public its Plan "A" for the construction of a million dwellings in four years. I should like to take this opportunity of alluding to a whole series of other projects, in particular those proposed by communal associations, which are well worthy of notice.

EXPELLEES

One cannot consider the housing question apart from the expellee question. The fate of the expellees is dependent upon the existence of a unified Federal finance agency. The Länder will not be able to solve this problem. I warn against a policy whereby problems are taken up by the Länder from the communities and passed on to the Federation, whereupon the Federal Government commends them to international succor. International aid is a necessity, but there is also a general German obligation towards the expellees. No one will be able to persuade us that everything that could have been done for the expellees has been done. I also raise my voice in warning against sidestepping this great task of economic and social integration of the expellees by apostrophizing the Oder-Neisse Line. One can only oppose the Oder-Neisse Line after social and human obligations towards the expellees have been met.

A critical word is in order concerning the allocation of credits for expellee enterprises. It must be made clear to other countries that the way in which dismantling is now handled makes the solution of the refugee problem extraordinarily difficult.

EXPellee PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

The expellees themselves, as a segregated group, will certainly not be able to realize their wishes. They will have to become integral parts of German political parties and of German political life. If the expellees turn to right-wing radicalism, it would mean a reversion from social reality to nationalistic illusion. Freedom of movement for expellees, equalization of financial burdens between the Länder and the concentration of all forces to solve a problem which is truly a German national problem — that is what this question requires.

THE DÜRKHEIM RESOLUTION

Surely you have heard of the Social Democratic resolution adopted in Dürkheim. You have been able to undertake a critical appraisal of the 16 points. Whether you agree with or reject their particulars, they are an inherent component of the activity of Social Democracy as a party of the Opposition in the new German state.

THE RIGHT OF CO-DETERMINATION

But no less important is the economic and social significance of the trade union program. For us, the workers' right of co-determination is not confined to the factory but involves the right to an equal say in German economic life.

(Loud applause from SPD benches — Heckling from the Right)

I believe that if we wish to make a contribution to German unity, we should work along the lines of giving the working masses social prestige and an equal voice in economic matters. I cannot enumerate here all the planks of the great social and political platform of the trade unions, all of which Social Democracy undoubtedly advocates. But there is one point I must make. If you are in favor of German unity, then make Western Germany a magnet in the fields of social policy and the prestige accorded to the worker! The power to mould society will bring about national unity and shape a German nation which, in cooperation with the rest of the world, has faith in itself and its future.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Federal Chancellor devoted a part of his speech yesterday to Germany's relations with the other powers. Unfortunately he did not outline any plan or conception for a progressive German foreign policy.

With regard to the Occupation Statute, I should like to say that to me its greatest advantage lies in the prospect of its early revision. I appreciate that the tenor of this document is more friendly than that of other documents which preceded it. I fully recognize the fact that one can work within the framework of this Occupation Statute. What we regret, however, is the lack of concrete provisions regarding rights and duties and the fact that very broad formulations have been used.

THE RUHR AUTHORITY

Neither did we hear anything about the Ruhr Authority yesterday. The Social Democratic Party declared from the first day that its aim was a

transformation of the Ruhr Authority, a transformation which puts no barriers in the way of socialization and which removes an all-important blemish, namely, the fact that in this Ruhr Statute all conceivable physical questions are regulated but no mention is made of the people who create the material wealth. We consider it a regrettable gap that the Ruhr Statute does not incorporate the importance and right to act of the German and international trade unions.

CULTURAL POLICY

Ladies and gentlemen, we have also heard very little, only one or two sentences at the end, about the currents of cultural policy. What we did hear was more in the nature of perfunctory formula. We learned nothing of that which it is necessary to learn in view of the struggles in Bonn and the nature of the election campaign. It is not possible to fight out very tangible and variable power grabs on the basis of timeless and eternally valid laws of morals and faith. We must be sure that concrete wishes will be thrashed out here in a spirit of meeting each other half-way. But we have been concerned lately with phrases we have heard uttered to the effect that Christian social policy is merely one aspect of Christian cultural policy. In other words, cultural policy takes precedence over social policy. We disagree. The social factor is not subordinate to any other factor in human society. The social factor is the ethical and humane factor. In natural law, too, the right to live is the primary right standing far above those parental rights which were so carefully sidestepped yesterday. I believe that I can quote a personality whose moral and religious significance cannot be sullied even in the clash of ideologies. I refer to Mahatma Gandhi who said: "To the poor God appears in the shape of bread".

We will accept no measures which exploit the fortuitous circumstance that the German State is split. We only accept measures drawn up in such a way that they would apply to the whole of Germany, measures which express the cultural and social intentions and convictions of the entire German people in all four Zones.

(Loud applause on the Left)

FRONTIER CHANGES IN THE WEST

In the course of surveying our relations with other countries, we have also heard something about frontiers. It is high time to point out that back in 1945 SPD was, for quite a long time, the only party to oppose the Oder-Neisse Line both in Germany and before the forum of world public opinion.

("Very true!" from SPD benches — Protests from the center)

But, ladies and gentlemen, it is impossible to limit the discussion of frontier problems unilaterally to one of the contestants. Even the apparently small frontier adjustment in the West have a psychological and political significance quite out of keeping with their material importance. The advantage accruing to the other party as a result of such frontier corrections in any one case cannot, to my mind, outweigh the damage done to Germany's trust in the international solidarity of democracy. We feel that too much of the old anti-European spirit still infests relationships between the European peoples. There is not enough of the spirit of a real new "Europe", which alone can enable us to overcome the great economic and political problems encompassing the whole Continent.

THE SAAR

The Saar is now in the forefront of discussion. Although it would certainly be in Germany's interest to discuss the Saar Constitution of 1947, we do not wish to do so now, lest we bar the way towards Franco-German understanding. But notwithstanding that Constitution, one aspect of the Saar question is clear. The German people in its entirety wants the Saar to remain within Germany politically.

Representative Dr. Franz Richter, German Reich Party—DRP: "Your comrades in the Saar have forgotten that, Dr. Schumacher!"

Do you by any chance have Munich and the role played by certain other powers in mind?

(Renewed heckling)

Pardon me, but the Social Democratic Party of the Saar (SPS) is an independent political party not affiliated with the German Social Democratic Party. It has slipped your mind that the Saar Government consists for the most part of members of a party which is closer to you than to me. Anyway, fellow Representatives, I do not think it is appropriate to discuss a national question with these methods and on this level,

(Loud applause from SPD)

since an agreement about the Saar is well within the range of the possible and worth striving for. Of course I do not know whether we will reach complete agreement. The creation of an independent Saar State and its representation in the Council of Europe seems to me to be a threatening barrier to the development of European cooperation. If we tolerate an independent Saar State in the Council of Europe and postpone discussion of a settlement of this question until we get to Strasbourg — I interpret the Chancellor's speech as implying this — then we have already accepted a fait accompli which it will be very difficult to annul.

As a matter of principle the underlying thesis of German foreign policy should be that important material considerations must never be jeopardized just to meet an urgent deadline. Such urgency is probably a fictitious one anyway. Social Democracy has been subjected to attacks, most of them unwarranted, for over 80 years because of its international nature. At a time when no other party in Germany did so, SPD, in its Heidelberg program of 1925, made the United States of Europe a pivot of its foreign policy.

FRANCO-GERMAN COOPERATION

I take it that you will credit us with an honest desire for a unified Europe. You will have gathered the same impression from the section of my speech dealing with economics. But, ladies and gentlemen, in the last analysis the vital goal of Franco-German understanding cannot be achieved by high-sounding pledges, but only by objective democratic discussion of the problems at hand. Even here we should refrain from issuing blank checks. To do so would only further certain tendencies towards hegemony in Europe, and on the other hand undermine the good will of the broad masses of the German people towards international cooperation. Europe means equal rights, ladies and gentlemen!

(Loud applause from SPD benches)

Nothing should be accepted which might prejudice the provisions of a peace treaty. Not only would we thereby irresponsibly weaken our position in the West, but we should also weaken our position in the East. He who compromises by conceding the political separation of the Saar from

Germany has slipped once and loses his firm footing in the political struggle against the Oder-Neisse line.

In this connection we should certainly be strong-willed in discussing the issue of dismantling. At the same time we should contribute to the crystallization of arguments used by all sides. We are told that the world, after its experiences during many decades of German history, is concerned about its security. That may well be. But this alone does not illustrate the whole complex. Those concerned with security should say openly who constitutes a security threat. We want to instil in the German people, politically and psychologically, an understanding for the security needs of our next-door neighbors. On the other hand, it must become clear that certain methods of disputation are not the right ones to employ with us. We do not turn into nationalists just because we defend a crucially important part of our economic substance, more than four years after the cessation of hostilities.

STEEL CAPACITY

Nor should the impression be fostered that the Germans consider this defense of our economic substance a test of strength with the Allies. To evoke that impression is tantamount to poisoning the atmosphere. It should sink in what steel capacity the Germans are really fighting for. It is not, after all, the capacity of Hitler Germany which is at issue. Western Germany, the area covered by the three Western Zones, had exactly the same level of steel production capacity we are now defending, namely 14½ million tons, under the democratic Cabinet of Hermann Müller in the 'twenties. This should be recognized as a basis for discussion. One should also take into account that we have since acquired an additional population consisting of 7½ million refugees. It should be realized that the scope of reconstruction, particularly the needs of housing, justify an extraordinary large demand for steel. Finally, we should be given the opportunity to export steel and steel products to other European countries, if only because we must export to counterbalance our food imports. The policy adopted towards us by certain foreign countries, combined with the Frankfurt economic policy, will prevent us from making German economic life a going concern without American assistance after the end of 1952.

As early as 1945 we openly stated our position. We have now exhibited the same frankness, and the world has no reason to be surprised as a result. In all these questions we hope for the achievement of a compromise that will redound to the satisfaction of all concerned. It is well within the realm of possibility. But we must say openly that, for reasons both economic and political, we neither can nor will renounce that which for us is not subject to renunciation.

CONCLUSION

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in broad outline this is the program of the Opposition, as contrasted with that of the Government. It is not that our demands are in every case diametrically opposed. Many of the things we demand seemingly do not even appear in the Government's program. We are not simply the antithesis of this Government, but an independent movement. And thus, in conducting our oppositional policy, we shall always keep in mind that it is our goal some day to achieve a parliamentary majority in this House for Socialist Democracy.

Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 21 September 1949 by

Dr. Heinrich von Brentano of the Christian Democratic Union
(Christlich-Demokratische Union — CDU)

A HISTORIC HOUR

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I believe there is no one in the House who can have remained unaffected by the impression which the last few days and weeks have made on each one of us. In these few days and weeks, after the Basic Law went into effect, the first newly-elected German parliament assembled in order to implement the Basic Law, in order to organize this state anew, in order to manifest, for the first time, the reality of the German Federal Republic, thus taking an active part in German history for the first time after many years of compulsory political abstinence.

I think it is a good thing at a moment like this to recall the past, since the Germans, while inclined to have a very strong feeling for their cultural tradition, seem to have a remarkable aversion against acknowledging a political tradition, perhaps due to a dim feeling that the German people have so often blundered in their fateful decisions. But it is a good and proper thing to recall the past, for a review of the past is the one thing which may be most helpful in guarding us from faults committed in the past, faults which have led Germany down a false path not only once but repeatedly.

We should also remember in this context that one hundred years ago Germans assembled in the serious-minded endeavor to create a new German and democratic fatherland, and we should further remember the sincere efforts which united Germans in 1919 in the attempt to create a new structure, after a grievous political, economic, and military collapse.

NO REVIVAL OF A BYGONE ORDER

Here already I should like to deal with the expositions of the previous speaker and to assure him: The Federal Government, which yesterday delivered its Statement of Policy before you, has no intention to revive a bygone order, and I think you should not, after this declaration, impute such intentions to this Government!

("Hear, hear!" from the Center and Right)

Ladies and gentlemen, the pronouncement was made that it was to be feared this Government would consider it its task to revive a bygone order and to re-establish an authoritarian property distribution state,

(Interruption by SPD: "Property-owners' state!")

or rather a property-owners' state. I think we should not make such imputation right at the beginning of our political discussion

("Hear, hear!" from Center and Right)

for whoever followed the Governmental Statement of Policy attentively without doubting its sincerity — and I think there is absolutely no reason for the

latter — cannot have gathered from it that the Cabinet of our Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer has any intention of creating a property-owners' state.

(Renewed assent from Center and Right — Interjection from the Left: "Frankfurt Economic Policy!")

Later on in my speech I shall also have occasion to touch upon the Frankfurt Economic Policy.

(Interjection from the Left: "That would be instructive!")

On the contrary, if I recall to mind yesterday's Governmental Statement of Policy, which, as stated by the previous speaker, lasted for 82 minutes, and if I also recall to mind his own speech of today, which took more than 90 minutes, then I must say: I believe I heard a program yesterday, whereas today I heard criticism which was labelled as a program at the tail end.

(Lively approval from Center and Right)

If the previous speaker stated that the Governmental Statement of Policy had left out a number of things and that, in particular, it did not show the policies the government intends to pursue, then I can only state: the speaker who preceded me also left out a number of things, and I am quite willing to grant him that this was due to lack of time. But neither did *he* reveal the policies he intends to pursue!

(Interjection from SPD: "He did, too, in the field of housing policy!")

Ladies and gentlemen, as I said: it is very useful to review what happened in the recent past, in addition, a retrospective survey of the Weimar Republic seems especially called for. At that time, in the years that proved decisive, it happened that those whose task it should have been to protect and defend German democracy, not only fought each other, but, even worse, allowed themselves to be overrun by the foes of democracy. This, ladies and gentlemen, must not and shall not happen again!

DENAZIFICATION

The previous speaker was right in stating that we are confronted by a special danger, a danger which I also consider to be great, i. e. that of being overrun by a national revolutionary movement which might feed on the desperate living conditions of large segments of our people in the East. We shall not be able to ward this danger off — that too was stated yesterday — with the methods of a denazification.

("Hear, hear!" from Center and Right)

That system of evaluating political questionnaires has failed dismally, as had been foreseen from the very beginning by quite a few sensible Germans. It reminds me of the attempt to keep out an imminent danger by drawing a pentagram on the threshold, trusting in the devils' beneficial habit

of using the same door always. Although I like to hope that this habit has not changed in the meantime, I believe it to be a false assumption that the same demon might enter the body politic. In their horrendousness the two demons may be as indistinguishable as two peas in a pod. Nevertheless they will not be identical. We should therefore not indulge in this form of polemics against the recent past — I mean that we should not use this method of unsuccessful denazification — but should see to it that the basic conditions that might lead to a new assault on democracy no longer exist.

ROLE OF THE OPPOSITION

In this connection, ladies and gentlemen, I should also like to say a word with regard to the statements of the previous speaker. When dealing with the part to be played by the Opposition he declared that a rather naive discussion on that point had been started in the press. I assume the speaker was thinking of some characterizations of the Opposition's mission which have in fact been contained in various articles. In my opinion, these were by no means naive. I even venture to assume that the speaker would not have stressed the naiveté of these concepts if he were installed on the government bench. In that case he would welcome it if the Opposition were to abide by these ideas which he now deprecates as naive.

I personally hold the view that, as far as the state is concerned, the Opposition's task ranks with that of the Government itself, and with that of the Government parties. But I am also convinced that an Opposition limited to negation alone would not fulfill this task. Anyone who opposes for the sake of opposition, or, let us better say, for the sake of propaganda, sins against the spirit of democracy and sins against the life of the German people. Of course I can understand the contention of the speaker who preceded me that it is not the Government, or the government parties who can determine the worthiness or unworthiness of the Opposition. But I do not think anyone would dare to advance such a claim anyway.

How necessary it is, ladies and gentlemen — to say a few words about it — that we in Germany clearly understand the tasks we all have been charged with by the elections, and that we try to solve them by common effort within the framework of the possible, may be gathered from the statements made by Dr. Schumacher. He was perfectly right in saying — and here I underline every word of his — that above all things the problems lying before us in the field of foreign policy, the problem of putting our relationship with foreign nations on a new basis, can only be solved by common effort. Opinions as to ways, methods, dates and character of actions required may vary in this field, but certainly — the speaker who preceded me put it the same way — no fundamental differences of opinions exist as to the common aim.

There is another problem — here again I concur with the speaker who preceded me — which can only be solved by cooperation of all those to whom German unity means more than a figure of speech. However, I cannot understand — I must say it — the previous speaker's claim that it was solely the SPD which first raised the call for German unity. This assumption may be based on the fact that the Social Democratic Party was the first, and perhaps hitherto the only one possessing an organization good and tightly-knit enough to enable it to speak for all of German Social Democracy. But I cannot assume, ladies and gentlemen, that the gentlemen of the Opposition did not hear the pro-

nouncements and wishes for German unity which emanated from the other political parties.

(“Hear, hear!” from Center and Right)

Should they nevertheless be unacquainted with them, then I must say, they may have read the wrong newspapers.

(Hilarity in the Center and on the Right — Interjection from the Left: “The licensed press!”)

THE EAST ZONE

Ladies and gentlemen, I also consider it entirely wrong to lay stress upon political differences of opinion right now, when we discuss German unity under the aspect of the East. I do believe that Dr. Schumacher's remark about “Nuschkotes”*) was an unfortunate slip.

(Interjection from the SPD: “It was nothing but a retort!”)

A reply can be a bad slip, too.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: “Then it would be fair to equally reprimed him who provoked the retort!”

I don't know who provoked it.

Representative Dr. Schumacher, SPD: “We shall bring that up in the Steering Committee!”

For, ladies and gentlemen, we are fully aware of the intricacies of politics in the East, but you also know that Herr Nuschke is not the representative of CDU.

Representative Rudolf Ernst Heiland, SPD: “But he was received by Herr Adenauer, right here in this building!”

He was not received by Herr Adenauer, he just came in and sat down next to him.

Representative Heiland: “In his office!”

You may discuss that with Herr Adenauer. You know that not Herr Nuschke, but Herr Jakob Kaiser, who is sitting here, is the representative of CDU in the East Zone. It is also for this reason that he has taken over the Ministry for the German East (Ostministerium). Ladies and gentlemen, I regret the remark I referred to all the more because it compels me to state that it was not the CDU of the East Zone which, under Jacob Kaiser's leadership, endangered German unity but the deplorable failure of the Social Democratic Party in the East Zone.

(Acclamation from the Right and Center — Vigorous protests and catcalls from the Left — Interjection from SPD: “It's them who are in the concentration camps!”)

In making this statement I do not mean to accuse those whom we all know, the innumerable sincere Social Democrats who have defended liberty. Their leaders, however, were miserable failures.

(Interjection from SPD: “Herr Kaiser was part of the East Block!” — More Interruptions)

Let me return to the main subject, after these statements on my part had become necessary in consequence of a remark which had unfortunately been made.

I have pointed out before that it is a good thing to remember the past. I should like to repeat it now that we are speaking of the German East, because only in the light of the German past can we feel inwardly justified in demanding German unity. We have at all times emphasized the con-

*) A reference to followers of East Zone CDU leader Otto Nuschke.

tinuity of the German state. We are here to organize a new state, not to create a new state. We therefore have the right to speak about the restoration of that unity, by referring to the Basic Law and its Preamble, in which we set as our goal the preservation of Germany's national unity. It need hardly be stressed that we, too, can visualize German unity only in a united Germany in which the fundamental prerequisites of freedom and equality, as well as respect for dignity of man, are vouchsafed. We therefore have ample cause and every right, as was done yesterday, so today and ever again, to project our thoughts beyond the Zonal borders to East Germany. Let it be inscribed in our minds, let us convey our greetings to it. Tomorrow our work shall be devoted to it.

It is because we were of the opinion that a problem of a very special nature has to be solved in this field that we have established a Ministry for the German East (Ostministerium) — this I should like to say in reply to an objection along these lines. This Ministry is not, by any means, intended to enter into international relations with the East, as has been insinuated; its existence should, on the contrary, make it apparent to the Germans in the East Zone that we of the Government, of the government parties, and of this whole House are not content to long for the unity of Germany, but are resolved to lay the groundwork for it within the framework of the possible. We are ready to listen to the East Zone, to follow developments there. The existence of this Ministry of the German East is a token of our readiness to make all those psychological and material preparations which must have been completed by the time this wish for unity is realized. After all, we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that over there in the East Zone, under the rule of the Soviet Union, sociological, structural, and economic changes have taken place. They could not possibly be rescinded or altered overnight once German unity is restored. I am therefore confident that the Ministry for the German East has a genuinely German, a genuinely political function, and that we could certainly not have done without this Ministry. I believe I can say that we have found the right chief for it in the person of my friend Jakob Kaiser.

Ladies und gentlemen, as I stated before: the previous speaker's address, which he himself chooses to describe as a program, was to a large extent prompted by lack of confidence.

(Interjection from the Left: "He has his good reasons!")

I think it is a vice inherent in German politics in general, and in German post-war politics in particular, that we are wont to approach each other with distrust, or at least to consider others less straightforward than we believe ourselves to be.

(Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid: SPD: "Certain people sometimes cannot be as honest as they would like to be!" — Interjection "Are you referring to yourself?" — Hilarity — Deputy Dr. Schmid: "No!")

In the interests of our political tasks in general it is my hope and wish that those barriers between parties erected by mutual distrust and based on blind dogmatism shall some day be eliminated.

YOUTH

Somebody has mentioned youth. Youth was stated to have only one demand, namely the recognition of its equality. We would certainly be the

very last to reject such a demand; on the contrary, I hope that youth will make farther-reaching demands, and the young people I know do indeed demand more. I believe I can maintain that youth demands, more than anything else, integrity in political life. It does not want to become involved in spiteful political disputes. Youth has sound vision and, as I say, a sound nucleus. It envisages the restoration of a genuine community, but not in the sense of the abused Nazi concept of a "people's community" (Volksgemeinschaft). I believe we can only appeal to youth and gain its co-operation if we do everything in our power not to place such obstacles in its path towards participation in political life.

Ladies and gentlemen, the previous speaker went on to deal with the underlying principles of the Government's Statement of Policy. As was to be expected, he started out by contending that everything that had been said was bad. I think that was not the proper manner of debate.

Let me first discuss the statement that the tone of the Government's Statement of Policy was idyllic. I can only express myself to the effect that many had quite a different impression, that many did not refuse to let the seriousness of the Government's Statement of Policy sink in. For a Government's Statement of Policy to be impressive, emphatic pathos is certainly not a requisite. But whoever merely caught the idyllic tone in listening to our Chancellor's words, without perceiving the genuine concern for Germany's future, has, I believe, not listened carefully.

ECONOMIC POLICY

As was not to be expected otherwise, the Opposition's main attack was directed against economic policy. And it has already been clearly and unmistakably stated in the Government's Statement of Policy that we are determined to hold fast to the course of the Frankfurt economic policy. I think the Opposition should make the best of this fact for the time being.

(SPD laughter)

To begin with we do not think that the arguments put forward by Dr. Schumacher yesterday are apt to divert us from this course.

(SPD interjection: "I am convinced of that!")

It is not our opinion that planned economy is better suited to relieve our present economic plight. In this connection it was stated that the masses of the people must not be treated as a mere object. My reply is that we stand for the principle of human freedom, also in the economic field, for this very reason: because we want to release the people and the individual from the undignified position of being treated as a mere object, because we want to make them the masters of their fate. We also believe that we better serve our German people by holding fast to this principle of a free economy

(SPD interjection: "What about social tensions?")

since we maintain that the individual especially will be better served in a free economy than as subject of the discretionary fancy of some bureaucratic agency.

(SPD interjection: "If he has no ration coupons, he must have money!")

TAX CUTS

Ladies and gentlemen, in this connection it has also been criticized that the Government's Statement of Policy, while emphasizing the necessity of a tax cut, did not at the same time lay stress upon an increase of production as the indispensable prerequisite for a reduction of costs and thus for a balancing of supply and demand. I think both points have been misunderstood. It has been emphasized that we need a tax reform and a tax cut, so that saving and investment capital will once again be accumulated. This has been recognized in principle by the previous speaker. But we certainly do not believe that we can cut taxes to an extent that would reduce revenues below the level necessary for continuing to meet our social obligations. Ladies and gentlemen, please believe me that government policy will certainly not be that short-sighted, and believe me that the Government parties are above all things in dead earnest about their social responsibilities.

(SPD interjection: "We could gather as much from the Frankfurt economic policy!" —

Retort from the Right: "You cannot prove the contrary!")

To the best of my knowledge, I do not believe that any measures detrimental to the social welfare insurance holders were decided upon at Frankfurt. The Social Insurance Adaptation Law did certainly not have any detrimental effect upon their economic situation, but I am always prepared to be taught better.

SOCIAL POLICY

In this connection the previous speaker indicated that the Government's Statement of Policy had neglected assurance for the laboring man, for the worker. I should like to state for the record that this point was not neglected. The Government's Statement of Policy expressly sets forth that social and economic interests will be left to the free self-administration of the associations and unions. Increasingly cordial relations between employers and employees should be the goal.

(Interjection from the Left: "Is that all?")

In connection with socialization it was also set forth that social recognition of the working class must bring about a reorganization of the ownership status of basic industries. Dr. Schumacher believed he could infer from this statement that the government might be aiming at restoring the property rights of former owners.

(SPD interjection: "We just wanted to know what was meant!")

It seems to me that anyone reading this statement cannot misinterpret it, unless he wishes to misinterpret it.

("Hear, hear!" on the Right)

Ladies and gentlemen, as has already been stated, our wishes and opinions cannot be exhaustively laid down in a Governmental Statement of Policy lasting 82 minutes. Whoever wants to become acquainted with them should read the Ahlen Program and the Düsseldorf Platform.

(SPD interjection: "What, do these two cover the same ground?" —

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Herr von Brentano, they were interpreted subsequently, weren't they?")

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not believe that you are either serving or promoting the debate by rais-

ing doubts as to the truth of any statement that is not to your liking. Are you seriously claiming the monopoly for social thinking?

("Hear, hear!" from the Center and Right)

Do you seriously mean to claim the monopoly of being alone able to mend Germany's social order?

(Interjection from the Right: "Very good" —

Exclamation from SPD: "How can you make such assertions?")

Don't you think we feel at least as much social responsibility? And we do not, as has been said, just talk about it, but we are going to act on it!

("Hear, hear" and applause in the Center and on the Right — Disorder and exclamations from the Left. "That's an IOU which won't be redeemed!" —

Representative Dr. Schmid: "There is a certain difference, Herr von Brentano!")

There is a difference, the Lord be praised for it, else you would not be in the Opposition.

(**Representative Dr. Schmid**: "Some people want to help others and believe that is social action!" —

CDU retort: "Not bad, if that is what they have in mind!" —

Representative Dr. Schmid: "But that is 'caritas', then!" —

CDU retort: "Caritas, shmaritas!" —

Speaker Dr. Erich Koehler, CDU: Deputy von Brentano has the floor, and not the members of this House!")

TRADE UNIONS

It has been asserted that one looks in vain for a reference to trade unions in the Government's Statement of Policy. After all, ladies and gentlemen, is it necessary to make special reference to the trade unions as long as two trade union representatives are Cabinet members?

("Hear, hear" from CDU)

Does not this alone suffice to convince you of our desire to work with the trade unions, not against them? And do you believe to render the trade unions a particularly valuable service by always constituting yourselves their spokesmen? It is not by any means solely members of your party that are found in trade union ranks. You detract from the trade unions' importance and degrade them in the eyes of the public when you think you can use them as catspaws for your politicking. I feel I can tell you that if you continue trying that, then the trade unions will no longer follow you.

("Hear, hear" from CDU — SPD interjection: "Leave that to the trade unions!" — Shouts on the Right)

Yes, I shall leave it to the unions. Ladies and gentlemen, the previous speaker was perfectly right in emphasizing, in this connection, that the economic development of the new Federal Republic, and consequently the fulfilment of its social tasks, was seriously endangered by recent events, not least by the revaluation of the currency, by the devaluation of the English Pound. And I further think I can fully agree with his statement that any change, any revaluation of the parity of the D-Mark, for which no international rate of exchange exists as yet, must and will affect the entire price structure. I think I may assure you

that the Federal Government, too, has recognized this fact and has already considered this problem.

It has further been stated — and I think to this I can also agree for the moment — that these complications, especially in the currency field, are largely due to the economic and structural changes to which Europe was subjected during the past 15 or 20 years. These were the years which were generally devoted to rearmament in preparation for the war, and which had to be devoted to that purpose to some extent. These developments forced not only European but also other countries in the direction of increasing self-sufficiency, which in turn led to the loss of numerous markets. I agree with the previous speaker that it has therefore become all the more necessary to do everything in our power to promote the European idea, as it has already been laid down in the Basic Law. Here again I underline the slogan of the previous speaker, who outlined the ultimate goal in these words: Europe means equal rights.

But I feel that in discussing devaluation and the economic policy we intend to carry through, we should not entirely disregard the fact — and Dr. Schumacher himself has demanded respect for facts — that this devaluation of the English Pound has certainly been caused in part by the economic experiments of the British government.

(“Quite true” from the Right —

Representative Rudolf Ernst Heiland, SPD: “It was caused by Hitler’s war, Herr von Brentano!”)

Also by that, my dear fellow representative Heiland. Undoubtedly Great Britain, too, has to suffer from the consequences of a lost war.

(Shouts and hilarity)

One may almost call it a lost war. But we should not shut our eyes to the fact that a good measure of blame for Britain’s present economic difficulties is due to her economic policy.

(“Very true” from the Right)

That is why we in Germany are not willing to enter into such experiment lest we arrive at the same results.

(Interjection from KPD: “What are you going to say tomorrow when your Government carries out a devaluation, too? Whose fault will it be then?” —

Interjection from the Right: “The fault of the British government!” —

Representative Dr. Kurt Schumacher, SPD: “With every word you utter you are ‘strengthening’ the position of the new German State!”)

NUMBER OF MINISTRIES

I should like to deal with a further question broached in connection with the issue of economy and the solution of social problems. The question has been ventilated whether the Cabinet is not overstuffed

(SPD interjection: “They were even short one chair!”)

In this connection the remark was made that it might be possible to form an entire Party Delegation by assembling all those who in the end failed to make the Cabinet. I do not know whether Dr. Schumacher had his party colleagues in mind when he uttered that remark.

(Interjection from the Right: “Very likely”)

As recently as 14 August they certainly had the intention of taking their place on the government bench.

(“Very good” from the Center —

SPD interjection: “How do you know that?” —
CDU exclamation: “He even wanted to become Federal President!”)

I have already pointed out the necessity of creating a Ministry for the German East. The ERP Ministry whose necessity is recognized by ourselves and by the Government,

(SPD interjection: “Since when?”)

has special tasks which cannot and should not be performed by the Ministry of Economics. And the establishment of a ministry to secure close liaison between the Federal Government and the Bundesrat should serve as token of the Federal Government’s considered intention to do everything to realize the federalistic aspects of the Basic Law.

(SPD interjection: “Through a man who brand-ed the Basic Law a concoction!”)

This was made clear in yesterday’s Governmental Statement of Policy. Ladies and gentlemen, I believe there is a greater necessity for this now than ever before. For we must not disregard the fact that in the last few years developments in Western Germany took place in eleven different Länder. Depending upon the kind of Occupation Power and political structure, they underwent variegated development. Many high-minded people will have to work to transform this heterogeneity into unity once again. The Federation’s and the Länder’s goodwill will be equally called for. The establishment of this Ministry is not due to exaggerated and hyper-federalistic considerations. I trust, Dr. Schumacher, that your fears in this respect are unjustified.

Representative Dr. Kurt Schumacher, SPD: “Herr von Brentano, how about a Minister for Centralistic Trends?”

That would indeed be a violation of spirit and letter of the Basic Law. I do not think you need to have any apprehension concerning such hyper-federalistic ideas. The Basic Law, which was adopted by the votes of your party, too, has laid down clear delineations in this respect. We intend to abide by them, because we want to live up to the Basic Law.

CIVIL SERVICE

Your apprehension lest intent and letter of the Basic Law be violated by the way of personnel policy is similarly uncalled for. The Government’s Statement of Policy yesterday espoused the principle of a career Civil Service. This principle is likewise supported by the Government parties. Of course we are aware that the system of career civil service must definitely not be revived in its former pattern. Career civil service shall not become what it may have been once upon a time, the abuse of a caste system (Berechtigungswesen)*, or its end result.

(Interjection from the Left: “The goal of becoming a flunkey of the state!”)

You may rest assured that we are going to build on new foundations. But especially in the light of personnel policy applied in recent years it becomes evident that, now more than ever before, we need the restoration of a body of genuine career civil

*) see Glossary, p. 96.

servants conscious of their responsibilities. On the other hand I ask that they support the state unequivocally.

(Interjection from the Right: "On a non-partisan basis!")

Incidentally, please do not fear that we will set up employment exchanges here. I might well say, in this connection, that according to my own experience I hardly know of a more efficient employment exchange than the Social Democratic Party.

(Lively agreement in the Center and on the Right — Interjection: "That's all over now.")

WAR VICTIMS

The Federal Chancellor has also been accused — I am proceeding in proper order, to avoid any impression that I purposely skipped some complaint — of not taking enough interest in war casualties. I think you must have overlooked the part of his speech which reads:

"Enactment of uniform pension legislation for the whole of the Federal Republic is a necessity."

This corresponds exactly to the request put forth by you, and I am glad to note that my views agree with yours on this point.

(SPD interjection: "But not in practice!")

In order to put forth such practical proposals in his Statement of Governmental Policy, the Federal Chancellor would have had to put all the draft bills of the following year before this House, and you can hardly expect him to have progressed that far only a few hours after the formation of the Cabinet. Do not put forward any claims and demands which yourselves know to be impracticable!

PERSECUTEES

It has further been stated that the Government's Statement of Policy, quite apart from failing entirely to deal with other essential points, paid only insufficient heed to the tragedy of those persecuted and injured by Nazism, and to the tragic situation of German and displaced Jews. Ladies and gentlemen, above all other things the Federal Chancellor chose grave words when discussing antisemitism. That it was unnecessary for him to dwell expressly on the problem of political persecutees may be gathered from the fact that such political persecutees are members of his Cabinet.

(Loud interjections from the SPD —

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "Why then did he speak at all?")

You have heard why. You may gather from it that the Federal Government is sufficiently familiar with the tragic fate of the political persecutees.

CULTURAL POLICY

It has also been claimed that the Federal Chancellor failed to expound the policy he plans to follow in the cultural field. Ladies and gentlemen. I think he knew very well what he was doing when he sidestepped this point, because he had first studied the contents of the Basic Law most carefully. According to its provisions, cultural policy happens to be a responsibility of the Länder.

Representative Dr. Kurt Schumacher, SPD: "What did you say during the election campaign and in Bonn?"

We said the same, Herr Dr. Schumacher! It was not the task of the Federal Government to occupy itself with tasks coming exclusively within the competence of the Länder. I emphasize "exclusive competence" in order to forestall any erroneous ideas.

(Interjection: "Of course, ours is a Rhineland-Palatinate culture, and not a German one! —

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Why are our cultural policies at variance?")

FOREIGN POLICY

In addition, the previous speaker dealt with the question of foreign policy. I have already responded to a few points and, as I stated, it is my belief that there is complete agreement in our fundamental attitude on these points. I trust that full agreement could likewise be reached as to the steps we are determined to take. There is nothing I should regret more deeply than to see party disputes muddy the problem of foreign policy, and obstruct its handling along clearly defined, unemotional lines. Undoubtedly there are questions for whose solution all segments of the German people must cooperate. Foreign policy, as well as German unity and the expelled and refugee question, are issues that can be solved by common effort only, never by working at cross-purposes. I think in these fields it is our duty to put aside all disagreements. It is our duty not to endanger, by fighting each other, possible solutions that are in the interest of the entire German people.

GENERAL REMARKS

Ladies and gentlemen, I stated at the outset that it was not the object of the Government's Statement of Policy, and could not be its object to outline all the problems facing the German people. Several days would not have sufficed for that, for we all know that hardly any generation has been confronted with the multitude of problems we shall have to cope with. That is the inevitable heritage of the disastrous regime lying behind us. It led Germany not only into a military collapse, but caused the shattering and destruction of her material, political, economical and ethical assets in 1945. It will be a long time before these assets can be restored. And we will need to proceed with great care to revive confidence abroad, to convince people abroad that the distorted features displayed by the German people from 1933 to 1945 were not their true face. We must convince them that the genuine, the moral, the potent forces of the German people, far from being exhausted, were merely buried during those years. I trust that the last four years have convinced many a skeptic. For what the German people have accomplished in these years to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps — by the laboring masses in the Ruhr spearheaded by the laboring masses in the Ruhr and elsewhere, have accomplished — that, ladies and gentlemen, I venture to say, is unparalleled. Their morale is being appreciated abroad, but each one of us must also pay whole-hearted tribute to it.

(Applause in the Center —

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "Higher wages would be better!")

I do not believe that all wage earners are thinking along such primitive lines as indicated by that interjection.

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "But at least those who do not have enough to live on."

The statement I just made will show you that the solution of the social problem by cooperation is really close to our hearts. As the Federal Chancellor put it, it is the guiding principle of our work. That holds true even though we may differ as to methods. It happens to be our conviction that dialectical Marxism, viewed from the aspect of the state's historical growth, was, I should like to say, a period comparable to the era of storm and stress (Sturm- und Drangperiode) in the evolutionary development of our people. We are of the opinion that an artificially revived class struggle

(Laughter on the Left)

is not suited to bring about the abolition of social contrasts.

(Interjection from the Left: "Because you do not understand its meaning." —

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "It is you who organize the class struggle!"

Destructiveness is a criterion of any struggle; by its very nature it can never lead to a constructive solution.

We want to travel a different road. We want to go forward on the road I showed you. In accord with the Basic Law we want to give man freedom and dignity by making him the center of public, political and economic life.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think we are not mistaken in holding the opinion that, in traveling this road, the substance of Christian thinking will back us up. I would even venture to assume that the previous speaker completely misunderstood the words of a man of such earnest and moral purity as Mahatma Gandhi. If Mahatma Gandhi said: "To the poor, God appears in the bread", then he did not intend it to convey the meaning which I believe I must attribute to your comment, based on oversimplification and a somewhat materialistic approach.

("Hear, hear!" from SPD —

Representative Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Herr von Brentano, that was a cheap gibe!")

CONCLUSION

Ladies and gentlemen, I have endeavored to elucidate the Government's Statement of Policy from my party's point of view, and I have endeavored to discuss the views of the largest Opposition party.

(KPD interjection: "That was a bit thin.")

I have already pointed out that it is our considered intention to live up to the spirit of this Governmental Statement of Policy as well as to its letter. There is no one among us who believes that we have become rulers by assuming responsibility. We are all permeated by the conviction that those in positions of responsibility must be the first to serve the entire nation. We believe that the road, which the Government's Statement of Policy showed us, is the only one that can lead our German people once again to a better future.

Ladies and gentlemen, do not believe that we mean unlimited freedom when speaking of a free economy. Unlimited freedom is anarchy. We, too, know that freedom deserves support only when it is properly applied, when those who invoke liberty are conscious of the limitations

("So that's it" from the Left)

imposed by obligations towards the community.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid: "We have some two hundred years' experience in the matter!"

Ladies and gentlemen, all this is also part of the economic and social program. The Minister of Economics has already had his say about it, I believe, and he will tell this House more about it in future. We all know that the past economic epoch has not only hurt the consumer, but corrupted the producer also. There are producers galore who felt happier under a state-managed protectionism, a controlled economy, guaranteed quotas and all the rest of the trimmings.

("Hear, hear!" in the Center)

We have pointed the high road to economic freedom for them also, ladies and gentlemen, even though they may be reluctant to travel it.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid: "They like to follow that road!"

Don't you believe that! Many of them are today harking back to the possibilities they enjoyed under the tender care of a not always incorruptible machinery, while their own responsibility was negligibly small.

("Hear, hear!" from the Center)

We will travel this road, ladies and gentlemen, in the spirit of the Constitution as it was created by us and adopted by us, and as the Federal Government pledged itself to uphold it in full consciousness of its responsibility before God and man.

(Loud applause from Center and Right).

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Chancellor
delivered in the Bundestag on 21 September 1949 by

Dr. Hermann Schäfer of the Free Democratic Party
(Freie Demokratische Partei — FDP)

COMPLEXITY OF SITUATION

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Yesterday the Federal Chancellor opened his declaration by pointing to the historical importance of this juncture, to the repercussions that will follow in the wake of these days when a new German ship of state is being launched. Such a moment in history implies a special responsibility and obligation. It means also that from the very start we have to be conscious of the conditions and restrictions under which the government will be able to function. The whole situation cannot be boiled down to oversimplified concepts. The aims we propose to achieve cannot be defined by using terms such as restoration, revolution, and the like; on the contrary, hedged in by certain well-defined presuppositions and restrictions, we shall have to put the flesh of political reality upon the bones of the constitutional skeleton provided for in the Basic Law.

ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY

We are supposed to create a democracy. Democracy neither consists of formal provisions alone, nor of the instrumentalities of tangible power. Its internal stability and force stems chiefly from convention, tradition, and recognition of rules binding both sides in political intercourse and political discussion. The time has come when this should also imply the necessity of recognizing the positive value inherent in political discussion and even in the clash of opinions. In this respect, what holds true of one's personal life is also true of politics. Human knowledge grows out of discussion, out of the interplay of views. Thus we gain wider opportunities to examine and sharpen our perception, to give it a final gloss. This is also the purpose of the discussions we shall carry on in this House. Through our discussions we must do our part to consolidate this embryonic State by helping it to become rooted in the popular mind.

FUNCTION OF THE OPPOSITION

Ladies and gentlemen, our task of making people visualize political reality does not permit us to sit back and take it easy where debate is concerned. The two previous speakers have talked a good deal about the functions of the Opposition. I do not intend to underestimate these functions. I have just alluded to their importance when speaking about the meaning of discussion and the momentum it provides for increasing and sharpening one's perception. Granting that, I should nevertheless like to distinguish between two different types of opposition. There is the type represented by people who are determined to support the interplay of democracy and the State, making it a going concern. There is another type, determined to reject the state as a matter of principle, which has nothing in common with an Opposition concerned with constructive participation in the development of political life.

Fellow Representative Dr. Schumacher has just outlined what he considers the mission of the Op-

position and of his Party Faction. Through cooperation, tempered by criticism and by constantly keeping a watchful eye on the Government and the coalition parties, he would like gradually to impose upon them the Opposition's pattern of thought. This attempt, ladies and gentlemen, can and should be made. None of us will raise any objections to it. However, I doubt whether the arguments we have been listening to have strengthened our conviction that this attempt is being undertaken in the right way. For what I gathered from these arguments were quibbles, more or less negative in nature, and not attempts actually to convince, actually to make it clear to those who are now the pillars of the Government that they have to change their ways, or that there are reasons for departing from the program mapped out by the Federal Chancellor yesterday.

ABSENCE OF REVOLUTION

Ladies and Gentlemen! We have to start by bearing in mind one basic fact: this new German democracy was born under an unlucky star because it is not the outcome of a political revolution brought about by the initiative of the people themselves. This new state was born in the wake of a military conflict and a military collapse that destroyed and upset both the foundations and the basic structure of political life as it once existed. In contrast to the situation when the Weimar Republic was formed, the Government is now confronted by the necessity of reconstructing the political and administrative machinery from the ground up. It is true that we make use of some beginnings and preliminaries. First, the communities were reestablished after a fashion, then the Länder were formed on the next-higher level, and now this Federal Republic is about to unite them. All the same, this state is not yet running like clockwork.

INITIAL TASKS

Ladies and gentlemen, the first conclusion to be drawn from all this should be to give the Government a few weeks. In that time it could tackle practical political work and, in the first place, create the organizational tools to conduct German policy with. I believe this work and activity is of much greater value to the German people than a multitude of theoretical dialectics designed to show how certain decisions might be misinterpreted. Due to the extraordinary political conditions surrounding the birth of this State the Government will have to take sides in far-reaching conflicts. In its deliberations it will have to take into account all those contingencies connected with the Occupation Statute and the Ruhr Statute.

RELATIONSHIP WITH OCCUPATION POWERS

Ladies and gentlemen, there is just one thing I should like to point out in this connection. The spirit in which these so-called Statutes are administered will be decisive. Therefore I am very much concerned that special emphasis should be

placed upon the covering letter that accompanied the draft of the Occupation Statute when it was brought to the knowledge of the Parliamentary Council. At that time, certain proposals designed to govern the relationship between the Occupation Powers and the embryonic Federal Republic were expressed. Our efforts to set a new, genuine, vital state rooted in the popular mind will have a chance to succeed only if these proposals are followed.

THE GOAL: EUROPEAN FEDERATION

In all our deliberations on economic and social problems we shall always have to realize that this political nucleus we are about to set up as a state in the area covered by the three Western Zones, that this fragment of an integral Germany can become viable only within the framework of a European Federation. Only in such a framework can the potentialities of the new state be safeguarded. The brunt of governmental policy should be devoted to these aspects, which are more essential than any differences of opinion on domestic policy. It is my belief that in this field there should be no split at all between an Opposition that upholds the state, and the Government parties.

BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

The fact is, we have to achieve more than that. We are faced by a deeply tragic historical constellation. The worst part of the legacy bequeathed to us by the terrible period of despotism was the failure to realize that two new centers of gravity, of epochal strength and power, have emerged in the West and in the East. This trend had become quite distinct as long ago as the 'thirties. At the present time, ladies and gentlemen, the chasm separating two worlds runs through this country. That is the most malignant aspect of the legacy left behind by frantic careerists. To counteract the consequences of such a development and to regain German unity requires a high degree of political concentration. It requires a determined effort to transform this state we are establishing into a real nucleus for crystallizing afresh German unity. When measured against such an effort, the topics which have, for the most part, been discussed today seem petty in my eyes.

PEACE ON THE BASIS OF LIBERALISM

In consideration of what the Federal Chancellor said along the same lines I should like to emphasize in this connection that we feel the necessity of achieving a peace status soon. What is more, the establishment of a peace status for this territory of Central Europe is a prerequisite for bringing about, safeguarding and maintaining world peace. Let us resurrect the belief that the relations of men and nations must again be governed by the idea that this earth really has room for all of us. Peace can take hold if the relations and connections between the nations are built upon a truly social foundation. But this will only come about when the strands of fruitful spiritual economic and personal relations between people on both sides of the frontiers make up the warp and woof of the social fabric. At this moment, when we are about to set up this state and to live up to its standards, I cannot but repeat that extensive, nay untrammelled liberty and freedom for persons, goods and ideas are the crucial prerequisites for us, for this state, but also for the prosperity and attainment of peace the world over.

NEED FOR PATIENCE

As I have already said, this Cabinet, in blueprinting the machinery of state, will have to face problems of a more difficult order than those confronting, let us say, the Government of its day after the adoption of the Weimar Constitution. We will have to give the Cabinet time. We must hold our horses in putting forth demands and submitting motions. In the beginning it is more important that the state put its house in order.

DANGER OF STATISM

In the process certain considerations come to the fore. Ladies and gentlemen, during the last few decades the general trend of events has led to a hypertrophy of governmental functions in all countries. Such a multitude of functions have been delegated to government, so many others have been grabbed by it, and government has had to provide the facilities or machinery for so many others that the superabundance of governmental functions will really render democracy ineffectual. When government undertakes too much, it becomes mysterious and an impenetrable maze. Up to a point Parliament can bring its weight to bear only when governmental functions do not exceed the boundaries of necessity and indispensability. If the machinery of government proliferates until it has turned into an impenetrable maze that even Parliament cannot keep in check and fully comprehend, then it is the Administration which actually governs without let or hindrance, even though democracy may formally prevail.

Representative Dr. Josef Baumgartner, Bayernpartei: "That is what happens when you set up a centralistic state! Sir, you cancel out your own arguments!"

I am doing no such thing. I was discussing the extent of governmental functions. Whether these functions should be centralized or assigned to an agency at some intermediate level is a matter of practicability. Why should there be considerations other than those of efficiency in appraising the pattern and structure of political life?

(Enthusiastic assent from the FDP benches — **Representative Dr. Josef Baumgartner**, Bayernpartei: "You keep referring to the State rather than the Confederation!" — Hilarity)

I have to admit that from the Basic Law I have formed the opinion, which may strike you as strange, that such concepts as Confederation, Federal Republic and State are somehow identical.

("Very good!" from the FDP benches — Protests by Bayernpartei Representatives)

NEED FOR ECONOMY

But let me get back to the need for utmost economy which must be the Cabinet's watchword in blueprinting the organizational and administrative agencies of the State. In the first place, this is necessary for fiscal reasons. In view of the multitude of urgent calls upon the public treasury no one could assume responsibility for permitting too much scope to administrative functions and agencies. In the second place, failure to practice strict economy would obscure the operations of government and hamper Parliament in keeping tabs on it. Government must concentrate on essential services only. It would really be necessary to elaborate on this once more, but since time is short I do not want to go into detail. The pertinent concepts have been formulated in the arguments on the pros and cons of administrative reforms

and related topics, arguments that have been going on for decades.

Inevitably personnel policy will play its part in tackling this issue. In this connection I can only repeat and underline what the Federal Chancellor said in regard to the necessity of an integral and carefully trained career civil service. It is not our intention, it has not even occurred to us, to encourage or practice the spoils system in filling career positions. Above all, ladies and gentlemen, we do not propose to favor hacks now on the payroll of party and union machines over civil servants.

The objection was raised just now that I neglect the Länder in discussing the projected administrative structure. This prompts me to point out that, as the Federation begins to function, it will take over a good many responsibilities that have hitherto been in the province of the Länder. As a consequence, very drastic rationalization measures in the Länder governments are well within the realm of possibility. In this respect I can only refer to the example set by Württemberg-Baden. I ask and suggest that its sagacity in practicing economy and rationalization will be followed by other Länder without long discussions.

SUPREMACY OF LAW

Ladies and gentlemen, it is crucial for the future of the State and, I would like to say, for its stature in the eyes of the public, that after a decade and half outside the confines of the law we should really rear this State upon the bedrock of law. Not only the relationship between officials should be governed by law and justice, but also the relationship of government and administration, of citizen and state, and that between citizens. In this respect, too, there must be a feeling what the state is for, and how far it can go. That is in line with my remarks a little while ago about the necessity of concentrating state functions on that which is essential. It is possible to pass too many laws, ladies and gentlemen, to be overwhelmed by such a mass of regulations that nobody knows or can tell any longer what is permissible and what is prohibited. Once that stage is reached, we have slipped back into the old state of affairs that prevailed especially in the period when a controlled straitjacket economy was flourishing, a state of affairs in which violation of the laws becomes a universal sport.

DENAZIFICATION

I should like to call attention once more to the quotation used in this House by the Federal President when entering upon his office: Justice Ennobles a People. This, ladies and gentlemen, holds equally true of all those provisions which had to be adopted as provisional measures in the course of the successive transformation of national life from despotism to this development which gradually leads to democratic patterns. All those laws and regulations which, in the last analysis, created second-class citizens, human beings with lesser rights, must be eliminated. I take it there is no doubt that we are not going to protect criminals. It is, however, incompatible with the principle of equality before the law that people who erred, and who, on the basis of lies they had succumbed to, believed they had to go along outwardly with certain developments, should now be treated as permanent second-class citizens.

Representative Rische, KPD: "Schacht, too?"

All this, ladies and gentlemen, is of the greatest importance, in particular from the point of view

mentioned by fellow Representative Dr. Schumacher. He spoke of the dangers represented by nationalist revolutionaries (nationalrevolutionäre Gefahr), to my mind overstating the case. To be frank about it, I do not feel that such a threat exists. Nor do I consider it either good tactics or wise to glamorize the danger by inflating it beyond life size.

(“Hear, hear!” from FDP benches — Protests on the Left)

But, ladies and gentlemen, if this danger is to be combatted, it is, to say the least, the wrong psychological approach to stick to laws, regulations, questionnaires and institutions whose only effect it is to stamp a second-class citizens people who are conscious of no guilt. Such treatment degrades them socially and forces them into an attitude where they seek salvation in revolution.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

On the other hand this does not prevent us from taking up the cudgels against the abuse of civil liberties. We certainly do not care to repeat the mistakes made by the Weimar Republic. He who rejects freedom cannot claim the benefits of civil liberty. Along these lines, ladies and gentlemen, it will be necessary to keep a watchful eye on all movements and tendencies that might disturb, obstruct or endanger the consolidation of a free state by again abusing our freedoms.

(Interjection from the Right: “The small parties are entitled to freedom, too!” — Hilarity)

Of course! I did not deny small parties their freedom. But after all, the freedom of the small parties must not be construed to mean that they are entitled to privileges.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Ladies and gentlemen, when speaking of the necessity to grapple resolutely with the social obligations of our time, the Federal Chancellor yesterday gave expression to the responsibility we consider paramount. Here too, we have to cope with the disastrous inheritance of the past. The monstrous fate of the millions of people expelled from their homes, from their economic basis, is the social problem of our time, at least the heart of all social problems besetting us. It is necessary to see to it that war damages should not rest solely on the shoulders of those who happened to catch it in the neck. That sentiment has already been voiced by previous speakers and I welcome this substantial agreement. Here we must apply the great ethical principle that each one of us must help to bear the burden of his fellow man. To discuss the entire problem of equalizing financial burdens would lead us too far afield. However, we do not share the view that it would be sufficient to seek a solution of this extremely difficult and complex problem by setting up a rigid schedule of pension claims. Equalization of financial burdens based on the merits of each individual case still seems to us the better and more desirable solution.

In this connection it is necessary that we do not content ourselves with talk about the rights of these German expellees to their traditional homelands. Nor can we feel that we have done our duty when we refer to the need for extensive foreign aid. It is our first duty to exert ourselves to the utmost, to exhaust our own resources for solving this most difficult problem. This all-important issue of our time is the touchstone of our social attitude.

DISABLED VETERANS

This brings me to the special respect and regard we owe to those other victims of the war, the disabled veterans. These matters will have to be discussed in detail once bills providing for disabled veterans are introduced. The goal we must strive to realize is the creation of a solid and uniform legal basis for the support of all victims of this war, along the lines of the legislation for the disabled that was formerly in effect (Reichsversorgung).

LABOR LEGISLATION

Labor legislation will have to be developed further because, ladies and gentlemen, the forms of social life have become more intricate and complex. That includes the laws governing individual and collective employment contracts. Just one word about this. In its time the Weimar Republic could claim to have developed the most progressive labor legislation in the world. It seems to me that the wish to take up where the Weimar Republic left off will be adequate at this time as an overall token of good intentions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The attainment of social security by means of social insurance and social welfare is another essential task. To us, one consideration is paramount. Living standards and ways of life must not be levelled off and standardized through this social insurance and this system of providing for the ups and downs of life. It is rather our conviction that we must do everything to avoid, to the greatest extent possible, the standardization and straitjacketing of human life. Economic progress flows from the differences between men, their abilities and talents. In contrast to the trend of the last few decades we hold that the German Social Insurance system must be saved from the past and present danger of becoming something like a domain of Privy Councillors, of specialized functionaries (Geheimratsgewerbe)*. It is rather our opinion that we shall have to develop social insurance institutions belonging to the insured themselves. If genuine self-administration is adapted to the distinct and varying needs of social welfare, then there will be close and individualized relations between the insurance institutions and the insured. There should be no dispute about the necessity of compensating them for their lost funds. The only question is whether to do so by annual lump-sum payments or by making up losses through immediate grants of at least partial claims to insurance institutions. This last method would guarantee a stable financial basis sufficient to secure payments to claimants.

YOUTH PROBLEMS

Youth has been the focus of much of our eloquence today. But after all, ladies and gentlemen, what really counts is our success in fitting the rising generation into the workaday world of our state and our society. To achieve that, ladies and gentlemen, it is necessary to smooth its path. We must create suitable facilities for training and advanced instruction, we must have vocational guidance agencies and employment exchanges directed by persons with actual management experience who can appraise the qualifications and employment opportunities for each individual.

*) See Glossary, p. 97

ECONOMIC POLICY

The most important factor in the whole fabric of social policy is that, instead of discussing problems of distribution, we devote more attention to the question of increasing output and assets. After all, one can distribute only that which has been produced. From this point of view an economic policy boosting productivity, assets and output is a dynamic social policy in the best sense of the word. Do we wish to be aboveboard and serious about living up to the social postulates I have mentioned? That can only be done on the basis of an economic policy that will enable us to afford such things as an equalization of financial burdens; improvement of living conditions of disabled veterans, widows and orphans of war casualties, the disabled, etc.; the reestablishment and rehabilitation of German social insurance institutions; improvement of social welfare; progress in the field of public health and social hygiene. It is true that we consider these aims impossible of achievement under the yoke of straitjacket economy in which we are told what to do. Our situation today is roughly comparable to that of nations in the pioneer age, when they, too, had to start from scratch. We are in a situation reminiscent of Europe after the Wars of Liberation at the beginning of the nineteenth century, after another tyrant had marched across the Continent and had been overthrown. At that time, too, the towns had been destroyed and traffic paralyzed, everything was at a low ebb.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "But that man introduced freedom of trade, my dear fellow Representative!"

True enough! But, my dear Representative Dr. Schmid, at that time the great era of technological revolution was not launched by setting up brain-trusts and an omnipotent bureaucracy. Instead, the mercantilism of the absolute sovereigns was abolished, as were the guilds and all those privileges which restricted the citizen's professional activities and his right to acquire property. Men were freed from their chains and enabled to advance as far as their abilities warranted.

(Applause in the Center and on the Right — Interruptions from the SPD benches)

Certainly I know that there are two sides to it:

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "I presume you are also aware of the saying: 'Make hay while the sun shines'. Things are not quite that simple, my dear colleague!"

True enough. It is not a simple matter.

The crucial question is how to unleash the forces that will sparkplug an economy of prosperity. The question is not how best to retard, obstruct, and corrupt economic life.

(Applause in the Center and on the Right — Heckling from the Left: "It's you who represent industry! Where else are the biggest fish?")

I have to confess that I do not know. I am not one of those who are ready to malign someone at the drop of a hat simply because they are prejudiced.

Representative Schoettle, SPD: "Well, who pays the bribes? If bribes change hands, the money must come from somewhere!"

According to my observations, a good many people have greased the palms of other people. I do not know of any class or section of the population that was not involved in these things, passively or actively.

(Heckling from the SPD benches: "The other side is much better at playing this game!" Retort: "Don't be so modest!")

Ladies and gentlemen, it would be fascinating to continue this give-and-take. However, there is a time limit for speeches and I must restrict myself to basic principles. To get back to the point, the pivot of our considerations must be the unleashing of the forces of economic competition. The pursuit of success must become a vital factor, so that more goods will be produced. Bear in mind our dependence on world markets. Just visualize what central planning is like! What does central planning mean? In the first place it means that the territory for which one plans is isolated from the interplay of economic relations with the world. If that were not so, proper planning would be abortive.

(Interjection: "Look at Great Britain!" — Protests from SPD)

FOREIGN TRADE

That is the one side of the coin. We will not make any progress by utilizing primitive concepts dating from that nineteenth-century era in which a lowbrow Marxism was the vogue. Just how do you see the problem? It is all-important for us to procure imports through trading with the world. It is simply impossible to produce food, clothing, textiles and raw materials from our own materials in our own country.

(Interruption from KPD: "Isn't that what the Marshall Plan is for?")

You should know that the Marshall Plan is only a temporary device that will come to an end after a few years. Then we will face the crucial problem of paying for the imports we need so desperately. Imports can only be paid for by equivalent exports. This is a very simple rule which no amount of heckling can invalidate.

If we want to achieve this expansion of our foreign trade, we need, after all, an enormous amount of unfettered initiative and, above all, willingness and readiness to run a risk. Well, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot imagine how you can possibly evoke a venturesome state of mind by telling the people: "All well and good, you may go ahead and risk something. If it goes wrong, it will be your hard luck. If you make a success of it, everything will be taken from you!" How willingness to take a risk can be encouraged under such conditions I do not know. My psychological insight does not stretch far enough for that.

Such considerations make it necessary for the Federal Government to use its best efforts to set up a system of trade representations abroad as soon as possible.

At the same time it should endeavor to improve and facilitate our foreign exchange situation by promoting the operation of a German-owned merchant marine based on the German shipbuilding industry.

SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTES

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, there should be no doubt that our exports must be primarily quality goods, much of whose cost flows back into

the pay envelopes of skilled labor. Quality derives from the intellectual energy used in transforming matter. Since that is so, one of the Federal Government's early tasks will have to be the setting up of scientific institutions to perfect our technical methods. After the loss of all our patents, scientific institutes are all the more essential. If they will spur technological advance, they should receive special priority among government projects.

STATE MONOPOLIES

One thing, ladies and gentlemen, I should like to emphasize from the start. We shall never agree to the establishment of new state monopolies or monopoly administrations in any field. Just as we reject private monopolies and are willing to advocate the speedy passage of an anti-trust law, so we will oppose any attempt to concentrate economic and administrative powers in one hand by the establishment of new monopolies. They would be strongholds of power in our political life, and might be used to undermine democracy.

LAND REFORM

An expansion of foreign trade relations will have to be accompanied by an exhaustion of all possibilities for supplying our own needs. It is quite clear to all of us that it is far more important to take bold measures for increasing agricultural yields than to carry on doctrinaire discussions about the desirable size of farms and land holdings. An increase of agricultural yields is impossible without speedy adoption of legislation dealing with the ownership status of agricultural property in cases where fields are too scattered for economical cultivation (Flurbereinigung). Soil improvement is also imperative, especially the opening-up of resources in Northwestern Germany. Really effective pest extermination that goes beyond dabbling at symptoms will help to increase agricultural yield. In addition, it will be necessary to further the cultivation of root crops.

HOUSING

The heart of our whole economic policy, as we see it, is housing construction. For that reason we welcome the establishment of a special Ministry which will highlight the crucial importance of housing construction. The existence of the Ministry gives us the assurance that housing will not be undertaken as additional responsibility of some government department, but that this Government considers it as a matter entailing special responsibilities. A certain venture spirit would not be out of place here. Needless to say, I do not advocate objectionable and dangerous inflationary experiments. Yet it will be necessary to risk a certain well-considered degree of credit expansion, at least in order to be able to meet the urgent need for advance financing.

FINANCIAL AND FISCAL POLICY

Here we arrive at something I should like to recommend to the Cabinet as an urgent request of my friends: strict coordination of economic and financial policy. At any rate, the two should not be at cross-purposes. What we must avoid above everything else is a crumbling or disruption of the unity, interrelationship and common effort of economic and financial policy due to jurisdictional conflicts. That would result in friction and impair the efficiency of the Government's economic policy. In addition we wish that all economic measures should be based on the realization that the territory

of the Federal Republic is an integral economic unit. All measures or decisions in the sphere of economic policy should be taken with the realization in mind that we can only meet our countless, enormous and variegated social obligations if the entire economic potential of the Federal Republic is coordinated and put to work as an integral unit.

As I have already said, this will only come about if we adopt a tax policy, and in general a system of collecting public revenues, that will not drag Germans down to a level where they cease to think about providing for their own future. A change in thinking is overdue in this respect. It should be our aim to restore living standards that will not make workers and employers dependent upon public welfare after retirement. It is absurd to make such heavy deductions from people's income that they will have no recourse but to rely on public welfare later on.

ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL

This brings me to another important point concerning taxes and deductions. People must be given a chance to accumulate capital so that they can dip into genuine capital reserves for purposes of initial financing. This will only be possible if our currency policy does not intermittently jeopardize the confidence of savers in their savings accounts and of the insured in their insurance policies. Here we see a great and very difficult task that calls for much tact by those responsible for the economic policy of the Cabinet.

DECENTRALIZATION OF FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

Ladies and gentlemen, my political friends in the Parliamentary Council have found it very difficult to accept the provisions of the Basic Law dealing with the distribution of taxes and the system of fiscal administration. These provisions were not adopted upon the initiative of this constituent assembly, but to a large extent under the prompting of outside influences, I should like to declare expressly that by going along with the pertinent provisions of the Basic Law dealing with decentralization of the German fiscal system, and with the conceptions motivating those who insisted upon including these provisions, we have agreed to the maximum of concessions we regard as acceptable. We should like to emphasize that we shall oppose, with all the determination at our command, any attempt to put a liberalized interpretation upon the Basic Law provisions regarding financial policy. We shall oppose further fragmentation or decentralization or actual weakening of the financial authority of the Federation.

OCCUPATION COSTS

In this connection I should like to draw the Government's attention to the urgent necessity of grappling with the problem of occupation costs immediately. The present state of affairs cannot continue. This request must not remain a topic of theoretical contemplation. It is impossible to

prepare budgets or to plan the utilization of investments and revenues as long as the Occupying Powers do not limit their demands, and so long as we cannot be sure that they will abide by these limitations.

COHESIVENESS OF COALITION

Ladies and gentlemen! The Federal Government is a coalition government. This means that political parties of differing opinions, with leaders of divergent political backgrounds, have united to form a government. When deciding to enter upon this course, my friends and I were guided by the consideration that no coalition other than the present one was conceivable to start the new state on its way, in view of the circumstances and conditions governing the formation of this state, and in view of the course and outcome of the election campaign. No closely-reasoned attempt has hitherto been made to show that a different composition of the coalition would have succeeded, bearing in mind the political complexion of this House. Under these circumstances, there is no sense in denying or doubting the cohesion of this coalition. It is an essential feature of coalitions that they encompass different political opinions. That does not mean that a coalition government must be unstable. The present situation imposes upon us such a multitude of pressing and incontestably essential tasks that there simply cannot be any differences of opinion among coalition partners about our determination to bring about the realization of these practical tasks. There may be occasional differences about questions of procedure, or about secondary issues. Where our immediate tasks are at stake, those to be coped with forthwith or in the near future, I do not think that the coalition will be endangered as long as we are all animated by the desire to cooperate loyally. I should like to make this clear in view of attempts to put the efficiency and cohesion of this Government into question by overemphasizing that fact that, after all, it is constituted by three parties.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Nobody has done anything of the sort!"

Oh yes, it happened.

There is one more thing I should like to mention. Many people consider it glorious to sing the praises of uncompromising rigidity. In fact, creative reality in politics has always been the result of compromise.

(Interjection from SPD: "The only question is, what sort of compromise?")

Creative policy, effective policy is almost never a flowering of chemically uncontaminated ideas, but always a synthesis of divergent ideological elements. We intend to uphold our political conception and our basic attitude. At the same time the will to achieve a synthesis in practical political work will guide us in our future relations with this Government and this House.

(Loud applause on the Right and in the Center).

Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Chancellor
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Hans Ewers of the German Party
(Deutsche Partei — DP)

THIS MOMENT IN HISTORY

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The hours we in Bonn live through from the middle to the end of September witness the birthpangs of a new German state. At times we of the older generation had hardly ventured to hope that our eyes would be privileged to watch these events. When I visualize the passing parade of the past few decades, then it strikes me — if I may speak for myself — that just about twenty years ago Gustav Stresemann*) passed away. He may well have been the only German statesman of European stature whom Germany has produced in this century. His death signalled the gradual demise of the German Republic and German democracy. By way of Brüning's**) Emergency Decrees (Notverordnungen) they stumbled into the Third Reich, which boasted that it would last a thousand years at least. We survived the Third Reich. Once again we stand at the cradle of our nation and state, tested and steeled by experiences which befall other nations perhaps only in the course of a thousand years.

ENDORSEMENT OF GOVERNMENT POLICY

Here and now it is incumbent upon us to comment on the Statement of Policy of the Federal Chancellor. It was upon myself, a member of the Deutsche Partei (German Party) not elected in Hanover, that my parliamentary Party Delegation conferred the honorable task of commenting upon this Statement of Policy in its name.

With a minor exception, which I am going to allude to in the course of my speech, my Party Delegation endorses the Chancellor's Statement fully and unequivocally.

("Hear, hear!" on the Left)

We approve and endorse this Statement not only in its general tenor but also in its formulation, and that applies to each and every phrase. We hope and wish that the Government will be able to fulfil everything promised to the German nation and the German people in this Statement.

In the name of my parliamentary Party Faction I have been charged with adding a few clarifying and corroborating remarks to some aspects of the Chancellor's Statement of Policy.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC A TORSO

We most emphatically insist that anyone who speaks or acts in the name of the German Federal Republic bear in mind, whenever he makes any statement or move, that at this time we are nought but a torso, the fragment of a state, a rudimentary entity. We are, I would almost say, the embryo of a future Germany which, divested of tutelage by foreign powers and within her 1937 frontiers, will

*) 1878—1929; German Foreign Minister 1923—1929; leader of German People's Party.

**) Born at Münster 1885; Reich Chancellor 1930—1932 as member of Center Party; now teaching at Harvard.

have to find her place among the nations of Europe. We consider it a blemish that the designation adopted by our West German State, namely "Federal Republic of Germany", might be misinterpreted unless it is without fail taken in conjunction with the wording of the preamble of the Basic Law, and unless one keeps in mind its incompleteness. It might have been preferable to have adopted a designation for our new state that would have stressed its provisional and preliminary character.

COALITION FOREORDAINED

We are furthermore of the opinion that the mood of the German electorate revealed by the election results of 14 August made it necessary to form the sort of Cabinet that now exists. That development was not written in the stars. Let us assume, for example, that the election campaign had been marked by differences of opinion on foreign policy between the two major parties in this House, who together hold two thirds of all seats. In that case I for my part would have considered it an inescapable necessity to achieve a compromise before proceeding. Sorrow and distress enough face us in the months and years ahead. Make no mistake about it — the acid test of politics, the true art of politics, is in the realm of foreign policy. Concern with domestic matters, that is to say with the setting of our own house in order, of necessity ranks second. The woefully wretched fiascos of our foreign policy twice within a quarter century are due to the preeminence which we have accorded to domestic affairs forever and anon. However, since the election campaign there have been no differences of opinion with regard to foreign policy between the two major parties, I may even say between any of the parties, save for the extreme Left. This unanimity inspires me with the hope that the Government may count on the support of even the Opposition in this House, whenever it endeavors to gain concessions for us Germans from some foreign authority or from the Occupation Powers. I imagine I had better say from the High Commissioners, for they are now civilians and no longer a "Power".

THE BLACK-WHITE-AND-RED FLAG

Thus the issues that divide us in charting the future course of the German people are to be found in the domestic area. They are to be found in the economic sphere, which, according to my observations, was the focus of all the sound and fury of the whole election campaign. In this sphere we of the Deutsche Partei (German Party) were fully aligned with CDU and FDP in the election campaign.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Just a trifle more tinged with the jingoism emblemized by the old Imperial colors of black-white-and-red, weren't you?"

No, that isn't quite it, Professor. When I say we were "fully aligned", that does include the black-

white-and-red colors. It includes them, let me state this once and for all, if only because the other parties pretty well fell in line with us.

(Guffaws on the Left)

You may laugh, but they did so fall in line!

Representative Renner, KPD: "In other words, the colors of Adenauer's flag are black-white-and-red, too?"

Time will show!

Representative Renner, KPD: "If that is so, then it won't be long before we'll be singing the old national anthem 'Germany, Germany Above Everything' (Deutschland, Deutschland über alles) again!"

Indeed, we want to sing it again in the near future!

("Hear, hear!" on the Left)

As a matter of fact, we are firmly determined to do so!

(Unrest on the Left)

May I proceed?

(Interjections)

REASONS FOR JOINING COALITION

As I was saying, all wings of the coalition parties were of one mind about the fundamentals of economic policy. As a consequence we of the Deutsche Partei were faced with the difficult decision whether to participate in the formation of this Government, bearing in mind that we are a growing and expanding party that had scored initial successes in a relatively limited area of the West German Federal Republic. This decision was not an easy one. We were not guided by the sole criterion of propaganda; however. We had made certain promises to our voters and we had always made it clear that we are not afraid of responsibility. To meet those promises we had to consider it our national duty not to refuse the call from the major parties.

Now that we have heard the Statement of Governmental Policy we do not for a moment regret this decision.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "No reason in the world why you should!"

More than any other party, the Social Democrats are aware of the difficulties inherent in such negotiations for a coalition.

(Interjections from SDP: "How do you know?")

How do I know? Because of my long years in experience in parliamentary life.

(Interjections from SPD: "Is that so?")

Ladies and gentlemen, for those reasons considerations of national policy dictated the formation of this Government. For one of the factors that disrupted the Weimar Republic and in the end throttled it was . . .

(Interruption from the SPD benches: "People of your stripe!")

the deplorable circumstance that in those days, prior to 1930, there was no real point to elections. Why? Because practically nothing changed after the elections.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Aren't you a little off on your dates when you talk like that?"

Oh no, not at all. My recollection is very clear. It is a fact that all this trooping to the polls had become irrelevant. That is how the man in the street felt. Perhaps the professors thought otherwise.

("Give it to him!" from the benches of Deutsche Partei)

SPD YARDSTICK NO LONGER VALID

The average German did not see that there was any point left to the holding of elections. Why? Because SPD, although it may not have won the so-called revolution of 1918, certainly profited from it. When some social issue was at stake, all parties, across the board from left to right, and even including NSDAP, watched to see how SPD would react. Although SPD did not quite measure up to the present-day standards of Dr. Schumacher in the matter of hidebound dogmaticism, politicians nevertheless looked up to it as preceptor in all questions of social policy. That was the reason why no party could risk any step that could have been exploited to its detriment by SPD in the next election campaign. I am glad that we have left this sort of schoolmasterish atmosphere behind.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Perhaps the schoolmaster has taught you something!"

I welcome the fact that we have now reached the point where we can initiate a social and economic policy not fashioned in the Social Democratic mould.

(Applause from DP — Hilarity on the Left)

Beware of any ideologies based on the class struggle. Beware of setting the workers against the middle class. If there be good citizens, you will find them among the workers.

(Applause on the Right)

Representative Renner, KPD: "What a cheap performance!"

Beware, furthermore, of making the *negation* of Marxism the common denominator of opposition to Social Democracy. Prior to 1933, it was the frantic endeavor to be anti-Marxist at any cost which led the so-called bourgeoisie astray. Gentlemen of the coalition, and also gentlemen of the Right of us, let us in good time search for a positive cause to espouse. We have now coined the word "social market economy". Well, then, let's make the most of it.

("Quite right!" from the DP benches — Laughter and interjections from the Left)

Indeed, let's turn it into something that even the man in the street can grasp! Slogans alone will not do the trick. From that point of view the governmental coalition is inevitable. It is the obvious outcome of democratic election results, their clear-cut sequel.

As for the details of the Governmental Statement of Policy, I should like to deal with a few aspects only, from my personal point of view as well as on behalf of my Party Delegation; to proceed otherwise would of course make it impossible to keep within the speaking time normally allotted.

(Interjection from KPD: "But won't you at least let us in on your governmental program?")

I shall deal with the things we care about, not with those the Communists would like to discuss. It will then be up to Herr Reimann to do likewise and plead the Communist point of view.

COMMON-SENSE LEGISLATION ESSENTIAL

First of all my Party Delegation would like to give its full backing to the Federal Chancellor's remark that an enormous amount of legislation is awaiting us. May I, as a jurist, in a few words give my blessings to the trend of the legislation. We are today faced by the jumbled debris of legislation, not just because the unified character of German law has been undermined, but rather because all those laws regulating a controlled economy lag behind actual conditions in a manner that is really deplorable. It is an impossible situation that offenses punishable by law are perpetrated everywhere, are accepted as normal by everyone and even committed by every member of this House.

(Applause from the DP and FDP benches)

It is simply untenable that there should be open references in the press to a black and a gray market. That is monstrous, it undermines the respect for law, leads to corruption, to unbridled egotism, and in the last analysis to the law of the jungle. We watched that sorry spectacle during the past few years amongst all social classes and circles. Certain of its after-effects are with us even now.

The Federal Government has to put a stop to this. The laws must not offend against man's natural rights, against his right to live. They have to be framed in such a way that they are bound to elicit the respect of any decent person. If they are violated, the offender must be held up to general contempt as a lawbreaker. He must not merely be punished by some hapless judge who himself committed the same offense but the day before. Thus, and thus alone, can legislation be morally justified.

EXPellees IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN

Now I come to a problem we people from Schleswig-Holstein have very much at heart, namely the expellee problem. I believe that here I can speak for all my fellow-citizens of Schleswig-Holstein in this House, whatever their political affiliation.

Ladies and gentlemen, may we here give you a resume of the experiences of our small state, which owes its existence to an English decree? The problem of the expellees is not only a problem affecting solely these most miserable of the German people, but also the indigenous population, as I will show you. The following figures, as compiled by the Schleswig-Holstein Bureau of Statistics, apply to the state of Schleswig-Holstein, previously a Prussian province. With an area of 6.4 percent of the whole Federal territory, and 5.9 percent of its population, Schleswig-Holstein collects only 3.8 percent of taxes on property and transactions, and is awarded only 3.7 percent of credits to private enterprises. Its savings per capita amount to a mere 3.8 percent of the corresponding figures for the Federal Territory as a whole. Savings bank accounts ran to 32 DM per capita Schleswig-Holstein on 1 October 1948, as contrasted with the Federal average of 48 DM. This means a ratio of exactly two thirds of median savings in Western German area. The second-lowest state, Bavaria, at least has 42 DM per capita, that is to say 10 DM more for each individual than Schleswig-Holstein. What is the cause of this shocking poverty in a land which hitherto never had the reputation of a distressed area? A land which, on the contrary, thrived in its own peaceful way in a beautiful country bordered by the North Sea and Baltic coasts. What, then, is the cause of this poverty? One figure will prove

my point. While the census of 1946 shows that 5.9 percent of the total population of Western Germany live in Schleswig-Holstein, 38.2 percent of all refugees within the Federal territory live in Schleswig-Holstein!

("Hear, hear!" on the Right)

These statistics mean that hardly one-sixteenth of the whole population is, I must say it, afflicted by two-fifths of all refugees. These unfortunate people, stranded on our shores, live under conditions unbearable for them and bound to create strained relations with the indigenous population.

Let me declare the following in this House. I hope with the consent of our Danish Delegate, Clausen: The entire Schleswig problem — it becomes the South Schleswig problem when viewed from Denmark, the North Schleswig problem when seen by us — is nothing but an expellee problem. Living together in the rural areas is intolerable for both parties and must in the long run lead directly to nihilism. People, native-born nearly as much as refugees, who are unable to find a home have no other alternative but to look for salvation in chaos. The distress is so great that we must ask the Federal Government at once, preferably yet today, to make use of its authority to issue a decree providing for a redistribution of expellees. Unless that is done we must anticipate some kind of a breakdown, which would inevitably spread like wildfire from us to Lower Saxony, where conditions are not quite as bad, but bad enough. It would just as inevitably spread to Bavaria which is also afflicted with German expellees from the Southeast. Such a redistribution of expellees has top priority among the measures my Party Delegation must demand of the Government.

Then I would like to examine a sentence from Dr. Schumacher's speech, or better from the academic lecture on economic maxims current in the middle of the last century which he delivered to this House. It was a sentence so illogical as to be striking in a professorial lecture.

(The speaker raps his gavel —

Speaker Dr. Köhler, CDU: "Representative Ewers, may I call your attention to the fact that as a matter of principle all members of this House make speeches only!")

REVISION OF ODER-NEISSE LINE

I beg your pardon. Dr. Schumacher's speech, or better his address, am I permitted to say that? contained a sentence of startling illogicality. He maintained that the question of the Oder-Neisse Line could be tackled in the sphere of foreign policy only after we Germans had settled the expellees in an adequate manner. This assertion is illogical because, as soon as we would succeed in settling them, incidentally a task as impossible as squaring the circle, the housing problem could no longer serve us as grounds for making us the masters of the Oder-Neisse Line again. True enough, we do not look at this question from the housing angle only, but consider this area as German homeland, a territory linked to our hearts by the ties of love. However, it should be clear to everybody that we will in the long run be unable to settle the poor outcast East Germans suitably and satisfactorily in the remnant of Germany that is ours at present. We cannot give them a real home. This problem cannot be solved at all without blunt and unequivocal discussion about the Eastern border. I would like to make this very clear because I am myself a Deputy from one of the Länder upon which the burden of the refugee problem weighs most heavily.

DENAZIFICATION

In addition to the expellee problem, there is another point to be discussed in comment on the speech of the Federal Chancellor, a point already mentioned by previous speakers which I only want to touch on briefly. It is the categorization of the German people by order of the Occupation Powers, which was carried out with such great enthusiasm by some Germans. This categorization is completely incompatible with truly democratic institutions.

The punishment of guilt and of offenses should be up to the judge of the Criminal Court. If necessary let us establish political panels of the regular courts in order to sit in judgment over and punish those of whom we all know that some of them offended against the law.

(Interjection from the Left: "Dr. Schacht!")

It is good that you mention Dr. Schacht. The name of Dr. Schacht seems to be one of the pills which you cannot swallow. A word on that subject. Dr. Schacht is quite a typical case. Being a highly intelligent, clever economist he committed the error of believing that by joining a totalitarian movement he might change the course of events.

(Disorder on the Left and interjection: "You, too, err!")

Unfortunately this error was widespread. But in contrast to . . .

(Tumult and heckling)

I cannot prevail against so many hecklers; perhaps I could make myself heard if there were just one. Schacht's error, however, should be distinguished from all other errors committed by hundreds of thousands of other quite clever men, because in contrast to other followers and forerunners, he broke away in time.

(Interjections on the part of the Communists: "In time?" — Laughter on the Left)

He broke away at a time when the pernicious interference with our German economic life, and especially the liquidation of the Jews in November 1938, had not yet begun. Up to that time he had shielded the economy. And he not only broke away. It should not have remained a secret even to the Communists that after 1938 Dr. Schacht played a leading role in the Resistance Movement. It is only due to chance that was not killed off quickly prior to 8 May 1945. He is a typical Resistance man.

(Loud guffaws — Interjection from the Left: "That's for the birds! Even CDU can't help laughing!" — The speaker raps his gavel)

If you think that facts are funny, I can't help it. I did not make any wisecracks, but if that is what you want, I might oblige.

I briefly outlined the historical facts. The question is whether one wants to spotlight his conduct prior to 1938 or thereafter. For the rest he has committed no crimes, and from the point of view of political guilt I consider him as being outside stereotyped categories.

I live near the Eastern frontier, a short distance from the Iron Curtain. It takes me only 5 minutes by bus from my apartment to the Iron Curtain. I, for my part, have done everything to aid the Deutsche Partei in taking root in Schleswig-Holstein. You may conceive of that as guilt. I myself maintain it is merit of a high order, and I would not change my mind even if a court should later on find me guilty on that score. I regret that so

many former Nazis do not unconditionally own up to such political "guilt", that they use evasions and that even Hanns Johst*) tolerates his classification as a "follower". That is intolerable. No, I would never be a "follower". I would assume responsibility for the Deutsche Partei in Schleswig-Holstein, and I would acknowledge and bear this responsibility before any forum.

(Interjection from the Left: "Stick to the Governmental Statement of Policy!")

I am talking about denazification at this point.

("Don't talk over your head!")

Oh no, by God, I don't consider myself that interesting. — We are opposed to categorization. We demand that "offenders" guilty only from a political point of view be punished no longer. Violations of laws and morals should be punished, but not political errors.

AUSTRIA

I am going to say a few more words, which will, I hope, not prompt such turmoil and laughter. When speaking of the neighboring states we will have to come to terms with, the Federal Chancellor failed to mention Austria. This may have been the right thing to do because, after all, our relations with Austria are by no means restricted to foreign policy. Austria is a country, which, not only by its language but also by its culture, belongs to us as a brother nation. Masters like Mozart, Bruckner, Grillparzer, Schubert or Hofmannsthal are German men of genius of Austrian origin, just as there are German geniuses of all conceivable origins. International borders shall never alter this fact.

THE WORKING CLASS

Commenting on the final points of the Statement of Governmental Policy, I have to say that we are participating in the Government as long as the Federal Chancellor lives up to his proclamation of the Cabinet's social character. Lip service is not enough. We have no doubt that broad sections of the working class gave us their votes. I do not need to remind the gentlemen from Schleswig-Holstein of the results in the various electoral districts. Up there they had the effect of a shock. But nonetheless we absolutely refuse to call ourselves a "Workers' Party" in imitation of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). For, in strongest contrast to SPD, we hold that it is impossible for a single class to achieve any progress at the expense of other classes. We are not only for the workers, but with the same determination for farmers, tradesmen, scientists, and professionals. It constitutes the art of domestic policy to weigh the potential of these classes for exerting their influence. What needs to be said in this respect will be said later on. But we are completely aware of the fact that a Cabinet attempting to govern contrary to the interests of the most numerous class, namely the working class, would dig its own grave.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Don't worry, it will!"

It will not! It may be a very dangerous game to play the prophet, Professor! Hitler, too, prophesied a great deal. You might lose your pants in the process!

*) Former President of the Nazi "Reich Chamber of Literature"

OPPOSITION TO NATIONALIZATION

In this respect, one reservation has to be made. The Federal Chancellor spoke of the ownership status of the key industries of the Ruhr. If this should mean that the ownership status is to be changed in such a way that the titles are, at least partly, transferred to a workers' collective, then we believe that an exceedingly bad service would be rendered to the workers. Such a measure might perhaps benefit the functionaries of the workers' organizations. Therefore we should like to warn emphatically against such manipulations as well as against nationalization of these plants.

NOT A HANOVERIAN PARTY

Ladies and gentlemen, after commenting on the Statement of Policy of the Federal Government I want to add some general remarks on what, in line with our preliminary remarks, are our intentions and our character and why, speaking with Herr Renner, we fit into the coalition so smoothly. So many witless absurdities about our Deutsche Partei have been published in the press — in a certain opposition press, but also in the foreign licensed press — that one might be led to believe that outside of Hanover our party consists of blockheads and idiots.

(Interjection from the Left: "You hit the nail on the head!" — Hilarity)

It is always dangerous to underestimate one's political opponent. One should preferably take him for more intelligent than he really is.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "But you violate your own rules!"

We are no idiots.

(Hilarity)

It is no secret that the cradle of Deutsche Partei stands in Lower Saxony. But in the meantime it should have come to the notice of all men of clear judgment that we are a party that has expanded beyond the borders of the Land, and that we were therefore bound to change our character in some ways. It would, after all, be an absurd imposition to demand that we in Schleswig-Holstein should advocate Hanoverian interests. In fact, we are far from doing any such thing. This is why we were attracted very early by the German program of the Niedersächsische Landespartei*, regarding this party as something needed by the German voter who felt homeless in politics. We thereupon allied ourselves to this party which is now represented in the Government.

NURTURING THE INDIVIDUAL

We did so not to cultivate the masses, but to nurture the German individual as the most eminent pillar of our national policy. Each German individual is bound to his homeland by natural law, I might even say, by Divine command. He grows up within his family, as a member of his tribe, and through it coalesces into the German nation. These natural ties, however, bring with them certain duties, such as the right to enjoy freedom which implies the duty to practice tolerance. Freedom — I ask everybody to remain aware of it — may only be demanded by him who is also willing to grant it to others. And tolerance is the first rule of freedom. Our attitude may be described as ethical conservatism. But we absolutely refuse to include the term "Conservative" in our name, for

*) The Niedersächsische Landespartei, nucleus of Deutsche Partei, was a Hanoverian Monarchist (Guelph) group. See p. 98.

the last thing we wish is to be mistaken for East Elbian reactionaries. We are aware of topical problems, believe in the future and have no links with the past other than our desire to preserve what is true and fine in the German character.

NO FOREIGN-STYLE DEMOCRACY

We identify ourselves in particular with the Federal Chancellor's declaration on rejecting all anti-democratic trends. We are a party of German democracy or of a democratic Germany, the emphasis being equally strong on both words, on the adjective and the noun. We absolutely refuse to ape foreign democratic forms, whether hawked by England, America or France. We want to form a democracy of German origin and stamped in the German mould.

(Interjection from KPD benches: "A democracy stamped in the German mould — that's what the world can't wait for, in order to live happily ever after!")

By no means is this intended to make the world live happily, but rather to bring peace and a happy life to our own people. To use Dr. Schumacher's academic phraseology, this democracy really has to turn into a matter of heartfelt German sentiment if it is ever to prosper. It cannot be decreed simply by laws and orders issued by the Occupation powers, but this heartfelt German sentiment has to be awakened. We, on the Right wing of this House, consider it our main task to accustom the German people, especially German youth, to a democratic form of government. We do not wish to indoctrinate them, for God's sake, having been indoctrinated enough, but we wish to guide them so that they may not look down upon democratic government as something contemptible. The indoctrination we have passed through during the last four years with the blessing of the Occupation Powers, or under the tutelage of democratic bunglers, was not exactly promising.

AGAINST EXAGGERATED RADICALISM

The talk of a nationalist revolutionary movement is of course exaggerated. It derives from the publicity which the world press devotes to every foolish and doltish remark made in a meeting by some heckler or speaker, even though a court may later rule that he is insane. The speeches which I delivered in meetings, however, are almost never reported.

(Hilarity on the Left)

YOUTH AND DEMOCRACY

To get back to the talk of a nationalist revolutionary movement. Youth is to be found neither on the Left nor on the Right, but politically perhaps all over the place. Certainly it can be found in droves on the soccer field. And perhaps this is all to the good. But do you want to know what youth, from the extreme Left to the extreme Right, does not care for the least little bit? I'll tell you. It no longer cares for slogans.

(Interjection from the Left: "It doesn't want a new war!")

Their ears are still ringing with them. The din of the Third Reich's loudspeakers keeps roaring in their ears, and their minds are haunted by the slogans that confronted them on streamers everywhere. After that came the ruins. The slogans are of no use, but setting a good example through one's demeanor may be.

(Interjections and hilarity on the Left)

You may laugh at that, Herr Renner, but if you laugh, youth will not follow you. Better watch your own demeanor. That would be far healthier for your movement. The lesson which youth has learned in six years of war is to watch other people's example and demeanor. Youth is familiar with the difference between ninety-day wonders with insignnia of rank on their shoulders and real he-men. This ability to distinguish between a real he-man and somebody who happens to be of higher rank is in their blood and serves as their guidepost. You may be sure that respect, reverence and awe can never be taught to young people through lectures.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Perhaps through paramilitary training?"

They can be taught by example only. That is the way to win most of them over. Such has been our experience which I make available to you even though it might deprive us of an advantage. The same lesson applies to democracy.

(Heckling by **Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD**)

Dr. Schmid, I beg of you, listen to me for once without heckling.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "But you make it so tough for me!"

NO DEMOCRACY WITH UNPRESSED PANTS

The democracy of the Weimar era perished because of its lack of style, I would almost say because of its unpressed pants.

(Hilarity and wisecracks)

The German people, and particularly the politically disinterested masses, want to have someone to look up to and to worship, they want to be able to say: "Those are impressive and dignified representatives."

Representative Renner, KPD: "That is why they fell for Hitler!"

They scrutinize the demeanor shown by the democratic leaders.

Unfortunately the hour of birth of our independent state was marked by a deplorable lack of the social graces. When Federal President Heuss had been elected, the Left wing of this House thought it possible to treat him only as the man as such, not as the embodiment of our governmental authority. When the members of this House rose from their seats to honor him, the Social Democrats as one man remained seated. This lack of the social graces caused utmost indignation in our ranks. I must emphatically caution against such conduct. If by contrast, one of your gentlemen had been elected we would have saluted in him only the statesman who is our Chief of State, not the man as such. We must under all circumstances demand such demeanor in a true German democracy. Only when that is the case would I feel justified in holding that the spirit of democracy may become "a matter of heartfelt sentiment", as Dr. Schumacher desired it in speaking of Germany's unity. Not what is prescribed by law forms the basis of our life but, citing Dr. Schäfer's words, what is considered to be right according to custom, good manners and decency.

(Interruption from the Communist benches: "Are we getting back to 'blood and soil'?")

Those are the forces that mould men and determine the shape of things. Only what men have

experienced and what become their second nature will have an effect and not what a party may profess by means of laws and publications.

We feel that German democracy will have a chance if all truly democratic parties — the Communists expressly excluded — adopt a common attitude of looking upon our democracy as a state organism endowed with proper self-respect. We should not merely accept it as a, shall we say, collective cooperative, which was the attitude in Weimar times.

THE NATIONAL FLAG

In this context I personally, not speaking for my Party Faction, would like to ask the gentlemen in this House: Is that display of flags outside supposed to flutter in the breeze as long as the Bundestag remains in session? That would be too festive for my taste. It was quite proper in the beginning, but should now be reserved for holidays. I do not object to raising the federal colors on the flagstaff above this House when we are in session, to signify that the House is at work. However, I am frank enough to ask whether such a display of flags in front of this building will in the long run enhance the reputation of our Federal Parliament and of our Republic, and whether it is suitable to have this House decorated permanently in so festive a manner. This sort of thing can also be overdone.

There is still another point which was already touched upon in interjections. Even democracy needs its symbols. As to the colors black-red-and-gold, which unfortunately appear only as black-red-and-yellow in the cloth,* there are few objections to be raised from the historical point of view.

(Tumult on the Left — Excited shouts from the SPD: "Throw him out!" — Interjection: "No Nazi speeches!" — Exclamation from SPD: "These provocations will have to cease!" — Chorus: "Stop it!" — The Speaker raps his gavel —

Speaker Dr. Köhler, CDU: "Representative Ewers, you just referred to the colors being black-red-and-yellow. Were you alluding to the colors of the Federal Republic?" — Exclamation from SPD: "Of course!")

Representative Ewers retorts: What I said was that the colors black-red-and-gold can only be rendered as black-red-and-yellow in the cloth of the flag.

(Agitated interjections from SPD: "Throw him out!" — The Speaker raps his gavel —

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "Deputy Ewers, the words used by you evoke the impression that you were criticizing the colors of the German Federal Republic laid down in our Constitution. Our constitutional colors are black-red-and-gold. I am not inclined to accept another designation of these colors." —

Strong applause in the Center and from SPD)

Representative Ewers continues: It was far from me to utter anything at all against the colors of

* The colors of the new German Federal Republic are black-red-and-gold, as were those of the democratic Weimar Republic of 1918—1933. To express their contempt for the institutions of democracy, nationalism and Nazis, who boycotted the black-red and gold colors, made it a practice at that time to refer to them with a disdainful "black-red-and-yellow", or "black-red-and-chicken-droppings".

our state as laid down in the Constitution. That would show I am wanting in deportment. All I wished to indicate was that these colors, alas, have not conquered the hearts of large segments of our electorate, although I should like to emphasize that there is nothing to be said against these historically unobjectionable colors.

(Loud heckling from the SPD benches)

NATIONAL ANTHEM

It is most deplorable that we have no federal anthem and I do not know what prevents the left wing from reintroducing the national anthem bestowed upon us by their Reich President Ebert.*) I consider this anthem an expression of our German character suitable even for a peaceful German

*) The anthem referred to is the so-called Deutschland-lied

"Germany, Germany Above Everything,
Above Everything in the World..."
Friedrich Ebert, a Social Democrat (1871—1925) was Reich President from 1919 to 1925.

fatherland endeavoring to become part of the European community of nations.

(Loud objections from SPD — "Now make an end of it!")

I am coming to the end of my comments. Ladies and gentlemen, it has been my task to explain on behalf of my Party Delegation in what spirit we decided to participate in the Government, so that you may know exactly whom you are dealing with. You may rest assured that we do not consider ourselves as reactionaries by any means.

(Persistent loud heckling)

We cannot revive the dead bones of the past and we feel no longing to restore what no longer exists. We are looking forward to the new land of the future. We hope and trust that under the newly-established Federal Government the first steps into the still clouded future may not be entirely devoid of blessings for the entire German nation. May I conclude my address with Goethe's brief exhortation: "We bid you to hope!"

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Dr. Gebhard Seelos of the Bavarian Party
(Bayern-Partei — BP)

THE BAVARIAN PARTY AND FEDERALISM

Mr. Speaker, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Before dealing with the Government's Statement of Policy, I want to speak in principle about the framework within which Bayernpartei's (the Bavarian Party's) participation in the work of the Federal Republic appears possible. Before this forum of Germany and the world, Bayernpartei (the Bavarian Party) welcomes the opportunity to touch upon a question which arose when Bavaria refused to endorse the Bonn Constitution: the Bavarian question. As long as relations between Bavaria and the Federation are not defined anew, the Bavarian question will be a perennial one in politics. We declare emphatically that we Bavarians, too, want Germany. We merely have another conception of her constitutional structure, a conception derived from the hard lessons of German history. The ever-increasing concentration of power under Prusso-German leadership brought down upon us two world wars in succession. We believe that peace can best be safeguarded for Germany, to which we are wholeheartedly devoted and which is our country in good times and bad, through a federalistic structure of the new state. The Bavarian state and the Bavarian people will feel at ease in such a truly federalistic Germany, because we would not then be under the necessity of being constantly on our guard, perturbed about our very existence as a state, and thereby forced into a defensive position against our will. Bavaria was an independent state for 1400 years, with boundaries that underwent few changes until Hitler reduced her to a mere province in 1933. Bayernpartei has become the guardian of Bavarian patriotism.

(Loud interruptions in the center)

Its federalistic ideology evoked an impressive vote of confidence from the Bavarian population in the federal elections. Although election results had demonstrated Bayernpartei's strength before the beginning of the Bonn negotiations, it was, contrary to all democratic custom, completely excluded from negotiations on the Bonn Constitution. Thus we cannot be held accountable for the Constitution, which seriously undermines Bavaria's integrity as a state and opens the floodgates to excessive centralism.

(Interruption: "Are you referring to Bavarian centralism, by any chance?")

FEDERALISM AND EUROPE

We Bavarians view a centralized authoritarian state in the Prussian manner, to which the trends of the Bonn Constitution point...

(Agitation and interjections: "Bavaria!" — The Speaker raps his gavel)

as a political danger, since it obstructs or even precludes Germany's integration into Europe, and the realization of a European community. Such a centralized authoritarian state would, moreover,

render more difficult a sincere reconciliation, and a permanent understanding, between Germany and France. Without these a true European community and a sincere, universal atmosphere of peace will never come about.

(Assent from Bayernpartei benches — Exclamation from the Left: "That's enough!")

One should not pay lip service to the European idea while at the same time provoking the distrust of the world by promoting a centralistic state. Only a federalistic Germany, for which we are struggling passionately, vouchsafes a peaceful Germany. Only a peaceful Germany can become a member of the European family of nations. For these reasons Germany will have to be a federalistic state if it wishes to survive.

(Strong applause from Bayernpartei — Protests from SPD)

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Because of its centralistic character the Bonn Basic Law, many of whose features are in line with the Weimar Constitution, excludes other German countries, such as Austria, from the German community forever. Because both Bavarians and Austrians stem from the same stock, we Bavarians can never contemplate German matters without bearing in mind their repercussions and the impression they create in Austria.

(Interjection from the Left: "Danubian Federation!" and "Where have we heard that before?")

The same Prusso-German circles, who as long ago as 1866 drove Austria out of the German Confederation, were at work again in Bonn. We understand fully that for Prussians their capital, Berlin, remains the constant focus of reflection and perturbation, but do not deprive us of the privilege to let our hearts beat warmly for our Austrian brother nation.

(Exclamation: "Munich, the Capital of the Nazi Movement!")

Well, if you bring that up, let's talk about the counter-movement, too!

We Bavarians believe that only by speedy integration into Europe can real protection be gained from the dangerous tendencies of a new Prusso-German state believing only in force.

THE BAYERNPARTEI IN BONN

We combat the centralistic Bonn Constitution because we consider advocacy of a federalistic Germany to be a crucial question facing the German and Bavarian people.

(Interruption from the Center: "Really, since when do you advocate this federalistic point of view?")

The Bonn Constitution has been forced upon us by the London Agreement of 1 July 1948, which provides that two thirds of the Länder can compel the rest to adopt the constitution. But majority

resolutions cannot force a state to compromise or yield its sovereignty. As soon as an opportunity presents itself, Bayernpartei will therefore initiate a revision of the Federal Constitution in the spirit of states' rights. When that time has come, we will voluntarily grant the Federal Republic all those necessary rights which it has now obtained through compulsion.

(Interjection from Bayernpartei: "Up to now it was an order of Military Government, nothing else!" — Retort from the Right: "What an unsuspecting angel!")

Why is Bayernpartei represented in the Bundestag by Deputies, in spite of this negative attitude? Because we propose to exhaust the few federalistic potentialities of the Bonn Constitution to limit, to the greatest extent practicable, the centralistic tendencies that are so strongly represented in this House; and to put an end to anti-Bavarian discrimination in the economic and financial spheres, a discrimination which has come to be regarded as a matter of course.

THE CABINET

I will now discuss the Federal Chancellor's Cabinet. We looked forward to Dr. Adenauer's government in an unprejudiced frame of mind, since we considered it the logical outcome of developments during the past years. We did not accede to various suggestions that we join the Cabinet, because we wished to safeguard our freedom of action for our federalist goals and demands.

(Interjection from the center: "Weren't you angling for a Cabinet post?")

The composition of the Cabinet and the Governmental Statement of Policy by the Federal Chancellor fully justified our anxiety. The Federal Cabinet, if only because of the great number of Ministries and the extent of their jurisdiction, will lead to an increasing accumulation of power for centralistic purposes. The government bench can no longer accommodate the multitude of Ministers. No one could have anticipated such an inflation.

(Heckling: "Remember that this is not the October carnival in Munich!")

The recommendations of the Organizational Committee, in which top experts discussed the efficiency and number of ministries for weeks on end and determined that nine or ten would be best, have simply been brushed aside.

(Exclamations from the center: "Isn't that too bad!" — "Those were no experts!")

This is not merely a question of the number of individual ministers, but of the multitude of bureaucrats riding into office of each minister's coat-tails. We cannot comprehend how such an inflation of the governmental machinery can be justified in view of our people's misery.

The Federal Chancellor assures us that some of the ministries will be temporary phenomena only. We would like to remind him of the well-known fact that it is the temporary hutments that last longest.

(Hilarity —

Speaker Dr. Erich Köhler, CDU: "What do you mean by hutments?")

Hutments are a temporary expedient, but they always last longer than planned.

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "I should like to repeat the question, Didn't you mean the Ministries that had been designated as temporary by the Federal Chancellor?"

What I referred to was only the putative length of time during which they would exist.

Speaker Dr. Köhler: "Representative Seelos, I must beg of you to be a little more careful with such comparisons in future."

We noted with amazement that the Reich Ministry of the Interior was assigned the first place among the Ministries of the Cabinet

(Interruptions: "It's not Reich Ministry — we aren't in the Foreign Office any more! It is now *Federal Ministry!*")

Since the most important functional fields — refugee matters, the questions of the Reunion of Germany, matters of the Bundesrat — are already allotted to separate ministries, we fail to understand why such pre-eminence is attributed to the Ministry of the Interior. After all, domestic administration and police are within the competence of the Länder. We are almost compelled to suspect that plans are afoot to trespass into the very few sovereign rights vested in the Länder in the fields of domestic administration and of the police. For that reason we will keep a watchful eye on the work of the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

(Ironical cheers in the center)

The Cabinet contains no fewer than five Super-Ministries, e.g. those for the Marshall Plan, for Housing, for Refugees, for the Reunion of Germany and for Liaison with the Bundesrat. We do approve of a Ministry for Refugees because of the decisive importance of the refugee question, but we consider the creation of four additional Super-Ministries nothing but a very serious impediment of the functions of government. It may well exhaust itself in jurisdictional struggles and rivalries about competence. It is understood that these ministries are charged with vital tasks, but sound governmental experience has shown that these could be processed, and competently disposed of, much more satisfactorily by State Secretariats or by top-level civil servants within the various ministries (Ministerialdirektoren). We are afraid that excessive jurisdictional conflicts of the various Federal Ministries will impair states' rights when the Länder will wish to have their say about the extent of their own jurisdiction.

(Unrest and hilarity — The Speaker raps his gavel)

It is to be regretted that the creation of these new Super-Ministries was not predicated upon serious necessities of state, but upon the transparent lust for prestige of political groups. To us the establishment of the Ministry for Liaison with the Bundesrat does not spell a guaranteed solution of the problem of states' rights. In our view this problem will be solved only when substantial recognition is granted to the demands of the Länder.

Now to the personalities that make up the Federal Cabinet. We must point out that in our eyes the Government's federalist character is placed in jeopardy when it includes such outspoken centralists as Herr Storch and Herr Kaiser.

(Hilarity in the Center)

In Frankfurt, Herr Storch completely disregarded the interests of the Länder and imposed the heaviest financial burdens upon them, without see-

ing to it that they could be met. We will keep an eye on the Ministry for the Reunion of Germany, to prevent it from turning into a Ministry for Liquidating the German Länder. News dispatches that this Ministry, or part of it, will move to Berlin, prompt us to redouble our attitude of watchful waiting. What goes on here? Is it planned to split the Cabinet in two, so that one part would be located in Bonn and another in Berlin, with other agencies in Frankfurt? Or is it planned to remove part of the Government from the orbit of control exercised by Bundestag or Bundesrat? In that case we proclaim our violent opposition here and now.

(Unrest)

The Adenauer Cabinet is a federalistic-centralistic two-faced one. Storch and Kaiser hold forth on one side, Hellwege and Schäffer on the other. We can only hope that this two-faced body will turn the mild and smiling features of federalism towards us more frequently.

Representative Franz Strauss, CDU/CSU: "Is it your own face you are referring to?"

One is almost tempted to hold that a federalist who has become a cabinet member is less dangerous, and can be taken in tow more easily, than a federalist who is content to work within the Party Faction only. After all, the federalist in a cabinet must of necessity go along with, and approve, centralistic statements of policy and measures.

Representative Hans Schütz, CDU/CSU: "What we need is a good Bavarian plenipotentiary!"

THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT OF POLICY

Ladies and Gentlemen, before I proceed to discuss the contents of the Government's Statement of Policy, I would like to state that its whole tenor seemed to me to be lacking in the human touch. True, this Statement of Policy was cast in one mould and touched on almost all problems.

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "Not quite correct!"

but it was as cold as ice. The same holds true of the other statements by the major parties, the SPD opposition as well as the CDU ruling party. They did not radiate the inner passion which the population would have had the right to expect after 17 years of misery and after 10 of blood and tears. One might have been led to believe that material things make up an individual's entire life.

Representative Franz Strauss, CDU/CSU: "Where were you during the war?"

The overall problems that precipitated us into this terrific disaster were almost never touched upon.

Representative Franz Strauss, CDU/CSU: "Which you helped to bring about! We served as soldiers!"

Beyond question these problems do not concern tangibles only. They impinge upon spiritual matters. The Government's Statement of Policy and the statements of the major parties touched almost exclusively upon social and material tensions and upon the strained relations between the Opposition and the Government parties, but they evaded the tension prevailing between the Federal Government and the Länder.

(Interjection from SPD: "That will come!")

Why, after all, did we slide into this misfortune? Not because, by any chance, so many people were badly off under the Nazis, but because of this cen-

tralized concentration of power that came about after the voices of the various Länder had been stilled. These voices might have been able to oppose this nationalistic, imperialistic drive for power by the Nazis.

(Strong applause from Bayernpartei — Protests from SPD — Interruption from SPD benches: "Where was the Brown House? In Bavaria!")

Yes, and the biggest Nazis were in Berlin!

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "After all, you invented it!" —

Representative Dr. Josef Baumgartner, Bayernpartei: "Those were the Prussian officers around Ludendorff and Hitler!" —

Representative Franz Strauss, CDU/CSU: "And the Foreign Office crowd!" —

Speaker Dr. Erich Köhler, CDU: "Ladies and Gentlemen, now that this interlude of interruption and conversations is over, Representative Dr. Seelos will proceed."

We have carefully examined the Government's Statement of Policy to determine whether we may expect an exhaustive application of the few federalistic tendencies contained in the Bonn Constitution. This hope has been grievously disappointed.

(Interjection from the Center: "Thank God for that!")

In a speech lasting an hour and a half, the Federal Chancellor, to all intents and purposes, dealt with the question of federalism in one sentence only. The remainder of his address was devoted to down-to-earth problems. The speaker of the Government parties, too, barely alluded to questions of federalism and the problems that trouble the Länder; this holds true even of the spokesman of Deutsche Partei (German Party). Because of all this lack of emphasis we are very much concerned about the small likelihood of realizing our federalist aims in the House. The spokesman of the Free Democratic Party in particular went beyond even the Bonn Constitution by lashing out against the way in which the question of states' rights, as it applies to the collection of revenues, was settled. It is not correct that it was the Allies who insisted on states' rights in this question of revenues. We Bavarians had put forward very tangible demands in that respect.

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "You profit from things as they are, you Bavarians!"

When discussing fields in which the jurisdiction of the Länder is to be preserved, the Government's Statement of Policy dwelled almost exclusively on cultural questions. As for all other spheres of activity that were alluded to and which, according to the Constitution, are part of the Länder's concurrent legislative rights, it was regarded as a matter of course that they should fall within the competence of the Federal Government. Not a word about the sovereignty of the Länder.

(Interjection from the Left: "Thank God for that!")

The term used was never Bund (Federation), but always Staat (State). We are impelled to tell you, Mr. Chancellor, that we have become sensitive in such matters. Where federalism comes into play, we look with concern to the future developments of governmental policy. Dr. Adenauer, your title is not Reich Chancellor, but Federal Chancellor!

OPPOSITION TO POLICY OF BIZONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Our concern is intensified by the Chancellor's statement that he will carry on the policies of the Bizonal Economic Council in Frankfurt. Many measures of the Frankfurt administrative agencies in the field of economics have encountered violent opposition in Bavaria because they were predicated upon lack of understanding for Bavarian requirements, and because they recklessly exploited the centralized power of government against Bavaria. The policy of the Economic Council in Frankfurt was marked by fatal contradictions and by a double standard in dealing with problems of industry and agriculture. Where industry was concerned, the goal was to loosen and abolish the restrictions inherent in a controlled economy. In the agricultural sphere controlled economy was preserved, even though the actual situation did not require it.

The Federal Chancellor has gone so far as to announce that in the sphere of food and agriculture the jurisdiction of centralized agencies is going to be expanded. We consider that announcement a first fatal result of Article 74, Paragraph 17, which assigns, in general terms and without limitations, aid to agriculture as well as support of farm and forestry production to the concurrent jurisdiction of the Federal Government. These provisions were included in the Constitution in disregard of the strongest warnings by the Bavarian Farmers' Association (Bayerischer Bauernverband), merely because the bureaucrats of Frankfurt needed these provisions to expand their future powers. We had hoped that these powers would be used most sparingly. But now we gather from the announcement of the Federal Chancellor that we may expect a dangerous offensive against the jurisdiction of the Ministries of Agriculture in the individual Länder.

Enlightenment of the farming population, as well as aid to agriculture, is a preserve of the Länder and of the competent Länder ministries. We can only hope that the new Federal Minister of Agriculture will soon get rid of both the memories and the atmosphere of the Frankfurt administration

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD:
"Bravo!"

SOCIAL PROBLEMS

We fully agree with Dr. Adenauer in his emphasis upon aiding the middle class. What we miss is greater attention to the demands of the working class. It cannot make up for this deficiency that Herr Adenauer, in an incomprehensible concession to the Socialist wing of CDU, postulates the demand for a new ownership structure of basic industries.

("Hear, hear" on the Left and in the Center
— Hilarity on the Left)

It is not quite clear to us how Dr. Adenauer can square this postulate with his economic platform, which is the stimulation of a free economy and of private initiative. Industry now sees itself placed in jeopardy by a new wave of socialization emanating from the present Federal Government.

Representative Franz Strauss, CDU/CSU:
"Carlo Schmid is most afraid!"

We welcome the kind remarks of the Federal Chancellor about the possibility of mitigating the hardships which currency reform inflicted upon people who had been saving their money for a long time, since before the Third Reich. This is a Bayernpartei demand of long standing. We would

have welcomed it had Dr. Adenauer gone into greater detail on this question, since it would have calmed the agitation of large and hard-hit sectors of the population.

We especially welcome the assurance of the Federal Chancellor that, both in the interest of the particularly hard-hit Länder and of the expellees themselves, the distribution of expellees among the various Länder will be equalized. These assurances correspond to an emphatic demand of Bayernpartei. May we now ask that these measures be carried out speedily and effectively, so that a diminution of the load will soon be felt, and this hardship may soon be mitigated to a certain extent?

(Interjection from CDU: "Let us hope you do not appeal to the Federation for help!")

FOREIGN POLICY

In substance we also agree with the Federal Chancellor's Statement on Foreign Policy although we would have wished that it had contained some kind words for Austria.

(Applause from Bayernpartei benches)

The speeches of the Opposition and of the Government convey the impression that there is a constant squabble about priority with regard to the issue of foreign policy, which concerns the German people as a whole. It is, after all, grotesque that any party, no matter what its name, claims the right to have been the first to broach the problem of the return of our prisoners of war, or to have been the first to reject the Oder-Neisse border.

Representative Carlo Schmid, SPD: "Do you reject it, too?"

It seems to me that this attitude is in contrast to the way in which such matters are dealt with in the most powerful, big states, such as the United States and England, where issues of foreign policy are considered issues of the entire people. As a poor, afflicted and downcast people we can even less afford to drag this controversy down to the lowest level of party politics when tackling questions such as our common misery and the common demands of the German people.

It is true that we view the Occupation Statute from a different angle. The Occupation Statute was decided upon by the Foreign Ministers of France, Great Britain and the United States on 8 April 1949, almost six months ago, when the situation was an entirely different one. We do not even know whether the Occupation Statute, which is a foreign-policy measure, was ratified by the Parliaments of the three powers. We are thus all the more amazed that the Federal Chancellor, in the speech he made yesterday — not, however, in the mimeographed release of his speech — accepted this Occupation Statute as a basis for discussion. From the first we considered it at most as a security mortgage of the Military Governors, which we intend to liquidate as soon as possible. We would be grateful for more information about the procedure by which the Military Governors presented this all-important document yesterday, and about the reaction displayed at that moment by the Federal Government. These things are of the greatest historical significance, and will have far-reaching repercussions among the entire population of Germany.

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "I could tell you about those repercussions!"

Keep it to yourself, I am not interested!

BERLIN

We gather from the Federal Chancellor's explanation about aid to Berlin that in 15 months more than one billion marks have been channeled there. Thus the economy of Western Germany has been deprived of this amount for its reconstruction. For that reason we checked the Government's Statement of Policy in vain for a hint that, if aid to the afflicted city is to be continued, there will be insistence upon control of the use to which such money is put. Be it known that we are not willing to tolerate, under whatever guise, the Socialist experiments of the Berlin Socialist administration!

(Applause from Bayernpartei — Shouts from SPD: "So that's it!")

This issue would have afforded an opportunity to give a thought to those areas struggling hard for their very life, because the way in which borders were drawn under political aspects caused them serious economic harm. One such case are the areas of Northern Bavaria that have been severely restricted by dual frontiers, by projections into the Bavarian territory of the East Zone border, and by the severance of all links with Czechoslovakia. We have taken the liberty to submit certain bills for relieving the distress of these areas, and we trust that these bills will meet with the support of all political parties in the same way as the bills on aid to Berlin.

As for denazification we fully agree with the Federal Chancellor's view that it is high time to end the existence of two classes of human beings in Germany.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "You have every reason for holding that opinion!"

I do hope that he will be able to imbue the CSU members of the Cabinet with the same conviction, because as recently as early this year CSU adopted an electoral law which codified this division of human beings into two classes.

CONCLUSIONS

As the debate proceeds, we will define our attitude towards certain other points. In this general debate, I would like to content myself with these essential statements, emphasizing once more that we will observe with sharp-eyed attention future trends within the Cabinet, as shown by the federalistic and centralistic steps it may take. If legislation is federalistic in character, you can count on Bayernpartei's cooperation. To a disastrous centralism, we throw down the gauntlet. This attitude is consonant with our over-all advocacy of a federalist Germany, with our rejection of a centralized Germany. We believe in Germany but, gentlemen, bear in mind that it is only as Bavarians that we are Germans.

(Loud Applause from Bayernpartei — Protests)

Anyone who endeavors to deprive us of our millennial Bavarian State places the existence of Germany in jeopardy!

(Hilarity and protests — Loud cheers and applause from Bayernpartei — Persistent interjections — Unrest — The Speaker raps his gavel)

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Max Reimann of the German Communist Party
(**Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands — KPD**)

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Federal Chancellor described the development of the West German State at the outset of his Governmental Statement of Policy. While listening to this description I let my mind roam over the historical development of this State and thought back to those forces abroad that gave the orders to establish it. At the same time I also remembered those Germans who carried out these orders because they feared that Germany as a whole might be developed along democratic lines.

May I go back to the very source? I remember that an American paper, the "New York Herald-Tribune", described the purpose of the Government, which was already planned at that time, in these terms in its issue of 16 March 1949:

"The projected West German Government is reduced to the status of a colonial administration operating not under one viceroy but three the French, British and U.S. Military Governors, or their civilian successors."*)

I cannot outline the character of this state more clearly than was done by this newspaper. Thus it is obvious that this Government or, if I may repeat the words of the "New York Herald-Tribune", this "colonial agency" with Dr. Adenauer at its head, meets the wishes of the gentlemen in Washington.

(Interruptions from the Center: "Shame! We won't let him get away with it!" — Constant exclamations — Persistent unrest — The President raps his gavel —

Dr. Köhler, Speaker of the House: "Representative Reimann, will you yield?"

We constituted the first Bundestag (parliament) of the Federal Republic of Germany on 7 September 1949. On 12 September we elected the chief of state, the Federal President, and on 20 September we were informed of the constitution of the German Federal Government.

With the exception of yourself, Representative Reimann, I believe there is nobody in this chamber who could, by any chance, ascribe to this procedure the characteristics of a colonial agency. I protest and point out that I will take the necessary measures if you should repeat your description of the German Federal Republic as a colony or a colonial country."

Applause from the Center and Right — Interjection from the Right: "Herr Reimann, you may tell that to the Russians or in the Russian Zone! Have you seen the returnees from Russia?")

Reimann resumes: Mr. Speaker, I want to make it clear that this term did not originate with me, but that I quoted the term used by an American

*) Actually, this is a quote from a column by Joseph Alsop asserting that the French have brought about the state of affairs described.

paper. For that very reason it is not fortuitous that this Government represents a collection of representatives of German heavy industry and financial tycoons. For both, German and American, are closely intertwined.

OCCUPATION STATUTE

The Chancellor of the Federal Government swore an oath to uphold the Basic Law. He intends to convey the impression to the German people that the Basic Law of the Parliamentary Council, promulgated on 23 May, represents the true Constitution of this West German State.

In actual fact, however, things are different. It did not happen accidentally that, on the day after the formation of the Government, the Occupation Statute was put into effect by the three High Commissioners. In that way the High Commissioners once again made crystal clear what the real Constitution of this West German State is.

When political measures are taken in future, this state of affairs will have the opposite effect, to all intents and purposes, from that which the Federal Chancellor was pleased to present to us in his Statement of Policy.

(Observation from the Center: "Is that so? Then we'll emigrate to the Soviet Zone!")

The Federal Chancellor declared that, as a result of the Occupation Statute, the Ruhr Statute, the Marshall Plan, etc., Germany is more closely integrated with foreign countries than ever before.

So that you will not interrupt me again, Mr. Speaker, I draw your attention to the fact that I am quoting the Federal Chancellor. In his Governmental Statement of Policy, the Federal Chancellor now describes as "integration" what he earlier termed the "dictatorship of foreign powers" and a "colonial statute". At the same time the Chancellor tried to make us believe that the High Commissioners will consult the Federal Government before taking any important decisions. Exactly the contrary will be the case.

I should like once again to draw your attention to the fact that the Occupation Statute, in the hands of the three High Commissioners, constitutes the real political basis of the Western German State, precludes a Peace Treaty and draws a veil of uncertainty over the length of the Occupation. The formation of this Government is accompanied by the clanking of rolling tanks in the Ruhr Valley, by the blows of sledgehammers destroying our peacetime industry so that German competition can be eliminated from world trade.

(Violent disagreement in the Center and on the Right — Many shouts from the Center: "Soviet Zone!")

Even though you will shout a good deal while I address you, I intend to tell you what you need to hear!

MARSHALL PLAN

I well remember, when the Marshall Plan was announced in 1947, that West German politicians spread fancy illusions among the people about the imminent revival and flourishing of the German economy. On 20 June 1948 Professor Erhard announced additional miracles in the offing.

All warnings by far-seeing politicians in the Economic Council were disregarded. Relief was expected from a separate West German currency and from the Marshall Plan. Today the Chancellor is forced to admit, in his Statement of Policy, that there is a danger of deflation or inflation in his West German State.

(Deputy Strauss, CDU: "Both simultaneously?")

It is my impression that the economic theories expounded by the Chancellor in his Statement of Policy lack a sound foundation even more than those advanced by Professor Erhard on the day of currency reform. The latter based his economic policy upon the stockpiles of hoarded goods and praised hoarding as a patriotic deed.

DEVALUATION AND EXPORTS

But whence does the Chancellor derive his conception? Is it from the currency devaluation now in progress? The present devaluation of currencies is, after all, the symptom of an intensified battle for the shrinking capitalist markets, of the struggle waged by international high finance for the biggest slice of world exports. This more intense competition, which had in its wake the devaluation of the D-Mark, will result in increased curtailment of Western German exports and a blockade of its foreign trade. In this connection I remind you of the view of British exporters that German products are their most dangerous competitors in world markets.

On the other hand compulsory imports of American goods will boost living costs of the population in Western Germany enormously. Devaluation of the D-Mark lowers the floodgates for American financiers wishing to export capital into Western Germany. This is what the Federal Chancellor did ask for.

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Better than to export human beings to Russia!"

But he failed to explain that the German Economy will be sucked dry and sold out by such American capital exports.

All countries within the Marshall Plan and favoring the old-style capitalistic system, the so-called free-enterprise economy (soziale Marktwirtschaft), are affected by this currency devaluation. It shows up the disruption of the capitalistic economic system, in contrast to the soundness and stability in the face of crises of the Soviet economy, of the economy in the People's Democracies, and also of the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. In these areas a strong economic system managed to emerge,

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Ask your own son!"*)

because the workers, and allied with them the democratic elements of the middle class, endeavor to attain the democratic new order by virtue of their own strength.

The devaluation of the D-Mark instinctively brings back to mind Professor Erhard's slogan:

*) Max Reimann's son had recently fled from the Soviet to the British Zone.

"Honest Money for Honest Work!" Workers, officials, employees, small farmers and many others always labored honestly. Back in 1945 the workingman was the first to clear away ruins and debris, to bring order into traffic snarles and to get the factories running. But he was never paid honest money in return.

(Exclamation from the Right: "As bad as in the Soviet Zone!")

Goods produced, before currency reform and thereafter enriched those whose policy had brought these ruins and this catastrophe down upon our heads. During the days of the currency reform Professor Erhard already voiced the demand now repeated by the Chancellor in his Statement of Policy, i. e. the call for an accumulation of capital. Accumulation of capital to increase profits, but not to satisfy the requirements of the population! That, in a nutshell, is the aim of the economic policy of the Government. That is why the Chancellor's Statement of Policy completely omitted any mention of the self-sacrificing work performed by workers and employees during the past four years.

WAGES AND PRICES

The Chancellor had this poor consolation for the population of Western Germany: "There is no reason to be alarmed, since the anticipated changes in the sphere of wages and prices will, as a whole, lead to relatively insignificant fluctuations only." Thus spoke the Chancellor in his Statement of Policy. The complexion of the Government leaves no doubt that the burden resulting from devaluation of the D-Mark will be shifted to the shoulders of the working people, just as it was shifted in the case of currency reform. For the second time in two years currency manipulations, from which only capitalists benefit, are carried out on the backs of workers, employees and artisans, of people with small savings accounts, of those drawing sickness or old-age pensions, and of the middleclass.

FREE ENTERPRISE AND MARSHALL PLAN

Ladies and Gentlemen! The fifteen months that have elapsed since currency reform have given us a clear picture of the meaning of the term "free-enterprise economy" (soziale Marktwirtschaft), that was proclaimed once again by the Chancellor. Free-enterprise economy spells the integration of the economy of Western Germany into the Marshall Plan, and its subordination thereto, with all the consequences inherent in Marshall Plan policy.

I am deliberately referring to Marshall Plan policy, having gathered the impression that even the most ardent advocates of the Marshall Plan now see their hopes dwindle away. I did not, for instance, hear the Chancellor allude, in his Statement of Policy, to certain pronouncements of Marshall Plan Administrator Hoffman or certain releases of the Paris ERP Head Office. Both of them said, and I quote, that "the Continent, in spite of American aid, cannot stand on its own feet economically by 1952". Together with currency devaluation, this announcement forms the foundation on which the Chancellor rears his policy of a free-enterprise economy, and orates about an upward trend. When proclaiming the Marshall Plan in 1947, Marshall said that his Plan was directed against hunger, poverty, despair and chaos. And what is the outcome two years later? We have currency chaos, a devaluation in its initial stages. More disappointments along the same lines are in store.

Ladies and gentlemen, look into the latest UN report dealing with the state of the economy in 1948/49. It says that for the first time after the war, production has begun to stagnate and that the number of jobless is constantly increasing. In Western Germany alone there are 1 200 000 unemployed, and the same number working only short shifts. The Chancellor commented upon that development with these words: "Our economy is gaining ground!" Indeed a rather curious manner of gaining ground.

Because of these difficulties in the various countries, the U. S. Group of the International Chamber of Commerce accuses the adherents of the Marshall Plan of inability to act boldly and urges drastic measures. In this connection my eyes were opened for the purpose and goal that must have been envisaged when a Ministry for the Marshall Plan was established. The accomplishment of these drastic measures, that is to say the lowering of the standard of living of the working class, is to be the task of Vice-Chancellor and ERP-Minister Blücher. Anyone who watched ERP-Minister Blücher in the Economic Council knows that, in consonance with the interests of German and American financial capital, he will acquit himself well of this task.

In addition he has been entrusted with another mission, namely controlling the Social Democratic Ministries of Economics in the various Länder. This permits us to assume that the financial bosses of Western Germany will have the whiphand over the economy from that angle, too.

Under the impact of the Marshall Plan crisis, social tensions will increase in Western Germany. This Government will not solve a single social problem. It seems to be aware of it. How else to understand the Federal Chancellor's threat against "leftist radical" elements? It means that this Government of Dr. Adenauer is ready to use the police power of the state to combat hunger and further pauperization. That is an old custom of all reactionary governments.

LABOR RELATIONS

The Chancellor said: "Legal relations between workers and employers must be regulated in accordance with the times!" How does this Government interpret the term "regulation in accordance with the times"? In North-Rhine/Westphalia, the legislature resolved to socialize the mining industry. In Hesse the socialization of certain industries is provided for in the Constitution. The Military Governors cancelled these democratic decisions by a stroke of the pen. This, I presume, is what the Chancellor means by "regulation in accordance with the times". In the same way the democratic, constitutionally-guaranteed right of co-determination was suspended in Hesse, Bremen and Württemberg-Baden. Seeing that this is one of the planks in the platform of the governmental parties, the Chancellor considers this, too, to have been "regulated in accordance with the times".

What the Chancellor means by "regulation in accordance with the times" is the buttressing of the position of those who already hold the strings of economic power. With cold-blooded and mature deliberation he intends to exclude all economically weak segments of the people from any protection by the state.

That exposes the character of this government. Even in the days of the Weimar Constitution lip service, at least, was paid to the duty of the state to give protection to the economically feeble.

In other words, it was no coincidence that, in his Statement of Policy, the Chancellor completely sidestepped the demands of the trade unions for the right of co-determination in the plants, and in the economy as a whole. It is no coincidence that he even ignored the demands of the Catholic Day participants at Bochum, of the many thousands of Catholic workers. Perhaps that shows the fine hand of the Vice-Chancellor.

The Chancellor assured us that his Government would act in a "social way". It would act, and I quote, "as social-mindedly as possible, in the most authentic and best sense of the term". Ladies and Gentlemen! Has not our people listened to promises of that sort before, from other German governments?

GOVERNMENT PLEDGES ON HOUSING

Now let us examine what the Chancellor did promise to the different social groups. As for promises, this Government takes the cake, particularly Dr. Adenauer.

To the homeless he promised housing. How is it to be procured? The Chancellor asserts that the Federal Government will put money at the disposal of the Länder. They must then exhaust all their possibilities. But whence will the money come? The Chancellor left this question unanswered. Can funds be siphoned out of the bankrupt treasuries of the various Länder?

He explained that rents shall be determined in such a manner — in other words, raised to such a level — that private capital, financial speculators, will show more interest in building houses. You yourself, Mr. Chancellor, certainly don't believe that in view of present conditions — soaring prices, an increasing number of bankruptcies or closing-down of workshops involving artisans, small businessmen and small home-owners — that in view of such conditions these persons could themselves dig up the means for housing construction. The Chancellor made it unequivocally clear how he envisages the solution of this problem, namely by providing safeguards for profitable business transactions. In practice this means the end of the public housing program, which the CDU/CSU promised to the population in its election platform. Inadequate wages and the starvation pensions doled out to the old and disabled would, if rents were increased, compel these groups to crowd together still more closely in jam-packed rooms. Low-income families who succeeded in building a small home by dint of hard work will be forced to move into cellars or attics and to rent out their other rooms, if they want to retain title to their property.

To build houses through capital accumulated by increased rents will be impossible under present economic conditions. The Communist Parliamentary Faction has introduced certain bills dealing with housing construction. They instruct the Federal Government to inform the Occupation powers that it is no longer in a position to defray the high costs of Occupation, and therefore proposes to cut them in half. Part of these savings are then to be used for housing construction.

EQUALIZATION OF FINANCIAL BURDENS

During the election campaign CDU promised an equalization of social burdens. The FDP did likewise. But now the Chancellor says, and certainly he does so as spokesman of the parties in office, that in the long run only a flourishing economy can bear the load of the equalization of burdens. But is the economy really flourishing in this

Western German State? Is there any hope that it will flourish in the foreseeable future? As long as present economic policies continue, only dreamers will hope for a boom in this Western German State.

Dr. Adenauer knows, just as we do, that, under the provisions of the Ruhr Statute and of the Marshall Plan, Germany's economy cannot recover. Nevertheless he declared that speedy passing of the Law for Equalization of Financial Burdens can be expected. The same pledge was already made in 1948. If we take into consideration the present complexion of political power in this Western German State and the Government's policy of protecting the property of heavy industry, then we can look forward to an Equalization of Financial Burdens that will spare those responsible for the war, and leave the victims of Hitler's war empty-handed.

PLANNED ECONOMY

The Chancellor explained in his Statement of Policy that he will continue to pursue the politics of the Frankfurt Economic Council, and that he will see to it that the principles of free enterprise prevail against those of a planned economy. In this connection, gentlemen, your propaganda deliberately treats planning and Hitler's controlled economy, which was based upon compulsion, as if they were the same thing. There is no common ground between that controlled economy we lived through for fifteen years, and the planning we demand. Naturally we can never expect a planned economy under an Adenauer-Blücher Government, and we are quite well aware of it. Planned economy does not mean rationing and strangling of distribution; those coercive measures were introduced by the same gentlemen who today advocate a free-enterprise economy. What planning means is the organization and management of production in accordance with the requirements of the population and with unrestricted distribution. It is precisely this planning of production that the gentlemen representing a free-enterprise economy oppose, because, before production could be planned, the trust barons would have to be stripped of their power. But even in today's Statement of Policy, Dr. Adenauer no more than Professor Erhard openly dared to hold his protective hand over the trust barons. That is why, when Dr. Adenauer or Professor Erhard indulge in polemics against a planned economy, they never even attempt to argue against planned production. They resort to cunning arguments against planned distribution, which no one among us likes. At the same time they evoke memories of Hitler's compulsorily controlled economy, so as to make the concept of planned production appear as a hobgoblin to the man in the street.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Ladies and Gentlemen! After Herr Pferdmenges*) plans for tax reform had been adopted by the Federal Chancellor, after this Government was constituted, and on the basis of the election results I was informed of a number of opinions current in trade union circles. These opinions cover the same ground as discussions among workers, employees and citizens who are members of SPD and also of CDU. These discussions highlight the fact that the same forces are dominant in industry and administration today that brought disaster upon our people. The parallel trends between the

Adenauer Cabinet now in office and the pre-Hitler Brüning and Papen Cabinets are spotlighted. Workers and very many citizens hold that we are coasting down the same slippery slope as in the days of the Weimar Republic after 1918, only with greater momentum.

When this Government was constituted all those who have learned from the past recalled such memorable dates as 20 July 1932 and even 30 January 1933.***) There is justification for recalling events of this sort. To our mind, the Government platform, which ignores the demands of the majority of the population, namely the working class, provides evidence enough. Let me quote a few examples, to show what stage we have already reached. I received a letter from an official of the Social Democratic Party in Schleswig-Holstein in which he points out that the elements forming the Government here at Bonn are preparing to replace the Social Democratic government in his Land by one of the right wing. Many Social Democratic workers from Hamburg have told me that in the election campaign for their City Council the rightist block launched a full-scale attack against all progressive positions. Its aim was to smash the traditional SPD-KPD majority, thereby ousting — so they themselves say — the Social Democrats from the government.

Some people ask me why I care who holds the key positions in the Western German State, seeing that I reject it. My answer must be that, true enough, we reject this Western German State and fight consistently for the unity of Germany,

(Vigorous heckling from the Center and Right: "Of Russia!")

but now that this Western German State has been constituted, very much against our will, we do care who holds down the key positions in this state, we do care about the nature of its economic, social and cultural policies.

COOPERATION WITH SPD

I will go one step further. The Communist Party has learned its lessons from the past, especially from the pre-1933 period. I only wished that other parties, too, would have learned their lesson from the past, the SPD in particular. And what is that big lesson we have learned? All those have to close their ranks, in a common militant front against reaction, who want to prevent a repetition of events such as those of 20 July 1932. All those must join in that common front who want to stem the onslaught of the Rightist block against the demands of trade unions, workers, employees, officials and the middle classes, as well as all those who do not want workers, trade unionists, Social Democrats and other progressive elements to be forced out of their positions, to be replaced by representatives of the property-owning block.

The strength of all progressive forces of our people lies in common action by all. Only reaction has benefited from fragmentation and division. Only reaction can do so in future. For that reason I state frankly that we are always prepared to arrive at joint agreements with Social Democrats in factory, parliament and elsewhere, so as to repel the onslaught of reaction against the positions and rights of the working population.

(Laughter and shouts from the center)

**) On 20 July 1932, then Chancellor von Papen deposed the Social Democratic government of Prussia by force; on 30 January 1933, Hitler was named Chancellor.

*) See p. 17

That hurts, doesn't it! But I know that we are on the right track to put an end to your careers.

Dr. Schumacher, I do not believe that you had fallen prey to the delusion that our votes for you were tantamount to acceptance of the anti-Eastern policy which we hold to be harmful. I shall touch upon this subject once more later in my address. At this point I want to state distinctly and clearly that our vote for Dr. Schumacher's candidacy in the election for a Federal President was a symbolical expression of our determination to wage a common fight with SPD everywhere, but especially in the factories, against a repetition of the Brüning and Papen policies. We are combatting the attacks on the wages and rights of the workers and of the working population by this "authoritarian property-protection government", as it was branded by Dr. Schumacher.

Dr. Schumacher, you did not mince words when discussing the present government. You mentioned that the shift to the Right was even more significant than is revealed by the distribution of parliamentary seats. You recalled the situation during the second period of the Weimar Republic.

It seems to me, however, that there is a contradiction inherent in your concept. In the eighty years' history of the German working-class movement, the point was driven home again and again that capital is international. Should this point have been forgotten now? It would seem to me that it applies in the Western Germany of today more than ever before. Surely the restoration of the old bosses after 1945 would have been impossible without the influence of American high finance. This restoration of the economic Bourbons which we witnessed after 1945 would surely have been impossible. Or do you happen to believe that socialization was suspended and the right of co-determination of the works councils abolished by representatives of American high finance so as to serve the interests of democracy and of progress? These measures were taken on behalf of German and foreign big business. It is therefore impossible to wage a persistent fight against the attacks by German big business, while on the other hand making concessions to American capital. I am glad to note that leading trade unionists and Social Democrats are realizing this unacceptable contradiction and are even taking up the struggle against the Marshall Plan and the Ruhr Statute in public.

MAGNETISM OF THE SOVIET ZONE

In their fight against the attacks by the property-owning block and reaction, the working class and all progressive forces in Germany are now entrenched in a stronghold buttressed by industrial reform, land reform and school reform as carried out in the Soviet Zone of Occupation.

(Unrest — Shouts of: "Forced labor!")

Inevitably the changeover in both economic basis and social superstructure in the Soviet Zone is not a simple matter. When a new economy and administration pulls itself up by its own bootstraps, growing pains are bound to assert themselves. Of course there were initial difficulties due to the division of Germany and to the fact that there was no heavy industry in the Soviet Zone of Occupation, so that it will have to build up its own heavy industry if the division of Germany should persist. Be that as it may, it is an established fact that the people themselves are overcoming these obstacles to an ever greater degree. Difficulties will be overcome. At this point, however, a crisis is approaching and if there was some talk

here about a magnet, I am optimistic enough to retort that it is not the Western German State with its Adenauer-Blücher Government which will serve as a magnet for the people, but the new democratic order of the Soviet Zone of Occupation. (Loud applause from the Communists — Protests from the center — Turmoil — Shout: "He does have a sense of humor!" — The Speaker raps his gavel)

TRADE WITH THE EAST

Permit me to adumbrate upon the recent Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris. There was much talk in this House about the unity of Germany not being abandoned. The Federal Chancellor went so far as to appoint a Minister for the Reunion of Germany. The importance to be attributed to your avowals of German unity is highlighted by the way in which the Frankfurt Economic Administration has until now refused to carry out the recommendations of the Paris Foreign Ministers' Conference, which proposed that economic relations be resumed through direct contact between the existing economic authorities. It seems to me, however, that thousands upon thousands of manufacturers and businessmen facing shutdown or bankruptcy demand the resumption of economic relations with the East Zone.

Trade with the East Zone is the bridge leading to resumption of trade with Eastern and South-eastern Europe, too. For where else do you want to export to after the pound sterling has been devaluated by 30 percent and the D-Mark by 20 percent? I happen to know that thousands of British firms are sending their offers and sales representatives to Poland and Czechoslovakia. I cannot imagine that there are businessmen in Germany so witless as to let the competition get its foot into the door first. I even hold that business will force those politicians to change their tune who, out of short-sighted considerations, reject trade with Eastern Europe. Business will see to it that they act in the best interests of the German economy.

In this connection I am reminded of a cynical remark in a foreign newspaper. The "New York Herald-Tribune" writes as follows:

"It is true that the slogan 'export or die' applies to Great Britain and Germany. But if someone has to die in the coming struggle for world markets, let it be the Germans."

THE MINISTRY FOR THE REUNION OF GERMANY

We do not want that to happen. We Germans do not wish to die, we want to live. For that reason we advocate East-West understanding, the establishment of a joint economic commission consisting of the existing economic agencies, and a unified economic policy. The establishment of a Ministry for the Reunion of Germany serves neither the German economy nor does it contribute to German conciliation. This Ministry is monstrous, since it is a Ministry for the Continuation of the Cold War. This is also shown by the fact that the Federal Chancellor did announce its formation, but, in his Statement of Governmental Policy, completely ignored a political event of such magnitude as the Paris meeting of Foreign Ministers, and the recommendations they issued.

THE ODER - NEISSE FRONTIER

In his Statement of Governmental Policy the Federal Chancellor mentioned that he would, by means of orderly legal procedure, press claims to the regions beyond the Oder-Neisse line.

Just what does the Federal Chancellor mean by "orderly legal procedure", after he has rejected the only legal basis proclaimed with the utmost solemnity by all four Occupation Powers, the Potsdam Agreement?

(Interruptions: "Legal basis" doesn't mean a thing! What is your attitude to Potsdam?")

You, Mr. Chancellor, cited the Potsdam Agreement all of a sudden, and pointed out that the definitive frontier adjustment was to be arrived at in the course of a Peace Conference. It strikes me as very strange that you should be quoting the Potsdam Agreement and referring to a Peace Conference. It seems to me that you, Mr. Chancellor, are revealing yourself as a might-have-been politician equipped with hindsight. After all, it has been your policy to prevent the Potsdam Agreement from being put into practice. You have encouraged the Western Powers to deviate from the Potsdam Agreement. If I remember correctly it was you who went out of his way to welcome the Occupation Statute. It was you who, by establishing of a Western German State, prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty with a Government representing all of Germany.

In your Statement of Governmental Policy you quoted Mr. Churchill and announced the distribution of a memorandum. Mr. Chancellor, permit me to do likewise and quote Mr. Churchill at this time. On 27 October 1944 Mr. Churchill addressed the British House of Commons. At that time he said, and I quote:

"The Poles are at liberty to enlarge their territory to the West at the expense of Germany. In that case the Germans would have to be expelled" — for that was what he suggested — "all Germans would have to be expelled from the regions in the West and North acquired by Poland. Expulsion" — I continue to quote Mr. Churchill — "is, as far as we can see, the most satisfactory method and the one promising the most enduring results for the future. It will be a clean sweep."

Thus spoke Mr. Churchill in 1944. He continued as follows:

"I am not alarmed by the prospect of the uprooting of populations, not even by these large-scale transfers which are better feasible under modern conditions than ever before."

That much for Churchill. In the late fall of 1944, Mr. Roosevelt sent a letter to Mikolajczyk. He wrote, and I quote:

"In case the Polish Government and the Polish people should desire to resettle their national minorities, after the new frontiers have been drawn, there will be no objections raised on the part of the United States Government. We shall," writes Roosevelt, "on the contrary, do our best to facilitate such a resettlement."

On 13 May 1943 Mr. Beneš — here is something for the Sudeten Germans, who were so vocal yesterday, to chew over —

(Interruptions from all sides and unrest)

On 13 May . . .

(Constant interruptions)

I am coming to the point! You won't go begging for comebacks, rest assured!

("We don't care for your answer!" — Turmoil —

Deputy Speaker Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD:

"Ladies and gentlemen! Please let the speaker have his say! The Oder-Neisse Line was referred to in the Governmental Statement of Policy. The speaker is entitled to discuss it." —

"Hear, hear!" from the ranks of KPD — Exclamation from the Right: "But not when he goes back to Adam and Eve!"

On 13 May 1943 Mr. Beneš sent a cable to Masaryk about his negotiations with Roosevelt. The cable was worded as follows:

"He" — Roosevelt — "concurs with the view that it is necessary to reduce the number of Germans in Czechoslovakia as much as possible through resettlement."

To this cable by Beneš, Masaryk replied by Cable No. 186 dated 29 May 1943:

"In connection with the fact that, following the lead of the British Cabinet, the United States Government is also advocating a transfer of the Germans in Czechoslovakia, I told him" — namely Bogomolow, the Soviet representative — "that we expected the same support from the Soviet government and that we were not satisfied with their statement that this was a matter concerning our domestic affairs."

In view of these documents, to which I could add others, a question arises. How is it possible that the Western Allies, who were so eager to lend their support to the expulsion of the Germans, and who participated in laying down the Oder-Neisse Line, are today taking such a strong stand against the measure they themselves had championed?

Representative Strauss, CDU: "What do you, as a German, have to say about the Oder-Neisse-Line?"

The answer is simple enough. Because . . .

(Interjection from the Center: "Behave like a German!")

Because things did not happen as you would have liked them to happen, because Poland and Czechoslovakia got rid of Anglo-American influence!

(Shouts from the Center and Right: "So that's it!")

I daresay that if Poland were still the old Poland, with a Pilsudski government, or one of the same stripe, then no Churchill and not even Mr. Truman would raise the question of revising the Oder-Neisse Line.

(Interjection from the Center: "But we Germans would!")

If Poland had such a government, then Western German politicians would be forbidden to demand a revision!

(**Representative Renner, KPD:** "Excellent!" — Agitated interruptions from the Center and Right —

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Will you come right out and say what you, as a German, have to say about the Oder-Neisse-Line?")

If there were a Polish government led by the peasant leader Mikolajczyk, backed by the Vatican, (Agitation among Center and Rightist Deputies) then I daresay, Herr Adenauer, you would not call for a revision of the Oder-Neisse Line,

(Heated interruptions from the Center and Right, boos and catcalls: "Incredible!" — Great turmoil — Shouts: "Aren't you ashamed of yourself, as a German?" — "Throw him out!")

no more than you put forward such demands with reference to the Saar!

(Constant heated clamor from the Center and Left: "Some nerve! Low life!" — The Speaker raps his gavel —

Speaker Dr. Köhler: Deputy Reimann, your time is up!

Reinmann resumes: I am about to conclude. If the Polish Government were a British satellite, Mr. Churchill would even be prepared . . .

(Agitated interruptions, boos)

to move the frontier up to the Spree.

(Continued heated boos and catcalls, shouts of "Low life!"

Representative Renner, KPD: "Who behaves like low lives around here?")

Because things did not happen as had been anticipated, because Anglo-American influence was eliminated, because of these things a revision of frontiers now seems to be desirable.

(Turmoil)

For that reason the German people is being incited against the nations of the East.

(**Representative Renner, KPD:** "Hear, hear!")

Hilarity in the Center and on the Right — Boos)

A war aim is being held out to the German people.

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Go and join them. We don't even care to see you here!"

If the gentlemen on yonder side of the Channel, if the American imperialists were strong enough, they would move the frontier forward to the Vistula or even further to the East.

(**Representative Renner, KPD:** "Hear, hear!")

Hitler already tried his hand at this sort of thing.

(Interjection from the Center: "We demand the old frontiers back again!")

Through this catastrophe the German people was punished for its allegiance to a madman.

Representative Strauss, CDU: "You are following in the footsteps of that other madman!"

It should be incumbent upon every German politician who thinks realistically to tell the German people the truth about this situation.

(**Representative Renner, KPD:** "Hear, hear!")

That would be a good deal better, and more useful for our people, than listening to such war-mongering speeches day after day.

(Lively protests in the Center and on the Right)

The German people, which after two world wars had to put up with two disastrous defeats, which sacrificed millions of its men, should not be driven into a third World War on behalf of foreigners and of the imperialists who were restored to power here in Germany,

(Agitation in the Center and on the Right)

because such a war would end with the destruction of our people. We want to live in peace and friendship with all nations, especially with the nations of the East and Southeast.

(Applause from the Communist benches, — Exclamation from the Center: "You disposed of the homeland of 12 million people!")

A revision of frontiers would not only be a disturbing element in our relationship with Poland, but would in the long run lead to war!

Representative Renner, KPD: "Hear, hear!"

That must not happen! Our people must not be sacrificed on the altar of a third World War!

(Agitation)

The Oder-Neisse Frontier is the frontier of peace! (Constant vehement boos and catcalls — Turmoil — The Speaker raps his gavel — Heated shouts: "Withdraw, withdraw!")

I will not withdraw until I have had my say.

(Continued turmoil — The Speaker raps his gavel)

Speaker Dr. Köhler: Representative Reimann, since yesterday . . .

(Continuing widespread commotion, boos and catcalls — Shouts of: "Throw him out!" —

Representative Strauss, CDU: "To Moscow with him! Why don't you get into uniform?" —

Representative Reimann: "I will not budge!")

Ladies and gentlemen!

(Continuing widespread commotion — Shouts: "Agent of Moscow! Paid agent provocateur!"

Representative Reimann: "It's you who is an agent provocateur!" — Tumult)

Representative Reimann, you just declared that the Oder-Neisse Line was the line of peace.

(Persistent unrest)

All parties that have voiced their views here since yesterday have, as one man, rejected the Oder-Neisse Line as Germany's frontier. I would like to state that for the record.

(Applause in the Center and on the Right)

When you speak as you do, you are guilty of the provocation of the over-whelming majority of this House. For that reason, I call you to order!

(Cheers and applause in the Center and on the Right — Exclamations and hilarity from the Communist benches.)

Representative Reimann, I call your attention to the fact that your allotted speaking time is over.

(Loud shouts from the Center and from the Right: "Stop him! Get down!")

Representative Reimann . . .

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Get down, get down! Stop talking!" — Tumult)

Representative Reimann . . .

(Persistent clamor: "Stop it; make an end to it! Get away from there!" —

Representative Reimann: "I will not budge!" —

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Stop it! Get down!"

At this point a spectator, in the garb of a former German soldier just released from a Russian PW camp, made his way across the floor towards the Speaker's rostrum, pointing to his ragged clothing and shoes while passing the benches of the Deputies amid considerable hubbub and agitation. Part of the CDU Deputies leave the floor.)*

Ladies and gentlemen, will you please take your seats again; the session has not been recessed.

(By order of the Speaker, the spectator is led out of the Chamber

Representative Rische, KPD: "This is a well-organized provocation!"

Representative Renner, KPD: "This young man spent the entire evening here yesterday! It is a provocation that has been planned since last night!" — Heated protests on the Right and in the Center —

Representative Rische, KPD: "You, too, are responsible!"

Representative Reimann, KPD: "You sent people to the gas chambers! You yourself did!"

Ladies and gentlemen, will you please listen to me for a minute!

(Persistent violent commotion)

Proceedings and results of this session of Parliament are watched not only by the German people but by the whole world. It is my opinion that we should bring this session to an end in a dignified and respectable manner.

(Persistent turmoil — Interjection: "He committed treason!")

Representative Reimann, I would like to state for the record that your allotted speaking time — please listen to me, Representative Reimann — began at 11:40 hours. It is now 12:50 hours. According to the rules of order, a speech lasting beyond one hour must be approved in plenary session. I hardly believe it will be necessary to attempt to gain the consent of the plenary session to extend your speaking time beyond one hour. I hereby give you one more

*) Apparently with the acquiescence of Speaker Dr. Köhler, CDU Deputies had brought two men into the Chamber who claimed to have just returned from Soviet PW camps. As a reminder of conditions in Soviet PW camps, they flaunted their dilapidated German uniforms and shoes with gaping holes. It was later revealed that the one who made his way across the floor of the Bundestag, Thilo Wagner, has a long criminal record. Never a prisoner of war of the Soviets, he tramped through Germany as a hobo since April 1945. The record of the second demonstrator, Siegfried Kluger, also lists convictions for fraud. Both were later arrested and sentenced.

minute to bring your discourse to an end. Thereafter, I shall refuse to recognize you any longer.

(Enthusiastic cheers and applause — Protests from the Communist benches)

Representative Reimann resumes: The struggle for Germany's unity is the paramount problem facing the German people. That means bringing about German unity, forming a unified German Government, and concluding a peace treaty with it,

(Interjections from the Communist benches: "Very true! Hear, hear!")

after the conclusion of which Occupation troops must be withdrawn from all of Germany by the deadline that is to be established.

Representative Neumann, SPD: "If that is so, you guys will be the first who'll have to leave!"

We herewith declare our readiness to work and fight for these aims, together with all like-minded forces. Once we have a unified Germany, with a unified, democratic economy,

(Interruption from the Right: "Moscow dictatorship!")

then German will be a peace-loving state.

Representative Strauss, CDU: "Your one minute is up!"

and will render many contributions to the peace of Europe and the world.

(The Speaker raps his gavel)

Speaker Dr. Köhler: Representative Reimann, your one minute is up. I hereby refuse to recognize you.

Reimann resumes: This will come about . . .

(Heated shouts: "Stop him, stop him!")

much more quickly than you can even imagine.

(Strong applause from the Communist benches — Persistent boos in the Center and on the Right)

Speaker Dr. Köhler: Ladies and gentlemen! The Federal Chancellor has asked to be recognized. I hereby recognize him.

Dr. Adenauer, Federal Chancellor, CDU: Ladies and gentlemen! Representative Reimann stated that I would not demand a revision of the Oder-Neisse Line if there were still a Catholic Government in Poland. May I ask the Speaker to call Representative Reimann to order because of this affront?

(Vigorous exclamation: "Excellent!" and applause —

Representative Renner, KPD: "Everything according to command!")

Moreover, I have to make the following statement in the name of the Federal Government: we regret that this Chamber and the Speaker's rostrum were profaned through a speech such as that delivered by Representative Reimann, a speech flying into the face of German interests.

(Enthusiastic assent and applause)

The Federal Government does not consider it compatible with its position, its responsibility, or

its dignity to listen to speeches of this sort in the future.

(Persistent cheers and applause)

Representative Renner, KPD: "That last sentence was very weak indeed!"

Speaker Dr. Köhler: Ladies and gentlemen, I do not have the transcript of Representative Reimann's speech at hand. To the best of my recollection, I had stepped outside when the incriminated expression was used.

(Interjection from the SPD benches: "Mr. Speaker, will you please restore decorum! These demonstrations go on and on!")

Representative Renner, KPD: "I move that it be ascertained who brought this intruder into this

House! Last night everything was arranged to have this man stage his show here today! It was superb play-acting!"

Representative Strauss, CDU: "He was here to demonstrate to you the result of your policies!"

(The Speaker raps his gavel)

Representative Renner, KPD: "Wouldn't it be better if you gave these people something to eat instead?"

(Persistent commotion — The Speaker raps his gavel.)

Ladies and gentlemen, I will check the transcript of Representative Reimann's speech, and thereupon take the necessary steps.

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Alfred Loritz of the Economic Reconstruction Party
(Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung — WAV)

ACTIONS, NOT WORDS

Ladies and Gentlemen:

When listening to the Federal Chancellor's Statement of Governmental Policy the day before yesterday, we heard a number of declarations that were most thoughtfully balanced and very aptly formulated. The Federal Chancellor elaborated his platform, telling us how he and his Cabinet visualized their short-term functions in a variety of fields, such as the economy as a whole; the elimination of unemployment; housing; the welfare of disabled veterans, expellees, and other strata of the population.

Ladies and gentlemen, we of WAV would like to make the following comments in this connection. We do not care whether really all classes were alluded to in these statements. We do not care whether one class might have been allotted three sentences more and another one sentence less in the Governmental Statement of Policy. We are not interested in the words that were chosen. We have heard so many Statements of Policy these past few years, and they are all as alike as two peas in a pod. Probably they are bound to resemble each other a good deal. In view of the all-pervading misery of our times it is deeds, not words, that count. Therefore we shall apply the Biblical saying that by their fruits shall ye know them. We shall judge this Government by its fruits, and by its fruits alone, not by the degree of its skillfulness in turning a phrase. We do not propose to scrutinize each comma in the Chancellor's address with a magnifying glass. Far be it from us! We shall see what this Government will accomplish. We freely admit that the fruits will take some time to ripen. But time is short. There is but one admonition we have for the Government: Hurry, hurry, for the distress of our people is dreadful. I am almost tempted to say that each day we keep the Government from tackling its tasks is a wasted day.

(Loud applause on the Right)

MISERY EVERYWHERE

Ladies and gentlemen, wherever you look the plight of our people is exceedingly great. On the streets, in the refugee camps, among the disabled veterans who frequently lack even the money to buy an artificial leg, among the war widows and war orphans, among the middle class that is being impoverished all over again today. After all, it is precisely the small businessmen who are badly off, while the big black-marketeers are doing very well. What are the assets of the small businessman? A handful of bad debts he cannot collect. And how is business in general? The outlook is rather bleak, I would say.

We are unable to share the optimism that things are improving splendidly. True, things are on the upgrade in this country for hundreds of thousands of bigshot black-market operators, but the broad mass of the population does not participate in this boom. To our mind the payoff is whether the great

mass of our people can be raised to a living standard which makes life worth living. This is well within our possibilities. We got the stuff for it, in more than one respect. Our people is as diligent and industrious as ever. There must be other reasons why progress is not as great as we would wish and as it would be possible at least in those fields where there is no interference by foreign powers.

SPEED IS OF THE ESSENCE

We have a list of requests to submit to the Federal Chancellor and his Cabinet. We shall not waste any words on tearing the Federal Chancellor's speech apart. By no means! We simply wish to tell him on behalf of our constituents what we expect the Government to do. It is too early to discuss in detail what steps the Government will take. We shall see. I already made it clear that we shall judge the Government by its actions and by absolutely no other yardstick. We shall scrutinize the work of the Government with an open mind, neither with a jaundiced eye nor with advance laurels. There is just one thing we should like to ask the Government: get to work as soon as possible, the misery of our people cries to heaven.

EXPELLEES

It is imperative to tackle the expellee problem properly. It disgraces our culture that millions of expellees have to dwell in miserable wooden hutments

(Interjection: "In air-raid shelters, too!")

Quite right, and even air-raid shelters. In fact, part of them live in the open air! I know of expellees who cannot even call a wooden cabin their home, or who prefer not to live in it during the summer because these cabins, as is well known, are infested with lice and are in so run-down a condition that it is simply impossible to live in them. My friend Goetzendorff, an expellee himself, will, at a later date, take the liberty of discussing the expellee problem in greater detail.

THE ODER - NEISSE LINE

There is one thing I note with pleasure in the Statement of Governmental Policy, namely the Government's hard-hitting pronouncement about the Oder-Neisse Line. Regardless of party allegiance none of us will ever acknowledge the Oder-Neisse Line.

(Loud applause)

CLAIM TO SUDETEN TERRITORY

However, I found one thing lacking in the Government's Statement of Policy. We are no less concerned with the fate of Germans in Bohemia and Moravia than in Silesia and Pomerania, in East Prussia and all these other German territories.

("Hear, hear!" on the Right)

German Bohemia belongs to us, to Germany, just as much as Silesia, The Germans in Bohemia

declared for the record in 1919 that they had become part of the new Czech state by brute force, that they would never recognize this German-Bohemian region as lawful Czechoslovak territory. Far be it from me to imply that the Federal Chancellor omitted this deliberately. It may merely have been forgotten in the course of his speech. This assumption was the reason for an interjection on our part. I believe the Federal Government shares the opinion, which all of us hold, that German-Bohemia is just as much German territory as Silesia, Pomerania and East Prussia!

ECONOMIC AID FOR EXPELLEES

Ladies and gentlemen, we cannot content ourselves with hope alone, not with hoping for a repatriation of the refugees, not with hoping that the horrible wrong inflicted upon the German people at Yalta and subsequently will be redressed. We have to integrate the expellees into the domestic economy without delay. Then it will become evident very soon that the skills they brought with them from Bohemia, Moravia and elsewhere will become veritable goldmines not only for the refugees but also for the indigenous population. As examples for such transplanted industries I should just like to point to the Gablonz costume-jewelry industry*) and the Graslitz musical-instruments industry**). We therefore commend the fate of the refugees and of the transplanted industries to the special attention of the Federal Chancellor and the Cabinet.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The second and equally urgent problem is unemployment. We hope and expect that the Federal Government will focus all its energies on tackling this question. We caution against appraising the situation in an academic way that might possibly be appropriate in a college lecture hall when addressing sophomores who are to be initiated into the theoretical principles of economics. Such an approach is, however, completely misplaced when dealing with practical problems. We caution against letting the unemployment figures find their own level. We caution against this theory with all the emphasis at our command because you are not dealing with cold metal and an inanimate pendulum, but with human individuals. And the individual must be the pivot of the state. That alone is true democracy, everything else is humbug. We warn against letting the unemployment figures find their own level. The number of unemployed is big enough already, far too big as a matter of fact. Come what may, we must use our best efforts to eliminate and reduce it.

NO RENT BOOSTS

I cannot wholly agree with the optimism of the Governmental Statement of Policy when it holds that an increase of activity in the construction industry alone could largely do away with unemployment. Things are not as easy as all that: In particular I should like to warn you against robbing Peter to pay Paul by finding work for certain unemployed while rendering unemployed other hundreds of thousands of workers who now barely make ends meet in the daily fight for survival. That, however, would be the upshot if one of the

*) Gablonz (Jablonec) is a town in the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, once the center of a famous costume-jewelry industry.

***) Graslitz (Kraslice) is a small town in the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia, once famous for its musical-instruments industry.

most essential items of expenditures in the budget of the man in the street were permitted to rise, namely his rent money. Rent is just as important a figure in the budget of the man in the street as are his basic living expenses. Woe to us if rents should rise! I even believe that I am speaking in the name of thousands of house owners in saying to them that an increase of rents is not even what reasonable house owners are driving at. Obviously we must reach the point where money becomes available for apartment repairs. We full well know how things look in this sector. But boosting rents is not the way. We must embark upon quite a different course, by reducing the insanely high burden of taxes which house owners have to bear. After all, today's house owners are nothing but messenger boys for the tax collector.

(Cheers from the benches of WAV)

We can tackle this problem in quite another way. We can make means available for the most urgent house repairs without increasing rents, because any rent increase would immediately set off the inflationary spiral. We must at long last bring down the crazily excessive rent taxes. To the extent that this affects the Länder, the Bund will somehow have to find ways to make up the loss to them. Then we ourselves can take the measures most urgently necessary in this respect also. Anyway, it will be the task of the Federal Government to start coordinating the activities of the Länder, thereby bringing them in line for the benefit and advantage of Germany as a whole. Above all we warn the Government against raising rentals in any manner whatsoever.

CURRENCY DEVALUATION

There is something else the Government must beware of. A few pertinent sentences were contained in the Statement of Policy, but we at least feel that they cannot be interpreted clearly and unequivocally. We caution our Government not to follow the example of other countries blindly and without investigation, since their situation is quite different from ours. We warn the Government against taking the plunge even if the others took it first. We warn against a currency devaluation. We warn against another debasing of the currency. Unfortunately — I stress unfortunately — we are unable to put any faith in soothing statements of the kind already hinted at in the Federal Chancellor's Statement of Policy. They amount to: "Don't worry your pretty heads, it won't be as tough as all that! If we devalue the D-Mark by 20 or 30 percent, maybe the prices of imported goods will only go up by a few percent, a rise that may be unnoticeable within the general price structure. Under no circumstances will it throw the entire wage-price structure out of kilter." We do not have any faith in this soft-soaping theory. And why? Because anyone who has attended lectures on economics for two terms knows that such statements were made by every government after every currency devaluation. In the past decades we have witnessed currency devaluations in rapid succession all over Europe. What was the result?

Let us look at the famous devaluation of the French franc in 1936, which is usually adduced as a typical example. Let us look at devaluation in other countries. What was the result? A few months later the prices of essential goods had adjusted themselves to the original level once more, i. e. to the inherent gold value. The effect of all such devaluations spent itself after a few months. Those who suffered and were duped in the process were

the people who do honest work, the workers, the employees, the small shopkeepers.

(Cheers from the benches of the WAV)

Those who suffered were the people whose wages and incomes could only limp painfully behind rising prices.

We do not believe that a devaluation of the D-Mark in this country would fail to have a marked effect upon the price level, if not immediately then in the long run. We are on the contrary convinced that following upon the heels of currency devaluation the entire wage-price structure will start to burst at the seams. This is liable to cause the most harmful tensions and quarrels in Germany. In the end the only result will be that confidence in the D-Mark, so laboriously built up, will be wiped out.

("Hear, hear!" from the WAV)

Britain achieved at least one thing by its devaluation: reducing its public debt by something like 30 percent. Our position is vastly different, because our public debt was largely wiped out by currency reform. This advantage of devaluation will not redound to our benefit. For us it brings only disadvantages — I stress the word disadvantages. I have no faith in the advantage of a devaluation of the D-Mark. The less so since for many years to come, perhaps for decades to come, we shall have to import considerably greater quantities of goods than we are able to export.

("Hear, hear!" from the WAV)

We must not unilaterally join the pound sterling block and follow in its footsteps. On the contrary, we shall have to seek support for a long period from the one currency that has remained stable this time, namely the dollar, in view of the fact that America will, and to a large extent shall have to, furnish our imports for a long time to come, without equivalent German export proceeds being available as yet. Once that break-even point has been reached, the advantages of a devaluation undertaken at this time will have vanished because world market prices would have adjusted themselves in the meantime.

I am of course aware of the fact that we do not have complete freedom of decision in all spheres. Unfortunately it is not yet up to the Federal Government to have the last and only say in these matters. That, believe me, is not a reproach levelled against the Federal Government but against different quarters. I cannot believe, however, that the Allies would simply ignore a determined and clear appeal to world public opinion by the Federal Government, an appeal to the effect that we do not want a devaluation of our hard-earned D-Mark.

Ladies and gentlemen, we of WAV are deeply worried over this problem from which hundreds of other problems may spring, especially now when seasonal unemployment is bound to rise with the approach of winter. Prospects for the future fill us with deep anxiety. The devaluation of the pound sterling will no doubt compel us to lower our export prices, but this will have to be achieved by means other than currency devaluation. We have to bring about this price reduction by, at long last, relieving industry of a large part of the simply unbearable tax burdens weighing down manufacturing and all industry. We can do it. In olden days it was said that the tithe and no more could be exacted from the people. How happy would we be today if profits in industry, and the taxpayers' income, were only tithed! We must have a tax cut.

Then we shall easily manage to produce at lower prices for export also. Else we might not be able to more or less hold our own in the world market in the face of British competition.

As I said before: this problem must not be approached from the theoretical angle, even less so in view of the fact that for a long time to come, for years and maybe for decades, we shall have to rely on the importing of enormous quantities of additional foodstuffs and other goods from America, for which we shall not be able to pay right off the bat.

For these reasons a mechanical currency devaluation would spell only loss and no gain. Bearing in mind the importance of such a measure, we beg of the Government, to say it once more, under no circumstances to go along so complaisantly in imitating the British example. After all, we Germans do not have to act like trained poodles and eagerly jump through every hoop stretched in front of us.

(Cheers and applause from WAV)

That much for this problem.

BUREAUCRATIC EXPANSION

However, as I said before, we can only keep the currency at its present level if we greatly reduce production costs by cutting taxes. I have great apprehensions, for what usually happens is this: First there is a Cabinet Minister, then he needs five top-level civil servants with the rank of Ministerialdirektor as division chiefs, followed by twenty senior civil servants with the rank of Ministerialrat, and so the apparatus grows and grows by its own momentum. Even if the minister himself puts on the brakes, his subordinates see to it that the brakes are not too effective and that more and more personnel is hired, for they have to justify their presence on the payroll. It has always been the bureaucrats' favorite method of documenting their indispensability to accumulate a maximum number of files so that the final quarterly or annual report can stress the ministry's extensive work load. However well-meaning the minister's determination to put on the brakes — and I can already discern a smile, the smile of confirmation, on the government bench —

(Hilarity — Cheers and applause from WAV)

however much the brakes are applied, ladies and gentlemen, there are times when the senior civil servants win out against their minister.

This tendency has to be nipped in the bud, and we beg the Government on bended knees to be economy-minded when blueprinting the table of organization.

(Renewed loud applause from WAV)

We are unable to afford it any longer. We already have a phantastically overstuffed bureaucratic apparatus in all the German Länder. Are we now going to pile a federal bureaucracy on top of it, equally large or even bigger? Who is supposed to pay for all this? In the last resort, it is always paid for by our economy and our taxpayers. Above all we want the Government to be guided by this motto "Do everything to keep the governmental machinery as compact as possible; for the efficiency and quality of a ministry decreases in inverse ratio to the number of its officials."

(Loud and general assent)

That is a fact well-known to anyone who ever was in charge of a ministry, be it for a short period only.

(Hilarity — Interjection: "Are you speaking from experience?")

Everyone in this House regardless of party affiliation will agree with me that it will be the great responsibility of this Federal Parliament to prevent a bureaucracy of civil servants from building up an overstuffed administrative apparatus here. Otherwise it may simply be beyond the taxpayers' resources to support it.

HIRING FOR CIVIL SERVICE

I should like to repeat a phrase coined within the WAV as early as three years ago. I am always pleased when such phrases are subsequently picked up and repeated by the major parties. We do not want to see it happening that any one political party, whatever its name, turns itself into an employment agency for all those hundreds, nay thousands, who are already applying for positions in the new Federal Civil Service. If it is true, as some newspapers reported, that on a single day more than 700 job applications from all kinds of officials found their way to Bonn, then I do not envy the Federal Chancellor and his Government the task of separating the chaff from the grain. Out of this mass, out of this mountain of job applications those with real ability — they are likely to be few — must be selected to fill the intermediate-level slots with people who can really produce.

WAR CASUALTIES

Ladies and gentlemen, there are a number of further extremely important problems about which we should like to make a few remarks. There is the problem of disabled veterans, war widows, the dependents of war casualties. Anyone who has ever seen the inside of the miserable slums in which these decent people live finds it hard to believe that people have to exist under such conditions on 20 or 30 Marks a month. It is admirable how our people bears its cross. But this must not lead us to think in this House that, because it worked like this until now, we can continue to muddle through for some time to come. We must not imagine that those poor devils will not open their mouths. No, at long last we must take comprehensive measures on a federal basis for the welfare of those poorest of the poor. They did nothing but their duty, their duty towards their fellow-citizens. They did not march to the battlefields out of enthusiasm for war, far from it. All of us, or almost all of us sitting here, know in what a depressed mood entire regiments marched away on 25 August 1939, how depressed, without a smile on their faces, these men went to the front. They were ordered to go, it was not of their own volition. At the front they did their duty towards their fellow citizens, their comrades, whom they carried out of danger when they had been wounded and whom they even carried back from among the barbed wire entanglements. It is to those people that we of the WAV want to express our special gratitude.

(Cheers from the WAV)

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federal Chancellor justly expressed his most sincere thanks on behalf of the entire German people to a whole series of German and foreign organizations, the Red Cross and many others, for what they did for our fellow citizens. I think we have to express additional thanks, namely the gratitude of our whole people

to those millions of our fellow citizens who were decent and honest, who did their duty and suffered indescribable misery. Our gratitude goes out to those who were at the front without being militarists, likewise to those who had their place at home, who helped their neighbors to put out fires without expecting a cash reward for it. Lastly many thanks are due to our entire German people which has been conducting itself admirably since 1945,

(Applause from the WAV)

with the exception of a few hundreds of thousands of bigshot black marketeers, currency profiteers and similar sordid characters who squeezed gold out of the misery of our people.

("Hear, hear!")

Thanks should have to be given to all those, and we should have welcomed it if the Governmental Statement of Policy had dealt with it in detail and explicitly.

The conduct of our people has been admirable. I am asking you what other peoples would have conducted themselves with such discipline, decency and peacefulness on a monthly ration of 150 grams of meat, 75 grams of fat and nothing else except for a little bad bread and a few pounds of potatoes? Those were the conditions under which our people lived. Our most glowing thanks must therefore be addressed above all to the millions of housewives who made superhuman efforts to carry on. For that reason we particularly welcome the fact that the Federal Chancellor made special reference to women and women's problems in his Governmental Statement of Policy.

INCREASE OF PRODUCTION

Ladies and gentlemen, the Federal Chancellor quite rightly said in his Statement of Policy that we cannot forever and ever rely on foreign countries for gifts of all the things we are unable to produce and to buy ourselves. We must increase our industrial output. It is the crux of governmental activity to find ways to increase production in our country. True enough, I have to stress it, this cannot be done according to a blueprint.

PLANNING AND FREE ENTERPRISE

We reject any attempt to go by blueprints and dogmatism in this sphere. Slogans are of little significance here. We believe that the Minister of Economics and the Government will have to determine empirically, as they go along, what should or should not to be done in each single case. Nothing can be achieved in this sphere with either panacea or gray theory. One thing, ladies and gentlemen, must be abolished. It cannot be tolerated that in many parts of Germany timber cannot be sold today because of insufficient demand, because there is not enough construction in progress. I know of brickmills near my hometown that even restrict and reduce output for lack of demand of bricks.

(Exclamation on the Right: "Because there is no money around!")

You see, such things must not happen in future.

GOVERNMENT PUMP-PRIMING

Equally intolerable is the situation here in Bizonia, where more than 250,000 building workers are unemployed, while there is work galore to keep them busy for decades. Here we ask the Government to step in energetically. At the same time

we caution against looking for salvation in an unrestrained credit expansion. We would welcome an entirely different step, namely a reduction in Government expenditures, in particular expenses for the ten thousands of civil-service positions either artificially created without necessity in the last few years, or else filled with incompetents. Through abolition of all these positions substantial savings would be effected, large enough to permit enormous amounts to be diverted to housing and other measures urgently needed.

AGRICULTURE

A previous speaker here talked at length on the support of agriculture. He said that we must at all costs raise agricultural production through intensified root crop cultivation. Let me add a word to this. The situation today is such that in some regions of Germany the cultivation of root crops is being reduced because sufficient numbers of agricultural laborers are either not available or cannot be allocated by the labor exchanges. You see, these are some of these faulty arrangements in the economic sphere where we urgently request the new Federal Government's intervention, for it really is high time. How can we possibly intensify root crops and sugar beet cultivation, known to require enormous amounts of labor, if the farmers do not even have sufficient labor at their disposal to continue present cultivation methods?

("Quite right!" from the WAV benches)

This situation calls for intervention by the state, by the German Federal State, at the earliest possible time.

CONCLUSION

Ladies and gentlemen, much could still be said with reference to the individual items of the Government program. We shall save ourselves the trouble of discussing it at length here. For every hour of which we deprive the Government by this debate is lost to constructive work.

("Very good!" in the center — **The Chancellor** applauds — Merriment)

In the next few months we shall see how this Government is going to manage. We shall see in the next few months whether this Government will continue in the old, worn-out rut or whether it will embrace new, constructive ideas apt to promote our economic progress after all this time. In a few months already the Government will have to submit to a thoroughgoing debate on these topics. May I repeat once more, however, that until this time has come we of WAV shall judge this Government without either malice or advance laurels. We shall judge it by its deeds. My wishes accompany the Government that it may accomplish a great many good deeds for the benefit of our poor German people and our poor German fatherland!

(Applause from the WAV and from the Right)

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Helene Wessel of the Center Party — (Zentrum)

ZENTRUM AND GOVERNMENTAL COALITION

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I take the liberty of commenting on the Government's Statement of Policy as spokesman of the Zentrum (Center Party) Delegation. At the outset I would like to make it clear that the Zentrum (Center Party), not being aligned with the governmental coalition known as the Small Coalition, will support all proper and just measures of the Government, but will reject and combat everything my political friends and I myself consider to be improper and unjust from the point of view of public welfare. We consider it our duty to prevent arbitrariness and the abuse of power, to advocate tolerance and respect for the human personality, freedom and justice. We consider it our task to serve truth and, if necessary, to expose hidden forces and trends endangering state and community.

The spokesmen of the party factions in this House, both those supporting the Government and those of the Opposition, have expounded their basic attitudes and their platforms. Their statements convey the impression that, while holding divergent ideas, they also have many views in common. We cannot help feeling that something more all-embracing than this Small Coalition could have been achieved, had efforts been made right from the beginning to search for the common denominator rather than to dwell on the issues that divide us.

GRATITUDE FOR AID FROM ABROAD

Our common goal is the rebuilding of Germany with constantly increasing momentum and within the shortest possible time. To rebuild destroyed residential districts, to find a solution for the problem of expellees, to provide social security even for the most poverty-stricken segments of the people are necessities no one can refuse to support, whether he be in the corner of the Government or that of the Opposition. Nor can these necessities be gainsaid by foreign countries. After the collapse of the cataclysmic policy of National Socialism we witnessed the behavior and the attitude of foreign countries towards our people, their humane relief work that was pointed out by the Federal Chancellor. We witnessed the aid rendered by the victor nations and states of this second world war. In addition to those cited by the Federal Chancellor — the Red Cross, the Vatican, the Ecumenical Council in Geneva — we think there should be mention of the aid given by the Quakers, the Salvation Army, the Mennonites, the Scandinavian countries and Switzerland. We should also think of the assistance given by all those organizations, and individuals too, who, sometimes by dint of personal sacrifices, took care of families in Germany or extended a helping hand to German relief organizations.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is compatible with our sense of national dignity to be grateful for this assistance. We should have the courage to defend this truth even against those Nationalist hot-air peddlers who are back at the old stand, fatally

distorting the picture which others have of the German man in the street.

Each one of us knows how difficult it is to reconstruct Germany. The previous speaker has outlined how millions of men were, as we know, deprived of their financial security so that today they hover barely above the subsistence level. But as we contemplate all this, we should not forget what happened during the Hitler war beyond Germany's borders, and what terrible heritage the war left in its wake elsewhere as well.

FOREIGN POLICY

This foreign political situation is part and parcel of the actual situation. It must serve as foundation stone for the policies pursued by the current crop of German politicians. Only if they act accordingly, only if they employ the principles of reciprocity to induce foreign countries to show adequate understanding for our circumstances — only then will they be able to conduct a sound foreign policy. Within the framework of European rehabilitation, the German people among others was greatly helped by the Marshall Plan. As far as the Western hemisphere is concerned, Germany has certainly reached a milestone on the political highway which made the creation of this Federal Republic possible.

The impact of the first Federal Government is beginning to be felt now. It is certainly painful to know that Germany's sovereignty was restored to her only subject to restrictions, which become evident in the control exercised by the High Commissioners. As is well known, the High Commissioners do not limit their supervision to democratic rehabilitation and to guarantees of peace and security. The lack of freedom in the field of foreign trade alone points up the situation in which Germany finds herself today. None too soon can a different, a real and lasting order be brought about. It will be one of Germany's most important duties in international relations to convince the victor states of the necessity for a peace treaty with Germany.

Ladies and gentlemen, more than fifty-two months have gone by since the cease-fire sounded, and *de jure* we are still in a state of war. One conference has followed another, but the problem of Germany could not be settled. Everything is tentative, nothing has been decided. But everyone feels that a decision is pressing if Europe shall recover and put its home in order. It is the tragedy of the European situation that the Third Reich managed to entangle all Europe in its downfall. Together with Germany, Europe has been dragged to the brink of the abyss and is today dependent on America's help. That is what has rendered the solution of the German problem so difficult. Take our own foreign policy. We see ourselves faced with the necessity of fitting ourselves into this world political situation, of considering the German question in this context. That question can only be solved within the framework of Europe, unless we want to adopt the belief that we must cut ourselves off from Europe. So it should be among the most important duties of this Government, especially in view of the complexion of the Cabinet

that has been formed now, to take the proper position in foreign politics, and also to make this position clear to the German people.

OPPOSITION TO NATIONALISM

Certainly, ladies and gentlemen, Germany is located in the center of Europe; but let us refrain from the nationalistic conceit that in world politics Germany is the heart of Europe. We need a wise, carefully balanced policy, and I should wish that in future this necessity will not even be forgotten in election campaigns, because nothing harms us as much as that silly attempt to outdo nationalism at its own game. The Zentrum did not suffer because of its clear-cut refusal to make any concessions to nationalism in its electoral meetings. Anyone acting differently must bear in mind that, though our German people has great gifts for intuitive adjustment to the genius of foreign languages and cultures, to historical ages and epochs, it suddenly loses all perspective when dealing with the living realities of other nations and, unlike most of the peoples on this earth, starts to revel in daydreams and wishful images.

We have every reason, ladies and gentlemen, to love our people. Because we love it, we must preserve it from constantly falling prey to its weakness and faults. Today more than ever we have every reason to bear in mind the true shape of things and to live up to the phrase we all like using so much, the claim that we are political realists (Realpolitiker).

SELECTION OF DIPLOMATS

Please let me state here that this basic attitude will have to govern the kind of German diplomat who is going to represent us abroad in future, initially in the field of foreign trade and very soon, I hope, in the whole sphere of foreign politics. My political friends and I in no way fail to recognize that among the diplomats of the old school there have been men of integrity, representatives of what is best in Germany, men for whom the world still entertains respect today. Just the same it is a fact that the former exclusiveness of the Foreign Office (Auswärtiges Amt) precluded highly-qualified personalities from entering the diplomatic service. We strongly caution against considering the fraternity alumnus as the man predestined for the foreign service.

(Lively assent from Zentrum and SPD)

We also warn against sending abroad only blue-blooded barons or counts on the assumption that only they are qualified to represent German democracy. My political friends would welcome it with special satisfaction if the Federal Government would not follow in the footsteps of the Weimar Republic in this respect, but would have the courage to follow a different road entirely. Already accounts are being bandied around of the way certain people of the old school are pushing themselves forward, how they crowd anterooms and try to keep themselves in the public eye through the submission of special memoranda. The Federal Government would be rendering the German people no service by lending its ear too readily to such applicants. The time has now come, we think, to train the spotlight on a new type of representative for German interests abroad. Certainly I would not put those at the bottom of the list who during the Nazi years accumulated foreign background involuntarily. We have businessmen and journalists who lived abroad for

years. We do not have to be afraid that they will convey a distorted picture of Germany to the world that surrounds us.

May I add here that I do not want to imply that there would be no place for diplomats of the old school. It should only be pointed out that, in view of the rather large choice, a very careful selection can be made and high standards set. I do not have the impression that this hint comes too soon; I only hope that there is still time.

RELATIONS WITH EASTERN GERMANY

The question whether we Germans have any choice but that between East and West is part and parcel of a realistic view of politics (Realpolitik). We discussed it in this House today with considerable animation, but none the less I think it would be mistaking the historical facts and mission of our people if we left ourselves no other choice than that between East and West. We cannot abandon our tradition, our past, our history, all that we have become and all that we are, without abandoning ourselves. That is why no choice between East and West is incumbent upon us. We cannot turn away completely from either the one or the other side. I believe nothing would be more catastrophic than any aggravation of the tension caused by Germany. In our own interests we can only affirm again and again how greatly we are concerned with the achievement of an understanding between East and West. Under no circumstances should the world get the impression that such an understanding would not be welcome to us. Today a chasm seems to be opening up between Europe and Russia. Should we not want to become untrue to ourselves, it cannot be our task to widen or deepen this gulf. After all, Russia would be the fourth partner of a peace treaty with Germany, by virtue of which a united Germany might arise.

We should also like to view the East Ministry (Ostministerium) from this angle. If there is to be any political point and value to the East Ministry, then it must embody the will to German unity. It must do so on the basis of existing condition, lest the impression be created among Germans behind the Iron Curtain that they are being written off and forgotten. It must be the aim of an East Ministry to increase the chances for an understanding between all partners.

I know that these words may not be to the taste of certain people, but I believe I have articulated what is in the hearts of all those imbued by true national feeling. I do not need to stress here that the Zentrum, by its very nature, is found in the ranks of the most bitter opponents of Communism. But there is only one kind of victory in this struggle. It is achieved through optimum accomplishment here in the West, through bringing about real progress, through seeing to it that the individual is judged on his own merits. Then the European idea will conquer the East instead of Bolshevism shaping the face of Europe.

In saying this, the Zentrum does not fail to appreciate that it is up to the Federal Government to make German war prisoners and deportees their special concern and to induce all nations, through the medium of a wise foreign policy, to help in getting these poor people returned to their homes as soon as possible.

EUROPEAN UNITY

The need for an intra-European agreement becomes ever more apparent in the light of overall American policy. It is within the framework of

such an intra-European agreement that both the Eastern problem and the problem of the German population living beyond the Iron Curtain will have to be solved.

We live in an epoch marked by the early stages of a closer integration of relations between states and peoples. German policy will have to anticipate the trend of events. It is not only the East that will confront the German Federal Republic with grave decisions. The West, too, has its problems. There are, in the main, two powers that can aid in rehabilitating Europe and in rebuilding it on new foundations. The face of Europe was formed and shaped two thousand years ago by the interplay of Hellas and Rome. The spiritual tradition and the recognition of the worth of the individual, thanks to which the Occident reached its true flowering, stem from Hellas. Rome contributed the capacity to establish public order and to form states. Out of these two forces Europe grew, endowed with the gift to metamorphose Christian ideology into a cultural zenith transcending national boundaries. The German people apart, Europe's last but great chance is once again vested primarily in two nations, namely France and England, provided they become conscious of their great historical mission and work for Europe's integration in the spirit of a true federation. That is why we support the Government's willingness to work for European unity. We are fighters for this European unity, because we believe that those Christian-Occidental cultural values still alive in Europe must be saved for all humanity.

THE CONCEPT OF DEMOCRACY

Ladies and gentlemen, in the sphere of domestic politics we expect the Government to bring contentment to all the people through the establishment of true democracy, and to recognize the necessity for winning the collaboration of all constructive forces. It does not seem sufficient to us to pay lip service to the Federal State. It is far more important to know what ideas and convictions must become its driving forces. Their functioning will determine the fate of our democracy. For this reason we would welcome it if the parties of the Opposition were conscious of their role. They may not be pillars of the government, but they are among the midwives of German democracy. We must not again gamble away this last chance of building a democracy, and must therefore do everything to discuss our differences of opinion in this House on an objective plane.

We deem it equally wrong to assume that the definite pattern of the young state may be deduced from the election results of 14 August. We are still living through a provisional stage. Constant inner turmoil and the process of social re-stratification keep our people from settling down. The character of the German people has undergone so thoroughgoing an upheaval that it could not emerge with immutable features corresponding to its inner nature. The Federal Government should certainly steer clear of any effort to compensate for its slender majority by playing the strong man. By proposing laws that will have the support of those outside the coalition, the Government is always at liberty to win a larger majority than that on which it is based. I emphasized earlier that my political friends and I, although not bound to the coalition, are willing to support any measure which, in our opinion, will serve the common good.

REVEALING SOURCE OF PARTY FUNDS

The Federal Government could quickly furnish convincing proof of its democratic aims by formulating the Political Parties' Bill, already provided for in the Basic Law. As stipulated in the Basic Law, such a bill would naturally have to reveal the financial sources of party funds.

(Lively applause from SPD and Zentrum)

Perchance such a bill might cause some discomfort in certain circles close to the Government. But I remember with great satisfaction that, already in the Parliamentary Council, at least some political friends of the Federal Chancellor — regrettably only some, not all — voted for the demand of my friends that financial sources be revealed.

This point in particular was welcomed as one of the new constructive ideas of our Preliminary Constitution in the public discussion of the Basic Law. It is obvious that Germany's democratic development will be advanced decisively if the disclosure of the parties' financial backers becomes a reality as soon as possible. By taking this step, the Federal Government would dispel the distrust pervading large sectors of the population. May I state for my political friends that we will continue the struggle initiated in the Parliamentary Council. Should the Government leave us in the lurch, we on our part will take whatever parliamentary action is necessary to strengthen the population's confidence in parliamentary democracy by insisting upon the disclosure of party finances.

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

To take up another point, it would be disastrous if the Federal Government were to be staffed solely by officials belonging to the parties that make up the governmental coalition. Large parts of the population, who already stand apart from the government, would then be further estranged from the new Federal Republic whilst it should be the task of the Government to bind state and people together. Any cabinet change would seriously disturb the civil service. We raise no objection as long as the Government buttresses its political influence within its ministries by utilizing State Secretaries. We would consider that a welcome control of bureaucracy. But State Secretaries should not become civil servants. They must remain, as it is the case in England, professional politicians who automatically resign together with their ministers if the Cabinet is revamped. But in all other respects, considerations of party politics should under no circumstances carry any weight in the choice of civil servants. The civil servants of a ministry should be headed by a completely unpolitical civil servant. Only thus can a clear line of demarcation be drawn between political responsibility and administrative work. Such a division of functions is in the special interest of a career civil service, the preservation of which is backed by the Zentrum.

DENAZIFICATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

We can assure the Federal Chancellor that we shall keep a watchful eye on the role played by the lackeys of the Nazi regime. On the one hand, the disastrous denazification has rehabilitated people whose honest intentions toward democracy we could never and under no circumstances trust. On the other hand, it has sent uncounted small and harmless Party members into the wilderness. Too long the petty criminals have been hanged while the major gangsters got away. Under no

circumstances do we want to see these latter attain high and highest office.

("Hear, hear!" from Zentrum and the Left)

Ladies and gentlemen, it seems to be a fact that in Europe the sudden changeover from monarchy to republic poses nearly insoluble problems in the civil service sphere. Officialdom as such is a child of absolutism. It seems of necessity to degenerate into bureaucracy when the monarch goes while the royalist officials remain. What I was already privileged to explain with regard to future German diplomats also holds, in this respect, for the Civil Service generally. We must do better than the Weimar Republic. If the Federal Government wants to reach this goal, one cannot strongly enough recommend the utilization of the services of those steadfast civil servants who, even in the days of the Hitler state, remained true to the democratic ideal of freedom.

(Lively applause from Zentrum and the Left)

I want to make it clear that the issue here is not the restitution claims of these officials, which are a different matter altogether. It rather concerns the state as such, and the creation of a civil service that is reliable in the democratic sense. Much was neglected in this respect in Weimar times, but we expect the younger generation to see to it that a badly-needed fresh wind will blow through some offices.

PERSONNEL SLASHES

Finally one should not neglect the consideration that the whole machinery of public servants and employees must not be at total variance with the impoverishment of our people, as has also been pointed out by previous speakers. During the recent election campaign a great deal was said by all parties about reducing the administrative apparatus. We would therefore have preferred it had the "Small Coalition" not been presented to us in the form of thirteen ministries, a large figure. To the one hundred and eleven Länder ministries we already have in the West Zones, fourteen have been added by the formation of the Federal Government, if we count the Federal Chancellery.

Whether the impoverished German people will, in the long run, be able to afford 125 ministers solely in the Federal area of Western Germany is a question that should certainly be pondered. It is symptomatic, incidentally, that the smaller Länder have the ambition of keeping as many ministers as possible.

We cannot help feeling that, in forming the Federal Government, the aim of meeting the wishes of the Coalition partners was one of the determining factors. We do not believe that the impoverished German people will show the necessary sympathy for this generosity of the Federal Chancellor when dealing with his Coalition buddies.

My political friends and I would therefore welcome it if the Federal Government were to establish the Federal administration as an outstanding model for a tightly-knit and streamlined operation. After all, a reduction of the administrative apparatus cannot be achieved by firing some employees at random. A reduction in the administrative apparatus is always contingent upon a reduction in administrative functions. Without a doubt the state has arrogated unto itself, especially in the economic sphere, duties which should rather be handled within industry and trade. We are very much in favor of abolishing government-controlled economic bureaucracy. However, we do not wish

these duties to be taken over by self-governing economic bodies which, in the last analysis, are dominated by the employers. The broad laboring masses of our people feel excluded from such bodies. Rather, the self-governing economic bodies must be organized along democratic lines, with the workers' right of co-determination established as soon as at all possible. Once this has been brought about, the most essential prerequisite for the reduction of economic bureaucracy will be at hand.

ANTISEMITISM

Ladies and gentlemen, Right and justice must be the basis for all actions of the Federal Government. Equality of all citizens before the law must not remain a paragraph of the Basic Law, but must be a recurring daily experience for every citizen. Especially because I am the Zentrum spokesman I should like to emphasize here that democratic equality holds good for our Jewish fellow citizens as well, a fact already stressed by the Federal Chancellor in his Statement of Governmental Policy and by several other previous speakers. When confronted by resurgent antisemitism, any government violates law and justice, and acts against the interests of our people, if it does not make it crystal clear what a curse antisemitism proved to be for the German people as a consequence of everything inflicted upon the Jews in Germany and Europe.

(Applause from Zentrum and Left)

We also welcome the amnesty announced by the Federal Chancellor, for which my Delegation has, as you know, already submitted a motion in this House.

EXPELLEES

Like the Federal Government, we have the care for expellees very much at heart. In this connection we should like to see not only a settlement of the pension claims of expellees who were civil servants, as provided for in the Governmental Statement of Policy, but also the release and conversion of expellees' savings and bank accounts as well as insurance policies at a rate similar to that of the native population.

(Applause from Zentrum and Left)

DISTRIBUTION OF EXPELLEES

We will also assist the Government in its endeavor to bring about a redistribution of excess refugees among the Länder of Western Germany. In this connection we deem it desirable to give more consideration than shown up to now to the cultural and denominational affiliations of the refugees, as this will avoid much tension between refugees and the indigenous population. In this connection I should also like to point to a suggestion by our Dr. Stricker in the Frankfurt Economic Council, in which he advocated separate settlements for refugees. This would preserve such crafts as, for instance, the glass industry, but would also buttress the expellees' community feeling.

FREEDOM AND TOLERANCE

Ladies and gentlemen, the Government will have sovereignty to the extent it earns it, and will enjoy the people's trust to the extent it gains it. Laws and ordinances must be in keeping not only with the letter but also the spirit of the Basic Law. Their nature and implementation must make it possible for every citizen to grasp their justification and purpose. We expect the individual to be granted the greatest measure of freedom possible;

such freedom does not need to restrict the freedom of others. Nothing that smacks of totalitarianism shall survive in Germany! It is our goal to make tolerance the rule of our conduct in all those matters that transcend the interests of individual and nation, and, within Germany, of the Land. It must equally be our goal to guarantee unabridged equality to everyone, be he ever so big or ever so little.

The German Federal Government must set such a good example of democratic government not only to the inhabitants of Western Germany, but also to the East German population. It will manage to do so if its leading men refrain from the machinations of party politics and, setting aside all factional differences, work for the common good in close touch with the people and conscious of their responsibility. The people expect a quick and purposeful solution of their most burning problems. The fate of democracy in all of Germany clearly depends upon the degree to which these expectations are realized.

LEGISLATION

The Federal Government has to accomplish a vast amount of legislative work. The universal uncertainty about the validity of former laws must be ended. The extirpation of National Socialist ideology necessitates a refurbishing of laws, especially those promulgated during the years from 1933 till 1945. We further consider it urgently necessary to enact a Federal Law for the Maintenance of the War-Disabled, their Widows and Orphans, a law animated by the idea of justice and care for these people.

(Applause from the Zentrum and Left)

The Federal Chancellor spoke, in very vague terms, of changes in the Civil Code. His phrases were even more guarded and indefinite than those he used with reference to the necessity of social change. At least with regard to the guiding principles we should have liked to hear something more definite about the manner in which the Government visualizes the realization of the equality of man and woman in family law, the principles and aims of the new marriage legislation, and the reform of educational law and legislation regulating custody of children. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not know whether the silence of the Government's Statement might not easily make it appear that here also internecine differences of opinion on parental rights have raised their head among the Coalition parties.

PRESS LAW

Let me point out that we badly need a press law. It was Lassalle who demanded that working-class newspapers should refrain from printing advertisements. He contended that papers carrying advertising are no longer free. Today the greatest threats to the freedom of the press lie on a different plane. Generally speaking, anyone who has the ability should be permitted to write. Writers are born. It is something one cannot learn, one must have it in oneself. Sooner or later it finds expression. Whether this is recognized at once by the contemporaries, or only understood at later date, is largely dependent upon conditions. When drafting a press law, the Federal Government should see to it that it helps the writer and does not hinder him.

May I also state that a subsidized press would not serve the freedom and independence of our people. Under no circumstances must we again have newspaper trusts and combines such as those

formed by Hugenberg, which he used to bring the newspapers under his thumb. As in all other spheres so also in the sphere of the press — capitalistic degeneration jeopardizes democracy and freedom.

(“Very good!” from the Zentrum and Left)

SOCIAL POLICY

My political friends and I are fully conscious of the fundamental differences that separate us from the concepts of a large part of the Government parties in the economic sphere. But this does not mean that we will face the Government with preconceived notions; rather we will wait and see whether the differing concepts will bear fruit in the practical measures of the Federal Government. The Federal Chancellor has advanced the thesis that the best economic policy is also the best social policy. That is only correct when an employer thinking and acting along lines of social consciousness confronts his workers as a partner.

DEVALUATION

It is our impression that already in the near future decisions will have to be made that will force the Government to show its hand as to its feelings about the social responsibility incumbent upon it. At this moment we still deem it premature to speak about the social repercussions of the new currency situation. Doubtless this new situation has arisen at a most unfortunate moment for the Federal Republic. The administrative machinery of the Federal Government is in part still in the process of organization and in part in the process of moving. In the currency question we should nevertheless like to ask the Government to set the rate of devaluation as low as possible, so as not to upset confidence in the stability of the currency. On no account must the currency become an instrument of party politics in order to gain confidence as its material backing decreases. If that were the case, the currency would dodge and turn in the wake of every political fluctuation. In Germany we have always undergone the sad experience that certain employers have exploited such situations for their own profit. Certain memories of Weimar furnish food for thought in this respect. We do not put too much stock in appeals to ethical considerations unless such appeals are backed by the unyielding determination to rap across the knuckles those trying to exploit an emergency. It is quite possible, ladies and gentlemen, that within the next few weeks already the Federal Government will have to demonstrate to the population that it will not give a chance to financial robber barons. Should it fail in this, it will be the duty of this House to remind the Federal Government of its great responsibility in no uncertain way.

PRICES AND WAGES RELATIONSHIP

The Chancellor has only touched upon one aspect of this very serious problem by emphasizing the necessity for boosting our exports. He did not deal with the effect that devaluation will have on our imports, such as the rise in the cost of our food imports. We would wish, also to encourage savings, that the Federal Government take all steps to prevent an increase in living costs, especially of the workers and the less affluent sections of the population. We hope the Federal Government will do everything to bring about an increase in real wages, the best way to safeguard the stability of prices and wages.

REVALUATION OF SAVINGS ACCOUNTS

The Governmental Statement of Policy furthermore speaks of the necessity of restoring to the people who had been saving their money for many years (Altsparer) confidence in national legislation, so as to induce them to save again and inspire them with confidence. We are of the opinion that for these people a revalorization of the so-called "shadow quota" should be brought about. Furthermore it should be pondered whether, in spite of everything, a better devaluation ratio than ten to one could be effected. Article 2 of the Currency Reform Law provides for such an eventually.

The Frankfurt days unfortunately presented us with a spectacle which makes us rather distrustful, especially where the Minister of Economics himself is concerned. Months of birth pangs have gone by, but in Frankfurt the Anti-Trust Law has not yet seen the light of day. We hope that the atmosphere of Bonn will prove more salubrious. This law would be an indispensable measure in the struggle against the symptoms of liberalistic-capitalistic degeneration. We would take up the gauntlet — I would like to make that quite clear — if the influence of the tycoons ruling certain cartels and trusts should delay the Anti-Trust Law still further. At this early stage I already point to the Law's importance, because I do not wish to be accused of negligence later. We are afraid that all kinds of hearsay stories might crop up if, perhaps, even international difficulties should be precipitated by further procrastination in promulgating the Anti-Trust Law.

UNEMPLOYMENT

My Party Faction has watched the rising curve of unemployment with great apprehension. Without going into the dispute about the choice of a capital, I should like to point out that the close proximity of the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial region may be very useful to the Federal Government. It might develop an organ more receptive to the preoccupations and difficulties of the working population than was the case with the Frankfurt administration. The Federal Government must remain aware of the fact that, after all, wide circles of the industrial workers feel themselves set apart from the Coalition by virtue of which the Cabinet was formed. This should be all the more reason for the Federal Government to give its closest attention to the task of eliciting working-class support. It is no overstatement when I say that unemployment and short shifts have already greatly disturbed the Ruhr area. This results in lack of purchasing power, which in turn affects business.

TAX REFORM

Without going into details I should like to state for my Party Delegation that we will welcome and support the tax reform announced by the Federal Chancellor, provided it helps the little guy, the artisan, the small and medium-sized businessman. Any tax reform will have to take into account the problem of families with several children. In any case we expect that the level at which incomes become liable to taxes will be pushed upwards.

HOUSING

We also think it necessary that the Federal Government do something to alleviate the distress of many of those who were bombed out. There is not only such a thing as the plight of the expellees but also that of the bombed-out. It is necessary to realize this.

In connection with the housing problem one could also bring up the question whether the majority of owners of bomb-damaged houses should not be aided when they cannot rebuild with their own resources. We expect the Government to find ways and means enabling the owner of a bomb-damaged house to rebuild it and make a profit, without necessitating any substantial increase in rents. An important contribution to the solution of both problems seems to offer itself through the provision of apartments in such bomb-damaged houses by way of the "equalization of financial burdens" and revalorization of old-time savings accounts.

The Federal Chancellor has justifiably stressed the special importance of housing construction. We hope the Federal Government will vigorously tackle a planned housing drive serving the common good. It will be the special task of this House to cooperate constructively in laying the legal foundations for a really generous housing program. If a lack of work has lately made itself felt in the building trade, of all things, then such a situation is in grotesque contrast to the housing needs of the German population. The stimulation of construction is the most suitable means for promoting economic recovery and raising living standards in general. All the Federal Government's exertions in housing and every other economic sphere will not be for the common good unless it is willing to curb the egotism of capital.

Ladies and gentlemen! In the election campaign atmosphere we have quite unnecessarily talked ourselves apart with all kinds of economic slogans. It was pretended that planning and control meant nothing but a relapse into a Nazi-controlled economy, or even an imitation of Communist state capitalism. Now that the election campaign is over, and even politicians can again converse as normal human beings, one should put an end to these election campaign acrobatics.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

If we draw the Minister of Economic's special attention to a well-planned distribution of credits and even more of the entire flow of capital, we know ourselves to be above suspicion of having succumbed to Nazi or Bolshevik inclinations of any sort. On the contrary, we know that we are in complete accord with the Research Advisory Council that aided the Minister of Economics when he was still Director of Economics.

(Hear, hear! from the left)

Once again, and at this early stage already, we witness in Germany a disastrous concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of individuals, not by any means always the owners but also the trustees or managers of those assets. We do not wish that the fate of our people be determined by the gentlemen holding these economic key positions.

May I mention in this connection that it seems desirable to us to safeguard the interests of artisans by establishing within the Ministry of Economics a Secretariat of State for Handicrafts.

We think it is equally imperative that the Federal Government devote special attention to land reform and to its sequel, the creation of homesteads. Both are issues affecting all of Germany.

LABOR LEGISLATION

My political friends have directed me to announce here, at this early stage, our demand for labor legislation that safeguards each worker in his

rights and duties. We do not merely mean that certain committees should have a voice in management, or the chance to express their opinion. More is at stake. The guarantee of a fair and adequate wage is at stake, respect for labor and the unbridged free choice of one's employment. As elsewhere, there is a scale of values in the economic field. Again and again the high-sounding phrase rolls off the tongue — as it did in this House — that the human being is at the core of the economy, that it is the mission of economic life to serve the individual. Fine-sounding speeches are not good enough, however. The workingman must see their application to everyday life. Labor is the basis of our natural social order; labor is not merchandise, it is the individual's deliberate tribute to society. The rights of labor must not remain a dead letter. Among other things we demand far-reaching regulations governing dismissal, and consider it indispensable that the rights of the workingman take precedence over profits.

We equally reject any compulsory employment. We would like to make it crystal clear right away that any kind of Labor Service, even on a voluntary basis, will meet with our opposition.

(“Quite right!” from Zentrum and the Left)

Within the framework of a well-organized works council, an adequate right of co-determination in social, employment and economic questions should be granted to the workers. Ladies and gentlemen, may I quote from Franz Hitze who, I assume, is not too far removed from the Federal Chancellor. Hitze writes in “Kapital und Arbeit” (Capital and Labor):

“The private ownership of the means of production is balanced by the rights of labor, by the right of co-determination with respect to the means of production, by the right of sharing in the fruits of labor. Unless my voice is heard, I won't lend a hand.”

My political friends would welcome it warmly if the Federal Chancellor were to add “Kapital und Arbeit” to his favorite books.

We also wish to expand the social insurance system, the creation of which was, at the time, accomplished with the active cooperation of Zentrum Party politicians. Social insurance, accident insurance and old-age insurance should be reorganized and adapted to present conditions. Insurance institutions must be expanded, with equal participation by employers and workers. They should administer themselves according to democratic principles.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

May I finally make short reference to another question. In his Statement of Governmental Policy the Federal Chancellor mentioned the status of women, specially of single women workers. It is our wish also that Article 3 of the Basic Law, which guarantees the equal rights of men and women, should not remain a beautiful statement on paper. We would have appreciated it if — prompted by the realization of how necessary

women are to the reconstruction of German democracy — the Federal Chancellor had not contented himself with appointing a woman as Chief of Section in the Ministry of the Interior, but would have awarded her a cabinet portfolio. We should have welcomed this all the more, gentlemen, as the government has to prepare very important laws which impinge upon the basic rights of women, both married and unmarried.

CULTURAL QUESTIONS

In conclusion, I would like to say a word about cultural affairs. The Federal Chancellor made a very brief reference to them. He emphasized that they fell within the competencies of the Laender. May I briefly note that this opinion was not expressed, at least in the election speeches of many spokesmen of the party the Federal Chancellor belongs to. For this reason I do not think his statement to be correct that the result of the elections of 14 August — at least with respect to the CDU — constitutes nothing but an endorsement of Erhard's economic policy.

(Applause from Zentrum and SPD).

I think that in the case of many voters, especially of many women who gave their vote to CDU, ideological and cultural considerations were more important than Erhard's economic policies.

(Lively applause from Zentrum and SPD)

THE CONCORDAT

These voters, ladies and gentlemen, would at least have welcomed it, but, more than that, undoubtedly expected the Federal Government to make clear its recognition of the validity of the Concordat. In addition, we from the Zentrum consider it imperative that treaties similar to the Concordate be concluded with the Protestant Church, so as to buttress the legal foundations of the relationship between State and Church.

CONCLUSION

Ladies and gentlemen, I am coming to the end. We all know that the path of the German nation is long and difficult after the terrible collapse that we experienced in 1945 as part of the ups and downs of our history. There is much suspicion to be eliminated in the world, even more among our own people. It is, therefore, the task of the Government and of the Opposition to face the responsibilities and problems of our time vigorously and open-mindedly, to find the proper means to shape the German people's state.

Once before, after a world war, the German nation had started on that path, but it did not cast aside the spirit of arrogance and presumption. After having paid for our political folly with the Nazi regime, we know today how hard the path is which we have set out to follow. This knowledge will save us from arrogance and bumptiousness, and will in the end lead us to the real fountain-heads of the German character.

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Dr. Franz Richter of the German Reich Party
(**Deutsche Reichspartei — DRP**)

ROLE OF RIGHTIST OPPOSITION

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In his Statement of Policy, the Federal Chancellor asked that the Opposition should show its true colors in Parliament. After yesterday's meeting I have a feeling that the impression was to be created in this House that only one Opposition party exists. I emphasize today that this is not true. However, our conception of Opposition does not exhaust itself in striving for purely negative goals. We believe that the value of the democratic regime lies precisely in the fact that the Opposition can draw the Government's attention to deficiencies and shortcomings, enabling it thereby to avoid such mistakes and shortcomings henceforth.

We are not here to condemn the Government from the very start just because we are an Opposition party. In this respect I agree with Representative Loritz who asserted that the Government should be judged by its actions. However, I should like to draw your attention to one fact at this stage already. In view of the difficulties that will undoubtedly confront the German Federal Government, it is necessary to point out that it might possibly be driven into a situation making it impossible to perform certain tasks demanded by one side or the other. After the events that have unrolled in Germany, particularly during the last few years, it is my opinion that sometimes — and that must remain valid in future too — an honest "Nay" is preferable to a dishonest "Yea". At any rate, the Government should not allow itself to be maneuvered into a tight spot from which it cannot find a way out, for which it cannot assume responsibility towards the German people.

NUMBER OF MINISTRIES

Certainly the Government itself, as well as its Statement of Policy, are open to criticism. For instance, we do not like the great number of ministries either. We could have imagined that additional responsibilities might have been found for the gentleman administering that somewhat strange Foreign Ministry for German Domestic Affairs (Aussenministerium für innerdeutsche Angelegenheiten). The situation of the German people requires the greatest economy in all fields, in particular in that of public administration. This requirement is disregarded when the number of ministries is increased beyond the classical figure. The one exception I would allow for is the Ministry for Refugees, the creation of which I demanded from the Federal President even before the Federal Chancellor was appointed. If the number of ministries is diminished, this will not necessarily lead to inferior work on the ministerial level. On the contrary, it must be expected that the multitude of ministries will lead to overlapping, contradictions and to paralysis of their work. However, we will wait and see how things are going to come out.

GERMAN NATIONAL ANTHEM

One point, however, should be emphasized: we consider this State, towards which we take an affirmative stand, as only a first step on the road to a German Reich. All Germans desiring it shall find a home in this Reich, but it shall not impair the individuality of the various German regional stocks. However, I think it is shameful that an assembly of elected German representatives could meet here without pledging itself to Unity, Justice and Liberty*) through an anthem which should, and does, grip the hearts of all Germans.

(Applause from the Right)

It seems that those who oppose this anthem want neither unity nor justice nor liberty.

("Hear, hear!" on the Right)

Like all men inspired by honest conviction, we are dead set against such an attitude.

"DEMOCRATORSHIP"

We bear great responsibility towards the German future. For the last time, the German people has been given an opportunity to demonstrate its creative powers. We call the system we now have, democracy. This word should be used with more caution. In 1945 already democracy was apostrophied very frequently indeed, but I have gathered the impression that up to this day we have more "democratorship" ("Demokratatur") than democracy.

(Merriment and interjections — Interruption from CDU: "Would you mind telling us what you mean by that?")

Once upon a time there was a man who, had he remained a philosopher, would undoubtedly have retained his world-wide reputation of being a great democrat. His political acts, however, were at cross-purposes with his philosophical ideas. That man was Masaryk. Masaryk once said that democracy is discussion, and in my opinion the extent to which Germans may call themselves democrats is contingent upon their ability to engage in discussion. There can be no democracy without personal freedom, which this "democratorship" in particular was forever endeavoring to restrict. And what ailed that concept which people in Germany were bold enough to call democracy? According to my conviction, it was the fact that the party was placed above the people. Tocqueville once called democracy "a vast, desolate, treeless plain where every bush looks like a tree". How could he arrive at such a far from laudatory judgment? I believe that Professor Burckhardt has already furnished the answer when he asked whether democracy is not hostile to every outstanding individual, be it clandestinely or openly.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is at least in certain parts of Germany that this danger is acute once more. They speak of democracy, but think of party

*) Key words of a strophe of the former German national anthem, "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles..."

dictatorship, even though they outdo each other in mouthing democratic phrases. In this context it is well to emphasize what the Swiss Professor Zbinden has said: "Once human society fails to strive towards a regime of the elite, it becomes a regime of beasts". I believe the best example is furnished by the "people's democracies". They call themselves democracies, although they neither have the faintest inkling of real democracy, nor care to have it.

GERMANY — A GEM

But I must stress again and again something that is also applicable to certain parts of Western Germany, something Bodenstedt put in these words:

(Interruption from the Right: "Do you happen to own a dictionary of quotations?" — Hilarity)

"Dust, though raised heavenwards by a high wind, remains but common dust, Even though buried in the soil, a gem forever remains a gem."

I hold that this gem is the German people. It must be cleansed of the dust that dulled its sparkle, dust stirred up these last few years. To restore the sparkle of this gem, we demand a state founded on justice (Rechtsstaat), with all the characteristics of such a state, with judges who are fully independent and with a system of impartial career civil servants.

Though we have taken our seats at the extreme right, I should like to add one remark: It was not our intention, as had been asserted by some parties and reported in some newspapers, to remain standing, nor do we deny that we are actually of the Right wing. It is true that our name has often been misunderstood. We do not go around beating our breast and announcing that we are the party of the rigid and exclusive Right; we are rather the party of right.

(“So that’s it” from the Left — Hilarity)

We demand that the rights of the small parties be recognized as unreservedly those of the major ones.

From the very beginning I should like to point out that we reject radicalism of every description, no matter whence it comes. We shall never make the mistakes of those who think they can take up their careers again at the point where they were forced to interrupt them. But because we base our stand on justice, we demand speedy abolition of all injustice inflicted upon the German people.

Retention of millions of German prisoners of war four years after the end of war violates the rules of land warfare. We shall not cease to inveigh against this brutality before the world, until the last German soldier has been released from the East. It is an injustice against popular sentiment when the whole nation is held responsible for the crimes of individuals, or when Germans are classified into one, two, three and more categories.

DENAZIFICATION

What misery did denazification bring into our people in the hour of its dire distress! That is why we demand categorically that all discrimination against any German, save for criminals, be finally and definitely eliminated. We are not, however, content with that demand. We also demand not just paper amnesties, but complete and unqualified restitution for everything these people have had to endure.

(Protests from the Left)

I presume the matter could be made more palatable if we state for the record that we would never approve of a "desocialistification" any more than we do of denazification.

(Interjections from the Left — Applause on the Right)

EQUALIZATION OF FINANCIAL BURDENS

It violates all feeling of justice that victims of war and bombing have received hardly any aid to this day. These people want not charity but their rights. We therefore consider it a mockery if they are compensated by some sort of relief payments. We demand an equalization of financial burdens, with fixed, definite quotas. This is the only way to live up to the idea of justice. All other theories would only dilute it.

We commit injustice when we put off with starvation pensions our disabled veterans, war widows and war orphans. Even after a lost war it is a nation's debt of honor to render economic support to its war victims. Whatever we do, we cannot relieve them of their immense burden of suffering.

PENSIONS FOR PROFESSIONAL SOLDIERS

An injustice has been done, and is being done, even today, to all former professional soldiers. They are officials like any civil servant, and have legal claims which cannot be invalidated from one day to the next by a state that would like to be guided by principles of justice. For that reason we certainly cannot concur with the drawing of a 1936 deadline. We demand pensions for all professional soldiers, including German officers and officials of the former Austro-Hungarian army.

SOCIALIZATION AND PRIVATE PROPERTY

Injustice is also suffered by the worker as long as he does not share in the profit of the enterprise he works for, in one form or the other. Nationalization alone does not aid him. It would not increase his take-home pay or improve his working conditions substantially. This is demonstrated by the example of the nationalized enterprises in England. In the same way in which man and machine cooperate, both factors, labor and capital, should share in the result, in the profit of an enterprise. In Germany, there are enterprises which have furnished examples worthy of imitation. Through profit-sharing the worker comes to consider the business as if it were his own. This could be a practical solution of the social question. Once the class struggle no longer exists, the whole Marxist poisoning of the people's mind is brought to an end.

We will never recognize the policy of rapine followed in the Soviet Zone. We know very well that over there loafers and scum have often appropriated assets accumulated by the work and sweat of generations, assets of which their owners were stripped from one day to the next. We, on the contrary, take our stand on the principle of private property honestly acquired, and will always call a theft a theft. We find much food for thought in a phrase such as this, coined by an SPD deputy in the Landtag of Lower Saxony: "The change of social structure in the Eastern Zone cannot vanish. On the contrary, if we want to win a future for our people, we will have to tackle this change with political passion and political serious-mindedness, in the Western Zones also." I am impelled to state that here, too, we cannot regard these circles as

anything but precursors of Bolshevism, performing the same role as that played by the Socialist parties of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and so on.

MISDEMEANORS AGAINST HUMANITY

In the past few years some fools have stooped to confronting the German people with elaborately dressed-up bills of particulars about misdemeanors committed by isolated individuals of our people, misdemeanors of a sort that might occur among any people. I repeat — committed by isolated individuals. It is my point of view that one can and may never convict an entire people for the misdemeanors of isolated individuals. But as long as we are discussing crimes against humanity, then, ladies and gentlemen, I believe we might also present a counterclaim. Let us begin with, say, Hamburg, Cologne, Mannheim, Munich, Stuttgart, Hanover, and end with Dresden. That claim would hardly be an insubstantial one.

REVILEMENT OF SLAVS

When discussing the general question of crimes against humanity, then, I hold, one must first begin by emphasizing the biggest crime ever committed against humanity. I mean the brutish expulsion of millions of Germans from the arch-German Eastern territories.

(Applaus from the Right and in the Center)

The history of these areas is a German one. For, at a time when the exponents of this super-civilisation from the East were still primitive nomads roaming the lower reaches of the Volga, our ancestors, whose exceptionally high culture is acknowledged by every scientist, were already settled in the territory that reaches from Memel down to Austria.

This territory is German on the basis of its culture, German by dint of the work that has gone into it. Even though no German word resounds today through the streets of Memel or Königsberg, of Danzig or Breslau, of Reichenberg, Aussig, Eger or Krummau, the stones continue to speak an eloquent German. The cultural monuments, all the assets of those countries, testify to the local achievements of Germandom. In these areas this testimony contrasts with the achievements of the favorites of certain big powers, achievements symbolized amid the ruins of villages and towns by houses stripped of their roofs, by windows and doors torn from their sockets. Those achievements speak an eloquent language also, albeit a Slavic-Eastern one.

(Interruption: "The victims of Lidice and Lodz!")

We must therefore address a request to the Speaker. I believe that the greatest part of this House feels, in spite of everything, sufficiently German to pledge its unqualified solidarity with these ancient German Eastern territories (Ostland). Our request is that, in addition to the flags of the Länder displayed in front of the Federal Building, the emblems of East Prussia and West Prussia, of Pomerania, Danzig, Silesia and of the Sudeten region be flown, together with those of the Laender that want to be German but are not yet allowed to be, namely Saxony, Thuringia, Anhalt, Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. It is for this reason that we cannot consider either Bonn or Frankfurt a final location. Now as before we consider Berlin the capital of the German Reich.

ARGUMENTS SUPPORTING GERMAN CLAIMS

It is my belief that the basis for advocating our demands is by no means an unfavorable one. International law, the 1907 Hague Rules of Land Warfare, the Geneva Convention of 1929 and the Atlantic Charter, signed by all those concerned in this question, furnish us with arguments of which we ought to make extensive use. Some months ago the American General Taylor stated that in these days international law remains as valid as ever, even though that might inconvenience certain powers.

History furnishes one example in which a country was saved by having recourse to international law. Talleyrand accomplished this feat at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. We might say that he represented a completely defeated country arrayed against a victorious Europe. He confronted this block of victors with the question: "Is this Congress based on present laws?" To avoid the world-wide stigma of the lawbreaker, the Congress had to answer in the affirmative. I hold the first question to be asked at the beginning of talks on foreign policy is whether the Allies, and other parties also concerned, recognize the validity of international law.

Article 43 of the Hague Rules of Land Warfare entitles the Occupying Power to restore public order and public life, once it has taken over actual authority. In the process, the Occupying Power should observe the laws of the country. The Hague Rules of Land Warfare provide that the Occupying Power may not perform any act within the prerogatives of the sovereign. In our case, the sovereign would be the German people. Any annexation of German territory is therefore not in accordance with the principles of international law and violates not only Article 43 of the Hague Rules of Land Warfare, but also the Atlantic Charter. This applies, for instance, to the Saar territory and to other territorial adjustments in the West, as well as to all of the Eastern territories. The Government's Statement of Policy indicated that we might possibly be willing to renounce certain rights of sovereignty. In this context we would like to ask the Federal Chancellor not to renounce any rights unilaterally. In every case he should insist that an equivalent concession be made by the other power with whom he negotiates at that moment.

CLAIMS TO SUDETENS AND AUSTRIA

There has been much talk about the Oder-Neisse Line. Statements have been formulated on Austria with which we identify ourselves wholeheartedly. But there is one thing we regret deeply. There has been too much beating around the bush on the Sudeten German question. At that, the situation is no more obscure here than where the other Eastern territories are concerned; its complexion is merely somewhat different. I take the liberty of referring to some few facts that can under no circumstances be dismissed lightly. On 8 January 1918 Wilson told the American Congress that "the peoples of Austria-Hungary" — and therefore also the Germans — "shall be granted freest opportunity for their autonomous development. Every nation wishing to live its own life shall be protected against violence and assault". And Point 10 of his famous declaration of 14 points read: "It is our wish that the peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we want to see protected and assured, be given an opportunity for free autonomous development". On the basis of this and of numerous other promises and assurances

from the Allies, the German People's Council of Austria unanimously and resolutely demanded the full and unrestricted right of self-determination of nations on 6 October of the same year.

It is true that Germandom within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy had to realize very soon that these promises were but empty words held out as bait. On 11 November 1919, the National Assembly of the Sudeten and Alpine territories resolved unanimously — take good note of it — that German Austria was part of the German Reich. This meant that the Sudeten territories had joined the Reich by virtue of a legal political act. Acceptance of the preliminary peace treaty by both sides obligated them to accept Wilson's points, among them the right of self-determination, as binding basis for any treaty. Czechoslovakia, recognized as a belligerent state, was also bound by this preliminary peace agreement. At that time, the rape of the Sudeten Germans constituted an almost incredible violation of a treaty. The notorious world conscience, so easily aroused by any trifle at other occasions, ignored it.

As late as 11 February 1919, Wilson declared that nations and territories could not be bartered from one sovereignty to another as if they were chattels. It became apparent very soon, however, that people were actually being treated like chattels. Without awaiting a decision by the Peace Conference, pilfering Czech soldiery advanced into the Sudeten territory at that time already. The intention was to create a *fait accompli*. Disregarding all vacuous talk about the peoples' right of self-determination and of international law, the Allies, too, acknowledged this *fait accompli*.

It was typical that the right of the groups and peoples concerned to be invited to the peace negotiations in the suburbs of Paris was evaded at that time. A few examples will demonstrate what crimes were committed in these suburbs in drafting the so-called peace treaties. A huge, economically integrated entity like the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was broken up. Even the senior Czech historian Palacky once remarked that, if this state did not exist, then it would be necessary to invent it. Of this state the American writer Ingrim wrote in his book "From Talleyrand to Molotov" that the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was one of the chief reasons for the Second World War. This should be taken to heart by certain people who fancy themselves experts in historical developments of this sort. That is why we advance the demand — and submit it to the Government also — that East Germans be invited as representatives to the peace negotiations. We hope they will take place very soon.

Representative Dr. Josef Baumgartner, Bayernpartei: "My dear colleague, don't you feel you are not sticking to the subject?"

By no means, I am speaking of that which was unfortunately omitted in the Statement of Policy.

At that time, under Allied pressure, German Austria was prohibited from joining Germany. This brought the Sudeten territory under the rule of a nation which from the very beginning was about to slight all treaties, as was clearly intimated by the Czech Professor of Political Science Weyr. We, however, still pledge our solidarity with the text of the last proclamation issued by the Sudeten German local governments: "Our people will never renounce its claim to self-determination. It will never recognize the violation of its legal rights, never cease to wage the struggle for its national freedom with all means available."

Granted that there has been much talk already about the brutal expulsions which have driven Eastern Germans out of their homes. At a time when Germans are being tried, not always by unsailable methods, we look in vain for the institution of international courts to convict those responsible for the brutalities suffered by Germans in the East. But on the contrary, there are individuals at large in Germany even today, who have since had to leave their countries posthaste, but who have not had to face the courts for their crimes. To date no space has been found to accommodate the oldest German university, the Charles University from Prague. But a Czech university has already been founded for the poor, persecuted Czechs.

CLAIMS TO EASTERN TERRITORIES

It happens to be our standpoint that the expelled question cannot be solved by a fairer distribution of population, much as we would welcome such a step to alleviate present misery. We are under no illusions about the equalization of financial burdens. Unless bold measures are taken for once, it is not inconceivable that in the end expellees will have to chip in to make up the kitty for equalizing financial burdens. Our standpoint allows for only one solution of the Eastern question — returning the Eastern German territories to those who belong there. If a peace treaty should be concluded leaving our Eastern German homeland to the tender mercies of the murder gangs of a Bierut, a Gottwald or a Zapotocki, then we do not hesitate to declare openly that we will not consider true peace to have been achieved. I do hope that the great majority of the German people will concur.

(Excited interjections from KPD: "That's insulting and provocative!")

DISMANTLING

As for the story of dismantling, all we have to do is to refer to Article 54 of the Hague Rules of Land Warfare. It does authorize the Occupying Power to demand deliveries in kind as far as is necessary to meet the requirements of the Occupying Power. However, these deliveries must not be disproportionate to the resources of the occupied country. Well, you know yourselves to what an extent deliveries in kind have exceeded the limits one might perhaps consider justified for the needs of the Occupation Power; I do not have to dwell on it. We know well that there are people prompted by propaganda motives pure and simple who, all of a sudden, assail dismantling with great vigor today, but who until recently were unsure of themselves whether this sort of thing was permitted or not.

Certain people's attitude towards these subjects could be gauged most clearly last spring, when I had an opportunity to hear a Social Democrat put a question to the English minister, Lord Henderson. He asked about the status of dismantling, which was, after all, caused only by competitive envy. You should have seen in what high dudgeon the Socialist comrade Lord Henderson lashed out against the German Socialist as soon as this term, "competitive envy", had been pronounced. I admit frankly I would never have imagined that a British lord might throw such a tantrum. He remonstrated with him and said: "How can you, as a Socialist, accuse us of ordering dismantling solely for reasons of competitive envy?" Well, I hope we are all quite certain that all dismantling only serves German reconstruction, that we must be deeply thankful for being relieved of our industry, which is, God

knows, so unnecessary. After all, the newest economic slogan being demonstrated to us here in Germany is called Reconstruction by way of Destruction (Aufbau durch Abbau).

The value of the Eastern territories for Germany is so great that I declare frankly: without them Germany can never exist. However, if we are deprived of the Eastern territories, then at least our industries should be left to us so that we can export as much as we absolutely need to live.

But it happened that our incipient exports were attacked by those circles who, for reasons of Socialist brotherhood, should have supported our effort to improve the living standard of the German people, namely the British trade unions. Last February they demanded that German exports be restricted because they threatened British exports. Well, if we cannot export sufficiently to enable us to pay for our imports, then we will have to rely forever on the charity of those who might possibly still give us a handout.

DEVALUATION

On the heels of the first assault wave against German exports we watch the devaluation of the pound, a wholly unilateral measure carried out without regard to others. Once again not only we but other countries also, are harmed in a way that cannot be condemned strongly enough. The "Rhein-Zeitung" rightly commented:

"The British Labor Government, entangled in the terrible failures of its planned Socialist economic policy, and for some time already at a loss to find a solution has struck the world a bad blow.

Through his peremptory devaluation of the pound, Sir Stafford Cripps compels the peoples of Europe to share Britain's wretchedness. No attempt was made in London to achieve an organic adjustment of all currencies by international agreement. In a manner reminiscent of dismantling in Western Germany, they thought only of themselves, only of the ruling party's difficulties, which are their own fault. They did not give a thought to the possibility of resigning and passing the responsibility on to the Opposition, just as they did not care in the least for the others, for the community of Europe that had just been toasted again in Strasbourg."

I believe that the Federal Government will be confronted by peculiar and very difficult tasks in this field. We are quite willing to support it in any steps taken to preserve the value of our currency.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

It is with particular expectancy that we looked forward to the Federal Chancellor's exposition of his intentions with regard to agricultural policy. The Federal Chancellor was right in saying that on 14 August the German people had opted for a free-enterprise economy. But while the Federal Chancellor holds out the hope that coal rationing will be abolished, no change in agricultural policy appears to be contemplated as yet. This seems indicated, too, by the individual chosen as Minister of Food and Agriculture.

(Interjection from CDU: "No, that isn't the case at all!")

I should therefore like to draw the Federal Chancellor's attention to a more limited verdict within the framework of the larger verdict pronounced

by the people on 14 August, namely the smashing defeat suffered by the exponent of the agricultural policy followed hitherto. It does not constitute a change in policy when one iterates once more the slogan already repeated a thousand times, that agriculture must produce more.

In the general declaration on prices one statement that might have brought about some progress was missing. Farm prices must reach a level enabling the agricultural laborer to receive a wage commensurate with that paid by trade and industry. We will keep pounding this demand home, because we consider a harmonious balance between the major branches of national economy the most effective safeguard against economic crisis. The D-Mark problems causing furrowed brows these days demonstrate once again what happens to a people that becomes too dependent upon the world market for its food supply. We well know that any increase of food prices would be unbearable for the poorer classes, but that must not serve as pretext for perpetuating the underpayment of agricultural labor. The thing to do is to use subsidies, or to establish a special price level for the poorer classes. However that may be, it is intolerable that present discrimination against agriculture should continue. I imagine the new Minister of Food and Agriculture will have his say about it later on. Right away, however, we should like to ask him to make it quite clear whether he intends to continue following the policy he has gone along with in Frankfurt, or whether he will try a new tack. How does he visualize the elimination of our two-faced economy? What are his plans for enabling agriculture to achieve equality with the other branches of our economy,

DEMAND FOR EQUALITY

No doubt quite a few topics remain to be discussed. We will leave that to later debate on individual issues. One thing I may state at this stage already. We approve implicitly of much that we have heard in the course of this debate. I will not fail to mention that we, as Germans, consider ourselves members of the European family. An Englishman once told me that only a good German can be a good European. I believe that this point of view needs no elaboration. It hits the spot. However, knowing that Europe cannot exist without Germany, we demand absolute equality with the others. A phrase was coined yesterday which we feel tempted to endorse: Europe means equality. I would be glad if the party who coined that phrase for once used its good offices to spread this knowledge among British Socialists. As recently as last spring I listened to a speech by Denis Healey of the Executive of the Labor Party. He uttered phrases overflowing with sweetness and light about the equality that awaited Germany in the European community, but followed it up by qualifying his statements. Ladies and gentlemen, I believe we think too highly of ourselves to assume obligations in such a combination, as long as we do not have the equal rights which the others justly claim.

There is so much talk about security. I believe it is not very noble to cry out hysterically about the threat to security presented by the demilitarized German people whenever Germany puts forth some demands that are by no means unjustified. We are ready to grant others the same security they are willing to grant us.

(Interjection from KPD: "Remember Greater Germany!")

Gentlemen of the Left, it seems to me that you are hankering not only for a Greater Germany — though of a rather monolithic nature — but probably for an even greater Russia

(Interjection from KPD: "Sez you!")

BROADSIDE AGAINST THOMAS MANN

Living as we do in the Goethe year, I should like to mention one other issue. Goethe has been talked about a great deal in this year which is dedicated to him who upheld Power and Greatness, who coined the words: "To resist, come what may" (Allen Gewalten zum Trutz sich erhalten). I believe it was not an auspicious idea to make a "Man(n)*" the center of celebrations who actually is no German at all. At a time when a stimulating, encouraging word would have meant so very much for Germany, he poured out the stinking manure of his biting scorn over the German people. A Swiss once said about this man that he would not rise to the stature of a great poet by making two big tomes out of a narrative told clearly, distinctly

*) A play on words. In German, the translation of "man" or individual is "Mann", the same word as the last name of novelist Thomas Mann, who was awarded the City of Frankfurt's Goethe Prize.

and simply in a few Biblical verses. With regard to this same "Man(n)", the same Swiss in his capacity as a Swiss citizen expressed the hope that this "Man(n)" would no longer be regarded as Germany's teacher (Praeceptor Germaniae). I must say it has really been a disgrace for Germany that all honors were heaped on this "Man(n)". Even today we still have German poets who, God knows, ought to have been granted more recognition than this "Man(n)".

Having just upheld the idea of Europe, I should like to quote the words of a really great poet, Kolbenheyer, for the benefit of those powers who have paid such persistent lip service to their intention of saving Europe: "Is it Europe you want to save? — Save Germany first, then you shall be able to save Europe!"

(Interjections from KPD: "Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil!"**)

Speaker Dr. Köhler, CDU: "May I inform the gentlemen who used this term just now that it has lost its official character. I presume that it was meant ironically." —

General merriment — unrest)

***) A Nazi slogan used after speeches.

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

**Hermann Clausen of the South Schleswig Electoral League
(Südschleswigsche Wählervereinigung — SSW)**

As representative of the smallest recognized political party, the SSW (South Schleswig Electoral League), and at the same time as representative of the Danish-thinking part of the population in South Schleswig, permit me to say a few words about the Government's Statement of Policy.

After election of the Federal Chancellor, I realized what significance a small party, even a one-man Party Delegation, may have in parliamentary life. A newspaper reported that it had learned from the well-known reliable sources that Clausen of SSW had cast the 202nd vote for Dr. Adenauer. I was almost saddled with the entire responsibility. By the way, this amusing allegation is incorrect, if only because I was unable to attend the plenary session in question.

THE PLATFORM OF SSW

Nor is the newspaper report correct that I joined CDU. In other words, I am not a member of the governmental Coalition. As representative of the Danish-thinking part of the population, or, if you prefer, of the Danish minority in South Schleswig, my attitude towards the Federal Government is open-minded. It will be influenced by the degree to which the Federal Government will comply with the wishes and alleviate the difficulties of this South Schleswig border area. There may be objections to the discussion, within the framework of this debate, of problems concerning one segment of the Federal Republic. However, the members of my political organization and my constituents are confined to the border area of South Schleswig. I therefore ask this House to bear with me.

The Federal Chancellor mentioned a fairer distribution of expellees among the various Länder. By this time it has become well-known that South Schleswig — and as a Landtag member I also speak for Holstein — suffers most from the pressure of overpopulation. For that reason I would like to tell the Government from this rostrum: not only the equalization of financial burdens is an urgent necessity, the equalization of population is just as essential. Tackle a fair distribution of expellees seriously and speedily! In that way you will render a service not only to the native population, which suffers from this overpopulation, but also to the expellees who will never be able to make a living in our border area, and who cannot find apprenticeship positions or work for their children. At the same time you will eliminate an injustice done to South Schleswig.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR SOUTH
SCHLESWIG**

Much has been said about the borders of the Federal Republic, in the Government's Statement of Policy and probably in the debate also. I miss one thing, though. Nothing was said about a border population's right of self-determination. We do demand this right in our platform. The Atlantic Charter is explicit with regard to it. This right of self-determination, and the right to work for the implementation of this right by democratic means, are part and parcel of the most basic democratic principles and foundations of human rights. The future will show whether the Government will have to take care of minority rights in border areas. In our section, the Land Government of Schleswig-Holstein is concerning itself with that matter and we do hope that it will be settled satisfactorily. Should the Federal Government assume the task of caring for minority rights in the border areas, I would ask it to be generous and to lay down rights that actually correspond to the demands of liberty. Such rights should be above the petty pinpricks of chicanery that were so common in the past. In solving the problems of border areas, where different cultures overlap, a government may best prove that it takes democracy seriously.

**ADMINISTRATIVE AUTONOMY FOR SOUTH
SCHLESWIG**

I will also mention that administrative autonomy for South Schleswig is one of the prerequisites of complete liberty in our border area, a prerequisite demanded by my organization in its platform. We believe that the three existing cultures — German, Danish and Friesian — can develop equally and with complete freedom only under self-administration. This should have been taken into account when the Länder were formed. Even Prussia repeatedly considered the advisability of making the area of South Schleswig a separate Administrative District. Nothing was ever done about it. From the historical point of view this demand is justified.

To preclude any misinterpretation, I wish to conclude with the assurance that you will find the Danish-thinking part of South Schleswig's population, and myself as their elected representative, wherever the principles of democracy are to be cultivated, implemented and defended.

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Comment on the Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government
delivered in the Bundestag on 22 September 1949 by

Dr. Eduard Edert (non-partisan)*)

THE SCHLESWIG GERMANS AND SSW

Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I, as the German representative of Flensburg, the citadel of the Danish movement, the town ruled to this day by a Danish lord mayor and a predominantly Danish city administration, have your permission to discuss the statements made by the honorable member, my neighbor in this House, who preceded me at the rostrum. Herr Clausen stated that he is interested in implementing the right of self-determination, and especially in bringing about the administrative separation of Schleswig and Holstein. We Germans do not consider this demand as primarily an administrative measure. We have reason to believe that it is the first step on the road to final annexation. The speeches and meetings of SSW (South Schleswig Electoral League) have forced us to conclude that the ultimate goal of this South Schleswig movement is a separatist one. That emerges from the petition presented to the Allies by SSW last May, and from many speeches made by the leaders of this party. In actual fact, all major political meetings in Schleswig are more or less keyed by the slogan: Back into the Danish Kingdom! We Germans from all German parties, however, believe the present border to be the final solution. It was determined by the plebiscite of 1920 which, after all, took place under Allied control. It took place under conditions that were as unfavorable to Germany as possible, immediately after the first war we lost. At that time at least thirty thousand Germans remained as a minority in Denmark, and about seven or eight thousand Danes stayed in Germany. Both were genuine minorities whose numbers hardly changed in the years from 1920 to 1945.

THE SCHLESWIG GERMANS AND DENMARK

Ladies and gentlemen, the fixity of this Northern border was never in doubt, in Germany or in Denmark. Even Hitler did not change it. When the Danish Diet met for its first plenary session after the collapse of 1945, the Danish Minister of State Buhl declared solemnly: the border is final. We hoped that this spelled the permanent end of the old struggle between the two neighbors.

But what happened in Schleswig between 1945 and the present time, the developments termed by the Danes a re-awakening of dormant Danish national feeling, has little bearing on a conflict of nationalities as it is usually understood. We see it essentially as a consequence of the lost war, of the spiritual collapse, of the escape from the responsibilities all Germans must assume, of the escape from the misery of Germany into a country where milk and honey are supposed to flow.

*) To present a united front against the Danish-minded part of the local population and prevent a splitting-up of the German vote, the German political parties in Flensburg selected Dr. Edert as a non-partisan unity candidate. After his election, he joined the CDU/CSU Faction as a guest member (Hospitant).

Two or three figures furnish striking proof of this. The number of the old Danish minority was estimated at 8000. On 1 January 1946 it jumped to 11 800, and by 1 July 1947, that is to say in one year and a half, to 75 000 members. The number of Danish votes amounted to a little more than 1300 in the whole Duchy of Schleswig at the last secret elections in 1932. In 1947 it increased to 99 000. In the meantime it dwindled to 92 000 in 1948 and to 75 000 in 1949. The number of Danish schools rose from 13 to 66, that of Danish teachers from 24 to 217, that of pupils from 800 to 14 000 — and all that in two years! No one will believe that such a sudden change of mind stems from a change of nationality. The great Danish historian Aage Friis commented on these figures not long ago with the remark that no Dane and no German changes his whole outlook on life overnight. This South Schleswig movement — people in our area call them the "New Danes" — still lacks any inner relationship to Danish language and culture. It intends to acquire this culture in future. They speak German at their meetings. Their election posters are in German. It is a movement about which another Dane, Nis Nissen, once remarked: "Its goal is not to join Denmark but to leave Germany."

THE ISSUES

The attitude of Germans of all parties towards the border problem is clear and unequivocal. We will grant the genuine Danish minority all cultural rights, hoping that the same rights will be accorded to the sorely afflicted German minority in North Schleswig.

We are not opposed to the official Denmark. We acknowledge with gratitude that the present Minister President Hedtoft himself is not interested in the territorial demands of the Danish activists. We Germans at the border urgently wish for peace with Denmark. We Germans have paid in blood for an excess of nationalistic thinking. We stand at the threshold of a new Europe. Because of these reasons the old dispute with the Nordic neighbor, who is so closely related to us, seems to us obsolete. The dispute has been imposed on us by the nationalism that swept across the border from the north. It is our opinion that borders should be bridged, not moved.

We defend ourselves against the Danish nationalists located north of the border — the Danish Border Association alone has 200 000 members —, but especially against our own compatriots south of the border. They fall into two classes. There are those who have succumbed to a misunderstood ideology. And there are the others who believe that, by becoming part of Denmark, they can escape the tremendous economic misery of our Land, the shortage of elbow room, the overcrowding and the gigantic unemployment resulting therefrom. In the districts represented by me and the honorable member who preceded me at the rostrum, the

number of expellees in most villages and towns is as great as the number of natives.

Thus the issue in this border conflict is whether the native German population is to be gained or lost. The struggle is so arduous because of the tremendous subsidies with which the Danish movement in South Schleswig is supported from the Kingdom; we estimate that they amount to between 18 and 20 million Danish crowns annually. Compared to this sum, the expenditures of the completely impoverished Land Schleswig-Holstein are small. In this emergency our Land Schleswig-

Holstein expects the new Federal Government to aid it speedily and effectively in two ways. In the first place I agree with the speaker who preceded me that the refugees must be fairly distributed and decently housed elsewhere. In the second place our constructive cultural work, and our defense measures against Danish nationalism, must be supported. We intend to fight this struggle with intellectual weapons. We beg off all chicanery, all compulsion, any intervention by the state. We must know, however, that all of Germany backs the border population in this arduous cultural struggle!

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Reply to Comments on Statement of Policy of the German Federal Government delivered in the Bundestag on 29 September 1949 by

Federal Chancellor **Dr. Konrad Adenauer** of the Christian Democratic Union
(Christlich-Demokratische Union — CDU)

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The debate on the Government's Statement of Policy has extended over so many days and brought forth such a multitude of suggestions that you will understand it if I refrain from commenting in detail on all the speeches and criticisms that were made. Be assured, however, that everything said will be carefully examined and that the Federal Government will draw the necessary consequences where it thinks fit to do so.

WORKERS' WELFARE ORGANIZATION

It has been criticized that I did not express my thanks to the Workers' Welfare Organization (Arbeiterwohlfahrt). I believe if you were to study my speech not only in the Federal Gazette (Bundesanzeiger) but also elsewhere you would find that I expressed thanks only to those organizations having made special efforts on behalf of our prisoners of war. In the meantime I have learned that the Workers' Welfare Organization participated in this labor of love. I do not hesitate to express the thanks of the entire German nation for this work to the Workers' Welfare Organization as well.

It has furthermore been alleged that I did not refer to the workers. That may be true. May I request that you read up on what I actually said in this respect?

TRADE UNIONS

It has been criticized that I did not stress the discipline and the loyalty towards the state demonstrated by the trade unions during the past few years. I do not hesitate to state that I fully recognize the trade unions as necessary and appreciate that during the years now behind us they realized and fulfilled their duties towards the people as a whole. If I did not mention this and did not express any special gratitude to them, the omission was due to the obligation I would thereby have assumed of thanking very many others as well. For, ladies and gentlemen, looking back at the time since 1945 we would, I believe, first of all have to thank our housewives for all they have suffered and achieved.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

It was further noted that I did not say anything on the subject of local self-government. But surely my personality guarantees my unqualified warm sympathy for local self-government.

(Hilarity —

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "Self-government as I understand it!")

I myself regret that the Basic Law has so little to say about local self-government. I should have welcomed more explicit references, for I look upon the strengthening of self-government as an important component of the Federal idea.

ATTITUDE OF THE OPPOSITION

I was extremely pleased by the statements of the Opposition speakers concerning their attitude

towards the Government and to the Government coalition. If I refer to speakers of the Opposition parties I am purposely using a somewhat cautious term for as yet I am a little uncertain just who constitutes the Opposition.

(Hilarity)

Several spokesmen of Party Delegations, among them Herr Schmid for the Social Democrats, stated today that they are prepared to cooperate constructively when bills are introduced with the tenor of which they agree. At present I shall therefore merely underline, and I do so with great pleasure, the words uttered by Dr. Schumacher and Herr Ollenhauer as well as by Professor Schmid concerning the fundamental relationship between Opposition and Government. That the Opposition operates along these lines is, I believe, of the greatest significance for the democratic sentiment of the German people. In fact, I would not mind if opposition were a trifle more emphatic occasionally.

(Hilarity)

I do not hesitate to state that every government, especially the one headed by myself, can and will learn a good deal from a wise Opposition.

SHIPPING

I should now like to stress several items of importance to us. First of all I should like to talk of the restrictions imposed on our shipping. If the German people are supposed to be in a position to stand on their own feet by 1952, then the restrictions that block the development of German shipping must be lifted. I believe we are all agreed that through the weight of your votes you will support the efforts of the Federal Government in this direction.

FRONTIER ADJUSTMENTS

I should like to say a word on the subject of the so-called frontier adjustments in the West that took place in the course of the last few days. I regret it deeply that the Dutch government has undertaken a so-called frontier correction — that is the term they used — without first communicating with the Land North Rhine-Westphalia or, more correctly still, with the Federal Government. Ladies and gentlemen, such a procedure is utterly impossible and completely intolerable to us.

(Applause from the entire House except for KPD)

The people of the Netherlands desire to maintain good economic relations with us. Economic relations are not possible without mutual respect. It is, however, a sign of disrespect towards the German Federal Republic and the Federal Government if such things occur as have just happened.

NO SPEAKING OUT OF TURN

In the course of the debate a few romantic speeches — I beg the gentlemen concerned not to

take offense at this expression — were made concerning Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, etc.

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "Nice romanticism!"

Ladies and gentlemen, I request all those who spoke from this platform to bear in mind that distrust against Germans remains strong in all foreign countries. Everyone making a public speech should therefore carefully weigh his words lest they lend themselves to misinterpretation in a way designed to intensify that distrust.

AUSTRIA

I have been told: "You did not mention Austria!" Well, ladies and gentlemen, if any one is and has been Austria's friend for very many years, it is I. But is there any point to discussing Austria in this House, and would she want us to?

("Very true" from CDU benches — Vigorous assent in the Center)

SUDETEN EXPELLEES

A meeting of expelled Sudeten Germans took place in Cologne. Ladies and gentlemen, each one of us can share and understand the sentiments of the Sudeten Germans and everyone will agree with them if they desire to return to their homeland once it is free.

(Cheers and applause from the Center and Right)

But let me stress that this has nothing to do with the plans, ideas, and ideologies prevalent among the Pan-Germans of another day, and later on among National Socialists. It is merely an expression of love for the native soil, nothing more.

VOTE OF APPROVAL

Our colleague Ollenhauer was good enough to suggest at the end of his speech that I might like to ask this House whether it approved of my Governmental Statement of Policy.

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "You won't do it!"

Correct, I won't do it.

(Great hilarity —

Representative Dr. Schmid: "That is easy to understand!" —

Additional interjections from SPD)

You see, ladies and gentlemen, our fellow Representative Schmid knows me quite well after having worked together with me for a year,

Representative Schmid: "I should think so!"

and he was aware of what my reply would be like. He would not even have asked such a question. Herr Ollenhauer, however, has not known me for so long a time. But, ladies and gentlemen, I beg of

you to take a look at the Basic Law and you will see that such votes of confidence are explicitly excluded by the phraseology of the Basic Law.

(Protests from **SPD-Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid:** "Not altogether!" —

Representative Dr. Heinrich v. Brentano, CDU: "It is not proscribed!" —

Interjection from the SPD: "Please read the shorthand transcript!"

This question whether a vote of approval of the Government's Statement of Policy could and should be held, and vice versa, whether disapproval or something along these lines could or could not be expressed, was the subject of very detailed debates in the Main Committee of the Parliamentary Council. This possibility was distinctly denied by so eminent a jurist as Minister of Justice Katz, whose qualifications are recognized particularly by yourselves.

("Hear, hear!" from the Center —

Representative Dr. Carlo Schmid, SPD: "I do not think your memory is correct, Mr. Chancellor!" —

Representative Heinz Renner, KPD: "His own interpretation!")

I must tell you that I was not present,

Representative Schmid: "But I was!"

but, dear colleague Schmid, the present Minister of Justice Dehler was present and took part in the debate. Minister of Justice Dehler at the time voiced the opinions that approval or disapproval could be expressed; he told me, however, that Mr. Katz in particular insisted in a very outspoken manner that this was impossible and must not be permitted to happen again.

(Hilarity — Interjections from SPD)

Ladies and gentlemen, the main point is that I have no intention to put this question and that I have to leave it to you, my dear colleague Ollenhauer, to draw any consequences you like from this abstention. But I doubt that you will draw them.

JUDGING BY DEEDS

You have long days filled with many speeches behind you and in store for you, and you will therefore probably welcome it if I keep my speech short. I intend to do just that and in conclusion would like to ask the following of you, reaffirming a request of some spokesmen of Party Factions outside the Governmental Coalition: Please judge the Federal Government according to its deeds. Give the Federal Government a chance to show whether it can achieve something or whether it will fail. I ask you all to try and cooperate in crucial matters and in questions of importance to the German people, so as to make at least some progress in the interests of our people in these times that try men's souls.

GLOSSARY

(See also Note on Political Parties, p. 13, and Biographies, p. 15)

A

ADVISORY COUNCIL (Zonenbeirat) —
a German advisory body to the British Control Commission 1946—1948, representing the four Länder of the British Zone.

AHLEN PROGRAM —
platform adopted at Ahlen (Westphalia) by the British-Zone CDU in February 1947. It opposes both private and state capitalism and advocates a greater share for labor in the management of basic industries.

ALTSPARER —
owner of prewar savings accounts who saved money for many years.

AUSWÄRTIGES AMT —
German Foreign Office.

B

BADEN (formerly Südbaden) —
Land in the French Zone, pop. 1,300,000.

BASIC LAW —
the provisional Constitution of the German Federal Republic, adopted in May 1949 at Bonn.

BAVARIA (Bayern) —
largest Land in the American Zone, pop. 9,350,000.

BAVARIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (Bayrische Volkspartei) —
Catholic party, Bavaria's biggest 1920—1933, sister party of Zentrum.

BAYRISCHER BAUERNVERBAND —
the Bavarian Farmers' Association.

BAYERNPARTEI (BP) —
the strongly federalistic Bavarian Party (*see* p. 13).

BERECHTIGUNGSWESEN —
a system in which certain rigid and partly irrelevant academic qualifications, or a background of non-commissioned officer status during a twelve-year army enlistment, are almost indispensable for civil-service appointments which then guarantee lifetime tenure and special social prerogatives.

BIZONAL AREA —
Area of the combined US and British Zones of Occupation (1946—1949).

BIZONAL ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION —
supreme German economic agency in combined Anglo-American Zones from 1947 to 1949.

BIZONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL —
see Economic Council.

BIZONAL LÄNDERRAT —
see Länderrat, Bizonal

BLOCK POLITICS —
Soviet practice of making all political parties and semi-political groups part of a catchall organization dominated by Communists; specifically, the forced cooperation of all political parties and semi-political groups in the Soviet Zone of Germany.

BONN —
provisional capital of the German Federal Republic. University town in the British Zone, pop. approximately 110,000.

BP —
see Bayernpartei.

BREMEN —
an American Zone enclave in the British Zone of Occupation, and one of the four Länder in the American Zone, pop. 550,000.

BRIDGE THEORY —
the thesis that Germany, rather than ranging herself on the side of the Western or Eastern powers, should strive to form a "neutral" bridge between them.

BUND (Federation) —
the German Federal Republic.

BUNDESRAT (Federal Council) —
Upper House of the Federal Parliament. Its forty-three delegates are appointed by the Länder Governments.

BUNDESREPUBLIK (Federal Republic) —
the Western German state, consisting of the eleven Länder of the US, British and French Zones.

BUNDESTAG (Federal Parliament) —
Lower House of the Federal Parliament. 402 representatives were elected on 14 August 1949, approximately 60 per cent by majority vote in single districts, about 40 per cent on the basis of proportional representation Land lists.

C

CDU/CSU (Christlich-Demokratische Union / Christlich-Soziale Union) —
the major Government Party, composed of the Christian Democratic Union in ten Länder and the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (*see* p. 13).

CENTER PARTY (Zentrum) —
now a small Catholic party in the British Zone, to the left of CDU/CSU (*see* p. 13); before 1933, when CDU/CSU did not exist, one of three major parties and the sole Catholic one, outside Bavaria.

COMMUNIST PARTY (KPD) —
see p. 13

CONSTITUTION —
The provisional Constitution or Basic Law of the German Federal Republic adopted in May 1949 at Bonn.

COUNCIL OF STATES —
see Länderrat.

D

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (Deutsche Demokratische Partei) —
pre-Hitler middle-of-the-road democratic party, one of FDP's predecessors changed its name to State Party (Deutsche Staatspartei) in 1929.

- DEUTSCH - HANNOVERSCHE PARTEI** (German Hanoverian Party) —
pre-1933 political party representing the Guelph (*g. v.*) monarchist movement.
- DEMOKRATISCHE VOLKSPARTEI (DVP)** —
the Württemberg-Baden branch of FDP.
- DEUTSCHE PARTEI (DP)** —
the right-wing German Party, member of the Governmental coalition (*see* p. 13).
- DEUTSCHE RECHTSPARTEI (DRP)** —
the strongly nationalistic German Rightist Party (*see* p. 13).
- DEUTSCHE REICHSPARTEI** (German Reich Party) —
Extremist nationalistic party founded at Kassel in January 1950 (*see* p. 13).
- DEUTSCHE VOLKSPARTEI** (German People's Party) —
a pre-Hitler right-of-center middle-class party, led by Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann until 1929.
- DEUTSCHE WÄHLERGESELLSCHAFT** (German Electoral League) —
an independent citizens' group opposed to proportional representation and the secret ballot in Parliament.
- DEUTSCHE WIRTSCHAFTSPARTEI** (German Economic Party) —
right-of-center pre-Hitler splinter party representing middle-class groups.
- DP** —
see Deutsche Partei.
- DRP** —
see Deutsche Rechtspartei.
- DÜSSELDORF THESES** (Düsseldorfer Leitsätze) —
principles of CDU/CSU economic and social policy, as formulated at a Düsseldorf conference in July 1949.
- DVP** —
see Demokratische Volkspartei.
- E**
- ECONOMIC COUNCIL** (Wirtschaftsrat) —
bizonal parliament with economic legislative authority (1947/1949). Its 104 members were elected by the eight legislatures of the US/UK Zones.
- ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION PARTY (ERP)** —
the Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung (WAV), a Bavarian political group founded and led by Alfred Loritz.
- EQUALIZATION OF FINANCIAL BURDENS** (Lastenausgleich) —
financial help to be accorded people who suffered direct losses due to the war, e. g., expellees, refugees, air-raid victims. Necessary funds to be raised by a capital levy on those who were spared such losses.
- F**
- FACTION** —
Parliamentary Group or Parliamentary Delegation; the representatives of a major political party in a parliamentary body.
- FDP** —
see Free Democratic Party.
- FEDERAL COUNCIL** (Bundesrat) —
Upper House of the Federal Parliament. Its forty-three Delegates are appointed by the Länder Governments.
- FEDERAL PARLIAMENT** (Bundestag) —
Lower House of Parliament. 402 representatives were elected on 14 August 1949.
- FEDERAL REPUBLIC** (Bundesrepublik) —
the Western German state, consisting of the eleven Länder of the US, British and French Zones.
- FEDERATION** (Bund) —
the German Federal Republic.
- FLURBEREINIGUNG** —
a type of land reform in areas where fields belonging to one farmer are too scattered for economical cultivation. In such cases it is intended to make farmers exchange their marginal properties among themselves, so that the fields belonging to any one farmer will be adjacent to each other.
- FRANKFURT ECONOMIC POLICY** —
the free-enterprise policy pursued by the Frankfurt Bizonal Economic Administration under the leadership of its Director, Professor Ludwig Erhard, now Minister of Economics. It was opposed to planned economy.
- FREE DEMOCRATIC PARTY (FREIE DEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI, FDP)** —
a middle-of-the-road party, member of the Governmental Coalition (*see* p. 13).
- FRIIS, AAGE** —
famous Danish historian (b. 1870).
- G**
- GEHEIMRATSGEWERBE** —
Domain of Geheimräte. Geheimrat (privy counsellor) is an honorary title conferred upon certain outstanding citizens prior to 1919. The term "Geheimratsgewerbe" implies that a sphere of activity is a sinecure or the preserve of "striped-pants" snobs.
- GEMEINDE** —
community; municipality; township.
- GERMAN BOHEMIA (DEUTSCH-BÖHMEN)** —
see also Sudetenland. A term implying that the Czechoslovak province of Bohemia (part of Austria-Hungary before World War I) is, or ought to be, German.
- GERMAN PARTY (DEUTSCHE PARTEI, DP)** —
a right-wing party (*see* p. 13).
- GERMAN RIGHTIST PARTY (DEUTSCHE RECHTSPARTEI, DRP)** —
a strongly nationalistic party (*see* p. 13).
- GODESBERG TALKS** —
Meetings of Germans active in public life held in Bad Godesberg near Bonn in March and June 1949 to discuss Germany's role as "mediator" and "bridge" between East and West. First meeting was sponsored by Rudolf Nadolny, former German Ambassador to U. S. S. R., reported to be in close touch with Soviet Military Administration; among participants were Andreas Hermes, Chairman of the German Peasant League; Franz Blücher, now Vice-Chancellor and Minister for the

Marshall Plan; Professor Ludwig Erhard, now Minister of Economics; von Prittwitz und Gaffron, former German Ambassador in Washington. The second meeting was reportedly convened by Joachim von Ostau, extreme-nationalist manufacturer and politician.

GRUNDGESETZ —

Basic Law; the provisional Constitution of the German Federal Republic, adopted in May 1949 at Bonn.

GUELPHS (Welfen) —

the ancient Royal House of Hanover, de-throned in 1866; monarchists in the Hanover area who advocate its restoration, considering the British Royal House the legitimate descendants of the Guelphs, or who at least favor the re-establishment of a separate Land of Hanover. Prior to 1933, the Deutsch-Hannoversche Partei was the political arm of this monarchist movement. It was reconstituted as Niedersächsische Landespartei (*q. v.*) in 1945, when the breakup of Prussia and creation of Land Lower Saxony (Hanover, Oldenburg, Brunswick, etc.) gave it new impetus. Niedersächsische Landespartei merged with non-monarchist nationalist groups outside Hanover to form Deutsche Partei (*q. v.*).

H

HAMBURG —

Land in the British Zone, formerly a Hanseatic City, pop. 1,600,000.

HESS (Hessen) —

Land in the American Zone, pop. 4,350,000.

K

KOMMUNISTISCHE PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS (KPD) —

the German Communist Party (*see* p. 13).

KORPSSTUDENT —

member of certain pre-Hitler student fraternities, often snobbish and chauvinistic.

KPD —

see Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands.

L

LÄNDERRAT —

usually referred to as Stuttgart Länderrat; Council of States in the US Zone, with headquarters in Stuttgart (1945—1949). Charged with co-ordination of legislation within the US Zone.

LÄNDERRAT, BIZONAL —

Council of State representatives who met in Frankfurt 1947—1949 to co-ordinate mainly economic legislation of the individual Länder in the US/UK Zones of Occupation.

LAND (PLURAL: LÄNDER) —

German states. Eleven Länder make up the German Federal Republic.

LANDRAT —

Country Supervisor; an elected government official.

LANDTAG (PLURAL: LANDTAGE) —

State legislature; the legislative assembly of a Land.

LOWER SAXONY (Niedersachsen) —

Land in the British Zone, pop. 7,000,000.

M

MINISTERIALDIREKTOR —

top-level civil servant, two steps below the Cabinet Minister one step below the State Secretary.

MINISTERIALDIRIGENT —

high-ranking civil servant, one step below Ministerialdirector.

MINISTERIALRAT (Ministerial Councillor) —

high-ranking civil servant, one step below Ministerialdirigent. In descending order, civil service ranks continue as follows: Regierungsdirektor; Oberregierungsrat; Regierungsrat.

N

NATIONALDEMOKRATISCHE PARTEI (NDP) —

in the US Zone, the extreme right-wing National Democratic Party.

NATIONALE RECHTE (NR), (National Rightist Party) —

a former parliamentary group consisting of the National Democratic Party and the German Rightist Party (now Deutsche Reichspartei).

NIEDERSACHSEN (Lower Saxony) —

a Land in the British Zone, pop. 7,000,000.

NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESPARTEI —

Hanoverian monarchist party (*cf.* Guelphs) in Lower Saxony 1945—1947, nucleus of Deutsche Partei.

NORTH-RHINE/WESTPHALIA (Nordrhein-Westfalen) —

a Land in the British Zone, pop. 13,000,000.

NR —

see Nationale Rechte.

O

OBERSCHULRAT —

School Superintendent.

OCCUPATION STATUTE —

instrument governing the relationship between the three Western Occupation Powers and the German Federal Republic. Became effective 21 September 1949.

OSTLAND —

Eastern territories.

OSTMINISTERIUM (East Ministry) —

colloquial reference to the Federal Ministry for the Reunion of Germany.

P

PARLIAMENTARY COUNCIL (Parlamentarischer Rat) —

a constituent assembly elected by the Länder parliaments to draft the Basic Law (September 1948—May 1949).

R

REICH —

Germany as an entity, particularly as constituted 1871—1945.

REICHSBANNER SCHWARZ-ROT-GOLD —
militantly republican pre-Hitler paramilitary organization, staunch supporter of the democratic Weimar Republic.

REICHSTAG —
German parliament before 1945.

REICHSVERSORGUNG —
scheme for supporting disabled war veterans, in effect from 1921—1945.

REPUBLIKANISCHER REICHSBUND (Republican Reich Association) —
leftist, militantly republican pre-Hitler organization.

RHINELAND-PALATINATE (Rheinland-Pfalz) —
a Land in the French Zone, pop. 2,900,000.

RUHR —
area in the British Zone where Germany's coal fields and heavy industry are concentrated.

RUHR STATUTE —
Charter promulgated on 28 April 1949 by the three Western Occupation Powers and Benelux States in London, governing the status of the Ruhr Area within the West European political and economic system.

S

SAAR —
autonomous industrial territory between France and Germany (984 square miles), formerly German, incorporated into the French economy after World War II. Final determination of its status awaits peace treaty.

SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN (Sleswig-Holstein) —
a Land in the British Zone, bordering on Denmark, pop. 2,750,000.

SENATE —
elective municipal governing body in Hamburg and Bremen.

SMALL COALITION —
the parties forming the present government, i. e., CDU/CSU, FDP and DP. Term is used to distinguish the "Small Coalition" from the discarded plan for a "Great Coalition" of CDU/CSU and SPD.

SOUTH SCHLESWIG ELECTORAL LEAGUE —
see Südschleswigsche Wählervereinigung.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD) —
major Opposition party, moderately left-wing (*see* p. 13).

SOFORTHILFE (Immediate Aid) —
measures for expellees.

SPD —
see Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands.

SSW —
see Südschleswigsche Wählervereinigung.

STURM- UND DRANGPERIODE —
era of storm and stress, a period in German literature during the second half of the 18th century.

SUDETEN TERRITORY —
part of Czechoslovakia bordering on Germany. Mainly inhabited by ethnic Germans who were expelled after World War II.

SÜDBADEN —
see Baden.

SÜDSCHLESWIGISCHE VEREINIGUNG (South Schleswig League) —
cultural and social association of the pro-Danish part of the population in Schleswig-Holstein; antedates Hitler.

SÜDSCHLESWIGISCHE WÄHLERVEREINIGUNG (South Schleswig Electoral League) —
political party of the pro-Danish part of the population in Schleswig-Holstein (*see* p. 13).

SÜDWÜRTTEMBERG-HOHENZOLLERN —
see Württemberg-Hohenzollern.

V

VEREINIGUNG DER LEITENDEN ANGESTELLTEN (VELA) —
Association of Executive Employees in Trade and Industry

VOLKSGERICHTSHOF (People's Court) —
Nazi Court for the trial of political offences.

W

WAV —
see Wirtschaftliche Aufbauvereinigung.

WEIMAR REPUBLIC —
the democratic German Republic (1918—1933). Its constituent assembly convened in Weimar in 1919.

WIRTSCHAFTLICHE AUFBAUVEREINIGUNG (WAV) —
Economic Reconstruction Party, Bavarian political group founded and led by Alfred Loritz (*see* p. 13).

WÜRTTEMBERG-BADEN —
a Land in the American Zone, pop. 3,950,000.

WÜRTTEMBERG-HOHENZOLLERN —
a Land in the French Zone, also referred to as Südwürttemberg-Hohenzollern, pop. 1,200,000.

Z

ZENTRUM (Center Party) —
now a small Catholic party in the British Zone, to the left of CDU/CSU (*see* p. 13). Before 1933, when no CDU/CSU existed, one of Germany's three big parties, and the sole Catholic one, outside Bavaria.

ZONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL (Zonenbeirat) —
a German advisory body to the British Control Commission 1946—1948, representing the four Länder of the British Zone.

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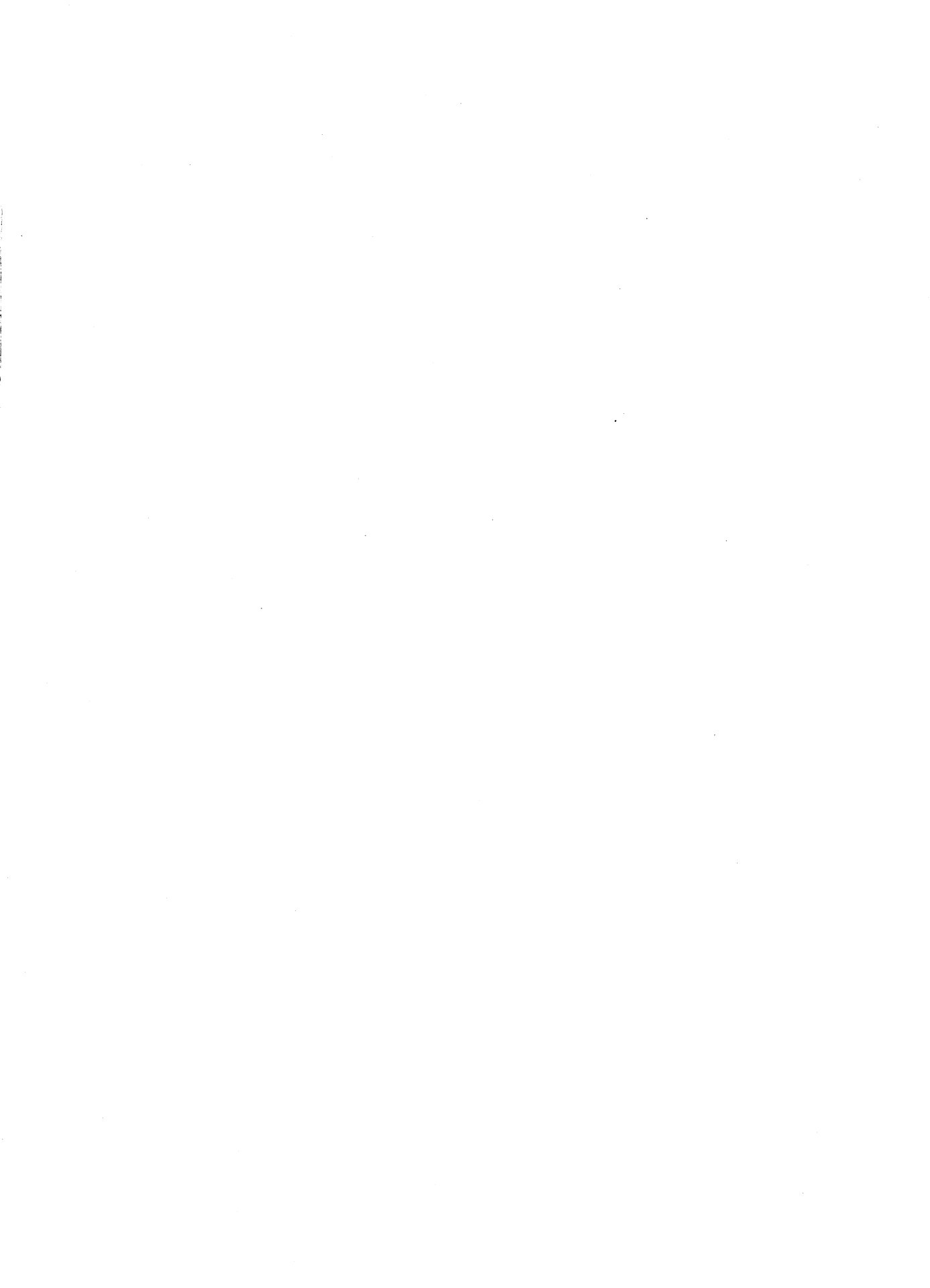
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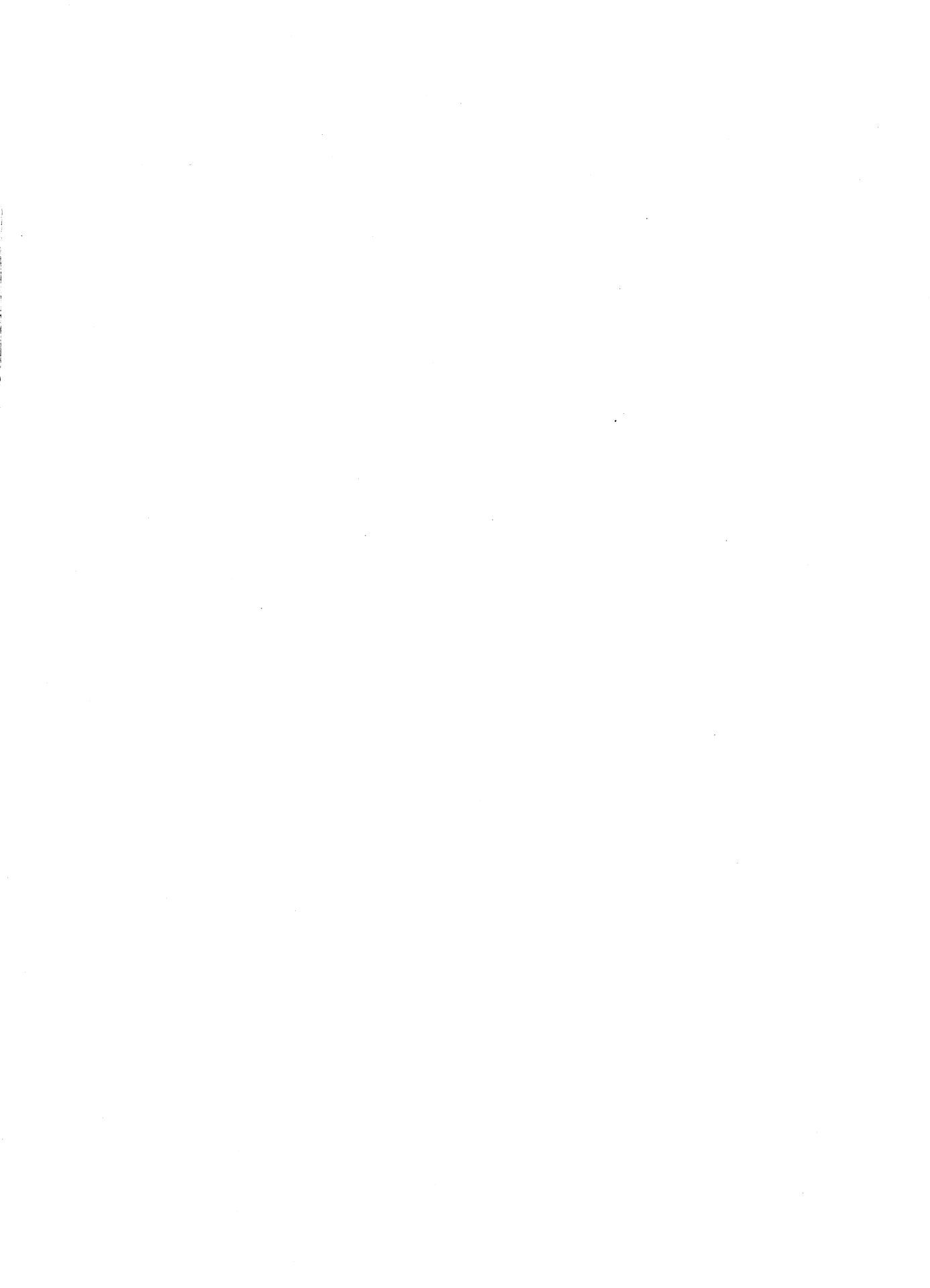
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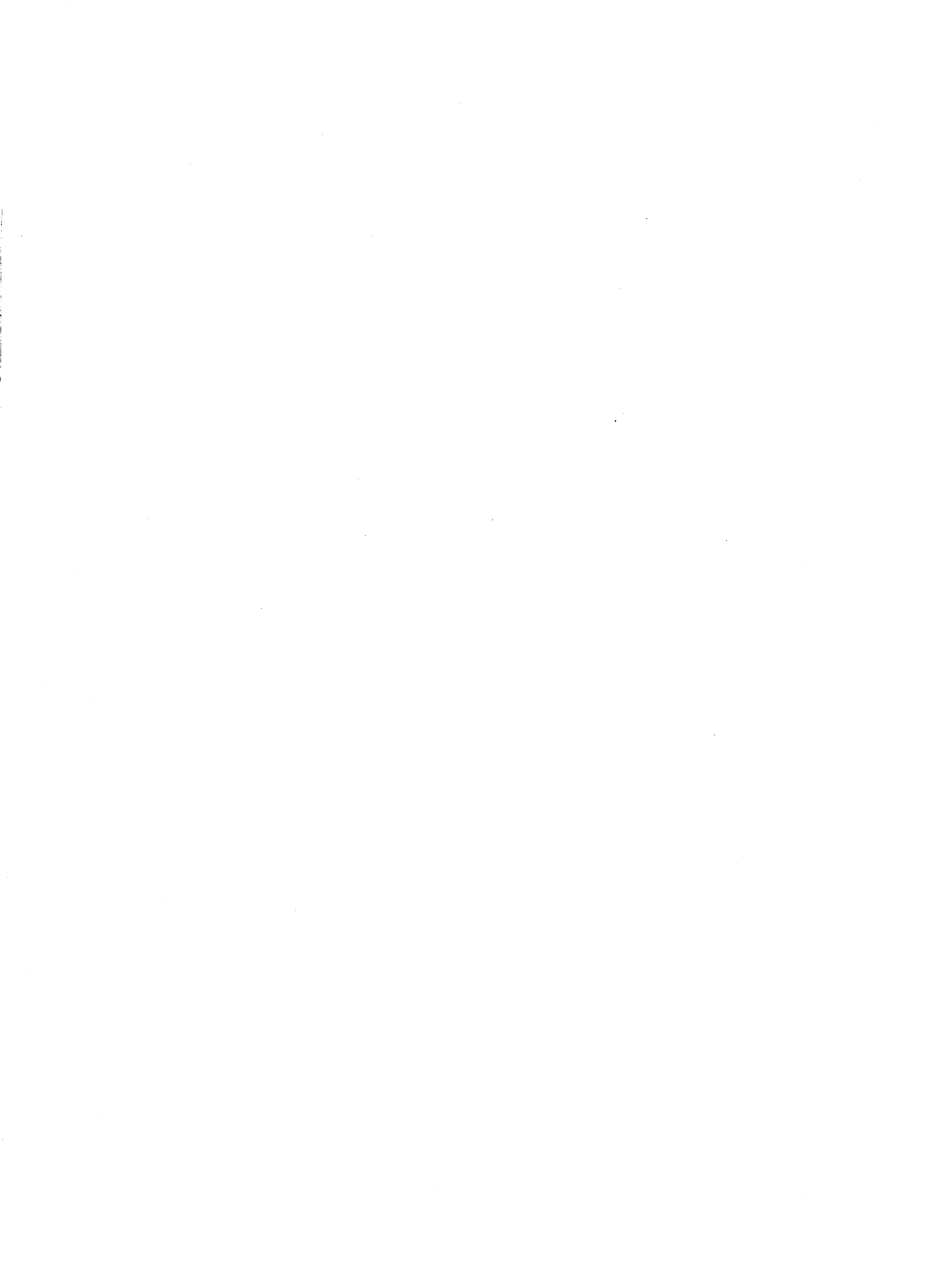
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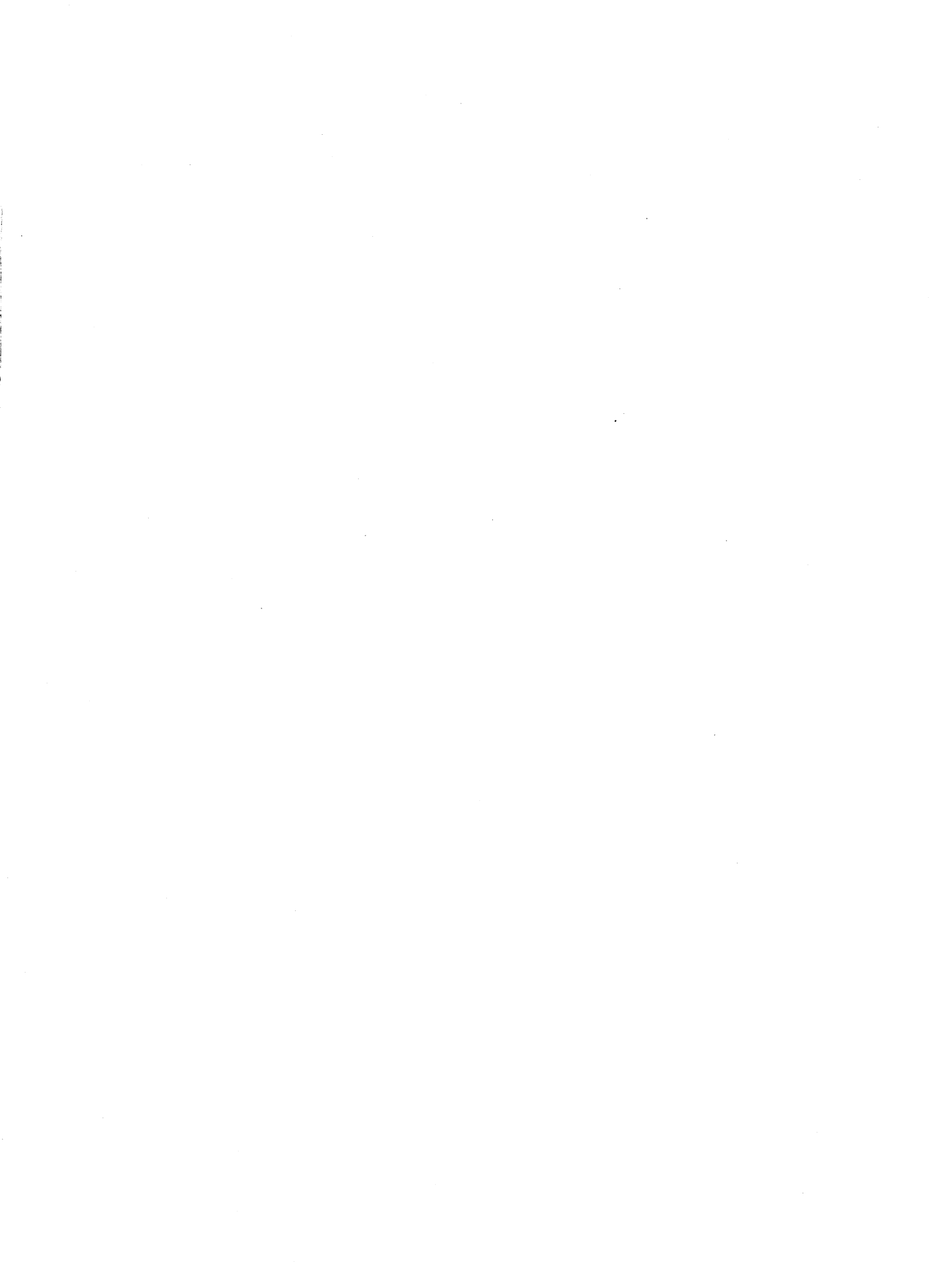
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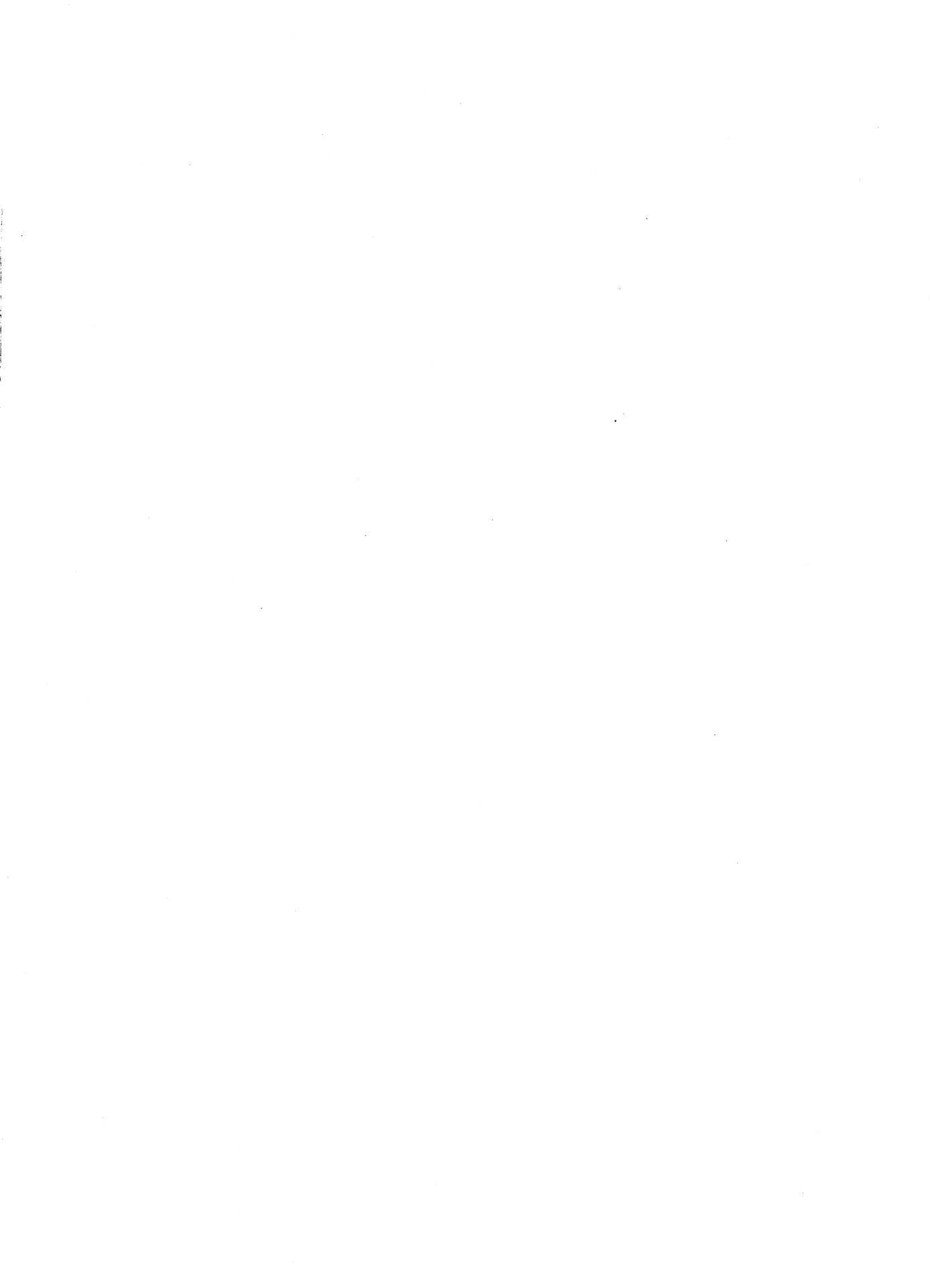
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