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background notes

Germany

United States Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs

June 1991



Official Name:
Federal Republic of Germany

Profile

Geography

Area: 357,000 sq. km. (137,838 sq. mi.); about the size of Montana. **Cities:** *Capital*—Berlin (population about 3.4 million). *Seat of government*—Bonn (pop. 287,000). The permanent seat of government for a unified Germany will be addressed by the all-German Parliament elected on December 2, 1990. *Other cities*—Hamburg (1.6 million), Munich (1.2 million), Cologne (946,000), Frankfurt (635,000). (Dec. 1990 est.) **Terrain:** Low plain in the north; high plains, hills, and basins in the center and east; mountainous Alpine region in the south. **Climate:** Temperate; cooler and rainier than much of the US.

People

Nationality: *Noun and adjective*—German(s). **Population:** About 79 million (Dec. 1990 est.). **Ethnic groups:** Primarily German; Danish minority in the north, Serbian (Slavic) minority in the east. **Religions:** Almost evenly divided between Protestant and Roman Catholic. **Language:** German. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—10. *Attendance*—100%. *Literacy*—99%. **Health** (in the original 11 states): *Infant mortality rate* (1990)—6/1,000. *Life expectancy* (1990)—women 81 yrs., men 73 yrs. **Work force:** 39 million (1990 estimate). Includes the 11 million workers in the former GDR.

Government

Type: Federal republic. **Founded:** 1949 (Basic Law, i.e., constitution, promulgated on May 23, 1949). On October 3, 1990, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic unified in accordance with Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. **Branches:** *Executive*—president (titular chief of state), chancellor (executive head of government). *Legislative*—bicameral parliament. *Judicial*—independent, Federal Constitutional Court. **Subdivisions:** 16 *Laender* (states)—Baden-Wuerttemberg, Bayern (Bavaria), Berlin, Brandenburg*, Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen (Hesse), Mecklenburg-Vorpommern*, Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), Nordrhein-Westfalen (North Rhine-Westphalia), Rheinland-Pfalz, Saarland, Sachsen (Saxony)*, Sachsen-Anhalt*, Schleswig-Holstein, Thueringen (Thuringia)*. (* = formerly part of the GDR) **Major political parties:** Christian Democratic Union (CDU); Christian Social Union (CSU); Social Democratic Party (SPD); Free Democratic Party (FDP); Greens/Alliance 90; Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS). **Suffrage:** Universal at 18. **Central government budget (1990):** $245 billion. **Defense budget** (original 11 states, 1990): 2.2% of GNP. **Flag:** Three horizontal bands: black, red, and gold, from top to bottom.

Economy (for original 11 states)

GNP (1989): $1.2 trillion. *Annual growth rate* (1989): 4%. *Per capita income*: $19,000. *Inflation rate* (1988): 2.8%. **Natural resources:** Iron, hard coal, lignite, potash, natural gas. **Agriculture** (1.5% of GNP): *Products*—corn, wheat, potatoes, sugar beets, barley, hops, viniculture, forestry, fisheries. **Industry** (40% of GNP): *Types*—iron and steel, coal, chemicals, electrical products, ships, vehicles, construction. **Trade** (1989): *Exports* —$367 billion: chemicals, motor vehicles, iron and steel products, manufactured goods, electrical products. *Major markets* (1988)—European Community 54%, other European countries 19%, US 8%, developing countries 7%, Soviet Union 2%. *Imports*—$269 billion: food, petroleum products, manufactured goods, electrical products, automobiles, apparel. *Major suppliers* (1988)—European Community countries 52%, other European countries 16%, US 7%, developing countries 10%, Soviet Union 2%. **Exchange rate** (November 1990): 1.50 Deutsche marks=US $1.

Membership in International Organizations

Council of Europe, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), INTELSAT, European Community (EC), Western European Union (WEU), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the United Nations and UN-related agencies, including the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank), and International Monetary Fund (IMF).



PEOPLE

The population of the unified FRG is primarily German; however, there are a substantial number of foreign guest workers and their dependents. An ethnic Danish minority lives in the north, and a small Slavic minority known as the Sorbs lives in eastern Germany. Renowned for their economic productivity, Germans are well-educated. Since the end of World War II, the number of youths entering universities has nearly tripled, and the trade and technical schools in the original 11 states of the FRG are among the world's best.

German culture has produced some of the greatest artists and intellectuals of all time. Composers, artists, writers, scholars, and scientists have always enjoyed prestige in Germany.

With per capita income levels approaching $20,000 in the original 11 states, postwar Germany has become a broadly middle class society. A generous social welfare system provides for universal medical care, unemployment compensation, and other social needs. Modern Germans also are mobile; millions travel abroad each year.

With unification on October 3, 1990, the FRG has started the major task of bringing the standard of living of Germans in the former GDR up to the levels of western Germany. It appears that this will be a lengthy and difficult process, due to the relative inefficiency of the industrial enterprises in the former GDR, the poor infrastructure in this area, the environmental damage in eastern Germany brought on by years of mismanagement under communist rule, and difficulty in resolving property ownership in the former GDR.

HISTORY

Germanic tribes, migrating south and west, entered the present territory of Germany nearly 4,000 years ago. They pushed back the Celts and were strongly established before encountering the Romans moving north under Varus, one of Augustus' generals. The Germans annihilated the Roman forces and killed Varus in the battle of the Teutoburg Forest in 9 AD, effectively stopping Roman expansion on the Danube-Rhine line.

Thus, much of Germany did not experience Latin culture directly and adopted Christianity later than did the Roman world. The baptism of Clovis in 496 AD opened the way for widespread conversion of the Germanic tribes and culminated three centuries later with the crowning of "Karl the Great" (Charlemagne) in 800 as Holy Roman Emperor. For the next 1,000 years, decentralizing forces dominated German politics, leaving power largely in the hands of local princes, often with devastating consequences. The Thirty Years' War (1618-48), a series of conflicts between Protestant and Catholic forces, decimated Germany's population. After the war, an uneasy balance remained between Protestant and Catholic states, which continued to war against each other periodically.

The rise of Prussian power in the 19th century, supported by growing German nationalism, eventually ended the inter-state fighting and resulted in the formation of the German Empire in 1871 under the chancellorship of Otto von Bismarck. Although authoritarian in many respects, the empire eventually permitted the development of political parties and Bismarck was credited with passing the most advanced social welfare legislation of the age. Dynamic expansion of military power, however, contributed to tension on the continent. The fragile European balance of power broke down in 1914, and World War I left millions dead and led to the collapse of the empire.

The Weimar Republic

The postwar Weimar Republic (1919-33) sought to draw on Germany's liberal traditions but was handicapped by terrible economic problems—the inflation of the early 1920s and the post-1929 world depression—as well as the political legacy of the Versailles Treaty, which imposed a heavy burden of reparations and loss of territory. The new experiment in republican, parliamentary democracy was unable to harness the resulting surge of political conflicts, and the republic suffered from a succession of weak governments formed by multi-party coalitions.

The National Socialist (Nazi) Party, led by a demagogic ex-corporal, Adolf Hitler, stressed nationalist themes, such as the alleged betrayal of Germany by German republican representatives at Versailles, promised to put the unemployed back to work, and blamed many of Germany's ills on alleged Jewish conspiracies. Its electorate expanded rapidly in the early 1930s, but the Nazi party never achieved a majority prior to coming to power. Only after months of deadlock was Hitler asked to form a government as Reich Chancellor in January 1933. After President Paul von Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler assumed that office as well. Once in power, Hitler and his party first undermined then abolished democratic institutions and opposition parties and installed a program of racism that resulted in the deliberate, widespread extermination of Jews and other minority groups during World War II. In the 1930s, Hitler also began to restore Germany's economy and military strength. His ambitions led Germany into launching World War II and suffering destruction, defeat, and loss of territory.

After Germany's unconditional surrender on May 8, 1945, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the USSR occupied the country and assumed responsibility for its administration. The commanders-in-chief exercised supreme authority in their respective zones and, sitting as the Allied Control Council (ACC), acted in concert on questions affecting the whole country. France was later invited to join the ACC and was given a separate zone of occupation.

At Potsdam in August 1945, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union agreed to a broad program of decentralization, treating Germany as a single economic unit with some central administrative departments. These plans failed, primarily because of inter-Allied conflict. The turning point came in 1948 when the Soviets withdrew from the Four Power governing bodies and blockaded Berlin.

Political Developments in West Germany

The United States and the United Kingdom moved to establish a nucleus for a future German government by expanding the size and powers of the German Economic Council in their two zones. The program provided for a West German constituent assembly, an occupation statute governing relations between the Allies and the German authorities, and the economic merger of the French with the British and American zones.

On May 23, 1949, the Basic Law, or constitution, of the Federal Republic of Germany was promulgated. The first federal government was formed by Konrad Adenauer on Sept. 20, 1949. The next day, the occupation statute came into force, granting full powers of self-government with certain exceptions.

The FRG quickly progressed toward fuller sovereignty and association with European neighbors and the Atlantic community. The London and Paris agreements of 1954 restored full sovereignty to the FRG when they went into effect on May 5, 1955 and opened the way for German membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union (WEU).

The three Allies retained occupation powers in Berlin and certain responsibilities for Germany as a whole. Under the new arrangements, the Allies stationed troops within the FRG for NATO defense, pursuant to stationing and status-of-forces agreements. With the exception of 45,000 French troops, Allied forces were under NATO's joint defense command.

Political life in the FRG was remarkably stable and orderly. The Adenauer era (1949-63) was followed by a brief period under Ludwig Erhard (1963-66) who, in turn, was replaced by Kurt Georg Kiesinger (1966-69). Kiesinger's 1966-69 "Grand Coalition" included the CDU/CSU and the Social Democratic Party (SPD). Governments between 1949 and 1966 were all formed by the united caucus of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU), either alone or in coalition with the smaller Free Democratic Party (FDP).

In the 1969 election, the Social Democratic Party (SPD), headed by Willy Brandt, gained enough votes to form a coalition government with the FDP. Chancellor Brandt remained head of government until May 1974, when he resigned after a senior member of his staff was arrested and accused of being an officer in the East German intelligence service.

Finance Minister Helmut Schmidt formed a government and received the unanimous support of coalition members. Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a leading FDP official, became the vice chancellor and foreign minister. Schmidt, a strong supporter of the European Community (EC) and the Atlantic alliance, emphasized his commitment to "the political unification of Europe in partnership with the USA."

In October 1982, the SPD/FDP coalition fell apart and the FDP joined forces with the CDU/CSU to elect CDU Chairman Helmut Kohl as chancellor. Following national elections in March 1983, Kohl emerged in firm control of both the government and the CDU. The CDU/CSU fell just short of an absolute majority, due to the entry into the *Bundestag* of the Greens, who received 5.6% of the vote.

In January 1987, the Kohl/Genscher government was returned to office, but the FDP and the Greens gained at the expense of the larger parties. Kohl's CDU and its Bavarian sister party, the CSU, slipped from 49% of the vote in 1983 to 44%. The SPD fell to 37%. Long-time SPD Chairman Brandt subsequently resigned in April 1987 and was succeeded by Hans-Jochen Vogel. The FDP rose from 7% to 9%, their best showing since 1980. The Greens also significantly strengthened their place in the *Bundestag*, rising from 5.6% (1983) to 8.3% (1987).

Political Developments In East Germany

In the Soviet zone, the Social Democratic party was forced to merge with the Communist party in 1946 to form a new party, the Socialist Unity Party (SED). The October 1946 elections resulted in coalition governments in the five *Land* (state) parliaments with the SED as the undisputed leader.

A series of people's congresses were called in 1948 and early 1949 by the SED. Under Soviet direction, a constitution was drafted on May 30, 1949, and adopted on October 7, which was celebrated as the day when the German Democratic Republic was proclaimed. The People's Chamber (*Volkskammer*), the lower house of the GDR parliament, and an upper house, the States Chamber (*Laenderkammer*), were created. (The *Laenderkammer* was abolished in 1958.) On October 11, 1949, the two houses elected Wilhelm Pieck as president and an SED government was set up. The Soviet Union and its East European allies immediately recognized the GDR, although it remained largely unrecognized by non-communist countries until 1972-73.

The GDR established the structures of a single-party, centralized communist state. On July 23, 1952, the traditional *Laender* were abolished and, in their place, 14 *Bezirke* (districts) were established. All effective government control was in the hands of the SED and almost all important government positions were held by SED members.

The National Front was an umbrella organization nominally consisting of the SED, four other political parties controlled and directed by the SED, and the four principal mass organizations (youth, trade unions, women, and culture). However, control was clearly and solely in the hands of the SED. Balloting in GDR elections was not secret. As in other Soviet bloc countries, electoral participation was consistently high, with nearly unanimous candidate approval.

Inter-German Relations

The constant stream of East Germans fleeing to West Germany placed great strains on FRG-GDR relations in the 1950s. On August 13, 1961, the GDR began building a wall through the center of Berlin, effectively dividing the city and slowing the flood of refugees to a trickle. The Berlin Wall became the symbol of the East's political debility and the division of Europe.

In 1969, FRG Chancellor Brandt announced that the FRG would remain firmly rooted in the Atlantic alliance but would intensify efforts to improve relations with Eastern Europe and the GDR.

The FRG commenced its *Ostpolitik* by negotiating non-aggression treaties with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary. The FRG's relations with the GDR posed particularly difficult questions. Though anxious to relieve serious hardships for divided families and to reduce friction, the FRG under Brandt was intent on holding to its concept of "two German states in one German nation."

Relations improved, and, in September 1973, the FRG and the GDR were admitted to the UN. The two Germanys exchanged permanent representatives in 1974, and, in 1987, GDR head of state Erich Honecker paid an official visit to the FRG.

German Unification

During the summer of 1989, rapid change in the GDR ultimately led to German unification. Growing numbers of East Germans emigrated to the FRG via Hungary after the Hungarians decided not to use force to stop them. Thousands of East Germans also tried to reach the West by staging sit-ins at FRG diplomatic facilities in other East European capitals. The exodus generated demands within the GDR for political change, and mass demonstrations in several cities—particularly in Leipzig—continued to grow. On October 7, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visited Berlin to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the GDR and urged the East German leadership to pursue reform.

On October 18, Erich Honecker resigned as head of the SED and head of state and was replaced by Egon Krenz. But the exodus continued unabated, and pressure for political reform mounted. On November 4, a demonstration in East Berlin drew an estimated 500,000—1 million East Germans. Finally, on November 9, the Berlin Wall was opened, and East Germans were allowed to travel freely. Thousands poured through the Wall into the western sectors of Berlin, and on November 12, the GDR began dismantling it.

On November 28, FRG Chancellor Kohl outlined a 10-point plan for the peaceful unification of the two Germanys based on free elections in the GDR and a unification of their two economies. In December, the GDR *Volkskammer* eliminated the SED monopoly on power, and the entire Politburo and Central Committee—including Krenz—resigned. The SED changed its name to the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and the formation and growth of numerous political groups and parties marked the end of the former communist system. Prime Minister Hans Modrow headed a caretaker government which shared power with the new democratically oriented parties. On December 7, 1989, agreement was reached to hold free elections in May 1990 and rewrite the GDR constitution. On January 28, all the parties agreed to advance the elections to March 18, primarily because of an erosion of state authority and because the East German exodus continued with over 117,000 leaving for the West in January and February 1990.

In early February 1990, the Modrow government's proposal for a unified, neutral German state was rejected by Chancellor Kohl, who affirmed that a unified Germany must be a member of NATO. Finally, on March 18, the first free elections were held in the GDR, and a government led by Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) was formed under a policy of expeditious unification with the FRG. The freely elected representatives of the *Volkskammer* held their first session on April 5, and the GDR peacefully evolved from a communist to a democratically elected government. Free and secret communal (local) elections were held in the GDR on May 6, and the CDU again won. On July 1, the two Germanys entered into an economic and monetary union.

Four Power Control Ends

During 1990, in parallel with internal German developments, the Four Powers—the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union—negotiated to end Four Power reserved rights for Berlin and Germany as a whole. These "Two-plus-Four" negotiations were mandated at the Ottawa Open Skies conference on February 13, 1990. The six foreign ministers met four times in the ensuing months in Bonn (May 5), Berlin (June 22), Paris (July 17), and Moscow (September 12). The Polish Foreign Minister participated in that part of the Paris meeting that dealt with the Polish-German borders.

Of key importance was overcoming Soviet objections to a united Germany's membership in NATO. This was accomplished in July when the alliance—led by President Bush—issued the London Declaration on a transformed NATO. On July 16, President Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl announced agreement in principle on a united Germany in NATO. This cleared the way for signing the "Treaty on the Final Settlement With Respect to Germany" in Moscow on September 12.

In addition to terminating Four Power rights, the treaty mandates the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from Germany by the end of 1994, makes clear that the current borders are final and definitive, and specifies the right of a united Germany to belong to NATO. It also provides for the continued presence of British, French, and American troops in Berlin during the interim period of the Soviet withdrawal. In the treaty, the Germans renounced nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons and stated their intention to reduce German armed forces to 370,000 within 3-4 years after the conventional armed forces in Europe (CFE) agreement (signed in Paris on November 19, 1990) enters into force.

Conclusion of the final settlement cleared the way for unification of the FRG and GDR. Formal political union occurred on October 3, 1990, with the accession (in accordance with Article 23 of the FRG's Basic Law) of the five *Laender*, which had been reestablished in the GDR. On December 2, 1990, all-German elections were held for the first time since 1937. The CDU/CSU received 44% of the vote and the FDP received 11%, giving the governing coalition 55% of the vote and 398 of 662 seats in the *Bundestag*. The SPD opposition won 34% of the vote and 239 seats. Under the special provisions of the first all-German elections, parties in the former GDR who received 5% of the vote in that area were also able to receive representation. The Party of Democratic Socialism received 10% of the vote in the former GDR and 17 seats in the *Bundestag*, and an alliance of the Greens and several left-wing organizations (Alliance 90) won 6% of the vote in East Germany and 8 *Bundestag* seats. However, in West Germany, since the Greens won only 4.7% of the vote, they did not receive any *Bundestag* seats.

GOVERNMENT

The government is parliamentary and based on a democratic constitution that emphasizes the protection of individual liberty and divided power in a federal structure. The chancellor (prime minister) heads the executive branch of the federal government. The president's duties (chief of state) are largely ceremonial; power is exercised by the chancellor. Although elected by and responsible to the *Bundestag* (lower and principal chamber of the parliament), the chancellor cannot be removed from office during a 4-year term unless the *Bundestag* has agreed on a successor.

The *Bundestag*, also elected for a 4-year term, consists of 662 deputies. The first elections for an all-German *Bundestag* were held on December 2, 1990. The *Bundesrat* (upper chamber or Federal Council) consists of 68 members who are delegates of the 16 *Laender*. The legislature has powers of exclusive jurisdiction and concurrent jurisdiction (with the *Laender*) in fields specifically enumerated by the Basic Law. The *Bundestag* bears the major responsibility, and the role of the *Bundesrat* is limited except in matters concerning *Laender* interests, where it can exercise substantial veto power.

The FRG has an independent federal judiciary consisting of a constitutional court, a high court of justice, and courts with jurisdiction in administrative, financial, labor, and social matters. The highest court is the Federal Constitutional Court which ensures a uniform interpretation of constitutional provisions and protects the fundamental rights of the individual citizen as defined in the Basic Law.

Principal Government Officials

President—
Richard von Weizsaecker
President of the Bundestag—
Rita Suessmuth (CDU)
Chancellor—Helmut Kohl (CDU)
Vice Chancellor—
Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP)
Minister of Defense—
Gerhard Stoltenberg (CDU)
Minister for Foreign Affairs—
Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP)
Ambassador to the US—
Dr. Juergen Ruhfus
Ambassador to the UN—
Detlew Graf zu Rantzau

The FRG maintains an embassy in the United States at 4645 Reservoir Road NW, Washington, DC 20007 (tel. 202-298-4000).

FRG consulates general are located in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and New York. Consulates are located in Miami and New Orleans.

Political Parties

• Christian Democratic Union/ Christian Social Union (CDU/CSU)

An important aspect of postwar German politics has been the emergence of a moderate Christian party, the Christian Democratic Union, operating with a related Bavarian party, the Christian Social Union. Although each party maintains its own structure, the two form a common caucus in the *Bundestag* and do not run opposing campaigns. The CDU/CSU is loosely organized, containing Catholics, Protestants, rural interests, and members of all economic classes. It is generally conservative on economic and social policy and more identified with the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches than are the other major parties, although its programs are

pragmatic rather than ideological. Helmut Kohl has served as chairman of the CDU since 1973; Theo Waigel succeeded the late Franz Josef Strauss as chairman of the CSU in 1988.

• **Social Democratic Party (SPD)** The SPD is the other major party in the FRG and is one of the oldest organized political parties in the world. Historically, it advocated Marxist principles, but in the "Godesberg Program," adopted in 1959, the SPD abandoned the concept of a class party, while continuing to stress social welfare programs. Although the SPD originally opposed West Germany's 1955 entry into NATO, it now emphasizes German ties with the alliance. However, the SPD often has opposed specific NATO programs and has advanced its own proposals under the banner of "security partnership" with the East. The SPD has a powerful base in the bigger cities and industrialized *Laender*. Bjoern Engholm became the SPD chairman in May 1991.

• **The Free Democratic Party (FDP)** The FDP has traditionally been composed mainly of middle- and upper-class Protestants who consider themselves "independents" and heirs to the European liberal tradition. Although the party is weak on the state level, it has participated in all but three postwar governments and has spent only 7 years out of government in the 40-year history of the Federal Republic. Otto Graf Lambsdorff was elected chairman of the FDP in 1988. A leading figure in the party is Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who has served since 1974 as the West German Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister in coalition governments with both the SPD and the CDU/CSU.

• **The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS)** Under chairman Gregor Gysi, the PDS is the successor party to the SED (communist party). Established in December 1989, it renounced most of the extreme aspects of SED policy, but has retained much of the ideology of the SED. In the December 1990 all-German elections, the PDS gained 10% of the vote in the territory of the former GDR and 17 seats in the *Bundestag*. However, having won only 0.3% of the vote in western Germany, it is questionable whether the PDS will win representation in the next German election, when the 5% hurdle will apply throughout all of Germany.

• **Greens** In the 1970s, environmentalists organized politically as the Greens. Opposition to expanded use of nuclear power, to NATO strategy, and to aspects of highly industrialized society were the principle campaign issues. The Greens received 8% of the vote in the January 1987 West German national election. However, in the December 1990 all-German elections, the Greens in western Germany were not able to clear the 5% hurdle required to win seats in the *Bundestag*. It was only in the territory of the former GDR that the Greens, in an alliance with Alliance 90 (a loose grouping of left-wing political entities with diverse political views), were able to clear the 5% hurdle and win *Bundestag* seats.

ECONOMY

Germany ranks among the world's most important economic powers. From the 1948 currency reform until the early 1970s, it experienced almost continuous economic expansion, but real growth in gross national product (GNP) slowed and even declined from the mid-1970s through the recession of the early 1980s. Since then, however, the FRG has experienced 8 consecutive years of economic growth. The German economy grew 4% in 1989 and should equal that performance again in 1990.

Germans often describe their economic system as a "social market economy." Competition and free enterprise are fostered as a matter of government policy. However, the state also intervenes in the economy through the provision of subsidies to selected sectors and the ownership of some segments of the economy, including such public services as railroad, airline, and telephone systems. The German government also provides an extensive network of social services.

The FRG economy is heavily export oriented, with one-third of its national output shipped abroad annually. As a result, exports have traditionally been a key element in German macro-economic expansion. Over the past 2 years, however, domestic demand has been the main engine of economic growth. The FRG has long been a strong advocate of closer European economic integration, and its economic and commercial policies are increasingly determined by agreements among EC members.

Outside the EC, the United States, Austria, and Switzerland are the FRG's major trading partners. The United States had sales of about $20 billion (a 7.6% share of the FRG import market) in 1988. In that year, the FRG exported goods valued at about $25 billion to the United States (an 8% share of the US import market), including motor vehicles, machinery, chemicals, and electrical equipment. US sales to the FRG are concentrated in chemicals, machinery, edible fats and oils, aircraft, electrical equipment, and motor vehicles.

The FRG has followed a liberal policy toward foreign investment. About 65% of US capital invested in the FRG is in manufacturing—the largest share in the automobile industry—and another 25% is in petroleum. Total US assets in the FRG amounted to $20 billion at the end of 1988. German capital has come increasingly to the United States. At the end of 1988, net FRG direct investment amounted to $27 billion.

Principal US Officials

Ambassador—Vernon A. Walters
Deputy Chief of Mission—George F. Ward
Minister-Counselor for Political Affairs—Douglas H. Jones
Minister-Counselor for Economic Affairs—Donald B. Kursch
Minister-Counselor for Commercial Affairs— John W. Bligh, Jr.
Minister-Counselor for Administrative Affairs—Harold W. Geisel
Minister-Counselor for Consular Affairs—Norman A. Singer
Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs—Cynthia J. Miller

The US embassy is located at Deichmanns Aue 29, 5300 Bonn 2 (tel. 0228-3391). A US embassy office is in Berlin, and consulates general are at Frankfurt, Hamburg, Munich, and Stuttgart. A consulate general is scheduled to open in 1991 in Leipzig.

With the unification of the two German states, the FRG faces the complex task of rapidly introducing a market economy in the East. Since overall productivity in the former GDR was less than half that in the FRG, closing the economic gap between East and West will be a major undertaking. The poor condition of basic infrastructure and widespread environmental damage in the East will further complicate the process of economic integration. Private investment in eastern Germany has been slower than expected, in large part since the issue of property ownership in the former GDR has proven difficult to resolve. But most observers nevertheless continue to believe that after an initial period of economic adjustment, eastern Germany will enter into an era of rapid and sustained economic growth.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

The unified Germany continues to emphasize close ties with the United States, membership in NATO, progress toward further West European integration, and improved relations with Eastern Europe. The FRG took part in all of the joint postwar efforts aimed at closer political, economic, and defense cooperation among the countries of Western Europe. The FRG is also a strong supporter of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), which seeks to reduce tensions and improve relations among the European nations, the US, and Canada.

During the postwar era, the FRG sought to improve its relationship with the countries of Eastern Europe, initially establishing trade agreements and, subsequently, diplomatic relations. With unification, German relations with Eastern Europe have intensified. The FRG and Poland signed a treaty confirming the Oder-Neisse border on November 14, 1990, and are negotiating a broader agreement to cover bilateral relations. The FRG has also concluded four treaties with the Soviet Union covering the overall bilateral relationship, economic relations, the withdrawal of Soviet troops in the territory of the former GDR, and FRG support for these troops.

US-GERMAN RELATIONS

US-German relations have been a focal point of American involvement in Europe since the end of World War II. The FRG stands at the center of East-West relations, as well as of US relations with the West Europeans in NATO and the European Community.

But German-American ties extend back to the colonial era. More than 7 million Germans have immigrated over the last three centuries, and today nearly 25% of all US citizens can claim German ancestry. In recognition of this heritage and the importance of modern-day US-German ties, Congress has declared October 6 to be "German-American Day."

The US objective in Germany remains the preservation and consolidation of a close and vital relationship with the FRG not only as friends and trading partners but also as allies sharing common institutions. During the 45 years in which Germany was divided, the US role in Berlin and the large American military presence in West Germany served as symbols of US commitment to the preservation of peace and security in Europe. Since German unification, the US commitment to these goals has not changed. American policies continue to be shaped by the awareness that the security and prosperity of the United States and Germany depend—to a major degree—on each other.

As allies in NATO, the United States and Germany work side by side to maintain peace and freedom. This unity and resolve made possible the successful conclusion of the 1987 US-USSR Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), the Two-plus-Four process which led to the Final Settlement Treaty, and the November 1990 conventional armed forces in Europe (CFE) agreement.

As two of the world's leading trading nations, the United States and the FRG share a common, deep-seated commitment to an open and expanding world economy. After the United States, Germany is the world's second leading trading nation. It is the fourth largest trading partner of the United States.

Personal ties between the United States and the FRG extend beyond immigration to include lively foreign exchange programs, booming tourism in both directions, and the presence in the FRG of large numbers of American military personnel and their dependents.

The United States and the FRG have built a solid foundation of bilateral cooperation in a relationship that has changed significantly over four decades. The historic unification of Germany and the role played by the United States in that process has served to strengthen ties between the two countries. The relationship now constitutes a mature partnership but remains subject to occasional misunderstandings and differences. These strains tend to reflect the importance, variety, and intensity of US-FRG ties and respective interests rather than fundamental differences.

German-American political, economic, and security relationships continue to be based on close consultation and coordination at the most senior levels. High-level visits take place frequently, and the United States and the FRG cooperate actively in international forums.

BERLIN

The Final Settlement Treaty ends Berlin's special status since 1945 as a separate area under Four Power control. By the terms of the treaty between the FRG and the GDR, Berlin becomes the capital of a unified Germany, but a decision on the seat of government has been left to the *Bundestag* elected in December 1990. Berlin is also one of the Federal Republic's 16 *Laender*. Its first united government since 1948 also was elected on December 2, 1990.

The opening of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, was a watershed in the developments which culminated in German unity on October 3, 1990. The infamous 165-kilometer (103 mi.) wall surrounding the Western sectors of the city has been torn down, and the city is being physically reunited as streets, subways, and rail lines are rejoined.

Shortly after World War II, Berlin became the seat of the Allied Control Council, which was to govern Germany as a whole until the conclusion of a peace settlement. In 1948, however,

the Soviets refused to participate any longer in the quadripartite administration of Germany. At the same time, they also refused to continue to cooperate in the joint administration of Berlin, drove the government elected by the people of Berlin out of its seat in the Soviet sector, and installed a communist regime in its place.

Between then and unification, the Western Allies continued to exercise supreme authority (effectively only in their sectors) through the Allied *Kommandatura*. To the degree compatible with the city's special status, however, they turned over control and management of city affairs to the Berlin *Senat* (executive) and House of Representatives, governing bodies established by constitutional process and chosen on the basis of free elections. The Allies and the German authorities in the FRG and West Berlin never recognized the communist city regime in East Berlin or GDR authority there.

During the years of Berlin's isolation 176 kilometers (110 mi.) inside the former GDR, the Western allies encouraged a close relationship between the government of West Berlin and that of the FRG. Representatives of the city participated as non-voting members in the FRG parliament; appropriate West German agencies, such as the supreme administrative court, had their permanent seats in the city; and the governing mayor of Berlin took his or her turn as president of the *Bundesrat*. In addition, the Allies carefully consulted with the FRG and Berlin governments on foreign policy questions involving unification and the status of Berlin.

The Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin in 1971 also provided for practical improvements in the life of Berliners. It made possible unhindered civilian access to Berlin and greater freedom of movement between the eastern and western sectors for a period of 20 years, in addition to containing a Soviet acknowledgment of the ties that had grown between West Berlin and the FRG, including the latter's right to represent Berlin abroad.

Between 1948 and 1990, major events such as fairs and festivals were sponsored in West Berlin, and investment in commerce and industry was encouraged by special concessionary tax legislation. The results of such efforts, combined with effective city administration and the Berliners' energy and spirit, have been encouraging. Berlin's morale has been sustained, and its industrial production has considerably surpassed the prewar level. Although the Allies' responsibility has ended, they have been asked to maintain a military presence in the city until the Soviets have withdrawn completely. ■

Travel Notes

Climate and clothing: Germany is in the temperate zone but is cooler than much of the United States, especially in summer. Lightweight summer clothing is seldom needed.

Customs and immigrations: No visa is required of US citizens. Innoculations are not required.

Health: Community sanitation and cleanliness standards are high. Drinking water, dairy products, and other foods are under strict government control and generally meet or exceed US standards.

Telecommunications: Telephone and telegraph services, domestic and international, are efficient, although it is still difficult to telephone from the territory of the former GDR. Bonn is 6 hours ahead of eastern standard time.

Transportation: Frankfurt's international airport is a center of European air traffic. Most airlines operate services to the FRG. Express trains are available. An extensive network of highways (Autobahnen) connects most major cities. Car rentals are expensive but widely available. Third-party liability insurance is mandatory. Mass transportation facilities (trains, streetcars, subways) are crowded but efficient. Taxis are available in all cities.

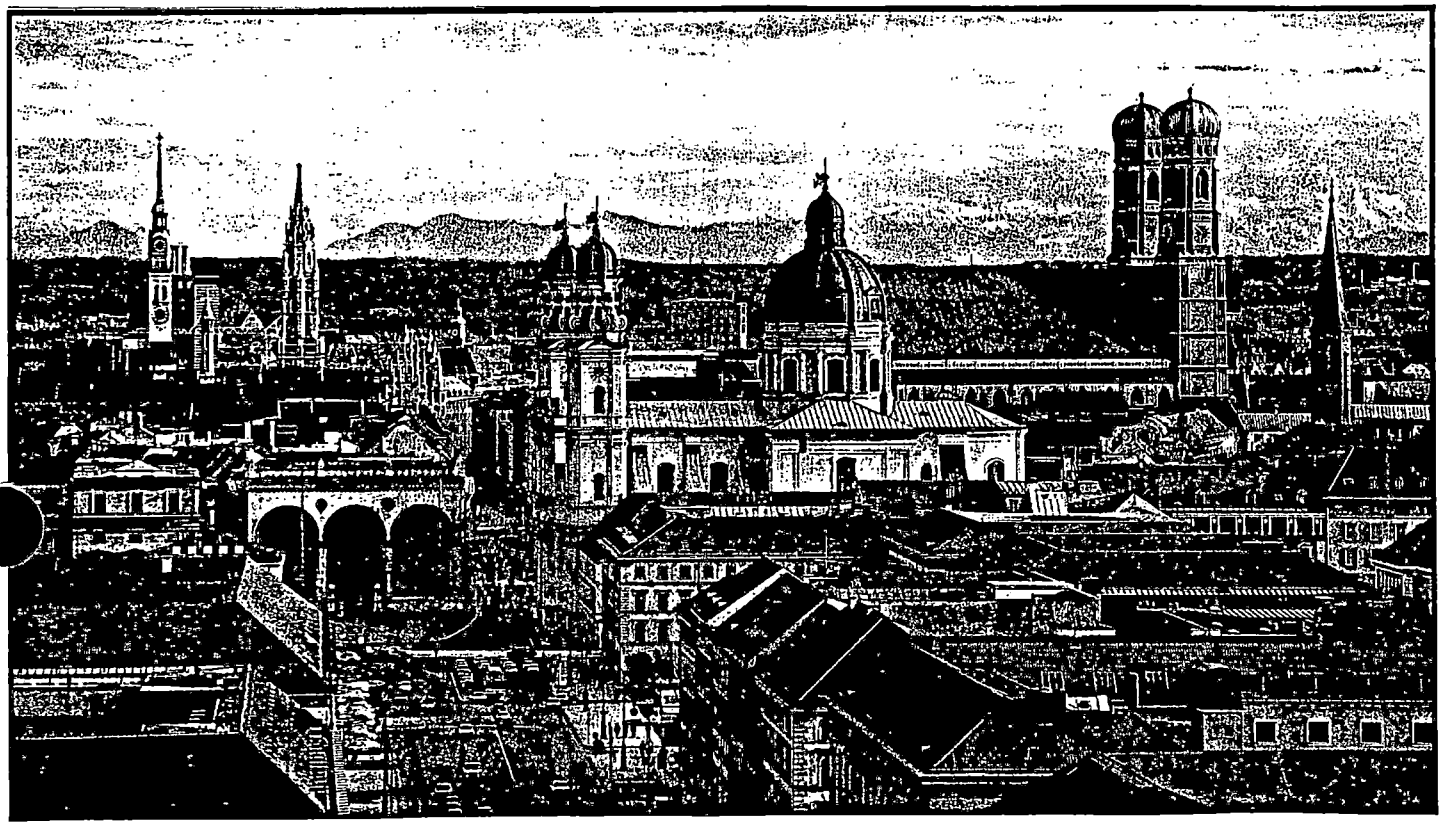
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GRÜSS GOTT AND WELCOME TO MUNICH



AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL MUNICH, GERMANY

SEPTEMBER 1988

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SOME FACTS ABOUT BAVARIA

Population - 10,800,000

Area - 70,547 square kilometers (27,251 square miles)

Bavaria is the largest of the ten constituent Länder, or states, of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Capital City - Munich (population, incl. suburbs 1,270,000)

Other Principal Cities

Nürnberg	(468,000)	Erlangen	(84,000)
Augsburg	(210,000)	Bamberg	(73,000)
Regensburg	(125,000)	Bayreuth	(62,000)
Würzburg	(120,000)		

Religion - Predominantly Catholic (74%)

Governmental Structure - Within the Federal Republic, Bavaria is the sparkplug of the federal idea. Bavaria formally calls itself the Free State (Freistaat) of Bavaria, and it is the only German state (Land) to have its own border police and a second chamber in its state (Land) parliament. Moreover, Bavaria is unique in that it has its own Christian Democratic party, the Christian Social Union, which is affiliated with, but separate from, the Christian Democratic Union which otherwise exists throughout the Federal Republic.

Bavaria's governmental structure, at the Land level, is similar to the federal structure. Bavaria has two houses of parliament and, as in Bonn, the upper house has little constitutional power. In fact, however, the Bavarian Senate exercises a fair amount of political influence "behind the scenes" when legislation is being formulated. The proportional representation system of Bavaria is essentially the same as the federal system.

Bavarians are for the most part a conservative people. This stems partly from the region's predominantly rural nature, partly from their 775 kilometer border with both Czechoslovakia and the GDR, which makes Bavarians very conscious of Soviet power and designs, and from the large number of refugees from the east, mostly ex-Sudeten Germans, who now reside here. It is not surprising, therefore, that the CSU controls the Land government, with an absolute majority, nor that the CSU itself is more conservative than its CDU non-Bavarian partner. Industrialization has brought changing political patterns, however, and the SPD gained strength in the sixties before slipping again in the 1970s. However, the SPD cannot challenge the CSU on a Land-wide

basis, even in coalition with the FDP. In the national, state and local government elections of 1986 and 1987, the SPD fell to second place behind the CSU in total votes in every voting district. Nonetheless the SPD has retained control of the Lord Mayor's Office in Munich, Nürnberg and Augsburg where moderate SPD candidates were able to win support from independent voters.

The dominant political figure in Bavaria continues to be Minister-President Franz Josef Strauß, who is also Chairman of the CSU and was the unsuccessful Chancellor candidate of the CDU/CSU in the 1980 federal election. Other political leaders are Dr. Theo Waigel, CSU caucus leader in the Bundestag, and Karl-Heinz Hiersemann (SPD), leader of the socialists in the Landtag.

In the January 1987 Bundestag elections, the CSU won 55.1 percent of the vote in Bavaria, while the SPD, Greens and FDP won 27.0, 7.7 and 8.1 percent, respectively.

SECURITY

Security measures at airports are rigidly enforced to ensure the safety of all travelers. As in the United States and most other countries, carriers cannot be expected to accept aboard any person who has not undergone the required security checks.

Although Munich is proved to be relatively free of street crime (this is true of most of Bavaria) you should follow other safety and security precautions similar to the ones followed in the United States:

-- Cars must be locked (required by law in Germany);

-- Seat belts must be worn (also required by law);

-- Personal property should not be left visible in a car;

-- Hotel rooms and apartments should be kept locked;

-- Windows should be locked at night and when leaving the apartment;

-- Valuables should be deposited at the reception desk of the hotel.

Any theft in a hotel should be immediately reported to the hotel authorities and/or the German police.

German police - Tel: 110

Protection of high-ranking official visitors is jointly arranged by the Consulate General, the security personnel arriving with the visitors (if any), and the German police, depending upon the security risk involved in each visit.

CLIMATE AND CLOTHING

The climate is comparable to that of northern parts of the U.S. Winters are cold, and heavy snowfalls occur between December and March. In spring and fall periods of pleasant, clear, warm weather are interspersed with stretches of rain and cloudiness. The temperate summers are relatively short with a fair amount of rain.

A southerly wind, called the Föhn, occurs in areas near the Alps, including Munich, mainly in the fall and spring. It creates an anticyclonic atmosphere and a drop in barometric pressure which local residents blame for headaches, listlessness, insomnia and irritability. On the plus side, it produces unusually clear views of the Alps.

Bavarians, in general, are relaxed in their approach to dressing. However, people dress somewhat more conservatively in Germany than in the United States. It is customary for men to wear black shoes and dark suits to all official events, including luncheons, receptions, and dinners, unless more formal attire is called for. Women need a cocktail dress, but will otherwise find themselves in wool for most of the year - suits or wool dresses. Should you unexpectedly need formal attire, rental is possible through local shops, but it is very expensive.

Male visitors should bring a dark suit, particularly if they expect to attend official events. Female visitors will find that suits and cocktail dresses are most useful. All visitors should bring a rain coat and umbrella. In winter, warm clothing and boots or water-proof shoes are a necessity.

COMMUNICATIONS

Telephones - In Germany, the telephone system is maintained by the postal service. Two or three 10 Pfennig coins are needed for a local call of 8 minutes of conversation.

One can dial any long-distance call within Germany. For this a good supply of one-Mark pieces is needed. Put several into the phone before dialing. Those unused will be returned automatically at the end of the call. Rates are cheaper between 1800 and 0800.

Direct dial calls may also be placed to a large number of other countries, including the United States. The prefix for the United States is 001, followed by the area code and phone number desired. U.S. area codes can be obtained from the Fernsprechauskunft Ausland (International Information) by dialing 00118. English is spoken.

Collect calls to the United States are accepted at the person-to-person rate.

Credit Card Calling - You can also call the United States at U.S. rates by placing a credit card call from your hotel phone or any pay phone and have your call charged to your credit card (American Express, Visa, Diner's Club, MasterCard). Follow the steps listed below:

1. Have your credit card ready to which you want the call billed along with the area code and phone number you want to reach.

2. Dial the access number to the USA from any German phone:
   01-30 20 28

3. When the operator in the States answers, provide the requested information and await your connection.

4. If you have an AT+T credit card you can call the U.S. at U.S. transatlantic rates (roughly 1/2 to 1/3 those charged by the Bundespost) by dialing 0130 00 10, wait for long pause, and give the AT+T operator the number you are calling and your AT+T credit card number.

U.S. transatlantic phone rates plus an operator assistance surcharge of $2.50 per call are levied (also on calls to U.S. directory assistance and to "800" numbers). Only $1.50 is levied if number is either busy or does not answer. The U.S. operator will complete calls to any country, but calls through the U.S. back to Europe are not economical.

Telephones at hotels are maintained by private companies which assess surcharges. These increase the telephone bill considerably. Rates are often three times as high as for a call made from a public phone. We suggest checking the rates with the hotel receptionist before calling family or friends in the United States. Government travelers may make official calls through the Consulate General switchboard.

To reach a military number from a civilian telephone in Munich, dial "6229" and then desired extension. In order to obtain information on U.S. military numbers in Munich, call 6229-113.

Telex and Telefax - also a part of the postal service - are widely used in Germany and available at most hotels.

Commercial Cables - can be sent from post offices or by phone.

Mail - is delivered once a day, usually in the morning. Stamps may be purchased at post offices or hotels.

Radio and Television - Bavaria has its own radio and TV networks. In addition, the American Armed Forces Network operates a radio station in Munich. (AFN-TV is beamed only into the military housing area).

There are also two Government-operated and various cable TV networks and visitors to Munich are able to view Austrian TV. The larger hotels have radio and TV sets in most rooms. Normally there is no charge for this service.

English-Language Publications - The International Herald Tribune and major U.S. magazines are available locally at hotels and at the main railway station. Various British papers and magazines are also sold. U.S. Military bookstores carry a wide variety of U.S. magazines and paperbacks, as well as the Stars and Stripes and the International Herald Tribune.

MONEY AND BANKING

The monetary unit is the Deutsche Mark (DM) divided into 100 Pfennigs. It is a strong and readily convertible currency.

Denominations

Notes:	DM 10, 20, 50, 100, 500, 1,000
Coins:	Pfennigs 1, 2, 5, 10, 50; DM 1, 2, 5

Germany has no currency restrictions. On entering and leaving the country visitors are allowed to take unlimited amounts in German and foreign currencies.

The exchange rate fluctuates daily. At present (August 1988) it is about DM 1.87 to the dollar.

Personal checks cannot easily be cashed in business places or hotels. The use of traveler's checks is highly recommended. German banks charge a fee for cashing U.S. bank checks and often will not pay out the money until they have made certain that the check is covered.

Banking Hours: Mon-Fri 0830-1200 or 1300, and 1430-1600, Thu until 1730.

Official visitors may exchange money through the cashier at the Consulate General, Mon-Fri 1000-1200. Either Deutsche Marks or U.S. dollars may be obtained for traveler's checks or personal checks drawn on a U.S. bank. Official visitors are encouraged to use this facility; the exchange rate offered by banks and hotels is less favorable.

International credit cards, such as American Express, Diner's Club, Eurocard, MasterCard, VISA, are generally accepted at airlines, car rental companies, most of the larger hotels, some restaurants, major shops, but not the German Federal Railways.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Roman Catholic Services

Perlacher Forst Chapel, U.S. Army Housing Area
Sunday: 0900 and 1230

Dom (Frauenkirche), Frauenplatz
Sunday and Holiday: 0630, 0800, 0930, 1100, 1200, 1800

St. Peter, Rindermarkt
Sunday and Holiday: 0700, 0800, 0900, 1015, 1115, 1200, 1830

St. Kajetan (Theatinerkirche), Odeonsplatz
Sunday and Holiday: 0800, 0915, 1030, 1200, 1830

Protestant Services

Chapel, Perlacher Forst, U.S. Army Housing Area
Sunday: 1100

St. Matthaeus, Sendlinger-Tor-Platz
Sunday: 0830, 1000

St. Markus, Gabelsbergerstrasse
Sunday: 0930, 1115

Jewish Service

Chapel, Perlacher Forst, U.S. Army Housing Area
Friday: 2000

Other

American Episcopal Church, Seybothstrasse 40
Sunday: 0800, 1130

Church of Christ, Joergstrasse 2
Sunday: 1015

Christian Science, Clemensstrasse 113a
Sunday: 1115

Latter Day Saints (Mormon), Hofbrunnerstr. 85
Sunday: 1200-1500

International Baptist Church, Holzstrasse 9
Sunday: 1245

Islamic Religious Service for Muslims
Contact Mr. Abdul Raham Ali at 6229-8329/6437 for information

PLACES OF INTEREST

Munich

(Note: Most museums are closed Mondays)

Alte Pinakothek
Barerstraße 27
Tel: 23 80 52 16

One of the 7 largest art galleries in the world. 14th - 18th century European paintings. Large Rubens collection. Open daily (except Mon) 0900-1630, evening: Tue and Thu 1900-2100. Entrance fee DM 4.00. Sun and holiday free.

Neue Pinakothek
Barerstraße 29
Tel: 23 80 29

Features European paintings and sculptures of the 19th century. Opening times and fees same as for Alte Pinakothek. Open evenings on Tuesday only.

State Gallery of Modern Art
Prinzregentenstr. 1
Tel: 29 27 10

Features international paintings and sculptures of the 20th century. Open daily (except Mon) 0900-1630, Thu eves 1900-2100. Entrance fee DM 3.50; Sun and holidays free.

Residenz
Max-Joseph-Platz 3
Tel: 22 46 41

Formerly the residence of the royal family, today a museum which is well worth a tour. Period rooms from four centuries, with rich collections of porcelain, silver plate, tapestries and exquisite furniture. The oldest part is the Renaissance Hall of the Antiquarium. The museum contains the ornate apartments known as the "Reiche Zimmer" with the State Bed Chamber, decorated after designs by Fr. Cuvillies the Elder, magnificent memorials of the Rococo Age. Open Tue-Sat 1000-1630, Sun and holidays 1000-1300. Entrance fee DM 2.50.

Treasury in the Residenz
Max-Joseph-Platz 3
Tel.: 22 46 41

One of the most important collections of the European goldsmith's art and of examples of Italian glass and stone cutting. Crown jewels. Open Tue-Sat 1000-1630, Sun and holidays 1000- 1300. Entrance fee DM 2.50.

Altes Residenz Theater (Cuvillies)
Residenzstraße 1
Tel: 22 46 41

The most important example of an 18th century theater with tiered boxes. Open Mon-Sat 1400-1700, Sun and holidays 1000-1700. Entrance fee DM 1.50.

Nymphenburg Palace
Tel: 1 79 08

Built from 1664 on as the summer residence of the Bavarian electors. From 1702 on enlarged. Frescoes by J.B. Zimmermann. Ludwig I "Gallery of Beauties". Beautiful park with four pavilions (Pagodenburg, Badenburg, Madgalenenklause, Amalienburg). Open daily (except Mon) 0900-1230 and 1330-1700. Entrance fee DM 2.50. Badenburg, Pagodenburg, Magdalenenklause daily (except Mon) 1000-1230 and 1330-1700. Entrance fee for all, incl. Amalienburg and Marstallmuseum, DM 5.00.

Amalienburg
in Nymphenburg Park

A pavilion dedicated to hunting, unsurpassed as an example of court rococo. Open daily 0900-1230 and 1330-1700. Entrance fee DM 2.00.

Marstallmuseum

In south wing of Nymphenburg Palace. Former court coach house of Bavarian electors and kings. State coaches, sledges, harness and riding equipment. On first floor collection of Nymphenburg Porcelain which documents the production from 1747, when the factory was founded, to the present time. Open daily (except Mon) 0900-1200 and 1300-1700. Entrance fee DM 2.00.

Nymphenburg Porcelain Factory

Sales rooms open Mon-Fri 0800-1230 and 1300-1700 (for groups by appointment only).

Schackgalerie
Prinzregentenstr. 9
Tel: 22 44 07

Count Schack's collection consisting of paintings of Böcklin, Feuerbach, Lenbach Schwind and Spitzweg. Open daily (except Tue) 0900-1630. Entrance fee DM 2.50. Sun and holidays free.

The Glockenspiel
Marienplatz

Takes place daily at 1100 (and 1700 during summer months) in the spire of the town hall.

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
Prinzregentenstr. 3
Tel. 2 16 81

European sculptures, paintings, handicraft, Middle Age to 19th century. Open Tue-Sun 0930-1700. Entrance fee DM 3.00.

Staatliche Antikensammlung Königsplatz 1 Tel: 59 83 59	Collection of Greek vases, Greek, Etruscan and Roman small plastic art, antique jewelry. Open Tue, Thu-Sun 1000-1630, Wed 1200-2030. Entrance fee DM 3.50. Sun free.
Glyptothek Königsplatz 3 Tel: 28 61 00	Collection of Greek and Roman sculptures. Open Tue, Wed, Fri-Sun 1000-1630, Thu 1200-2030. Entrance fee DM 3.50. Sun free.
Deutsches Museum Ludwigsbrücke Tel: 2 17 91	The world's largest technological museum. Open daily 0900-1700. Entrance fee DM 5.00.
The Olympic Grounds Tel: 30 61 34 24	Olympic site and still an active sports center. The Olympic Tower (920 m), with a panoramic view of Munich, is open daily from 0800-midnight. Admission DM 4.00.
Alter Peter Rindermarkt	Munich's oldest and most beloved church. Tower (92 m) open to the public: Mon-Sat 0900-1700, Sun 1000-1900, holidays 1000-1800. Admission DM 2.00.
Viktualienmarkt Rindermarkt	Colorful open air market which sells all types of food from local products to French cheeses and wine.
BMW Museum Petuelring 130 across from Olympic Grounds Tel: 38 95 33 07	A collection of aircraft engines, motorcycles and automobiles designed and produced by the Bavarian Motor Works AG from 1919 to the present time. Open daily 0900-1700. Entrance fee DM 4.50.
Löwenbräu Brewery Nymphenburger Str. Tel: 1 50 24 15	Löwenbräu, one of Munich's seven breweries, is the most famous worldwide. A tour is offered almost daily, usually at 0900. It is advisable, however, to check with the brewery before going there.
Munich Zoo Hellabrunn Tel: 62 50 80	The world's first geographic zoo. It offers a selection of over 4000 animals in their imitated natural surroundings, including the biggest display in Europe of polar animals. There is also an aquarium, terrarium, children's zoo, restaurant and beer garden. Open daily 0800-1800. Admission DM 5.00.

Outside Munich

Schloß Schleißheim - Palace in baroque style, significant collection of paintings. Location about 10 miles north of Munich. Open daily (except Mon) 1000-1230, 1330-1700. Entrance fee DM 3.00.

Lustheim Castle - in Schleißheim Park. Collection of Meißen porcelain. Open daily (except Mon) 1000-1230, 1330-1700. Entrance fee DM 2.00.

Hohenschwangau Castle - a jewel of German romanticism, had its most important epoch shortly after its construction in the 12th century when it became a center of the minne-song. Rebuilt between 1832-36 by King Maximilian II, father of King Ludwig II. 14 furnished rooms are open to the public. Open April 1 - September 30: 0900-1730; October 1 - March 31: 1000-1600. Closed December 24 afternoon. Guided tours only.

Neuschwanstein Castle near Füssen - King Ludwig II's most famous castle. Minstrel's Hall and Throne Room decorated with subjects from Richard Wagner's operas. Magnificent mountain scenery. 6 hour round trip from Munich. Open April 1 - September 30: 0900-1730; October 1 - March 31: 1000-1600. Closed November 1, December 24, 25, 31, January 1, Shrove Tuesday. Guided tours only. Very crowded in summer months.

Herrenchiemsee New Palace - Imposing edifice built by King Ludwig II after Versailles on an island of the Chiemsee. Lavishly decorated. 2 hour round trip from Munich.

Linderhof Castle - King Ludwig II's elegant palace set amidst the Ammergau Mountains. Park with grotto and Moorish kiosk. 3 hour round trip from Munich.

Wieskirche - Famous rococo church. May be visited enroute to Neuschwanstein.

Oberammergau - Setting of the famous Passion Play. 3 hour round trip from Munich.

Schachen Hunting Lodge near Garmisch - Built by King Ludwig II on a high peak (1,872 m). Ornate hall, wonderful view of the Wetterstein and the Werdenfels country.

Garmisch-Partenkirchen - Famous health resort and ski area. Site of a U.S. Forces recreational complex. The Zugspitze, Germany's highest mountain, can easily be reached from Garmisch. Don't miss the beautiful "Partnachklamm" (Partnach gorge), a half kilometer ribbon thin cut through the mountains near the Olympic ski jumps. 2-1/2 hour round trip from Munich.

Berchtesgaden - Beautiful Bavarian mountain region with the added attraction of Königssee, a lake surrounded by mountains (boat cruises available). Special tours to Obersalzberg, Hitler's famous alpine resort. Site of a U.S. Forces recreational complex. 5 hour round trip from Munich.

Ottobeuren - A jewel of German baroque architecture, the Benedictine Abbey of Ottobeuren stands surrounded by hills to which the Alpine foothills of the Allgäu form the background. The Abbey church is the largest of its style in Germany (3 hour round trip from Munich).

Dachau Concentration Camp - At one time a camp for political prisoners, the Dachau Concentration Camp is today a memorial, with a historic museum, commemorating the lives and deaths of WW II prisoners. Open daily (except Mon) from 0900-1700. Movie in English at 1130 and 1530. No admission charge. Public transportation: S-Bahn No. 2 to Dachau Railway Station, then Bus No. 3 to the Concentration Camp. Approximately 1 hour round trip from Munich.

SUGGESTED RESTAURANTS

Typically Bavarian - Old Munich

FRANZISKANER AND FUCHSENSTUBEN,
Perusastraße 5, Tel. 231 81 20. For Munich inexpensive. Open daily 0830-2400.

HOFBRÄUHAUS
Am Platzl 9, Tel. 22 16 76. Rough but interesting. Music downstairs in beer hall only. Open daily 1000-2400.

LÖWEN WIRTSHAUS
Am Platzl 4, Tel. 228 39 09. Typical Bavarian meals, open all night. Live Bavarian music on weekends. Reasonable prices.

NÜRNBERGER BRATWURSTGLÖCKL
Am Dom, Frauenplatz 9, Tel. 22 03 85. Cozy small restaurant. Reservations necessary for larger groups. Medium price range.

PETERHOF
Marienplatz 22, Tel. 24 20 08. Situated across from the "Glockenspiel" chimes. Medium price range. Open daily 0900-2400.

PLATZL
Münzstraße 8, Tel. 29 31 01. Features Bavarian show with music. Good food. Medium price range. Open daily 1830-2300.

RATSKELLER IM RATHAUS
Marienplatz 8, Tel. 22 03 13. Restaurant in Munich's town hall. Good food. Medium price range. Open daily 0900-2400.

SPATENHAUS
Residenzstraße 12, Tel. 22 78 41. Medium price range. Open daily 1100-2400, downstairs 1100-1430 and 1800-2400.

SPÖCKMEIER
Rosenstraße 9, Tel. 26 80 88. Medium price range. Open daily 0900-2400.

International Restaurants

AUBERGINE
Maximiliansplatz 5, Tel. 59 81 71. The only 3 star Michelin restaurant outside France and Belgium. Very expensive. Sun, Mon and holidays closed.

AUSTERNKELLER
Stollbergstraße 11, Tel. 29 87 87. Seafood. Open Tue-Sun 1800-2400. Mon closed.

A. BOETTNER
Theatinerstraße 8, Tel. 22 12 10. Lobster, oysters, caviar. Open Mon-Sat 1100-2400, closed Sun, holidays and Sat evenings.

BOUILLABAISSE
Falkenturmstraße 10, Tel. 29 79 09. French cuisine. Open Mon 1200-1430, Tue-Sat 1200-1430 and 1800-2400. Cosed Sun, Mon and holidays.

GOLDENE STADT
Oberanger 44, Tel. 26 43 82. Bohemian cuisine. Medium price range. Open Mon-Sat 1130-1500 and 1800-2300. Sun closed.

KÄFER-SCHÄNKE
Schumannstraße 1, Tel. 416 82 47. 1 star Michelin. Fairly expensive. Open Mon-Sat 1130-2400. Sun and holidays closed.

LA MER
Schraudolphstraße 24, Tel. 272 24 39. Open evenings only. Mon closed.

LE GOURMET
Ligsalzstraße 46, Tel. 50 35 97. French Cuisine. Expensive. Open Mon-Sat 1800-2400. Sun closed.

MANDARIN
Ledererstraße 11, Tel. 22 68 88. Chinese, one of the finest in Munich. Fairly expensive. Open daily 1130-1500 and 1800-2300.

MIFUNE
Ismaninger Straße 136, Tel. 98 75 72. Japanese cuisine. Open daily 1200-1400 and 1800-2300.

MYKONOS
Georgenstraße 105, Tel. 271 67 42. Greek cuisine. Medium price range. Open daily 1800-2400.

OPATJA
Briennerstraße 41, Tel. 59 12 02 and Rindermarkt 2, Tel. 268 35 23. Yugoslavian cuisine. Medium price range. Open Mon-Sat 1130-2400. Sun closed.

PIROSCHKA
Prinzregentenstraße 1, Tel. 29 54 25. Hungarian cuisine. Music. Medium price range. Open Mon-Sat 1830-0230. Sun closed.

PREYSING KELLER
Innere Wiener Straße 6, Tel. 48 10 15. Gourmet specialities. Expensive. Open Mon-Sat 1800-0100. Sun and holidays closed.

SCHÖNFELDER HOF
Schönfeldstraße, Tel. 28 53 57. Across the street from the Consulate. Small beergarden, medium price range.

SCHWARZWÄLDER
Hartmannstrasse 8, Tel. 22 72 16. Excellent cuisine. Expensive. Open daily 1200-1500 and 1800-2400.

SAVARIN
Schellingstraße 122, Tel. 52 53 11. French cuisine. Expensive. Open Tue-Sat evening. Closed Sun and Mon.

TANTRIS
Johann-Fichte-Straße 7, Tel. 36 20 61. Excellent cousine. Expensive. Open Tue-Fri 1200-1500 and 1830-2400, Mon and Sat 1830-2400. Closed Sun and holidays and Mon and Sat noon.

ZUR KANNE
Maximilianstraße 36, Tel. 22 12 36. Gourmet restaurant. Expensive. Open Mon-Fri 1200-1430 and 1800-0100, Sun 1800-0100. Sat closed.

Wine Places

PFÄLZER WEINPROBIERSTUBE
Residenzstraße 1, Tel. 22 56 28. Open daily 1000-2400.

RATSKELLER SCHOPPENSTUBEN
Rathaus, Tel. 22 03 07. Open Mon-Fri 1500-2400.

SÜDTIROLER TORGGELSTUBEN
Am Platzl 6, Tel. 29 20 22. Open Mon-Sat 1700-0100.

WEINKELLER ST. MICHAEL
Neuhauser Straße 11, Tel. 260 30 01. Sun and holidays closed.

WEINSTUBE HOLZBAUR
Frauenstraße 10, Tel. 22 41 41. Sun and holidays closed.

Vegetarian Restaurants

JAHRESZEITEN
Sebastiansplatz 9, Tel. 260 95 78.

VITAMIN
Herzog-Wilhelm-Straße 25, Tel. 260 74 18. Sun closed.

ZORBA
Hackenstraße 2, Tel. 26 55 96. Open Sun-Thu 1200-0300 and Fri-Sat 1200-0100.

NIGHTCLUBS, DISCOS, BARS

AQUARIUS NIGHTCLUB DISCO
Leopoldstraße 194, Tel. 34 09 71

BAVARIA NIGHTCLUB
(Park Hilton) Am Tucherpark 7, Tel. 384 50

BAYERISCHER HOF-NIGHTCLUB
Promenadeplatz 2-5, Tel. 212 09 94

CHARLY M.
Maximiliansplatz, Tel. 59 52 72

GRATZER'S LOBBY
Beethovenplatz 2, Tel. 53 11 54

HARRY'S NEW YORK BAR
Falkenturmstraße 9, Tel. 22 27 00

KAY'S BISTRO
Utzschneiderstraße 1, Tel. 260 35 84

LENBACH-PALAST-KÜNSTLERTREFF
Lenbachplatz 3, Tel. 59 50 80

MAXIM INTERNATIONAL NIGHT CABARET
Färbergraben/Altheimer Eck, Tel. 260 38 85

ROUND UP
Leopoldstraße 23, Tel. 39 79 26

SUNSET DISCOTHEK
Leopoldstraße 69, Tel. 39 93 03

VIBRAPHON NIGHT CLUB
(Sheraton Hotel) Arabellastraße 6, Tel. 92 40 11

SHOPPING

On weekdays most stores open between 0800 and 0900 and close at 1800 or 1830. On Saturdays they close at noon or 1300, except on the first Saturday of each month (Langer Samstag), when most shops stay open until 1800.

Antiques

ANTIK-HAUS
Neuturmstraße, near Hofbräuhaus. Three stories of different types of antiques from different dealers for sale directly off the floor.

BERNHEIMER
Lenbachplatz 3. Deals especially in antique rugs and furniture. Very expensive and very exclusive.

KUNSTBLOCK
Ottostraße

A WORD OF CAUTION: Individuals who do not have the expertise to identify genuine antiques as opposed to old items, should request a Certificate of Authenticity when purchasing such items. However, the technical definition of what constitutes an antique is different from country to country. Therefore, even given a certificate, it behoves one to have clear knowledge of what the various terms my signify when used in a specialized context. The Certificate of Authenticity will also be useful, and in some cases essential, in determining the value for insurance purposes when shipping such items to the United States.

Auction Houses

NEUMEISTER
Briennerstraße

RUF
Gabelsbergerstraße

China and Crystal

GLAS UND WOHNEN
Kardinal-Faulhaber-Straße 5

GLASMÜHLE
Sendlinger Straße 7

KUCHENREUTHER
Sonnenstraße 22

MEISSNER PORZELLAN
Maximilianstraße 15, next to Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten

NIEGERWALD
Residenzstraße 19-20

NYMPHENBURGER PORZELLAN
Odeonsplatz 1

Clothing

LODEN-FREY
Maffeistraße 7. Most important source of traditional Bavarian apparel for men, women and children. Expensive.

MODEHAUS MÄNDLER
Theatinerstraße 7. Latest fashions, also small sizes. Expensive.

ECKERLE MODEN
Theatinerstraße 3. Sporty yet elegant wear for ladies and men, relatively expensive.

WELLER HERRENMODEN
Perusastraße 1. Men's clothing, moderate prices.

MÜHLHÄUSER AM DOM
Kaufingerstraße 25. Ladies only. Moderate prices.

MODEHAUS SARTORIUS
Theatinerstraße 40. Women only. Moderate prices.

KONEN BEKLEIDUNGSHAUS
Sendlinger Straße 2. Very moderate prices.

BECK
Marienplatz. Moderate prices.

ADLER
Prielmeyerstraße 1. Wide selection from sporting wear to Bavarian Trachten. Moderate prices.

UNÜTZER SPORT
Maximilianstraße 23 and Residenzstraße 15. Sporty, casual wear, men and women, expensive.

KRINES MIEDER
Residenzstraße 18. Lingery.

French and Italian haute couture boutiques are located on Maximilianstraße. Very expensive.

Cosmetics

DISCOUNT PARFÜMERIE
Prielmeyerstraße 1

DOUGLAS PARFÜMERIE
Theatinerstraße 40

G. MOLL
Residenzstraße 18

KORON PARFÜMERIE
Mazaristraße 1

Delicatessen

DALLMAYER
Dienerstraße 15, is not a shopping center but it's Bavaria's largest and most extensive delicatessen; if you are a gourmet, you'll love shopping here. Look upstairs too, for a beautiful gift shop, table services, and a small lunchroom.

KÄFER
Schumannstraße 1 (though it looks as if it were on Prinzregentenstraße, look for orange awnings). Another dream for those fond of shopping for fine food. Wander upstairs, past the display of salads, pastries, cheeses, fish, meat, wine, foreign delicacies, etc. A lunchroom is over the store area.

VIKTUALIENMARKT (open air market)
located on Rindermakrt, near the Rathaus and Marienplatz, offers fresh meats and fish, fruits, vegetables, spices, flowers, wine and cheese. Even if you don't want to shop, it is an experience to just stroll around the market.

Department Stores

HERTIE
Bahnhofplatz 2, across the railroad main station.

KARSTADT
Neuhauser Straße

KAUFHOF
Stachus and Marienplatz

Furs

RIEGER PELZE
Isartorplatz

PELZHAUS IM KARLSTOR
Neuhauser Straße 34 and Karlsplatz 10

PELZHAUS SCHWABE
Kaufingerstraße 23

Jewelery

CARTIER
Briennerstraße 12

HEIDEN JUWELIER
Promenadeplatz 6, in the Hotel Bayerischer Hof

HEMMERLE JUWELIERE
Maximilianstraße 14

HIRSCH
Theatinerstraße 33

KLEEMANN
Theatinerstraße 44

Shoes

BALLY
Theatinerstraße 36 and 46. Men and women only, expensive.

SALAMANDER
Weinstraße 7

BARTU
Lenbachplatz 9

SAURO
Karlsplatz 10

ITALY NINETTA
Theatinerstraße 15 and 31

SCHUHHAUS THOMAS
Neuhauser Straße 14

Toys

FISCHER AM STACHUS
Sonnenstraße 2

OBLETTER
Karlsplatz 11-12, Marienplatz 19

SPIELWAREN SCHMIDT
Neuhauser Straße 20

Military Facilities, McGraw Kaserne, Perlacher Forst

CLASS VI STORE
Tue-Fri 1000-1800, Sat 1000-1500, Sun and Mon closed

COMMISSARY
Mon-Wed, Fri 1000-1800, Thu 1100-1900, Sat 0900-1400, Sun closed

BAVARIAN ROSENTHAL SHOP
Mon-Fri 1000-2000, Sat 1000-1800, Sun 1000-1700

OPTICAL SHOP
Tue-Fri 1000-2000, Sat 1000-1800, Sun and Mon closed

WEDGEWOOD SHOP
Mon-Sat 1000-2000, Sun 1200-1800

GENERAL TRAVEL TIPS

Working Hours

Business Offices - Usually 0830-1700; factories usually start earlier; streets are active with traffic by 0700.

Stores - On weekdays most stores open between 0800 and 0900 and close around 1800 or 1830. On Saturdays they close at noon or 1300, except for the first Saturday of each month (Langer Samstag), when most downtown shops stay open until 1800.

Government Offices are usually open from 0830 to 1700, except for Friday afternoons, when most offices close at 1500.

Holidays

Not uniformly observed throughout Germany. In Bavaria, the following holidays are observed and all stores, business and governmental offices are closed.

January 1	New Year's Day
January 6	Epiphany
	Good Friday
	Easter Monday
May 1	Labor Day
	Ascension Day
	Whitmonday
	Corpus Christi Day
June 17	Day of German Unity
August 15	Assumption Day
November 1	All Saints Day
	Repentance Day
December 25	Christmas Day
December 26	Second Christmas Day

In general, the months of July and August, and the periods before and after the Christmas and Easter holidays, tend to be slow business periods.

Time

Add one hour to Greenwich Mean Time (GMT) and 6 hours to Eastern Standard Time (EST). In 1980 Germany introduced daylight saving time.

Tipping

Tipping is common in Germany. You are expected to tip when the service merits it.

It is customary to tip from 5-10% of the bill for meals served in hotels and restaurants. The tip is given to the waiter when paying the bill rather than leaving it on the table as is done in the U.S. This is in addition to the 15% service charge included in the menu prices. At hotels, moderate tips of DM 1.00 per suitcase are in order for bellboys. It is also expected to leave a small amount in the hotel room for the cleaning force prior to departure. Hotel bills also have a 15% service charge included.

On trains, no tips are expected from passengers except when they eat in dining cars; then a tip of 5-10% of the bill would be appropriate.

Taxi drivers are usually given a tip of DM 1.00 or DM 2.00 for fares up to DM 10.00; about 10% for fares over DM 10.00.

In barbershops, men tip about DM 2.00 for a haircut. A woman tips her hairdresser about DM 3.00.

Local Transportation

Taxis - Taxis are metered; fares are based on time and distance. The initial fare is about DM 3.00; the price is about DM 1.50 per kilometer (about 2/3 mile). Cabs may be ordered by phone or picked up at stands. Phone: 21611.

Bus, Streetcar, Subway - Tickets may be purchased at the kiosks in the subway stations, from the driver on the bus or from vending machines in the stations or on the back of a streetcar or bus. If you are visiting for one or two days and traveling a lot the 24 hour ticket is best. If you are here for two weeks or more and travel a lot (other than at morning rush hour) the best buy is the Green Card. If you use public transportation only once or twice during your stay it is easiest to purchase a single trip ticket. All tickets except the green card must be cancelled (i.e. validated) in one of the blue machines at the entrance of the subway or on board of the streetcar or bus. FAILURE TO GET YOUR TICKET VALIDATED (CANCELLED) CAN COST YOU DM 40.00.

FOR REFERENCE

Clothing Sizes

German sizes have not been standardized in the same manner as in the United States. Cut and size vary between manufacturers. Better try it on!

Women's

Dresses and Suits

U.S.	8/30	10/32	12/34	14/36	16/38	18/40
German	36	38	40	42	44	46

Shoes

U.S.	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
German	36	37	38	39	40	41	42

Hosiery sizes for women are the same as in the United States, i.e., 8-11, but the lengths are given in centimeters: long - 90 cm; medium - 84 cm; short - 80 cm.

Men's

Suits and Overcoats

U.S.	36	38	40	42	44	46
German	48	50	52	54	56	58

Shirts

U.S.	14	14.5	15	15.5	16	16.5
German	36	37	38	39	40	41

Shoes

U.S.	9	10	11	12	13	14
German	40	41	42	43	44	45

Hats

U.S.	6.3/4	7	7.1/4	7.1/2	7.5/8
German	54	57	58	60	61

Weights and Measures

Listed for your convenience are some commonly used metric weights and measures with their United States equivalent:

Weight

gram (g)	=	15.432 grains
pfund (pfd)*	=	1.1023 lbs
kilogram (kg)	=	2.2046 lbs

* The German pfund (pound) is approximately 10% more than the English pound. It is the equivalent of 500 grams or 1/2 kilogram.

Capacity

1 liter (1)	=	1.0567 liq.qt.

Length and Distance

millimeter (mm)	=	0.03937 inch
centimeter (cm)	=	0.3937 inch
meter (m)	=	39.37 inches
kilometer (km)	=	0.62137 mile

Temperatures

The thermometer unit in Germany is centigrade. The centigrade thermometer has zero, 0, as the freezing point and 100 as the boiling point. To convert to degrees Fahrenheit, multiply degrees centigrade by nine fifth and add 32.

(Formula is C x 9/5 + 32 = F)

Facts about Germany

The Federal Republic of Germany

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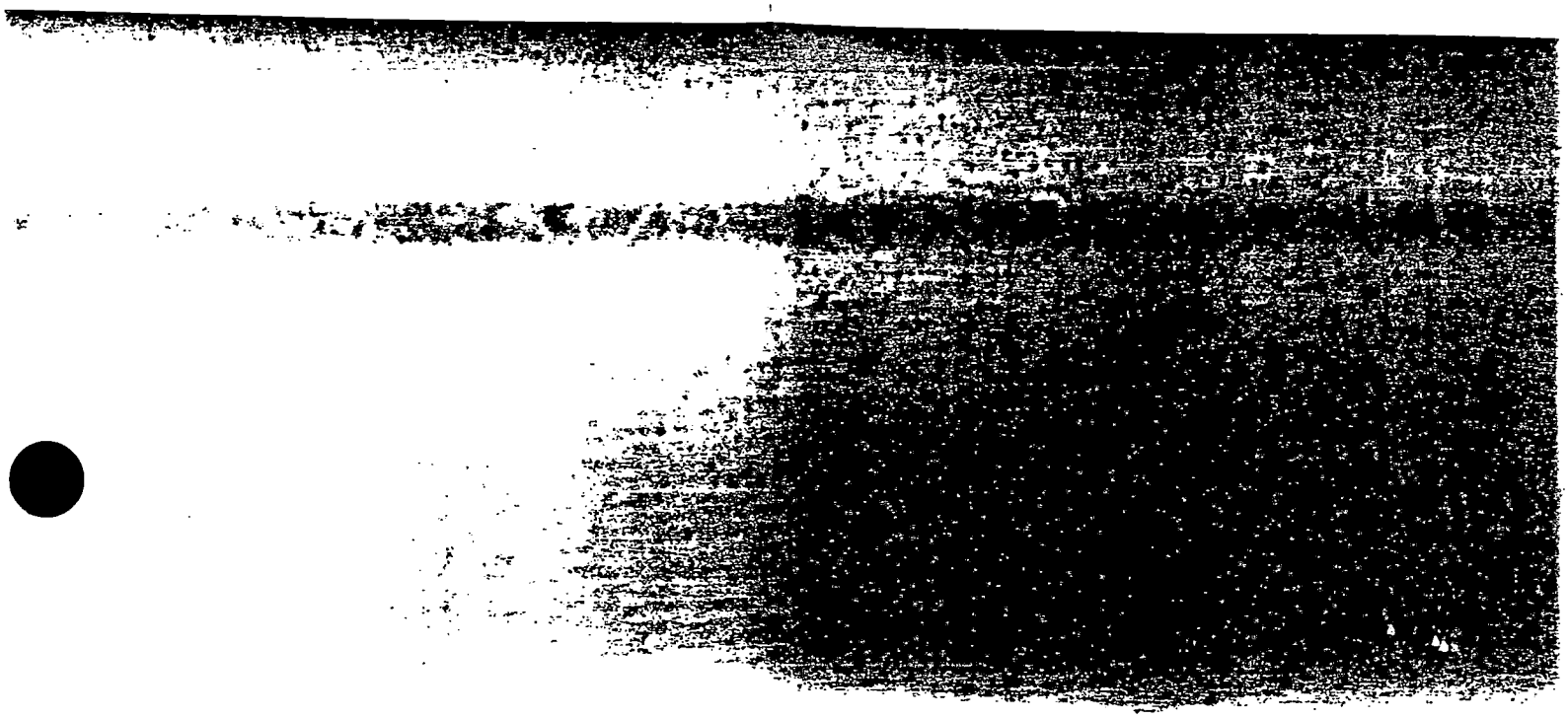
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Preface

There are many reasons for taking an interest in the Federal Republic of Germany. Many people see it first and foremost as a modern, efficient industrial country whose products are spread throughout the world. Others tend to associate it more with the great German traditions in the arts and sciences. Still more have in mind the country attracting the tourist, with its green rolling hills and romantic old towns. Those interested in politics will be aware that there is still an unsolved "German question" and will want to know its origins. And those convinced of the importance of social questions will want to learn about the major tranformations which the Federal Republic of Germany has undergone in recent decades. And then there will be those who simply want to know more about the country whence the Germans one meets the world over as tourists, technicians or businessmen come.

This book is designed to help all those who, for whatever reasons, seek information about the Federal Republic of Germany. In 68 short chapters it deals with the country's geography and demography, its history, the political system and practical politics, the economy with all its branches, the social structure and the cultural life. We have tried to assemble as much reliable information as possible in a limited space in order to help readers broaden their knowledge and understanding of the country. In doing this, however, it was also necessary to include some statistical information though this has, whenever possible, been presented in a graphic form to ease comprehension. Although we would, of course, be pleased if the reader were to be enticed from time to time to read on, each chapter is self-contained, but as some subjects are treated under various aspects in several chapters, it is advisable to refer to the index when seeking particular information as cross references are only occasionally given.

Readers may also wish to direct an inquiry to an organisation or office in the Federal Republic. For this purpose, addresses of associations, institutions and authorities are given at the end of relevant chapters.

Many experts and institutions, too numerous to list, have helped us in the making of this book. We thank them all.

Lexikon-Institut Bertelsmann

Country
People
History

The country
The people
The federal states
A brief German history up to 1945
The division of Germany
The Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 to the present

The country

[redacted]ny lies in the centre of Europe, between the Scandinavian countries to the north, the Alpine countries to the south, the countries in Atlantic Western Europe and in continental East Europe. It ranges from the high southern Alps to the North and Baltic Seas. There are no natural barriers to the west, east and north, which is why Germany has always been a region of migration, seeing the exchange of peoples, cultures, economic, social and intellectual forces and ideas, als well as political clashes.

Germany has been divided since the end of World War II. A frontier 1,378 kms long separates the two states in Germany: the Federal Republic of Germany in the West and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the East. On the Eastern side the frontier is hermetically sealed off by various installations and is tightly guarded (see p. 72).

The sovereign territory of the Federal Republic of Germany comprises 248,708 sq. kilometres. The longest north-south distance is 867 kms, the longest west-east 463 kms. At its narrowest place the Federal territory measures 225 kms between France and the GDR. The circumference of all the border lines totals 4,231 kms on land and 572 kms on sea.



The location of the Federal Republic of Germany in Europe and the world

Landscapes. The German landscapes are extraordinarily varied and attractive. In a small area abound low and high mountain ranges, upland plains, terrace-country, hill, mountain and lake terrains and wide, open lowlands.

There are three main topographical regions, the North German Plain or Lowland, the Central German Uplands and the Alpine Foothills. The present Federal Republic comprises parts of all three.

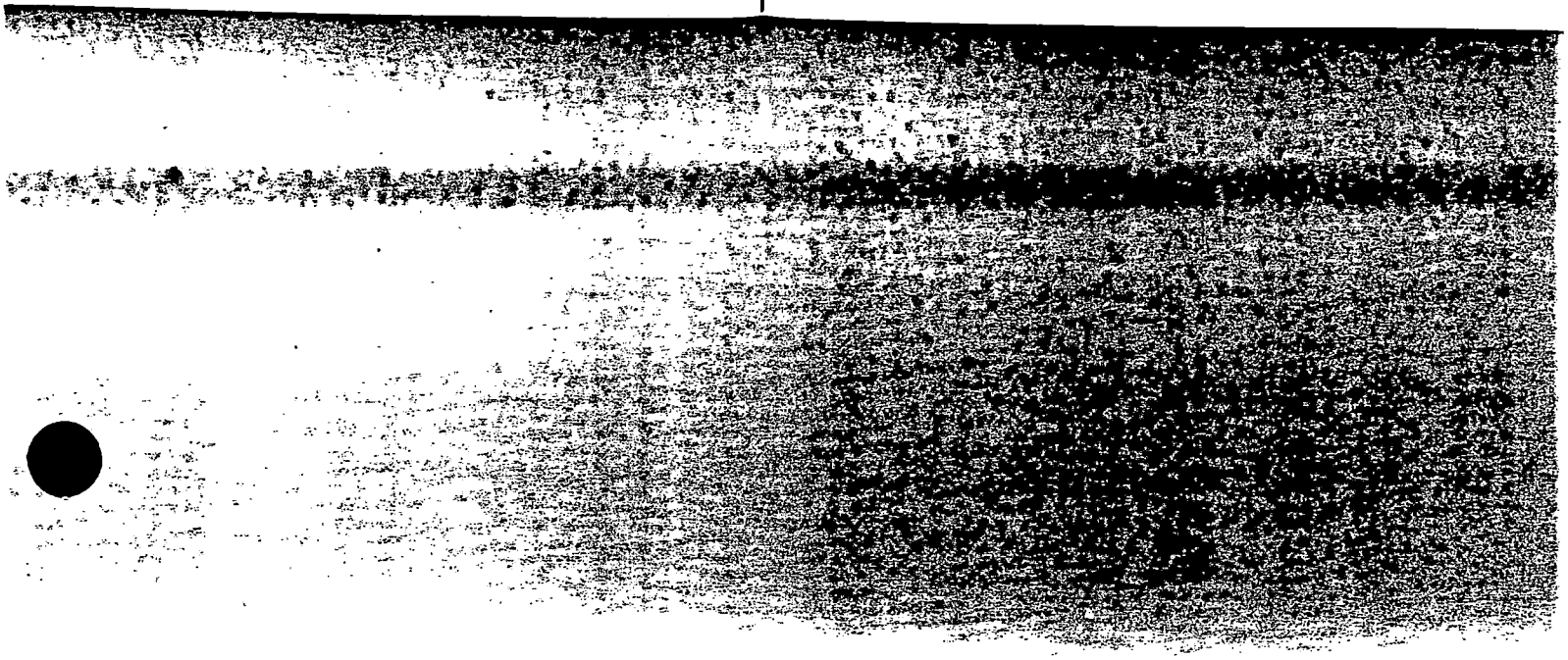
The German share of the Alps is limited to the Allgäu (Mädele[redacted]645 m), the Bavarian Alps (Zugspitze, 2,962 m) and the B[redacted]gaden Alps (Watzmann, 2,713 m). Genuine high alpine features with sharply jagged peaks, deep valleys and fast-flowing streams give them their character. In this alpine mountain world lie picturesque lakes, such as the Königssee near Berchtesgaden, and popular tourist resorts such as Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Berchtesgaden or Mittenwald.

Running up to the Alps is a wide, hilly upland, the Alpenvorland. It has average elevation of 500 metres and gradually slopes away to the River Donau (Danube). The main characteristics of this landscape are moors, lake-studded ranges of rounded hills (Chiemsee, Starnberger See, Ammersee) and small villages.

The Central Uplands contain high plains, undulating hills, volcanic formations, troughs and basins. Nowadays, roads through mountain gaps and depressions and along river courses, which over millions of years have carved deep, broad valleys, make the Central Uplands easily accessible to traffic.

In south-west Germany, and rising along the climatically favoured Upper Rhenish Lowlands, is the Black Forest (Schwarzwald). This ascends to 1,493 metres in the rugged southern part (Feldberg) and contains many health resorts.

Extending eastwards of the Black Forest like the steps of a stair-



case in the Swabian-Franconian terrace country. This consists of usually fertile, densely populated basins and the rough highlands of the Swabian-Franconian Alb, which protrude with an impressively high steep terrace of about 400 metres out of the lower zone.

[redacted]e east, this landscape is bounded by the frontier ranges of t[redacted]arian-Bohemian Forest (1,456 m high at the Grosser Arber) and the Upper Palatinan Forest.

In a narrow valley between Bingen and Bonn the River Rhein (Rhine), the most important German north-south transport axis, slices through the Rhenish Slate Mountains (Rheinisches Schiefergebirge) whose low-fertility highlands and mountain terrains of Hunsrück, Taunus, Eifel and Westerwald are considerably less densely populated than the protected left and right-Rhenish wine-growing and tourist-frequented valleys.

Between the Rhineland in the west and Thuringia in the east lies the Hesse Central Upland, which has a variety of scenery, from hill areas averaging 500 to 600 metres in altitude to river basins and valleys. Old trade routes (e. g. the Salt Road) circumvent the once volcanically active heights of Vogelsberg and Rhön, run through the Hessische Bergland and through the Leine Trough (Leinegraben) or through the Weserbergland into the North German Lowland.

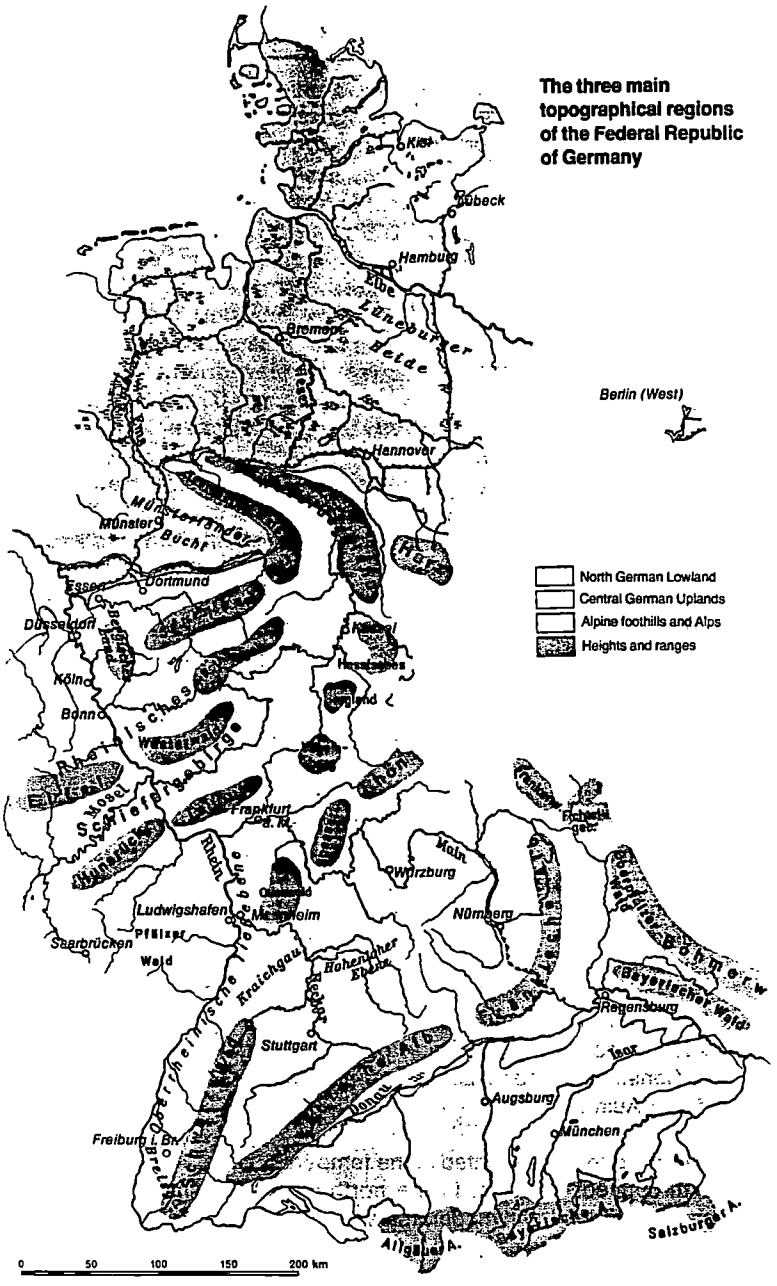
At the frontier with the German Democratic Republic (GDR) the massive Harz mountain range rises up to 1,100 metres. It forms its own climatic region with bleak mountain winds, cool summers and snow-rich winters.

The North German Lowland between the North and Baltic Sea coasts and the fringe of the Central Uplands has a very uniform character, its surface having been graven by Ice Age glaciers.

The North Sea is part of the Atlantic Ocean and has very marked tides and swell. Off the coast many islands rise out of the shallow tidal flats (Wattenmeer). Among the best known are the beach resorts of Sylt and Norderney. For protection from floods the inhabitants of the North Sea coast have put up dikes, behind which spreads a fertile marsh region used for animal grazing and crop gr[redacted]. Sixty-five kilometres (40 miles) off the North Sea coast lies th[redacted]ssive red cliff island of Heligoland (Helgoland).

The Baltic Sea coast consists partly of flat sand shore and partly of steep cliffs. Between the North and Baltic Seas lies the low hill country called "Holsteinische Schweiz," a wooded, domed landscape with picturesque lakes such as Plöner See and Ukleisee.

The North German Lowland is not completely flat, however, but is interspersed with hills like that of the Wilseder Berg on Lüneburg Heath which rises to 169 metres. Wide Lowland indentations pene



The three main topographical regions of the Federal Republic of Germany

Rivers, lakes, mountains, islands

Rhein (below Konstanz)	865 kms
Donau (as far as Passau)	647 kms
Elbe (below Schnackenburg)	227 kms
[illegible]mund-Ems Canal	269 kms
[illegible]and Canal (inside the Federal [illegible]ublic of Germany)	259 kms
[illegible]ersee (Eder Valley reservoir)	202 mill. m³
Bodensee (Lake Constance) (total area)	538 sq. kms
(German part)	305 sq. kms
Zugspitze (Bavarian Alps)	2,962 m
Watzmann (Bavarian Alps)	2,713 m
Feldberg (Black Forest)	1,493 m
Grosser Arber (Bavarian Forest)	1,456 m
Fehmarn Island	185 sq. kms
Sylt Island	99 sq. kms

trate into the Central Upland, such as the Lower Rhenish Bight (with the Cologne Bight) between the Eifel and the Bergisches Land, or the Westphalian or Münsterland Bight between Sauerland and Teutoburg Forest. With their fertile loess soils they have always been preferred areas of settlement and trade, as have the entire northern Harz approaches.

Because of the steady upward incline from the coastal regions of the north to the Bavarian Plateau and Alpine regions of the south-east, the majority of Germany's rivers—the Rhein, the Ems, the Weser and the Elbe—flow north and drain into the North Sea. The exception is the Donau (Danube), which runs into the Black Sea and links Germany with Austria and Southeast Europe.

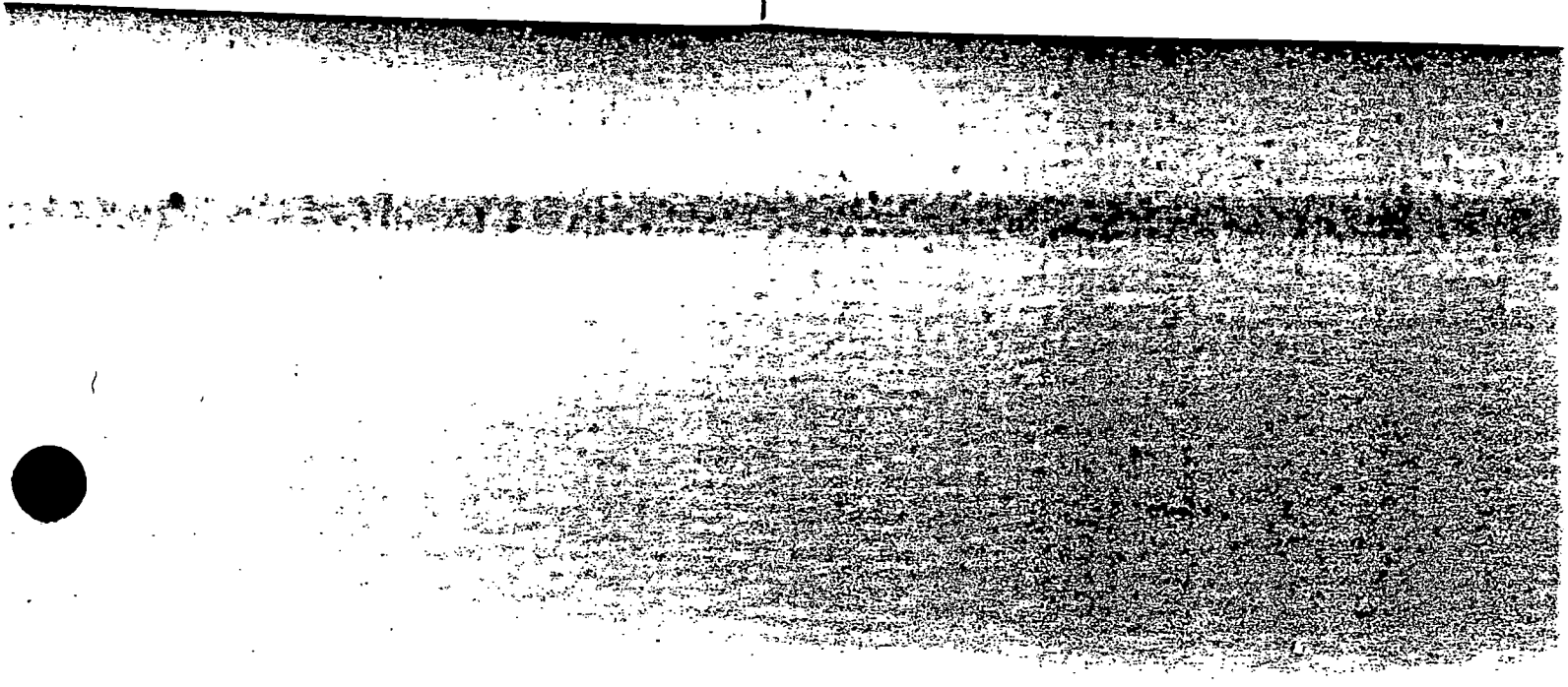
Lakes are found in regions covered by ice in the Ice Age in the North German Lowland and in the alpine fringe. Only the circular Eifel Maars (Eifelmaare) are of volcanic origin. In the Eifel, Sauerland and Harz, reservoirs have been built. The largest natural lake is L[illegible]nstance (Bodensee), situated between Germany, Switzer-[illegible]d Austria.

Climate. Germany is situated in the temperate zone, with precipita-tion throughout the year. In the north-west the climate is more ocean-determined with moderately warm summers and mostly mild winters. Towards the east and the south-east it becomes continen-al in character, with warm to hot summers and cold winters. The

continental type of climate also strengthens towards the north, in part supported by the rising relief.

Average temperatures of the coldest month of the year (January) range from 1.5° C in lowland areas and below −6° C in the mountains. In high summer, average temperatures of the warmest month (July) lie between 17° and 18° C in the North German Lowland, while in the Upper Rhine trough and protected valleys they rise to 20° C. The annual average temperature is around 9° C. The situation of the Central Uplands varies the climate of the individual regions. The moist, Atlantic air masses always reach the mountains from a southerly to north-westerly direction so that precipitation here can reach up to 2,000 mm a year, while in the basins and depressions and along the eastern mountain fringes it can be as low as 500 mm a year (for example in the Mainz depression).

More characteristic than the regional distribution of climate types is the frequent change between moist-cool (in winter moist-mild) weather with Atlantic low pressure troughs on the one hand and dry-warm (in winter dry-cold) high pressure situations on the other. In winter the warm, dry "Föhnwind" ("snow-devourer") coming over the northern Alps to the Bavarian plateau often makes itself felt. The period between the last frost in spring and the first frost in autumn, which is important for vegetation and agriculture, averages 205 days in Berlin, 212 in Wiesbaden and 250 on Heligoland.



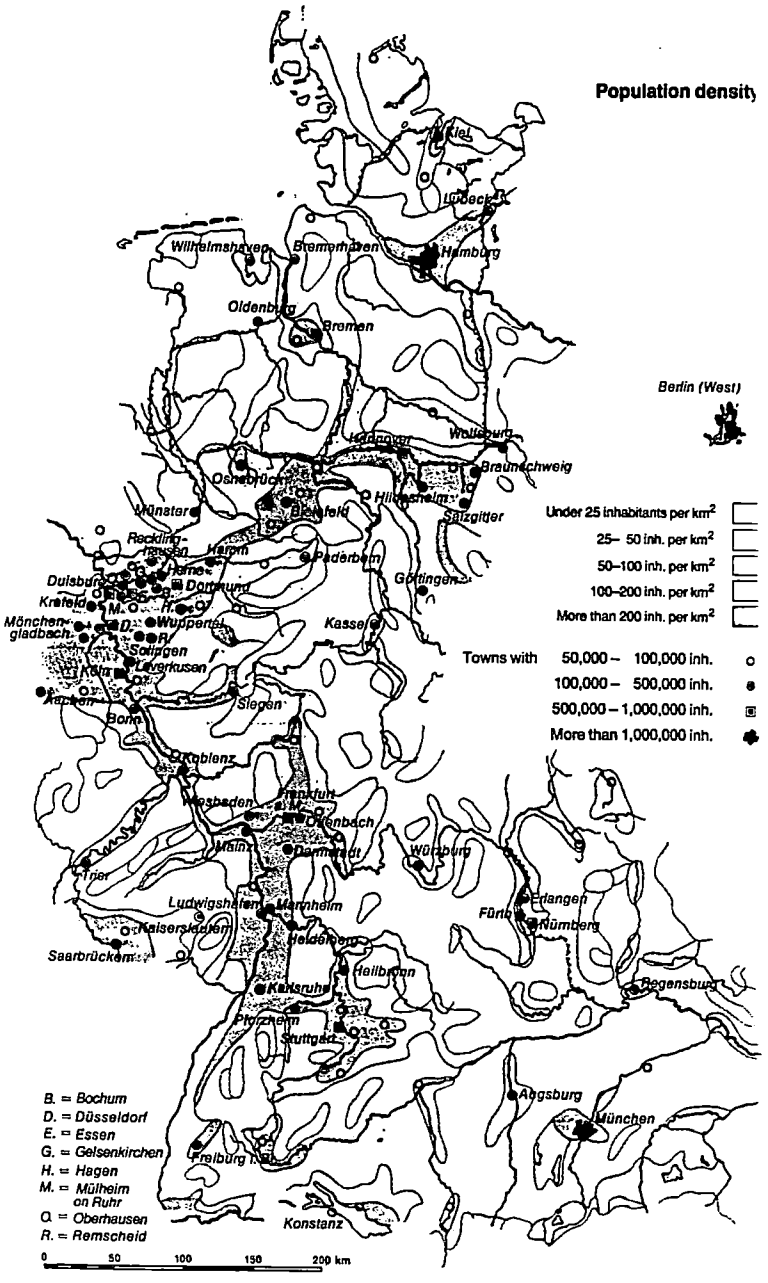
The people

German nation, comprising more than 73 million people, lives in two states: just under 57 million in the Federal Republic of Germany (with West Berlin) and just under 17 million in the German Democratic Republic (with East Berlin). Millions of everyday occurrences testify to the feeling of the inhabitants of the two states that they belong to one people, to one nation.

The population of the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1986 the Federal Republic and West Berlin were inhabited by about 61.1 million people, including around 4.5 million foreigners. Only 100 years previously there were merely 20 million people in the same area. At that time 85 people had to share one square kilometre of land; today it is 245 people. In Europe only the Netherlands and Belgium have higher population densities. The greatest population increase occurred in the years immediately following World War II, when more than 14 million refugees and expellees from Germany's former eastern territories and from the GDR came in (see p. 66, 71/72). The construction of the Berlin wall by the communist GDR regime in 1961 put an abrupt stop to the influx of refugees from the GDR. In the ensuing years 65% of the population growth was due to foreign workers coming into the Federal Republic, mainly from Mediterranean countries. The largest single contingent were Turks.

Since 1974 the population has been declining. The Federal Republic cannot depend on natural growth since the birthrate has been falling for years and is no longer even able to offset the death rate. At 10.3 births per 1,000 inhabitants per year the Federal Republic has the lowest birthrate in the world. The decline in the population is expected to continue.

The population is distributed very unevenly. Major conurbation areas are the Rhein-Ruhr (Essen, Dortmund, Köln [Cologne], Düsseldorf region, the Rhein-Main area around Frankfurt, the Rhein-Neckar (Mannheim, Ludwigshafen) area, the Swabian industrial belt around Stuttgart and the concentrations around the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Hannover, Nürnberg (Nuremberg) and München (Munich). Population density is greatest in the Ruhr district, where 7% of the federal German population live on only 2% of its sovereign area. In the central part of this German industrial heartland the extreme population density of 5,500 per square kilometre is reached.



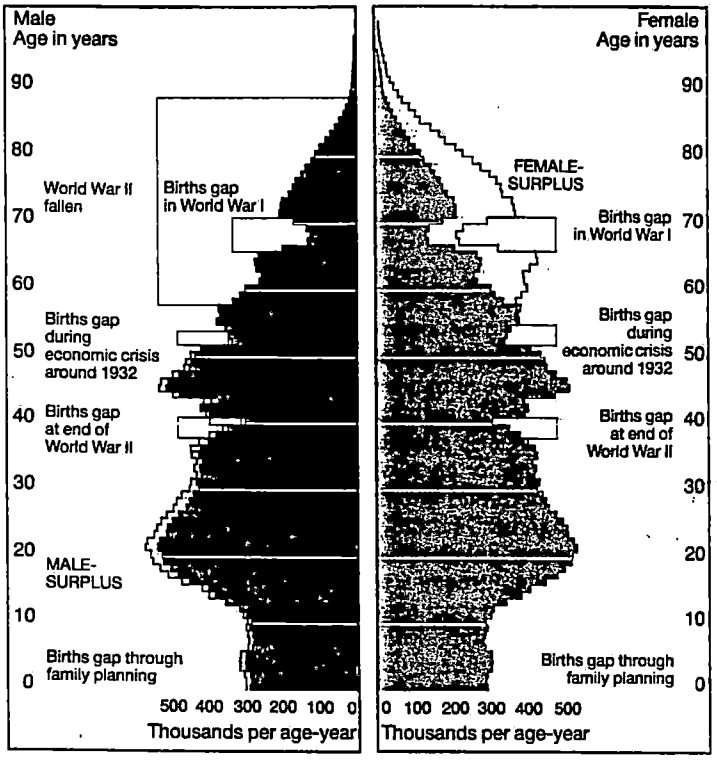
Without any clearly recognisable demarcation the cities of this region abut one another and form what is already sometimes referred to as "Ruhr City" (Ruhrstadt), with more than four million inhabitants. Contrasting with these very densely settled areas are a number of thinly populated ones such as the heath and moorland areas [illegible] North German Plain, parts of the Eifel mountain region, the [illegible]an Forest, Upper Palatinate and, above all, peripheral areas abutting the frontier between the two German states.

Every third inhabitant of the Federal Republic lives in a large town or city—some 20 million people in 64 towns with more than 100,000 population in 1986. The worldwide process of the rural exodus, that is of fast-growing city and shrinking small town or village populations, is no longer taking place in the Federal Republic of Germany, however. Many Germans still live in small towns or villages: 25 millions (40%) in communities with fewer than 20,000 inhabitants, and of these, 3.8 million in villages with fewer than 2,000.

The largest cities *(1986)*

City	Inhabitants in 1,000s	City	Inhabitants in 1,000s
Berlin (West)	1,860	Wiesbaden	267
Hamburg	1,580	Mönchengladbach	254
München (Munich)	1,267	Braunschweig (Brunswick)	248
Köln (Cologne)	916	Kiel	246
Essen	620	Augsburg	245
Frankfurt/Main	595	Aachen	239
Dortmund	572	Oberhausen	223
Düsseldorf	562	Krefeld	217
Stuttgart	562	Lübeck	210
Bremen	526	Hagen	206
Duisburg	518	Mainz	189
Hannover (Hanover)	508	Saarbrücken	186
Nürnberg (Nu[illegible]erg)	465	Kassel	184
Bo[illegible]	382	Freiburg	184
Wu[illegible]	377	Herne	172
Bielefeld	300	Mülheim an der Ruhr	171
Mannheim	295	Hamm	166
Bonn	291	Solingen	158
Gelsenkirchen	285	Leverkusen	155
Münster	270	Osnabrück	153
Karlsruhe	268	Ludwigshafen	153

Age structure of the population in 1986



The German tribes. The German nation grew out of a number of tribes. There were Franks and Saxons, Bavarians and Swabians before there were "Germans." Indeed, it is safe to say that the differences between them are felt to this day. The old tribes have, of course, long since lost their original character. Tribal duchies had already disappeared by the first few centuries of German history and were succeeded by regional autocracies which, if anything, had no more than their names in common with the old tribal domains. But each in its own way continued the tribal tradition. The German nation has always consisted of larger and smaller units and particularism, which has been a constant factor in German history, continues to have manifold effects in the present, for example in the federal state form of government and in the large number of cultural

centres. We shall come across this phenomenon in its positive and negative aspects on many pages of this book.

When speaking of German tribes today one should not try to define them too rigidly. They are historically evolved regional groups, each feeling itself to be quite distinct from the others and leading a vigorous life of its own. In the south of the Federal Republic live Bavarians, Swabians and Franks, in the centre Rhinelanders, Palati- and Hessians, in the north Westphalians, Lower Saxons, swig-Holsteiners and Frisians. That is only a rough categori- on, for each tribe is, in turn, sub-divided into smaller elements (Upper and Lower Bavarians, for example) which all have marked characteristics.

By no means are the tribes identical with the populations of the individual federal states (Bundesländer) which make up the Federal Republic. To a large extent the states were formed only after World War II with the involvement of the occupation powers and in most cases the boundaries drawn did not take tradition into account. Thus the "Land" of Nordrhein-Westfalen (North-Rhine-Westphalia) unites Rhinelanders and Westphalians, neither of whom can find much in common with the others' perception of history, character traits and temperament. But even those "Länder" which existed before 1945 owe their present territorial status to political events—conquests, hereditary successions, marital pacts—and their frontiers have little in common with the old tribal ones. For example, in Bayern (Bavaria), territorially one of the most stable German regions, one finds not only Bavarians but also Franks and Swabians. Inter-tribal rivalries can be quite an important political factor in such cases. This is why great care is taken to ensure that all the tribes inhabiting a "Land" are adequately represented in its important public institutions.

Beyond politics, tribal idiosyncrasies are the subject of ineradicable stereotyped ideas. Rhinelanders are thought to be easy-going, Swabians thrifty, Westphalians phlegmatic and so forth. There are, of course, traits of behaviour and character which are more typical of one tribe than another, but "tribal character" put in too simple a formula is invariably wrong and unjust when applied to the individual.

The expulsion of millions of Germans from the eastern territories a 45 and the flight of millions more from the GDR has placed Si ns. East Prussians, Pomeranians, Brandenburgers, Saxons and Thuringians in the midst of the other tribes. This mixing was further accelerated by the mobility of modern industrial society. But despite so many differences having been levelled out, marked peculiarities in styles of building and settlement, customs and folklor remain. Then, of course, there is the cuisine, with each Germa tribe proudly laying claim to many tasty specialities of its own!

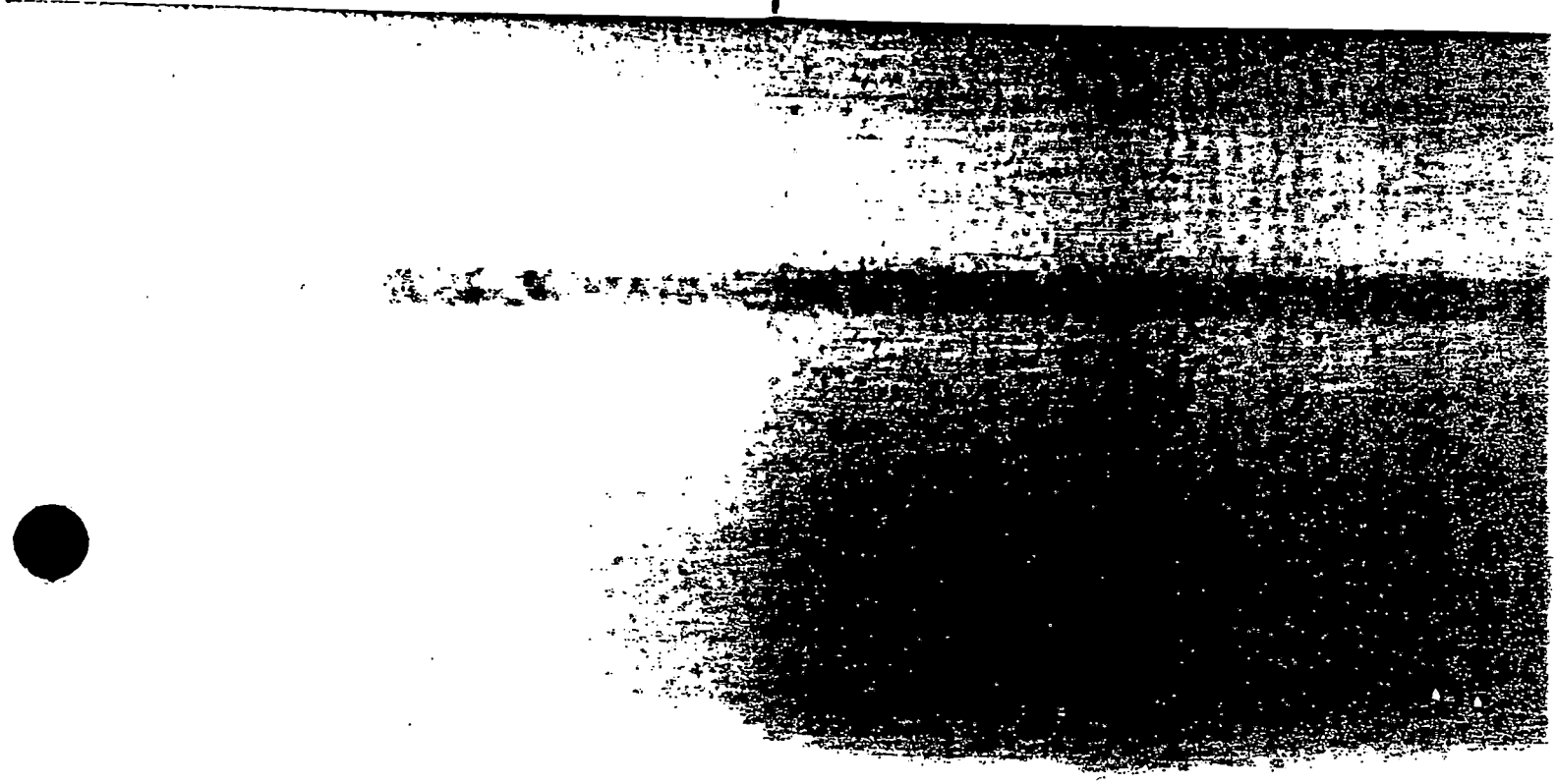
The German language. What really distinguishes German tribe from one another are their dialects. Even though the great post-wa migrations and the impact of radio and television have resulted i much adaptation and blurring the dialects remain very much alive Except for those who have learned the standard language a school, people as a rule can be identified as Hessians, Hambur gians, Thuringians and so forth by the dialect colouring of a particu lar region, even though they may be trying to speak the purer "Hig German" (Hochdeutsch). And those who give their dialects fre rein can run into quite a bit of bother trying to understand people c other tribes. If, say, an Upper Bavarian and a Lower Saxon wer both to speak pure dialect they would probably need an interprete to converse. It's the same with dialects as it was with the tribes There was Franconian, Saxon and Bavarian before there was Ger man.

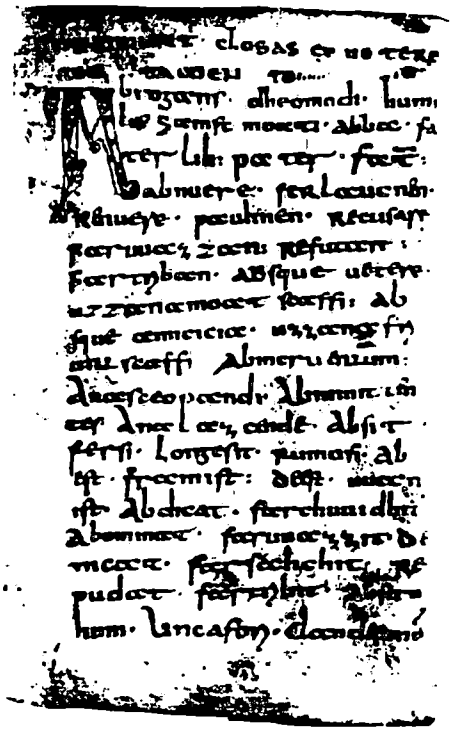
For a long time the German language existed only in the form c its various regional vernaculars. Written German has evolve through a long process concluded only in the 18th century. Marti Luther's widely disseminated translation of the bible from Gree and Hebrew into the vernacular German in the 16th century was a important, although not the only milestone.

The oldest known record of written German dates from abou 770. It is a small Latin-German dictionary, the so-called "Abrogans. Texts from that early time and following centuries up to about 150(can no longer be understood by present-day Germans without spe cialised study. They would have to learn the older forms of Germa like foreign languages.

Today, German is the mother tongue of more than 100 millio people. As well as being spoken in the two German states it is als the official language in Austria and Liechtenstein and one of the offi cial languages in Switzerland. In international political and ecc nomic usage German plays a lesser role than English, French, Rus sian and Spanish. Its importance is greater in the cultural fielc every tenth book in the world is published in German; among th languages most frequently translated into others it comes third af ter English and French, and it is the language into which most trans lation is done.

A fear sometimes expressed that the division of Germany will ulti mately also split the language into "West German" and "East Ger





Abrogans handwriting (8th century; Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen)

man" does not stand up to close scrutiny. It is true that some vocabulary in the two states varies and that in each new words have been created to describe new institutions which are not always immediately understandable in the other. Under the influence of the communist ideology in the GDR some words and concepts have taken on completely different meanings. On occasions, although he[illegible] language is being used in East and West, utterly different hi[illegible]y be expressed. Apart from this, though, there have always been regional differences in German without its unity having suffered. The basic vocabulary and grammatical construction remain the same in East and West. There is no "growing apart" linguistically. On the contrary, the language common to both is one of the strong clasps holding the two parts of the divided nation together.

Personal names and modes of address. German personal names consist of two parts, the first name (or Christian name), "Vorname ("fore-name") in German and the surname or family name, "Familienname" or "Nachname" ("after-name") in German. Parents decide what their children will be called. They can give them several first names, if they wish, in which case one of them, mostly the first one, is the main one, the "Rufname," or "calling-name" used when addressing a person. There can be the most varied reasons for the choice of a certain first name. One big factor is that people want it to sound good. Sometimes the name of a respected person is chosen, in the case of Catholics often the name of a saint. Generally, though, first names are pretty much a matter of fast-changing fashion.

The child inherits the family name from its parents who have themselves adopted the name at marriage. Formerly the husband's name used to become the family name when a couple married. If say, *Inge Koch* and *Paul Weber* married, the woman from then on was named *Inge Weber.* Now spouses can choose whether the man's or the woman's surname is to be the common family name; in our example they could call themselves *Koch* or *Weber.* The spouse who takes on the other's name can, but need not, place his or her own former surname in front of the joint new one, thus: *Inge Koch Weber* or *Paul Weber-Koch.*

A few surnames are widely spread in areas where German is spoken. The most common of all is *Müller* (the same as Miller in English); it's thought that there are about 600,000 people with that name in the Federal Republic of Germany. Almost as many are called *Schmidt* (Smith) or variations of it like Schmid or Schmitt. Next in order of frequency are *Maier* (also Mayer, Meier, Meyer), *Schneider, Hofmann* (or Hoffmann), *Fischer* and *Weber.*

To address someone formally in German one uses the pronoun "Sie" (like "vous" in French) and the surname after "Herr" (Mr.) or "Frau" (formerly only "Mrs.," literally "Woman"): *Herr Weber, Frau Koch.* The title of "Fräulein" (for "Miss", literally "Little Woman") for unmarried women seems to be going out of use. Relatives, friends and youngsters address each other with "Du" (like the French "tu") and first names. This informal address has lately been gaining more and more ground; often people these days like to change over from "Sie" to "Du" after they have known each other for only a short while.

24

The federal states

[redacted]deral Republic of Germany consists of the "Länder" (states) [redacted]den-Württemberg, Bayern (Bavaria), Bremen, Hamburg, Hessen (Hesse), Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony), Nordrhein-Westfalen (North-Rhine-Westphalia), Rheinland-Pfalz (Rhineland-Palatinate), Saarland and Schleswig-Holstein as well as the "Land" of Berlin which has a special status but is fully integrated in the legal and economic system of the Federal Republic.

This chapter contains thumbnail profiles of the federal states. In this context, the 1,000-year German history can be dealt with only peripherally.

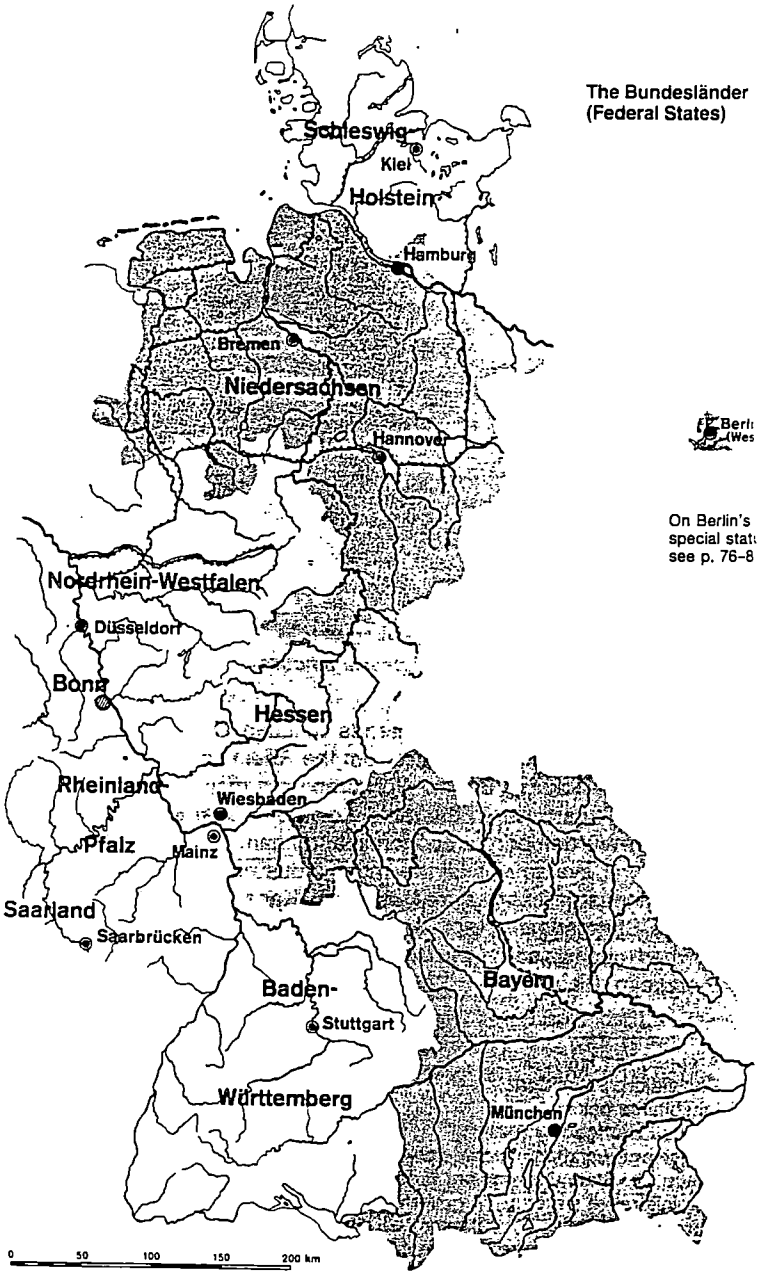
Germany always consisted of small states, but the map looked different from century to century. The major changes in most recent history came with the Napoleonic wars in the early 19th century, the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the German defeat in World War II. It resulted in the occupation and division of Germany and the dissolution of Prussia, the largest German state. Most of the present federal states came into being after 1945 in what were then occupation zones. From 1946 to 1953 they gave themselves democratic constitutions.

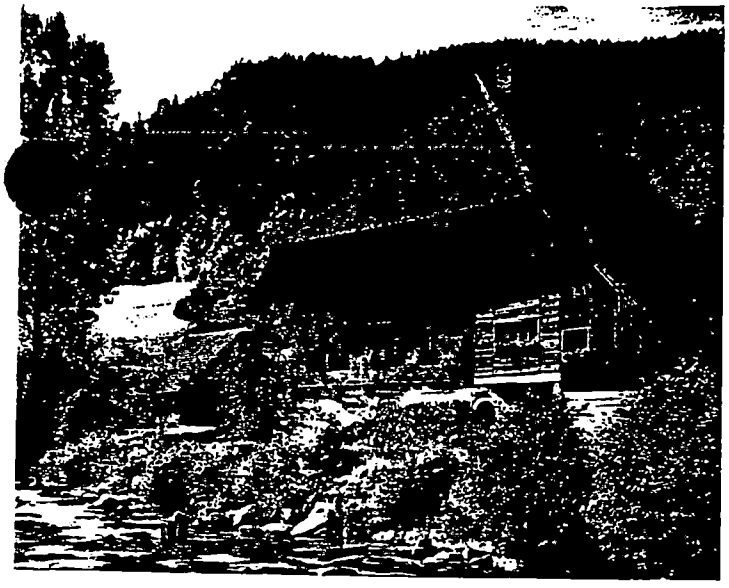




[redacted]Württemberg

Baden-Württemberg lies in the southwest of the Federal Repub- . It borders on France and Switzerland, the Rhein (Rhine) River rming most of the frontier. Along the Upper Rhenish Lowland es the Black Forest, a densely wooded Central Upland whose althy highland climate makes it a popular recreation area. In the





Black Forest farmhouse

south Baden-Württemberg extends to Lake Constance (Bodensee), the "Swabian sea." Apart from the Rhein and the Donau (Danube), the Neckar is Baden-Württemberg's major river. The state capital, Stuttgart, lies in the middle of the Neckar basin.

Baden-Württemberg's economic and financial strength is above the federal average. It is the most industrialised of the federal states. Industrial centres are Mannheim, Karlsruhe, Pforzheim, Heilbronn, Stuttgart and Ulm. A number of products are world-renowned, such as cars from Daimler-Benz (Mercedes), jewelry from Pforzheim, Black Forest (Schwarzwald) clocks, but also electron-

Area: 35,751 km²
Population: 9.3 million
Inhabitants per km²: 260
Capital: Stuttgart
Parliament: Landtag, elected for 4 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 4 government districts (Regierungsbezirke), 9 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 35 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 33.651

ics, fine-mechanics, chemicals and optics. Agriculture is also a major economic factor in the state. Many farmers specialise in cattle raising. Cereals, fruits, vegetables, tobacco and wine are grown. Baden and Württemberg wines are much appreciated by connoisseurs.

Baden-Württemberg is the only federal state which came into being as the result of a popular referendum. At war's end the occupation powers first formed three states of the old states of Baden and Württemberg, but in 1951 a large majority of the population voted for their merger. The strongest political party has long been the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) which has provided the state premier (Ministerpräsident) since 1953. The German southwest having traditionally been a stronghold of liberalism, the Liberal Free Democratic Party (FDP) had a very strong position in the beginning; in the meantime its share of votes has levelled out to that in the other states.





Bayern (Bavaria)

Bayern is the biggest federal state in area, about the size of Belgium and the Netherlands together. It occupies the entire eastern half of southern Germany. To the south it borders on Austria and in the east on Czechoslovakia. Its landscape attractions—the mountain world of the Alps, the lakes in the hilly Alpine uplands, the Bavarian Forest with the first German national park—as well as its rich heritage of cultural monuments make Bayern one of the most popular tourist regions.

In the midst of the Alpine uplands lies the state capital of Bayern, München (Munich) whose population has swelled to more than a million since the war. Many call it "Germany's secret capital." The Donau (Danube) valley separates the alpine uplands from the Franconian Alb. Apart from München, south of the Donau cultural and economic life is dominated by the old imperial city of Augsburg.



Garmisch-Partenkirchen and Zugspitze mountain

North of the Donau, the former imperial free city of Regensburg, the bishops' residences of Würzburg and Bamberg, the Wagner town of Bayreuth and above all the metropolis of Franconia, Nürnberg (Nuremberg), call the cultural and economic tune.

The northern parts of Bayern are more strongly industrialised than the southern, disregarding München, Augsburg and Ingolstadt for the moment. Processing and refining industries dominate. Other important branches are electrical engineering and textiles, mechanical engineering and vehicle manufacture and chemicals. Much of Bayern lives on agriculture and forestry. Hundreds of breweries make the famous Bavarian beer.

A[illegible],553 km²
P[illegible]n: 11 million
In[illegible]nts per km²: 156
Capital: München (Munich)
Parliament: 1. Landtag, elected for 4 years; 2. Senate as representation of social, economic, cultural and municipal corporations
Executive: State Government (Staatsregierung)
Administrative structure: 7 government districts (Regierungsbezirke), 25 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 71 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 31,483

Bayern is one of the oldest and most constant German states. It was ruled by the Wittelsbach dynasty for almost three quarters of a millennium.

Full of pride over their long history, the Bavarians tenaciously defend their independence vis a vis the central power. For example, the "Free State of Bavaria" is the only federal state which puts up its own frontier markers. Since the war the strongest political Party in Bayern has been the Christian Social Union (CSU). It has had an absolute majority in the state parliament (Landtag) since 1962 and has ruled alone since 1966.



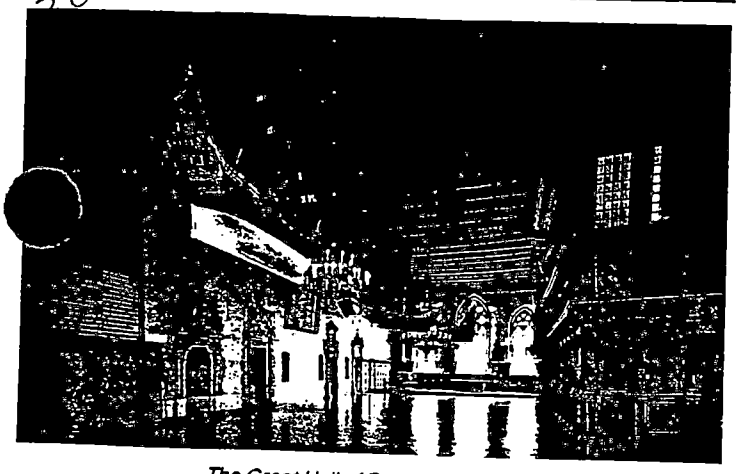


Bremen

The Free Hanseatic City of Bremen, the smallest federal state, consists of the cities of Bremen and Bremerhaven, located 60 kilometres from each other along the mouth of the Weser River. Bremen is the Federal Republic's second largest and one of the world's leading sea ports.

Bremerhaven has grown from Bremen's outport into one of mainland Europe's largest fishing ports. Industry is closely linked with the port. Shipbuilding remains a major one. Many imported raw materials, including coffee, tobacco, cotton and jute, to name but some, are processed and refined.

Area: 404 km²
Population: 657,500
Inhabitants per km²: 1,627
Capital: Bremen
Parliament: Bürgerschaft, elected for 4 years
Executive: Senate
Administrative structure: 2 urban counties
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 41,456



The Great Hall of Bremen Rathaus

Bremen was founded in the 8th century. In the late Middle Ages—together with Hamburg and Lübeck—it became one of the leading members of the Hanseatic League, an association of towns which dominated trade in the North and Baltic Sea region from the 14th to the 16th centuries. This era is still recalled by the official name. The city was able to keep its independence throughout the turmoils of history. Since World War II the Social Democratic Party (SPD) has had the strongest following. In several legislative periods it had an absolute majority in the state parliament, the "Bürgerschaft," and ruled alone.

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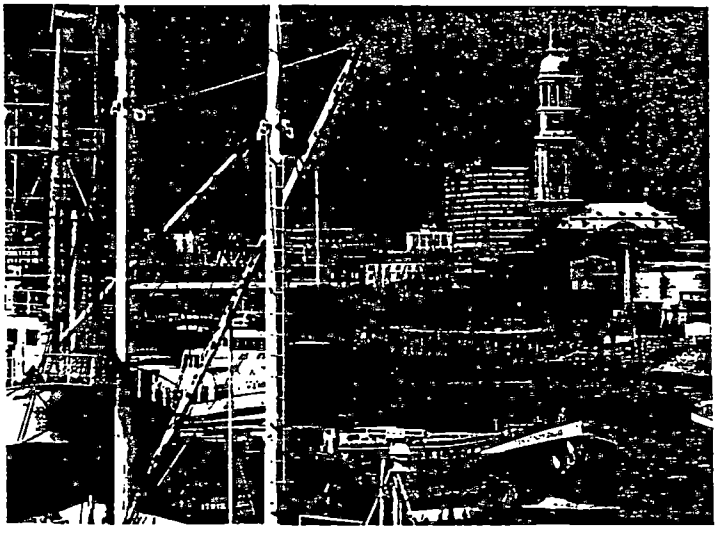


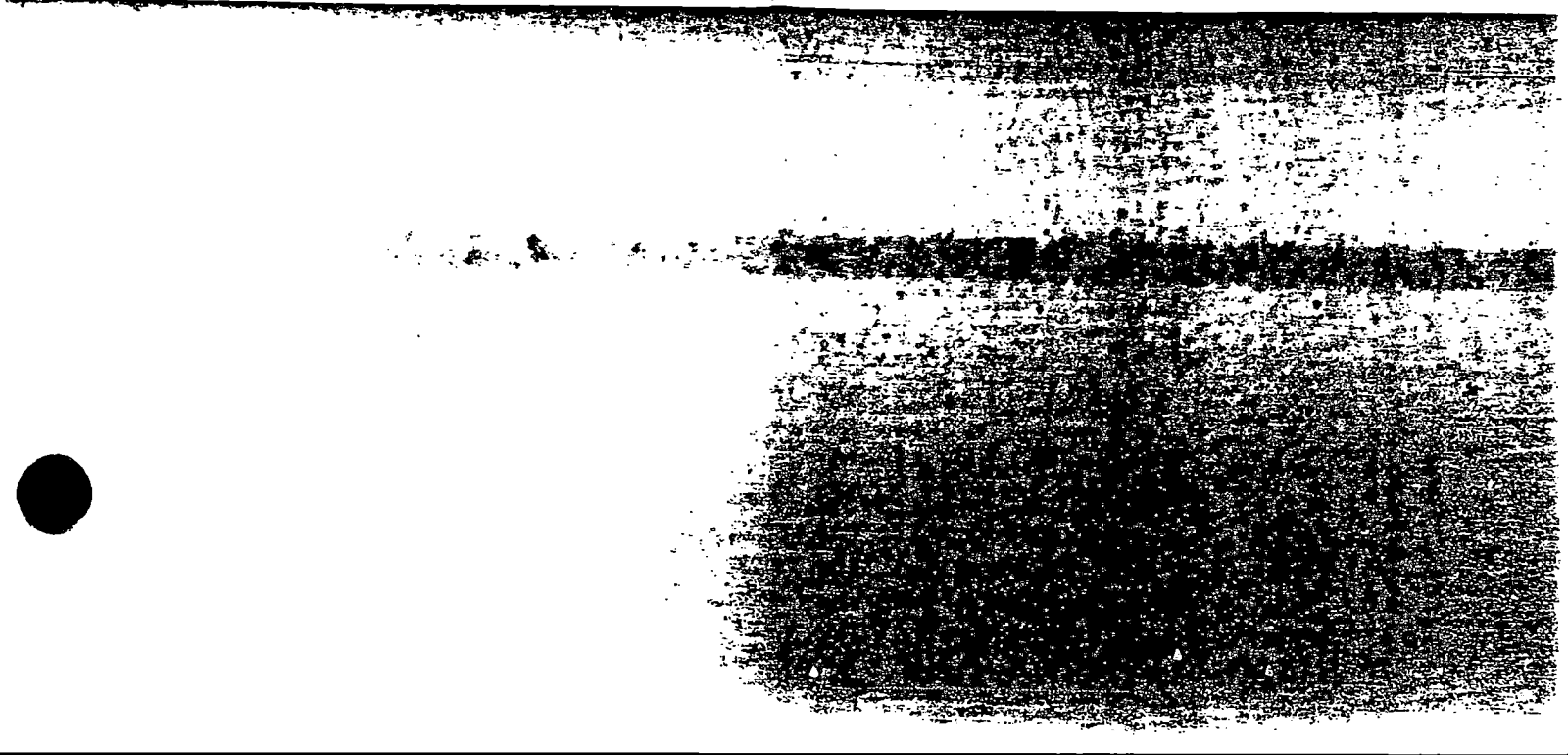
Area: 755 km²
Population: 1.58 million
Inhabitants per km²: 2,098
Parliament: Bürgerschaft, elected for 4 years
Executive: Senate
Administrative structure: 7 districts
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 57,665

The Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, "Germany's gateway to the world" before the division, lies some 120 kms above the point where the Elbe River enters the North Sea. Hamburg is the Federal Republic of Germany's main trading port and can handle large ocean-going ships. The harbour area comprises 75 km², of which 16 km² are a free port zone. In addition to industries typical of ports, such as shipyards, refineries and imported raw material processing enterprises, Hamburg has a wide range of consumer goods industries.

Like Bremen, Hamburg still proudly calls itself "Hanseatic" and has undergone a very similar development. It was founded in the early 9th century, so is a little younger than its rival, but over the centuries has vastly outgrown it. In the 19th century it became the second largest German city after Berlin. Since the end of World War II, except for the period from 1953—1957, Social Democrats have ruled Hamburg alone or together with junior coalition partners.

Hamburg harbour









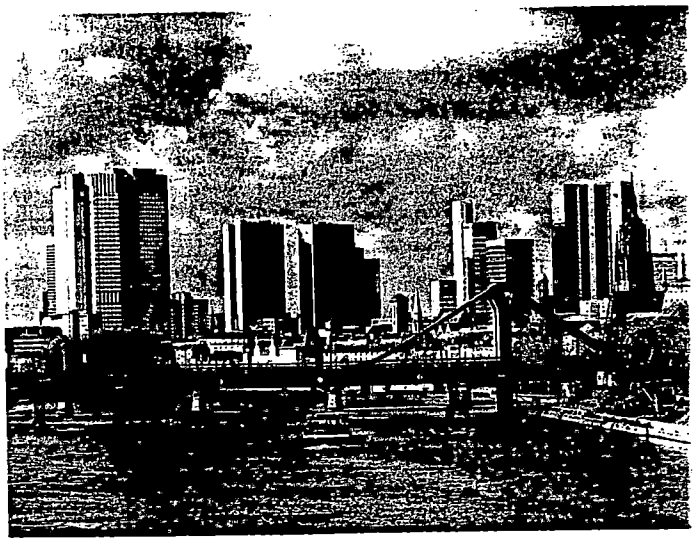
Hessen (Hesse)

The federal state of Hessen lies in the centre of the Federal Republic. Between the Odenwald and Taunus uplands lies the Rhein-Main plain where one of the Federal Republic's major economic regions has developed. It includes the metropolis of Frankfurt. Here motorways, railways and inland waterways run together and Frankfurt airport is the turntable of European civil aviation. The focus of industrial production lies in the fields of chemistry, electro-technology, rubber and leather goods, machinery and cars. Another industrial centre has grown up around Kassel in north Hessen.

In the scenically attractive upper Lahn valley between the Taunus and Westerwald areas lie the university towns of Marburg and Giessen as well as Wetzlar, known for its optical industry. On the periphery of the Taunus upland rise many mineral springs, around which spa resorts have developed, the state capital of Wiesbaden being the major one. In the partly loess-covered fertile lowlands north of the Main, cereals, vegetables and sugar beet are grown; stock raising and forestry dominate in the higher regions. The "Bergstrasse" south of Darmstadt and the "Rheingau" rank with the best German wine growing areas.

In German history Hessen only briefly played an important role as a state, namely in the 16th century, when the Hessian Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous became one of the political leaders of the

Area: 21,114 km²
Population: 5.5 million
Inhabitants per km²: 262
Capital: Wiesbaden
Parliament: Landtag, elected for 4 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 3 government districts (Regierungsbezirke), 5 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 21 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 34,494



Frankfurt on Main

Reformation. Previously and subsequently it was almost always te ritorially fragmented. Only after World War II were the old Hessia areas reunited as the federal state of Hessen. From 1950 to 198 the Social Democratic Party (SPD) had the largest following, sinc then the leading party has been the conservative Christian Dem cratic Union (CDU).





Niedersachsen (Lower Saxony)

The federal state of Niedersachsen occupies the northwest the Federal Republic, extending from the North Sea coast with th East Frisian Islands to the central German uplands with the "Wese



Mills in Greetsiel, East Friesland

bergland" and the western "Harz" in the south, from the "Emsland" at the Dutch border in the west to Lüneburg Heath and Elbe River in the east. Next to Bayern (Bavaria), Niedersachsen is the major agricultural region of the Federal Republic, particularly as a supplier of cereals, sugar beet, feed maize and potatoes. Stock keeping is highly developed. Along the lower Elbe and south of Emden fruit and vegetables are grown.

Area: 47,438 km²
Population: 7.2 million
Inh[illegible]s per km²: 152
Ca[illegible]annover
Par[illegible]t: Landtag, elected for 4 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 4 government districts (Regierungsbezirke)
9 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 38 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 26,405

Industry is concentrated in the densely inhabited areas between low and uplands (Hannover conglomeration and Harz plains) and the port towns of Emden (vehicle assembly), Wilhelmshaven (the biggest German oil-landing port) and Cuxhaven (fish processing). Of big economic importance is the extraction of petroleum and natural gas in the Emsland and the German North Sea sector. The state capital of Hannover has made a name for itself all over the world as an industrial and trade-fair city. Wolfsburg, located between the Heath and the Harz, is the seat of the Volkswagen company. The main tourist resorts are the East Frisian Islands, the Harz mountains and the Lüneburg Heath.

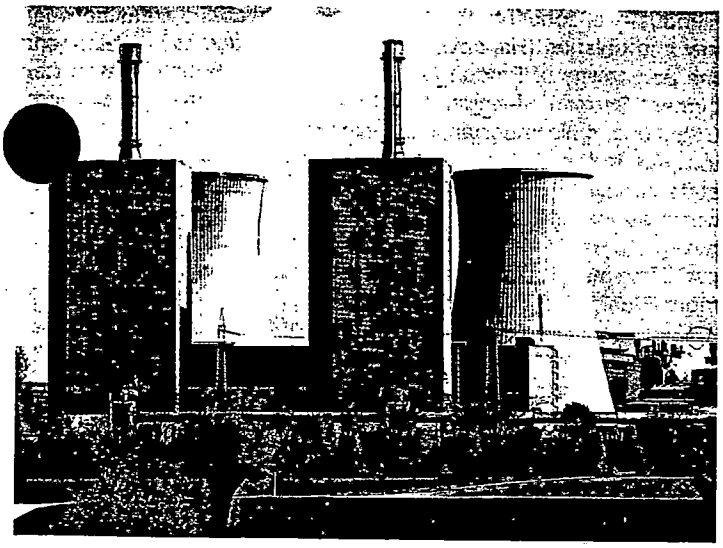
Niedersachsen comprises nearly all of the area of the powerful medieval Duchy of the Saxons, which broke up already in the 12th century. The name of "Saxony" shifted up the Elbe as a result of dynastic changes, finally coming to refer to a central German region which now belongs to the German Democratic Republic. To distinguish from this, the name "Lower Saxony" came to be used for the old Saxonian core area.

The present federal state was formed in 1946 of the Prussian province of Hanover and the states of Braunschweig, Oldenburg and Schaumburg-Lippe. In the early years rightwing parties and parties of a regional character had strong positions in the state. Since the early 1960's parliamentary representations in Lower Saxony have become similar to those in other Länder. Both the CDU and SPD, the large parties, have ruled the state both alone and in coalition with other parties. Since 1986 Lower Saxony has been governed by a coalition of the CDU and FDP.



Nordrhein-Westfalen (North-Rhine-Westphalia)

Nordrhein-Westfalen lies in the west of the Federal Republic and borders on Belgium and the Netherlands. It is the most populous federal state. Almost a third of the population of the Federal Repub-



Power station in the Ruhr region

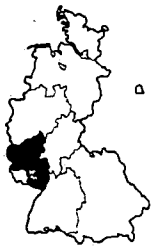
lic lives there. The core area of the Rhenish-Westphalian industrial landscape is the Ruhr region, one of the richest bituminous coal-bearing areas of the world and long one-sidedly characterised by mining, steel and iron-making industries. Meanwhile other industries have come, such as electronics, chemicals, synthetic fibres, paints, aluminium smelting and petroleum processing. There are also textiles and automobile manufacture, mechanical engineering, cement and glass works and large breweries. Between Köln (Cologne) and Bonn, in the Ville upland, the Federal Republic's largest brown coal deposit is mined.

4,068 km²
ion: 16.7 million
Inhabitants per km²: 489
Capital: Düsseldorf
Parliament: Landtag, elected for 5 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 5 government districts (Regierungsbezirke), 23 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 31 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 30,843

Northeast of the Ruhr region, stretching to the Teutoburg Forest, lies the Münsterland Bight with the university town of Münster as the central point. Here, as in neighbouring areas, agriculture is the main pursuit, with wheat, barley and sugar beet growing, beef cattle raising, pig fattening and horse breeding. The forest-rich highlands of the "Sauerland," "Siegerland," "Bergisches Land" and northern "Eifel" in the south of Nordrhein-Westfalen are popular recreation areas and vitally important drinking water sources for the industrial conurbations along the Rhein and Ruhr rivers. Nordrhein-Westfalen's lively economic activity is reflected in its densely knit network of transport facilities linking the many cities: Köln, Essen, Dortmund, Düsseldorf, Duisburg, Bochum, Wuppertal, Bielefeld, Gelsenkirchen, Solingen, Leverkusen and Paderborn, to name but some. South of Köln on the Rhine lies Bonn which up to 1949 was a medium-sized university town and since then has been the capital of the Federal Republic.

The state of Nordrhein-Westfalen was formed in 1946 mostly of areas which had belonged to Prussia since the early 19th century but had formed no political unit. Party-political power relationships in the state have changed frequently. Both Christian Democrats (CDU) and Social Democrats (SPD) have ruled both in coalition with the Free Democrats (FDP) and alone. Since 1980 the SPD has had an absolute majority in the state parliament (Landtag).





Rheinland-Pfalz

The federal state of Rheinland-Pfalz borders on Belgium, Luxembourg and France. In the mountainous Eifel landscape a conspicuous feature are the small, almost perfectly circular volcanic lakes. The valleys of the Rhein and Mosel (Moselle) are preferred habitation and economic areas. Centres are the old Roman towns of Koblenz (Coblence), Trier, Mainz and Worms as well as the cities of



Rhine valley grape harvest

Ludwigshafen and Kaiserslautern. The mid-Rhenish valley with its many castle ruins is one of the most beautiful German landscapes; many in the world may see it in front of their mind's eye when they think of Germany.

With two thirds of the German vineyards, Rheinland-Pfalz is the Federal Republic's main wine-growing region. The best-known wine-growing districts are Rheinpfalz, Rheinhessen, Mosel-Saar-Ruwer, Nahe, Mittelrhein and Ahr. Rheinland-Pfalz also has industry; chemical works in Ludwigshafen; mechanical engineering in Kaiserslautern, Frankenthal, Mainz and Koblenz; shoe factories in Pirmasens; jewelry making in Idar-Oberstein.

The state of Rheinland-Pfalz was formed in 1946 of Bavarian, Hessian and Prussian lands which previously had never belonged together. The Christian Democrats (CDU) have been the strongest political party uninterruptedly since 1947. They have ruled in coalition with the Social Democrats, Free Democrats or alone.

Area: 19,848 km²
Population: 3.6 million
Inhabitants per km²: 182
Capital: Mainz
Parliament: Landtag, elected for 4 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 3 government districts (Regierungsbezirke), 12 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 24 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 28,432



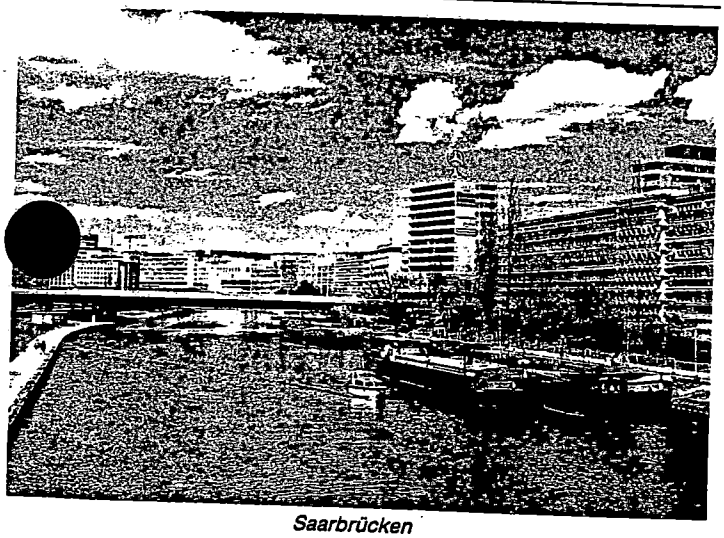
Saarland

Apart from the city-states, Saarland is the smallest federal state. It lies in southwest Germany and borders on France and Luxembourg. The economic centres lie in the Saar Valley around Saarlouis, Neunkirchen and the state capital of Saarbrücken. The Saarland's coal is smelted with iron ore from the neighbouring French Lorraine to iron and steel.

There are also metal processing, mechanical engineering, chemical, ceramic and glass industries. France is the main trading partner for Saarland's economy.

Saarland was formed as a political unit in 1920 by the Versailles peace treaty, separated from Germany and placed under the administration of the League of Nations. France obtained preferential economic rights and great political influence. In a 1935 referendum the Saarland population voted to return to Germany. After World

Area: 2,569 km²
Population: 1.0 million
Inhabitants per km²: 406
Capital: Saarbrücken
Parliament: Landtag, elected for 5 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 6 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 27,769



Saarbrücken

War II France made a new attempt to annex the Saarland step by step. The population resisted these strivings and also rejected an interim "Europeanisation" of their land. On the basis of an unmistakable expression of the will of its inhabitants, Saarland became a federal state of the Federal Republic of Germany on January 1, 1957. From 1957 to 1985 the leading governing party was the Christian Democratic Union (CDU); since then the Social Democratic Party (SPD) has governed.





S[redacted]wig-Holstein

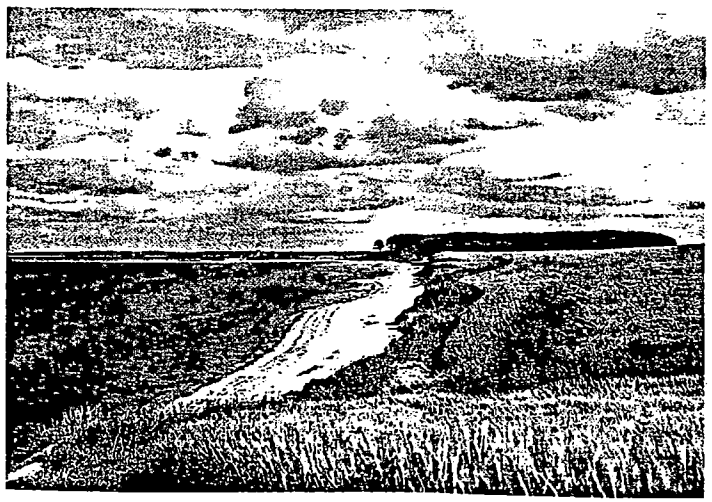
The northernmost federal state lies between the North and Baltic Seas and in the north borders on Denmark. In the west the state consists of fertile marshland, in the centre it is dry and sandy and in

Area: 15,727 km²
Population: 2.6 million
Inhabitants per km²: 166
Capital: Kiel
Parliament: Landtag, elected for 5 years
Executive: State Government (Landesregierung)
Administrative structure: 4 urban counties (Stadtkreise), 11 rural counties (Landkreise)
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 25,724

the east it has a hilly lake landscape. Off the west coast lies a 15 to 30 km wide tidal flat zone in which lie the north Frisian islands of Sylt, Amrum and Föhr and the Halligens. Also part of Schleswig-Holstein is the red-stone cliff island of Heligoland rising steeply from the North Sea.

The eastern seaboard region is strongly featured with excellent natural harbours, notably Flensburg, the state capital of Kiel and the old Hanseatic city of Lübeck. From the Baltic Sea ports there are ferry connections to Denmark, Sweden and Finland. The shortest transport route between the Federal Republic and Scandinavia is the socalled "birds flight line" over the island of Fehmarn. The "Nord-Ostsee-Kanal" ("Kiel Canal") links the lower Elbe with the Kiel Bay. It is the most-used waterway in the world.

Baltic coast near Kiel, Schleswig-Holstein



Schleswig-Holstein is still predominantly agricultural, with the emphasis on cattle and pig raising. The agricultural produce is the basis for a food industry. The Baltic Sea ports are dominated by shipbuilding. In the south of the state, where access to the Elbe and the proximity of Hamburg offer favourable site conditions, other industries have been growing up in recent years. The North and Baltic Sea bathing resorts and the "Holsteinische Schweiz" cater to tourism. Of special importance to Schleswig-Holstein are land reclamation and coastal protection along the North Sea.

Schleswig-Holstein was a subject of contention between Germany and Denmark for a thousand years. After two German-Danish wars it finally came to Germany in 1864 and became a Prussian province in 1866. The predominantly Danish population in northern Schleswig voted in a 1920 referendum to join Denmark. South Schleswig, where there is a small Danish minority, stayed with Germany. In 1946 Schleswig-Holstein was made an independent federal state. Since 1950 the Christian Democrats (CDU) have been the leading government party. The Danish minority are organised in a South Schleswig Voters' Association, which sends one deputy to the state parliament (Landtag).





Berlin (West)

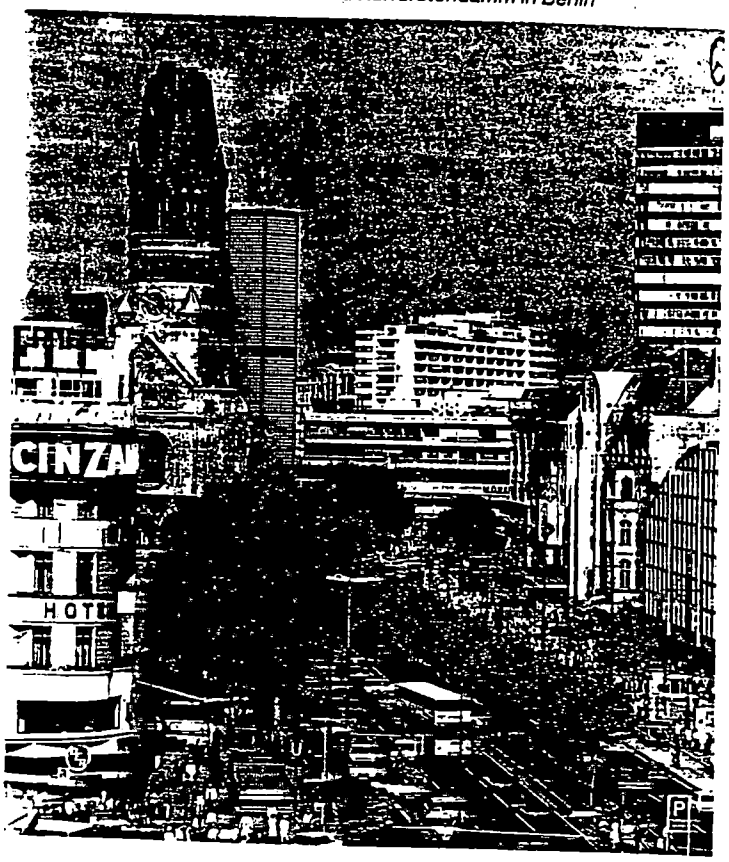
The Land of Berlin has a special status amongst the federal states in every respect. Like Bremen and Hamburg it is a city-state, but comprises only a half city, the Western part of Berlin, and is not geographically connected with the rest of the federal area. The history of the Berlin problem and the city's special political status are dealt with in detail in the chapter "The division of Germany," p. 76–80.

Before World War II the Reich capital of Berlin was a transport turntable and centre of European trade. The division cost it this role. Even so, West Berlin is still Germany's largest industrial city.

Area: 480 km²
Population: 1.9 million
Inhabitants per km²: 3,892
Parliament: Abgeordnetenhaus (House of Deputies), elected for 4 years
Executive: Senate
Administrative structure: 12 districts
Gross Domestic Product per capita: DM 39,242

The major products are electrical appliances, machinery, garments, optical goods, pharmaceutical products and printed goods. Many of the large enterprises based in the Federal Republic have

Memorial Church and Kurfürstendamm in Berlin



branches in Berlin (West). Berlin (West) is also one of Europe's major congress and trade-fair cities. As a city of the arts and theatre it enjoys international renown. Part of the city area consists of large forests and lakes.

Founded in the 13th century, Berlin became the residence of the Margraves of Brandenburg in the 15th century. With the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia its importance grew. A metropolitan development began when Berlin became capital of the German empire in 1871. In the 1920s Berlin was the third largest city of the world. It suffered severe destruction in World War II. After the division of the city, largescale reconstruction of the western part, aided by funds from Bonn, was begun. A 1950 constitution gives Berlin (West) the status of a federal state. For decades the Social Democrats (SPD) were the strongest party, governing with changing coalition parties. After severe losses of votes in 1981, the SPD had to cede the city's government to the Christian Democrats (CDU) who have been governing together with the FDP since 1983.

The reader will come across references to the federal states at many other places in this book. More information is to be found particularly in the chapters "The people," "A brief German history" and "Federal, regional and local government."

A brief German history up to 1945

Up to last century it was a widely held belief that German history began in the year A. D. 9. That was when Arminius, a prince of a Germanic tribe called the Cherusci, vanquished three Roman legions in the Teutoburg Forest (south-east of modern-day Bielefeld). Arminius, about whom not much else is known, was regarded as the first German national hero and a huge memorial to him was built near Detmold in the years 1838—1875.

Nowadays a less simplistic view is taken. The fusing of a German nation was a process which took hundreds of years. The word "deutsch" (German) probably began to be used in the 8th century and initially defined only the language spoken in the eastern part of the Francocian realm. This empire, which reached the zenith of its power under Charlemagne, incorporated peoples speaking Germanic and Romance dialects. After Charlemagne's death (814) it soon fell apart. In the course of various inheritance divisions, a west and an east realm developed, whose political boundary approximately coincided with the boundary between German and French speakers. Only gradually did a feeling of cohesion develop among the inhabitants of the eastern realm. Then the term "deutsch" was transferred from the language to its speakers and ultimately to the region they lived in, "Deutschland."

The German western frontier was fixed relatively early and remained fairly stable. But the eastern frontier moved to and fro for hundreds of years. Around 900 it ran approximately along the Elbe and Saale rivers. In subsequent centuries German settlement, partly peaceful and partly by force, expanded far eastward. This expansion stopped only in the middle of the 14th century. The ethnic boundary then made between Germans and Slavs remained until World War II.

High Middle Ages. The transition from the East Franconian to the German "Reich" is usually dated from 911, when, after the Carolingian dynasty had died out, the Franconian duke Conrad I was elected king. He is regarded as the first German king. (The official title was "Frankish King," later "Roman King," from the 11th century the name of the realm was "Roman Empire," from the 13th century "Holy Roman Empire," in the 15th century the words "of the German Nation" were added.) It was an electoral monarchy, that is to

say that the high nobility chose the king. In addition, "dynastic right" also applied and so the new king had to be a blood relation of his predecessor. This principle was broken several times. There was also a number of double elections. The medieval empire had no capital city; the king ruled roving about from place to place. There were no imperial taxes; the king drew his sustenance mainly from "imperial estates" he administered in trust. His authority was not always recognised by the powerful tribal dukes unless he was militarily powerful and a skilful forger of alliances. Conrad's successor, Henry I (919—936), was the first so succeed in this, and to an even greater extent his son, Otto I (936-973). Otto made himself the real ruler of the realm. His great power found obvious expression when he was crowned Emperor in 962 in Rome.

From then on the German king could claim the title Emperor. The emperorship was conceived as universal and lent its incumbent the rule over the entire Occident. However, this notion never became full political reality. For the coronation as emperor by the Pope the king had to make his way to Rome. With that began the Italian policy of the German kings. For 300 years they were able to retain control of upper and central Italy but because of this were diverted from important tasks in Germany. And so Otto's successors inevitably suffered big setbacks. However, under the succeeding Salian dynasty a new upswing occurred. With Henry III (1039—1056) the German kingship and emperorship reached the zenith of its power, maintaining above all a supremacy over the Papacy. Henry IV (1056—1106) was not able to hold this position. In a quarrel with Pope Gregory VII over whether bishops and other influential church officials should be appointed by the Pope or the temporal ruler he was superficially successful. But Gregory retaliated by excommunicating Henry, who thereupon surrendered his authority over the church by doing penance to the pope at Canossa (1077), an irretrievable loss of power by the emperorship. (To this day Germans use the phrase "A walk to Canossa" for someone having to eat humble pie.) From then on emperor and pope were equal-ranking powers.

In 1138 the century of rule by the Staufer or Hohenstaufen dynasty began. Frederick I Barbarossa (1115—1190), in wars with the pope, the upper Italian cities and his main German rival, the Saxon duke Henry the Lion, led the empire into a new golden age. But under him began a territorial fragmentation which ultimately weakened the central power. This weakening continued under Barbarossa's successors, Henry VI (1190—1197) and Frederick II (1212—1250) despite the great power vested in the emperorship. The religious and temporal princes became semi-sovereign territorial rulers.



Emperor Charles IV and the seven elector princes (heraldry book, around 1370, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Brussels)

The end of Hohenstaufen rule (1268) meant the end of the universal Occidental emperorship, too. Internal disintegrative forces prevented Germany from becoming a national state, a process just beginning then in other west European countries. Here lies one of the roots for the Germans' becoming a "belated nation."

Late Middle Ages to modern times. Rudolf I (1273—1291) was the first Habsburg to take the throne. Now the material foundation of the emperorship was no longer the lost imperial estates but the "house estates" of the dynasties and house power politics became every emperor's main preoccupation. The "Golden Bull" (imperial constitution) issued by Charles IV in 1356 regulated the election of the German king by seven electors privileged with special rights. These sovereign electors and the towns, because of their economic power, gradually gained influence while that of the small counts, lords and knights declined. The towns' power further increased when they linked up in leagues. The most important of these, the Hanseatic League, became the leading Baltic power in the 14th century. To this day the city-states of Hamburg and Bremen proudly call themselves "Hanseatic cities."

From 1438 the crown—although the empire nominally was an electoral monarchy—practically became the property of the Habsburg dynasty which had become the strongest territorial power. In the 15th century demands to reform the empire increased. Maximi-

lian I (1483 to 1519), the first to accept the imperial title without a papal coronation, tried to implement such a reform but without much success. The institutions newly created or reshaped by him—Reichstag (Imperial Diet), Reichskreise (Imperial Counties), Reichskammergericht (Imperial Court)—lasted until the end of the Reich (1806), but were not able to halt its continuing fragmentation. Consequently, a dualism of "Emperor and Reich" developed: the head of the Reich was offset by various institutions—electoral princes, princes and municipalities. The power of the emperors was curtailed and increasingly eroded by "capitulations," which they negotiated at their election with the electoral princes. The princes, especially the powerful among them, greatly expanded their rights at the expense of imperial power. But the Reich continued to hold together, the glory of the imperial idea had remained alive and the small and medium territories were protected in the Reich system from attack by powerful neighbours.

The towns became centres of economic power, profiting above all from growing trade. In the burgeoning textile and mining industries, forms of economic activity grew which went beyond the guilds system of the craftsmen and, like long-distance trading, were beginning to take on early capitalistic traits. At the same time an intellectual change was taking place, marked by the Renaissance and Humanism. The newly risen critical spirit turned above all on church abuses.

Age of religious schism. The smouldering dissatisfaction with the church broke out, mainly through the actions of Martin Luther from 1517, in the Reformation which quickly spread. Its consequences went far beyond the religious sphere. The entire social structure began to stir with chance. In 1522/23 the Reich knights rose up and in 1525 the Peasants' Revolt broke out, the first larger revolutionary movement in German history to strive for both political and social change. Both uprisings failed or were bloodily quelled. The territorial princes profited most from the Reformation. After changing fortunes of war they were given the right to dictate their subjects' religion in the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. This accorded the Protestants equal rights with those of the Catholics. With that, the religious division of Germany was established.

On the imperial throne at the time of the Reformation was Charles V (1519—1556), heir to the biggest realm since the time of Charlemagne but also the last Holy Roman emperor to aspire to the medieval ideal of universal empire. His international political interests were too demanding for him to be able to assert himself within



Farmers in revolt (woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, 1525)

Germany. After his abdication the empire was split up. The German territorial states and the west European national states together now formed the new European system of states.

At the time of the Peace of Augsburg, four fifths of Germany were Protestant but the struggle between the faiths had not ended with it. In following decades the Catholic church was able to recapture many areas (Counter-Reformation). The differences between the faiths sharpened, religious parties—the Protestant Union (1608) and the Catholic League (1609)—were formed. A local conflict in Bohemia then triggered off the Thirty Years War which widened into a European conflict over religious and political differences. Between 1618 and 1648 much of Germany was devastated and depopulated. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia brought the cession of territories to France and Sweden and confirmed the withdrawal of Switzerland and the Netherlands from the Reich. The Reich institutions were accorded all major sovereign rights in religious and temporal matters and the right to enter alliances with foreign partners.

Age of Absolutism. The almost sovereign principalities took over the absolutist form of government modelled on the French. Absolutism gave the ruler limitless power while at the same time allowing tight administrations to be built up, an organised fiscal policy to be introduced and new armies to be mobilised. Many princes aspired to making their residences cultural focal points. Some of them—representatives of "enlightened absolutism"—encouraged learning and philosophy, albeit within the confines of their power interests.

The policy of state control of all economic life also allowed the absolutistically ruled states to gain in economic strength. Thus lands such as Bavaria, Brandenburg (the later Prussia), Saxony and Hanover were able to develop into power centres in their own right. Austria, which repelled the attacking Turks and acquired Hungary as well as parts of the formerly Turkish Balkan countries, rose to a large power. A rival to it developed in the 18th century in the form of [redacted]sia which, under Frederick the Great (1740—1786), grew into a [redacted]rank military power. Both states pursued European big power policies.

Age of the French Revolution. The nudge which brought the crumbling Reich crashing down came from the West. Revolution broke out in France in 1789. Under pressure from the middle classes, the feudal social order which had existed since the early middle ages was swept away; a division of powers and human rights were to assure the liberty and equality of all. The attempt by Prussia and Austria to intervene by force in the events in the neighbouring country failed ignominiously and triggered a counter-thrust by the revolutionary armies. Under the stormy advances of the forces of Napoleon who had assumed the revolutionary heritage in France the Reich finally collapsed. France took the left bank of the Rhine. To compensate the former owners of these areas for their losses, an enormous territorial reshuffling took place at the expense of the smaller and particularly the religious principalities. By the "Reichsdeputationshauptschluss" of 1803 some four million subjects had changed rulers. The medium-sized states were the beneficiaries. In 1806 most of them grouped together under French protection in the "Rheinbund" (Rhenish League). In the same year Emperor Franz II laid down the crown and with that the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation ceased to be.

The French revolution did not spread into Germany. Although there, too, various individuals had over the years tried time and again to do away with the barriers between the aristocracy and the common people and although leading thinkers welcomed the overthrow in the west as the start of a new era one major reason why the spark could not catch easily was that, in contrast to the centrally [redacted]d France, the federalistic structure of the Reich hampered [redacted]read of new ideas. Another big reason was that France, the motherland of the revolution, opposed the Germans as an enemy and an occupying power. Indeed, the struggle against Napoleon forged a new national movement which culminated in wars of liberation. But Germany did not remain unaffected by the forces of social

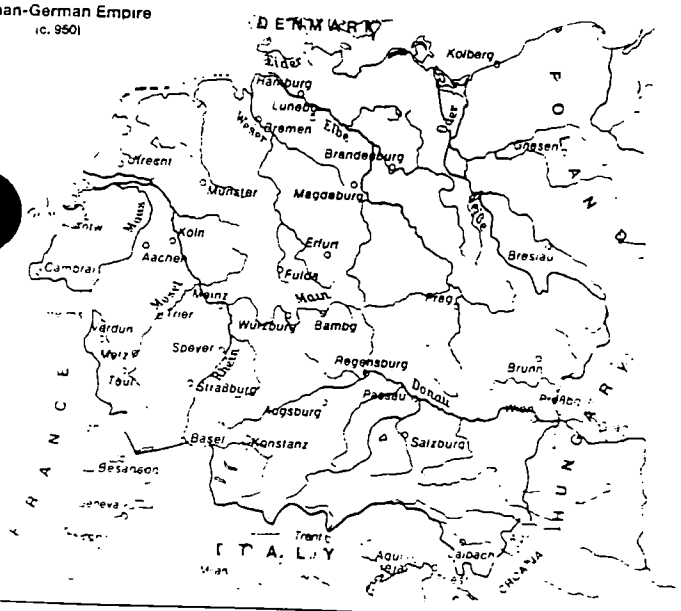


Fireworks at the court of Dresden
(copper etching by Johann August Corvinus, 1719)

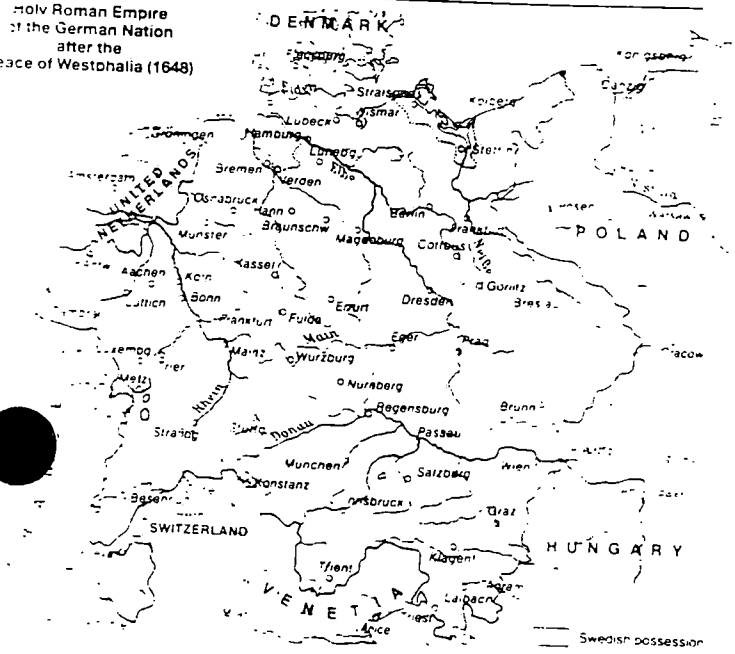
change. First in the "Rheinbund" states and then in Prussia (in the latter connected with names like Stein, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, W. von Humboldt) reforms were begun, aimed at breaking down feudal barriers and creating a society of free, responsible citizens. The objectives were abolition of serfdom, freedom of trade, municipal self-administration, equality before the law, general conscription. But many reform moves were pulled up short. Participation by the populace in legislation was refused almost everywhere. Only hesitantly did some princes grant their states constitutions, especially in southern Germany.

The "German Confederation." After the victory over Napoleon the Congress of Vienna (September 1814 to June 1815) redrew the map of Europe. The hopes of many Germans for a free, unitary nation-state were not fulfilled. The "Deutscher Bund" (German

Roman-German Empire
(c. 950)



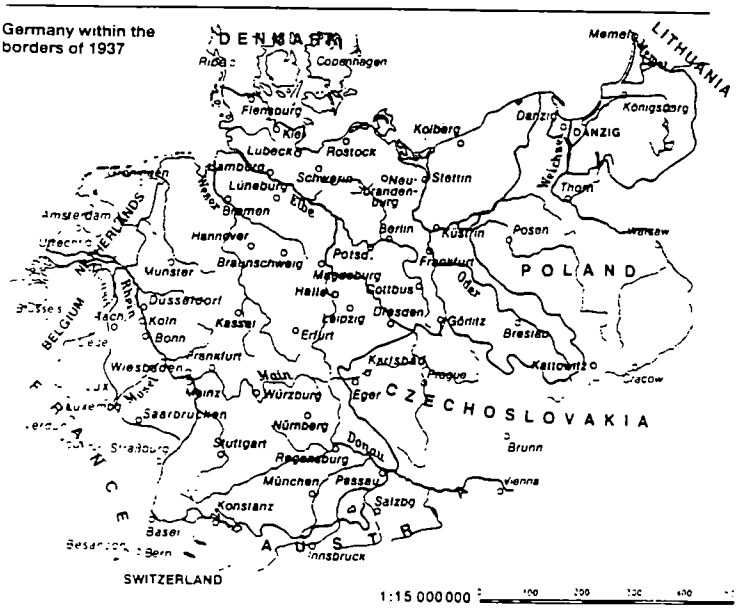
Holy Roman Empire
of the German Nation
after the
Peace of Westphalia (1648)



German Empire
1871-1918



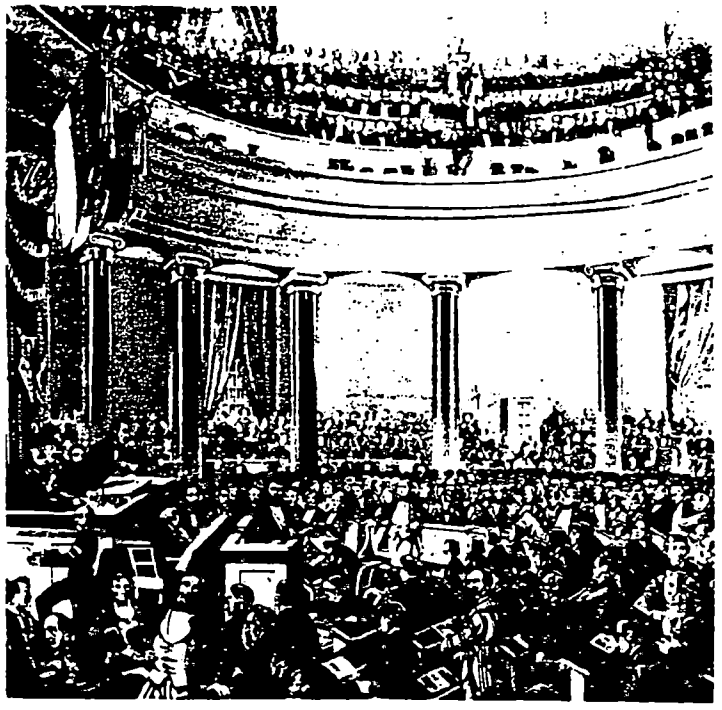
Germany within the
borders of 1937



Confederation) which replaced the old Reich was a loose association of the individual sovereign states. Its sole organ was the "Bundestag" (Federal Diet) in Frankfurt, not an elected but a delegated diet. It was able to act only if the two great powers, Prussia and Austria, agreed. It saw its main task in the ensuing decades in suppressing all aspirations and efforts aimed at unity and freedom. Press and publishing were subject to rigid censorship, the universities were under close supervision and political activity was virtually impossible.

Meanwhile a modern economic development which worked against these reactionary tendencies had begun. In 1834 the "German Customs Union" (Deutscher Zollverein) was founded, creating a unitary inland market. In 1835 the first German railway line went into operation. Industrialisation began. With the factories there grew the new class of factory workers. At first they found better incomes; but the rapid growth of the population soon led to a labour surplus. And since there were no social welfare provisions, the mass of factory workers lived in great misery. Tensions exploded violently, for example in the 1844 uprising of the Silesian weavers, which was harshly put down by the Prussian military. Very hesitantly at first, a workers' movement began to form.

The 1848 revolution. In contrast to the revolution of 1789 the French February revolution of 1848 found immediate response in Germany. In March there were uprisings in all states and these forced many concessions from the stunned princes. In May the National Assembly (Nationalversammlung) convened in Frankfurt's Paulskirche (St. Paul's Church). It elected Austrian archduke Johann Imperial Administrator (Reichsverweser) and set up a Reich Ministry which, however, had no powers or authority. The tune was called in the National Assembly by the Liberal centre which strove for a constitutional monarchy with limited suffrage. The splintering of the National Assembly from Conservatives to Radical Democrats which already indicated the spectrum of parties to come made it difficult to draw up a constitution. But not even the Liberal centre could overcome the differences between the protagonists of "greater Germany" and "smaller Germany" concepts, that is a German with or without Austria. After hard bargaining a democratic constitution was drawn up which attempted to combine old and new ideas and required a government responsible to parliament. But when Austria insisted on bringing into the future Reich its entire realm, encompassing more than a dozen different peoples, the "smaller Germany" concept won the day and the National Assembly



National Assembly in Frankfurt, 1848 (lithograph)

proffered Friedrich Wilhelm IV (Frederick William) of Prussia the hereditary German imperial crown. The king turned it down, not wanting to owe imperial majesty to a revolution. In May 1849 popular uprisings in Saxony, the Palatinate and Baden which aimed at enforcing the constitution "from below" failed. That was the seal on the failure of the whole revolution. Most of the achievements were rescinded, the constitutions of the individual states reactionarily revised. In 1850 the German Confederation was refounded.

The rise of Prussia. The 1850's were years of great economic upswing. Germany became an industrial country. Although its production output still lagged far behind England's it outpaced it in growth rate. Pacemakers were heavy industry and machine manufacture. Prussia also became the predominant economic power of Germany. The economic power strengthened the political self-confidence of the liberal middle class. The German Progress Party

(Deutsche Fortschrittspartei), set up in 1861, became the strongest party in the Prussian diet and denied the government the funds when it wanted to make reactionary changes in the structure of the army. The newly appointed Prime Minister (Ministerpräsident), Otto von Bismarck (1862), took up the challenge and for some years governed without parliamentary approval of the budget which was required by the constitution. The Progress Party dared offer no further resistance than parliamentary opposition however.

Bismarck was able to offset his precarious position on the domestic front by foreign policy successes. In the German-Danish war (1864) Prussia and Austria forced the Danes to cede the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein (now forming Federal Germany's northernmost state) which they initially administered jointly. But Bismarck had from the outset pursued the annexation of the two duchies and steered for open conflict with Austria. In the Austro-Prussian War (1866) Austria was defeated and had to leave the German stage. The German Confederation was dissolved and replaced by the North German Confederation (Norddeutscher Bund) of states north of the River Main, with Bismarck as Federal Chancellor (prime minister).

The Bismarck Reich. From then on Bismarck worked towards "smaller German" unity. He broke France's resistance in the war of 1870/71, triggered off by a diplomatic conflict over the succession to the Spanish throne. Defeated France had to cede Alsace-Lorraine and pay huge reparations. In the patriotic enthusiasm of the war, the southern German principalities joined up with the northern confederation to form the German Empire (Deutsches Reich). At Versailles near Paris, on the vanquished enemy's territory, King Wilhelm (William) I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor on January 18, 1871.

German unity had not come about by popular decision "from below" but by a treaty between princes, "from above." Prussia's predominance was stifling. To many the new Reich seemed like a "Greater Prussia." The Reichstag (Imperial Diet) was elected by universal and equal suffrage. Although it had no say in the formation of the cabinet, it could influence government by its participation in lawmaking and its budgetary right. Although the Reich Chancellor (chief minister) was accountable only to the Kaiser (emperor) and not to parliament he did have to try to get majorities for his policies in the Reichstag. Suffrage in the Länder (states) still varied. In eleven it was still class suffrage, dependent on tax paid; in four there was still the old division into estates. The south German



Proclamation of Wilhelm I as German emperor in the Versailles Hall of Mirrors, 1871 (painting by Anton von Werner)

states, with their longer parliamentary tradition, reformed their electoral laws after the turn of the century and Baden, Württemberg and Bavaria made theirs the same as the Reich laws. Although Germany's becoming a modern industrial country strengthened the influence of the economically successful middle class, the people who still called the tune in society were the aristocrats, above all in the army officer corps where they predominated.

Bismarck ruled as Reich Chancellor for 19 years. Through a consistent peace and alliance policy he tried to give the Reich a secure position in the new European balance of power. In contrast to this farsighted foreign policy was his home policy. He had no understanding for the democratic tendencies of his time. To him, political opposition was "hostility to the Reich." Bitterly, but ultimately vainly, he fought the left wing of the liberal middle class, political Catholicism and especially the organised labour movement which for 12 years (1878—1890) was practically under a ban by an Anti-So-

Sozialistengesetz). Hence the vastly growing working class, despite progressive social legislation, were alienated from the state. Bismarck ultimately became a victim of his own system when he was dismissed in 1890 by the young Emperor Wilhelm II.

Wilhelm II wanted to rule himself but he lacked the knowledge and staying power. More by speeches than by actions he created the impression of a peace-threatening dictator. Under him there took place a transition to "Weltpolitik" (world policy), with Germany [illegible]ng to shorten the lead of the great imperialist powers and [illegible]reby becoming more isolated. In his home policies Wilhelm II soon took a reactionary course after his attempt to win the working class over to a "social emperorship" failed to bring the quick success he had hoped for. His chancellors had to rely on changing coalitions of conservatives and national liberals. Social Democrats, although one of the strongest parties, obtaining millions of votes, continued to be excluded from any participation in government.

World War I. The assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne on June 28, 1914, triggered off the outbreak of World War I. The question as to who was to blame for this war remains in dispute. Certainly, Germany and Austria on the one side, France, Russia and Britain on the other, did not consciously seek it but they were prepared to risk it. From the start, all had definite war aims for which military action was at least not unwelcome. The Germans failed in their aim quickly to vanquish France. The fighting in the west after the defeat of Germany in the Battle of the Marne soon froze into trench warfare, ultimately peaking in senseless material attrition with enormous losses on both sides. With the outbreak of war, the Kaiser receded into the background. As it progressed, the weak Reich Chancellors hat to submit more and more to the will of the army supreme command, whose nominal chief was Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg, and whose real head was General Erich Ludendorff. The entry into the war of the United States in 1917 brought the decision which had long been developing and which could no longer be changed by the revolution in Russia and the peace in the east. Although the country had bled dry, Ludendorff, completely misjudging the situation, continued until September 1918 to insist on "peace through victory" but then surprisingly de[illegible]ed an immediate armistice. Hand in hand with the military col[illegible]went the civilian. Unresisting, the Kaiser and the princes yielded their thrones in November 1918. Not a hand stirred to defend a monarchy which had lost all credibility. Germany became a republic.

The Weimar Republic. Power fell to the Social Democrats. Their majority had long since abandoned the revolutionary notions of earlier years and saw its mission as securing an orderly transition from the old to the new form of state. Private ownership of industry and agriculture remained untouched. The mostly anti-republican civil servants and judges were taken over without exception. The imperial officer corps retained command of the armed forces. Attempts by radical leftists to drive the revolution on in a socialist direction were quelled militarily. In the National Assembly elected in January 1919, which convened at Weimar and drew up a new Reich constitution, three unconditionally republican parties—Social Democrats, German Democratic Party and the Catholic Centre—had the majority. But through the 1920s the parliamentary parties and popular forces which were more or less hostile to a democratic state went from strength to strength. The Weimar Republic was a "republic without republicans," rabidly fought by its opponents and only half-heartedly defended by its supporters. Especially the postwar economic misery and the oppressive terms of the peace of Versailles Germany had to sign in 1919 bred deep scepticism towards the republic. Growing domestic instability was the result.

In 1923 the confusion of the postwar era reached its peak (inflation, Ruhr occupation by France, Hitler coup, communist overthrow attempts). This was followed by economic recovery and with it some political pacification. The foreign policy of Gustav Stresemann regained political equality for defeated Germany through the Pact of Locarno (1925) and accession to the League of Nations (1926). The art and sciences experienced a brief, intensive flowering in the "golden 20's." After the death of the first Reich President, the Social Democrat Friedrich Ebert, the former Field Marshal Hindenburg was elected head of state in 1925 as the candidate of the Right. Although abiding strictly by the constitution, he never developed a personal commitment to the republican state.

The ultimate collapse of the Weimar Republic began with the world economic crisis in 1929. Left and right-wing radicalism exploited unemployment and the general deprivation to their ends. No more majorities capable of government could be found in the Reichstag, the cabinet being dependent on the support of the constitutionally very strong Reich President. From 1930, the up to then insignificant National Socialist movement of Adolf Hitler which fused extreme anti-democratic tendencies and a raging anti-Semitism with pseudo-revolutionary propaganda gained strength in leaps and bounds and by 1932 had become the strongest party. On January 30, 1933, Hitler became Reich Chancellor. Apart from mem-



Gustav Stresemann addressing the League of Nations in Geneva in 1926

bers of his own party his cabinet included politicians of the right and non-partisan specialist ministers, so that it was hoped that sole rule by the National Socialists could be prevented.

The Hitler dictatorship. Hitler soon rid himself of his allies. An Enabling Act, approved by all the middle-class parties, gave him practically limitless power. He banned all parties but his own. The trade unions were smashed, basic rights virtually removed and press freedom abolished. The regime exercised ruthless terror and violence against anyone who stood in its way. Thousands disappeared without trial in hastily constructed concentration camps. Parliamentary institutions at all levels were abolished or made powerless. The "Führer" (Leader) principle advanced everywhere. When Hindenburg died in 1934, Hitler united in his person the offices of president and chancellor. By this he gained control as commander in chief of the armed forces which up to then had still had a certain inner life of their own.

In the few years of the turbulent Weimar Republic the majority of Germans had not acquired any deep-rooted affinity to freedom and democracy. More than anything else, years of political turmoil, violence between the various camps—including bloody street battles—and the mass unemployment engendered by the world economic crisis had shattered confidence in government. Hitler, on the other hand, succeeded with job-creation and armament production programmes to reinvigorate the economy and quickly reduce unemployment. He was favoured in this by the world depression coming to an end. His position was also bolstered by foreign policy successes.

In 1935 the Saar region, until then administered by the League of Nations, returned to Germany and the same year the Reich regained its defence sovereignty. In 1936 German troops moved into the up to then demilitarised Rhineland. In 1938 Austria was joined to the Reich and the Western powers allowed Hitler to annex the Sudetenland. All this helped him quickly to achieve his political ends, although in all classes of society there were people who courageously resisted the dictatorship.

Immediately after taking power, the regime began to carry out its anti-Semitic programme. Step by step the Jews were stripped of all human and civic rights. Those who could tried to escape the persecution by fleeing abroad. The persecution of political opponents and the suppression of freedom of opinion also drove thousands out of the country. Many of the best German writers, artists and scientists fled the country—an irredeemable loss to German culture.

World War II and its consequences. Hitler was not to be satisfied. From the outset he prepared for a war he was willing to wage to subjugate Europe. With his attack on Poland on September 1, 1939, he unleashed World War II, which lasted five and a half years, devastated much of Europe and killed 55 million people.

The German armies defeated Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, France, Yugoslavia and Greece. In the Soviet Union they advanced to a position just short of Moscow and in North Africa they threatened the Suez Canal. Harsh occupation regimes were set up in the conquered countries. They were fought by resistance movements. In 1942 the regime began the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question": all the Jews the regime could lay its hands on were taken to concentration camps in occupied Poland and murdered. The total number of victims is estimated at six million. The year this inconceivable crime began brought the turning point in the



Frankfurt, 1945

war. From then on Germany and its allies, Italy and Japan, suffered setbacks in all theatres.

The terror of the regime and the military setbacks strengthened resistance against Hitler in all classes of society. A coup attempt on July 20, 1944, carried out mainly by officers, failed. Hitler survived the bomb attack in his headquaters and struck back mercilessly. More than 4,000 people from all walks of life who had been involved with the resistance were executed in the ensuing months. Outstanding figures of the resistance, whose names stand also for many nameless, were General Ludwig Beck, Colonel Count Stauffenberg and the former Leipzig Mayor, Carl Goerdeler.

The war continued, Hitler prosecuting it under enormous losses, unt[illegible]ntire Reich area was occupied by enemies. Then, on April 30, [illegible]he killed himself. Eight days later the successor he had willed by testament, Grand Admiral Dönitz, carried out the unconditional capitulation and was arrested shortly afterwards by the victors.

Germany had suffered the greatest defeat in its history. Most towns lay in ruins, a quarter of all houses were destroyed or heavily damaged. The economy and transportation networks were

smashed. The most urgent things to sustain life were lacking. Millions of Germans were captives, millions homeless, millions in flight. Germany appeared to have no future.

The division of Germany

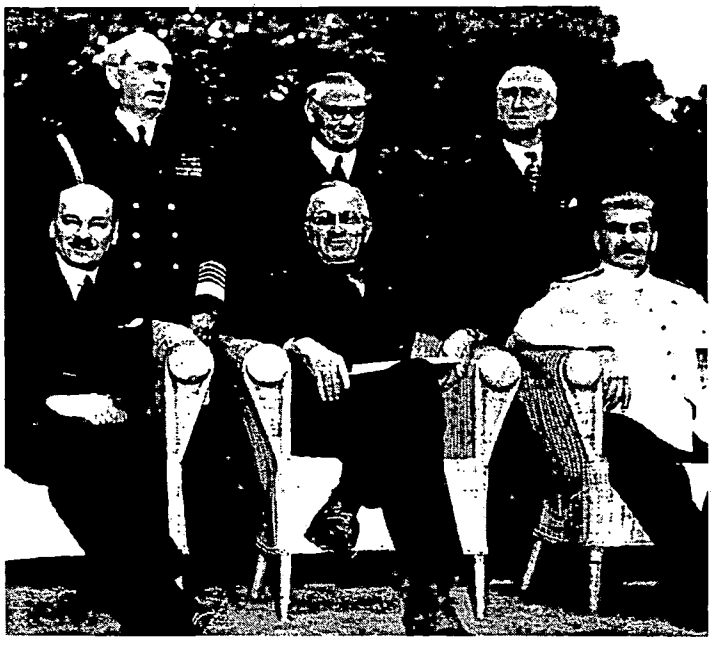
[redacted]the war was still in progress the allies considered what should [redacted]ne with defeated Germany. They were determined to make it impossible for it ever to wage an aggressive war again. The surest way of doing this appeared for a while to be splitting the Reich into several states. But as the end of the war approached this plan was abandoned. Germany was to be completely disarmed, militarily occupied and put under the authority of the victors, but remain intact. That it was ultimately divided after all, and remains so to this day, was due to postwar world-political developments.

The Potsdam Conference and the eastern territories. After the capitulation of the German forces on May 8, 1945, the victorious powers—the USA, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France—in line with an agreement reached in September 1944, the so-called "London Protocol," divided Germany into four occupation zones. The military commanders of the four zones together constituted the Allied Control Council which assumed supreme authority in Germany. The capital, Berlin, belonged to none of the zones, being jointly administered by the four powers, each occupying a sector of the city.

The Allied Control Council held its first session on July 30, 1945. At the same time a meeting was taking place at Potsdam, near Berlin, of the heads of government of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain.

The decisions reached at this trilateral conference were summarised in an official "Protocol" signed on August 2, 1945, by J. V. Stalin for the Soviet Union, Harry S. Truman for the USA and C. R. Attlee for Great Britain. This "Protocol" which later became known as the "Potsdam Agreement" contained a number of provisions which decisively influenced Germany's future.

[redacted]e of the main ones is the declaration by which the three pow-[redacted]affirm their opinion that the final delimitation of the western [redacted]er of Poland should await a peace settlement" but that "pending the final determination of Poland's western frontier" the "former German territories" east of the Oder or western Neisse rivers should come under Polish administration. "Agreement in principle" was also reached at Potsdam on the Soviet proposal "concerning the ultimate transfer to the Soviet Union of the city of Königsberg



Potsdam conference, 1945. Seated left to right: Attlee, Truman, Stalin

(now Kaliningrad) and the area adjacent to it," i. e. all of northern East Prussia. The US President and British Prime Minister pledged their support of the proposal.

These decisions affected about a quarter of the Reich area. Indubitably Poland was entitled to compensation for the monstrous sufferings and losses inflicted on it by the war. That this was to take the form of a westward territorial expansion was due above all to the fact that the Soviet Union annexed about 200,000 square kilometres of eastern Polish territory in 1939. This had been made possible at the time by an agreement between Hitler and Stalin on the "delineation of mutual spheres of interest in eastern Europe." In the course of the war the Soviet Union advocated compensation to Poland for this loss in the form of German territory. Poland was "shifted westwards," as it were.

The German eastern territories concerned—totalling 114,000 square kilometres—comprised East Prussia, Silesia and part of Pomerania and Brandenburg. They had been inhabited by Germans for centuries and were diffused with German culture. They were

economically important as agricultural surplus areas, producing food for 13.5 million people. Other important economic interests included the Silesian mines which produced almost a fifth of Germany's coal.

Expulsion of Germans and the Oder-Neisse line. The "Protocol" of the tripartite Potsdam Conference also contained the portentous agreement according to which the three signatory powers recognised the necessity of a "transfer" of the German parts of the population from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to Germany. This agreement, though sounding dry and matter-of-fact, caused a great deal of suffering and misery to millions of people.

Although the agreement did not relate to the German areas put under Polish administration nor those allotted to the Soviet Union, Poland and the Soviet Union achieved a fait accompli. As soon as the Soviet armies came on to German soil, a huge refugee movement to the west began. Up to the time of the Potsdam Conference four million Germans had already left their homelands in the eastern territories. Now, without this being covered by the Potsdam decisions, most of the 5.5 million Germans still living in the German territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers were expelled by force.

At the same time most of the 3.5 million Sudeten Germans who lived in Czechoslovakia were expelled. On top of that there were about five million Germans who lived in other East and Southeast European states and were either expelled or deported or stayed where they were. Altogether 15 million Germans were refugees, deportees or expellees at war's end and in the immediate postwar years up to 1950. How many of them died can only be roughly estimated; the number is likely to be more than two million. The expellees were distributed to all occupation zones. By far the majority of them came to the area which later became the Federal Republic of Germany. To find them food, clothing and housing in the devastated, starving country was very difficult in the beginning. However, the exiles received help to build new livelihoods, the funds for this being raised through levies on assets which had remained intact ("Lastenausgleich"—"burden-sharing"). The economic recovery which began after the foundation of the Federal Republic eased the integration of the refugees. The exiles have found a new home-

Expulsion and severance of the territories east of Oder and Neisse were generally felt in Germany to be unjust. All political parties—initially even the Communists—rejected them. However, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) formed out of the Soviet occupation zone, soon revised its policy: on July 6, 1950, it concluded with Poland the "Agreement of Zgorzelec" (Görlitz) in which it recognised the Oder-Neisse line as the final German-Polish frontier. The Federal Republic of Germany, however, referred to the Potsdam Agreement which deferred settlement of the frontier issue to a peace treaty with all Germany and it insisted that the expellees should not be deprived of the right to their homeland. At the same time it emphasised that it had no intention of changing the border by force. Nevertheless, for a long time the contrasting views on the frontier issue prevented the normalisation of relations with Poland. In the "Charta der deutschen Heimatvertriebenen" (Charter of German Expellees) of August 5, 1950 the expellees foreswore revenge and violence while reaffirming their right to their homeland and equal participation in the reconstruction of Germany and Europe.

The Treaty of Warsaw of December 7, 1970 between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland opened the way to understanding between the two states. The treaty lays down that the Oder-Neisse line forms Poland's western state frontier. The Federal Government has made clear that it acts only on behalf of the Federal Republic of Germany, that is that does not commit a reunited Germany. The treaty does not impinge on the rights and responsibilities of the four powers in respect of Germany as a whole and Berlin, nor does it replace the still lacking peace treaty. Both sides underlined the inviolability of their existing borders "now and in the future" and declared that "they have no territorial claims whatsoever against each other."

Germany under occupation rule. Another important topic of the Potsdam Conference was what was to be done with defeated Germany. In this respect agreement was reached on the following principles: total disarmament and demilitarisation, destruction of the war potential, destruction of National Socialism, decentralisation of the economy and reconstruction of political life on a democratic basis. No central German government was to be formed until further notice; there could, however, be several German central administrations as support organs for the Control Council.

It soon became apparent that each of the victorious powers interpreted the Potsdam Agreement in its own way and in line with its own interests. France, for example, especially distrustful of all German strivings for unity, prevented by its veto the establishment of the intended German central authorities. The sharpest differences existed from the outset, however, over the question of what the democratisation of Germany was to look like. Despite these differ-

ences of opinion on details, however, the Western powers were agreed on the basic principles of the future German order of state and society: parliamentary democracy, legal security, civic liberties, human rights, private property and private enterprise were to them an inseparable whole. For the Soviet Union, however, "democratisation" according to Leninist doctrine was possible only in a socialist order in which the state—and with that the communist party controlling it—controls the decisive means of production.

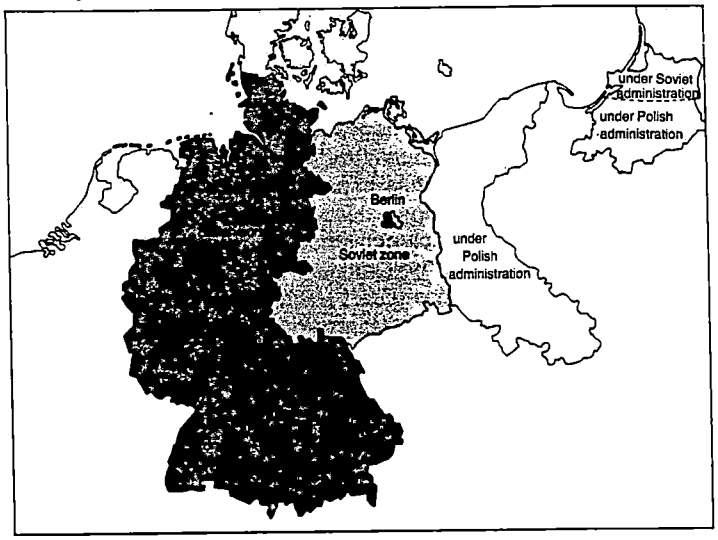
Fundamental as these differences were, they comprised only one aspect of the overall East-West conflict which assumed world dimensions and soon turned into the "cold war." Under these circumstances the cooperation of the four powers in Germany practically came to an end at the turn of 1947/48. In March 1948 the Soviet Union left the Allied Control Council in Berlin. The relationship between the former allies turned into open hostility, indeed came almost to the brink of war, when in 1948/49 the Soviet Union made the ultimately futile attempt to incorporate the parts of Berlin occupied by the Western powers into its sphere of power (see p. 76).

New political beginning in the occupation zones. In the meantime the building up of German political parties and administrative organs had begun in the different occupation zones. This proceeded very fast and under rigid direction in the Soviet zone where already in the summer of 1945 political parties on a zonal scale were allowed and several central administrations for the zone established. The occupation power favoured the Communist Party (KPD). In April 1946 the Social Democratic Party (SPD) which had a larger following than the KPD was forced to merge with it to form the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED, Socialist Unity Party of Germany). A vote among SPD members about the merger was prevented in the Soviet zone. Such a vote did take place in the Western sectors of Berlin; there 82% of those who voted were against merging with the KPD. Although in the 1946 local government and Landtag elections the SED won the most votes in the Soviet zone, the other parties, too, although they were greatly hindered, did well. Since then the SED—except in Berlin (West)—has never again contested free elections.

In the three Western zones the development of political life proceeded from the bottom to the top. Political parties were allowed initially only at local level; after the Länder had been constituted, also at state level. Mergers at zonal level occurred only later. In 1946/47 Landtag elections took place in all states. Zonal level administrative organs were only beginning to form. But since the deprivation of the ruined country could only be overcome with large-scale planning across state and zonal frontiers and the four-power administration was not functioning, the USA and Great Britain decided in 1947 to unite their two zones in economic matters. This "united economic area," also called "Bizone," was the germcell of the later Federal Republic of Germany. The Frankfurt "Economic Council" made up of Länder delegates and the "Administrative Council" it appointed in turn were the first steps towards a future parliament and a future government.

Foundation of the Federal Republic of Germany. In the early summer of 1948, when all hopes of solving the Germany problem together with the Soviet Union had been abandoned, the Western powers gave the signal for the establishment of a West German

Germany in 1945



— Germany within the borders of 1937

Western zones and Western sectors of Berlin* (Federal Republic of Germany from 1949)

Soviet zone and Eastern sector of Berlin* (German Democratic Republic from 1949)

German eastern territories under Polish or Soviet administration

* On special status of Berlin see p. 77-80

state. They proposed that a national assembly work out a constitution. The suggestion met with resistance from most German politicians who feared that in this way they would be cementing the division of Germany. After long negotiations it was decided to form a "Parliamentary Council" of delegates from the Länder parliaments to draw up a "Basic Law" (Grundgesetz). The choice of this term instead of the word "constitution" (Verfassung) was to underline the fact that it was not to be the final constitution of a separate state but only a temporary makeshift solution.

The Parliamentary Council convened on September 1, 1948 in Bonn. A leading figure of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Konrad Adenauer, the former Chief Mayor (Oberbürgermeister) of Köln (Cologne), was elected its president. In a period of seven months this body wrote the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany. On May 8, 1949 it was adopted by the Parliamentary Council by 53 votes to 12. It then required adoption by the assemblies of two thirds of the participating Länder. In the ensuing weeks 10 of 11 Länder parliaments gave their approval. On May 24, 1949 the Basic Law went into force. Only the Bavarian Landtag refused ratification because it felt the central organs had been given too much power at the expense of the Länder. Despite this, Bayern nevertheless recognised the Basic Law as being legally binding.

The authors of the Basic Law emphasised in several points the provisional nature of their work. The preamble declared (and declares to this day) that the Basic Law had been adopted "to give a new order to political life for a transitional period." The German people in the West German Länder had "also acted on behalf of those Germans to whom participation was denied," that is to say the inhabitants of the Soviet zone. The preamble goes on: "The entire German people are called upon to achieve in free self-determination the unity and freedom of Germany." And the last article of the Basic Law states: "The Basic Law shall cease to be in force on the day on which a constitution adopted by a free decision of the German people comes into force." Restoration of Germany as a united state was the declared supreme objective of all political parties and few were probably so pessimistic at the time to assume that its realisation would still be far off even decades later.

With the coming into force of the Basic Law, the Federal Republic of Germany had come into existence. On August 14, 1949 the first election of its parliament, the Deutscher Bundestag, took place. The great majority of voters gave their support to parties which backed the Basic Law which thus gained democratic approval. Then the federal organs were constituted. On September 15, 1949

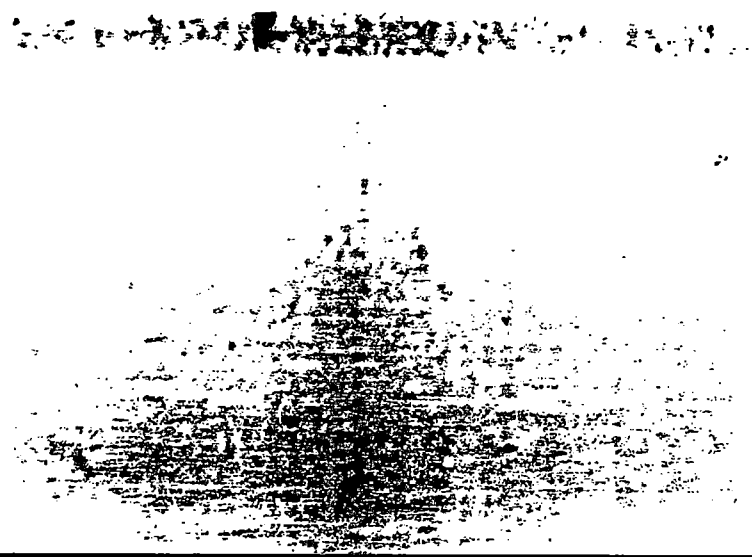
Konrad Adenauer was elected the first Federal Chancellor (Bundeskanzler).

When it was founded the Federal Republic of Germany did not have full sovereignty. Supreme authority remained with the three Western occupation powers. In the following years the occupation regime was eliminated step by step. On May 5, 1955, with the coming into force of the Paris Agreements, full sovereignty was restored to the Federal Republic. From a vanquished enemy it had turned into a partner of the Western powers.

The German Democratic Republic. In the Soviet zone the establishment of state organs and changes to the structure of society on the Soviet model had, as mentioned earlier, begun early. But in its propaganda the Socialist Unity Party (SED) always portrayed itself as the pioneer of German unity and accused the West German parties of betraying the national cause. This was also the reason why it allowed the western state foundation to take place first. Only after the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany was the German Democratic Republic (GDR—Deutsche Demokratische Republik) founded on October 7, 1949 in the eastern sector of Berlin. According to its constitution it appeared to be a parliamentary democracy. But in reality the communist SED from the outset dominated all political activity and its leading organ, the Politbüro, to all intents and purposes governed dictatorially.

In the summer of 1952 the SED proclaimed the "building up of socialism." From then on the transformation of the social and state order along communist lines was continued at an accelerated pace and in all openness. Already in 1950 the GDR had become a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, COMECON, and its accession to the Warsaw Pact in 1955 completed its integration in the eastern bloc.

The political pressures and the economic difficulties aroused great dissatisfaction among the GDR's population. An uprising broke out on June 17, 1953 which was bloodily put down by Soviet troops stationed in the GDR. Day by day people fled from the GDR to the Federal Republic, especially to West Berlin. To prevent "flight from the Republic" the GDR authorities from 1952 onwards constructed along the entire demarcation line with the Federal Republic extensive barriers with barbed wire fences and minefields—the most heavily guarded frontier in Europe. But for a long time refugees were still able to go unhindered through East Berlin to West Berlin and fly from there to the West. In 1961 this escape route was cut off by the construction of the Berlin wall (see p. 77). By then



The German Democratic Republic (GDR)

(1986 statistics. All data include Berlin [East])

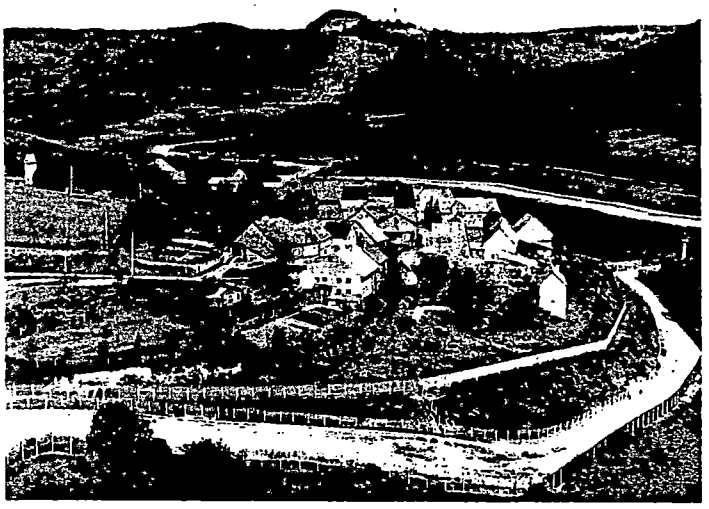
Area: 108,333 sq. kms, of which 6.22 million hectares are under agriculture
Population: 16.6 million (153 per sq. km)
Gainfully employed: 8.6 million, of whom 49.1 % are women
Seat of government: Berlin (East)*
Biggest cities (population): Berlin (East) 1,223,000, Leipzig 552,000, Dresden 520,000, Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) 314,000
Collective head of state: 31-member Council of State (Staatsrat); chairman: Erich Honecker
Government: Council of Ministers (Ministerrat); chairman: Willi Stoph
Parliament: 500-member People's Chamber (Volkskammer), elected for 5 years; president: Horst Sindermann
Political parties: Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands, SED), 2.3 million members; Secretary-General: Erich Honecker. In addition there are four other parties and many mass organizations which are united together with the SED in the National Front of the GDR (Nationale Front der DDR)
Currency: 1 Mark = 100 Pfennig

* Declared capital by the GDR. In the view of the Federal Republic of Germany and the three Western powers (USA, Great Britain, France) the four-power status still applies to all of Berlin, that is to say also to Berlin (East).

some 3.5 million people had fled from the Soviet zone, respectively the GDR, to the West. Even to this day, despite the dangers faced at the frontier, a few hundred GDR inhabitants risk flight every year, but their chances are slim. Many have died or been injured in the attempt by gunfire or exploding mines.

The refugee exodus had badly weakened the GDR's economy because it reduced the important labour force. After the construction of the wall there was a certain amount of consolidation and an economic recovery began. The standard of living rose considerably, although it remained far behind that of the Federal Republic. Among the eastern bloc countries the GDR moved up to second place after the Soviet Union in terms of industrial production and foreign trade. Internationally, too, it gained in weight. It won influence, especially in a number of ideologically close Third World countries. All these successes notwithstanding, the SED leadership has not dared to submit to a free election by the population. To this day voting is by unitary lists which are dominated by the communist SED.

Reunification of Germany. Thus from 1949 there were two states on German soil. The Federal Republic of Germany regards itself as



The border between East and West Germany

the only legitimised German state. In so doing it can point to its democratic legitimation through free elections which the GDR cannot. This was why in the first few years Bonn responded to the GDR offers of all-German consultations by demanding free elections in all of Germany. The GDR rejected this. But both states continued to declare the restoration of German unity the supreme objective of their policies.

Great dissension developed between government and opposition in the Federal Republic over how this objective was to be achieved. The Christian Democrat government of Konrad Adenauer initially pursued the Federal Republic's integration in the Western alliance system because it wanted to secure the freedom of the Federal Republic and was unable to achieve a solution to the German question without the support of the West against the hegemonial aims of the Soviet Union. The opposition, then mainly comprising Social Democrats, took the contrasting stand, arguing that the integration in the West was disastrous because it barred the way to German unity, a way which had to be kept open for all eventualities.

A chance to solve the German question appeared to come in March 1952. At that time the Soviet Union presented the Western powers with a draft treaty with Germany and called upon them to enter into negotiations without delay. In the ensuing exchange of

notes the Western powers for their part declared that before negotiations about a peace treaty could start, internationally controlled free elections for the formation of a German government would have to take place. A United Nations commission formed to this end was refused entry into the GDR. It has remained a point of dispute to this day whether the Soviet note aimed only to disturb the then [redacted]oping integration of the Federal Republic into the Western de- system—for which there is strong evidence—or whether its seriousness could and should have been tested further.

In 1955 the incorporation of both German states in their respective Western and Eastern alliance systems was concluded. And with that what the German question also moved into a new stage. The GDR dropped its reunification slogans and from then on proposed merely a confederation of both states. The Federal Republic stuck to its stand that reunification could come only out of all-German free elections and that it alone had the right to speak in the name of all Germany. Bonn treated other states' establishment of diplomatic relations with the GDR as an "unfriendly act"—the so-called "Hallstein doctrine" of 1955. By this doctrine it prevented, far into the 1960's, non-eastern bloc countries from establishing diplomatic links with the GDR. But in time this policy became more and more difficult to sustain. Given the international political climate it seemed unrealistic to expect reunification of Germany in peace and freedom in the foreseeable future. And so the attempt had to be made to put the relations between the two German states on a new footing.

"Regulated co-existence." Since 1949 there had always been contacts in practical questions, such as trading matters, between the two German states. But only in the changed climate created by the treaties with the East European states and the Berlin Agreement, the first talks at government level were begun under the Bonn government of Willy Brandt formed in 1969. On December 17, 1971 the two German states signed an agreement on transit traffic of civilian persons and goods between the Federal Republic of Germany and Berlin (West) and on May 26, 1972 a treaty on transport matters was [redacted]cluded which provided primarily for practical improvements for [redacted]llers in either direction. Following extremely difficult negotia- [redacted]s a "Treaty on the Basis of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic" was signed on December 21, 1972. The two states committed themselves to developing normal good-neighbourly relations, refraining from the threat or use of force and respecting each other's independence

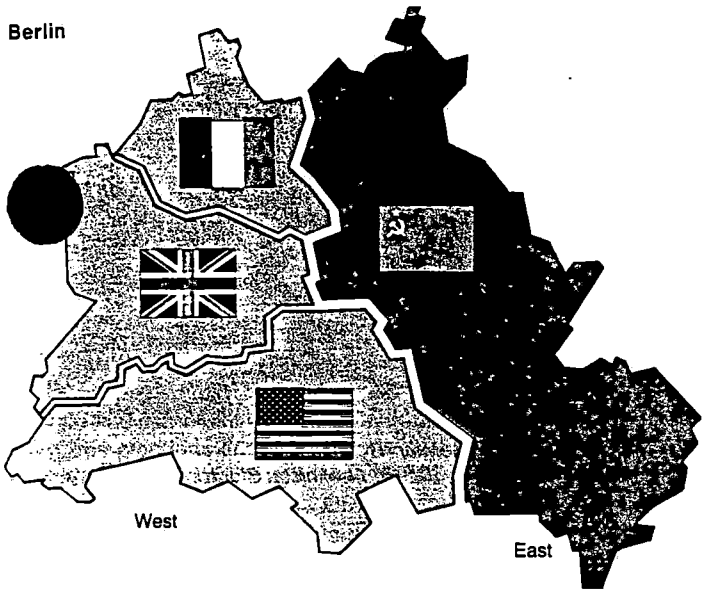


German-German talks:
Chancellor Brandt and GDR Prime Minister Stoph in Kassel, 1970

and autonomy in internal and external affairs. The conclusion of the treaty was accompanied by a "Letter from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on German Unity" which states that the treaty does not contradict the political goal of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will regain its unity through free self-determination.

The "Basic Treaty" created the prerequisites for step by step expansion of cooperation. To this end it provided for follow-on negotiations aimed at further agreements. So far accords have been entered into in the fields of health and veterinary science, posts and telecommunications, cultural cooperation, non-commercial financial transactions, protection and maintenance of border watercourses and improvement of transport routes to Berlin (West). Each of the two states has set up a "permanent mission" in the other's centre of government.

Even today, however, relations between the two German states are still far from normal. The border barriers erected by the GDR have lost none of their horror. People trying to get from the GDR to the West are still shot at. The improvements in travel are still mainly one-sided, that is, it has become much simpler for inhabitants from the Federal Republic to visit the GDR. Conversely, inhabitants of the GDR, with few exceptions, are allowed to leave their state to visit the Federal Republic only when they are in retirement. Since the conclusion of the agreements millions of West Germans have made use of the improved travel possibilities and visited the GDR.



The GDR leadership looks with distrust on the increased contacts between Germans from west and east, seeing in them a threat to the stability of their system. To deter inhabitants of the Federal Republic from visiting the GDR it drastically raised in 1980 the obligatory amount which visitors have to convert into East German marks. The number of visits fell appreciably as a result. The Federal Government has urged the GDR on many occasions to lower the compulsory exchange sum again. But so far it has only been cut a little for pensioners.

In all fields the GDR tries to limit alien ideas and opinions coming in. Newspapers and books from the Federal Republic are let in only exceptionally and after thorough screening. Journalists from the West are subjected to hindrances in the GDR and risk expulsion if its authorities dislike the way they report. However, inhabitants of the GDR make full use of the possibility of unhindered reception of television and radio programmes from the Federal Republic.

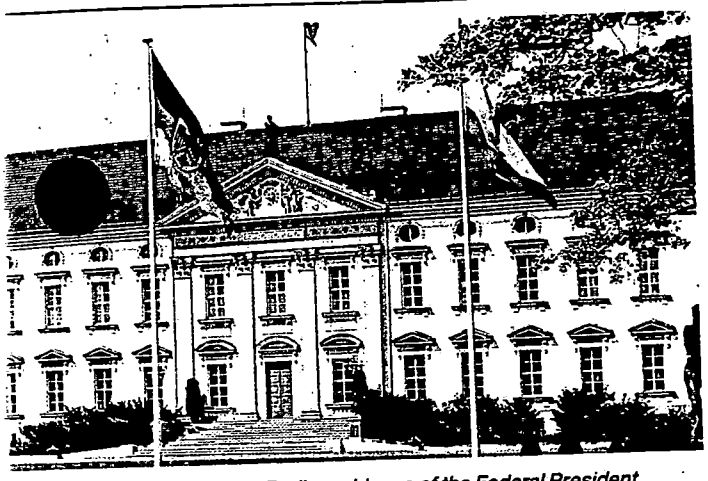
Divided Berlin. The division of Germany repeats itself on a smaller scale, but no less cruelly for the people concerned, in the division of Berlin. The Reich capital was conquered by Soviet troops in the last few days of World War II. As agreed in the "London Protocol" of 1944, the city was put under the joint administration of the four victorious powers. Each of them—France, Britain, the Soviet Union and the USA—occupied a sector of Berlin which together formed an island, as it were, in the middle of the overall Soviet occupation zone. This "island" location gave rise to the Berlin problem.

As the East-West conflict worsened, the joint four-power administration of Berlin proved as impossible as that of all Germany. Under Soviet pressure, the city was politically and administratively split in 1948. But the Soviet Union did not want to tolerate the existence of a "Western enclave" within its occupation zone and tried to push the Western powers out of Berlin.

In June 1948 the Soviets paralysed all passenger and goods transportation between Berlin and West Germany. The aim was to starve the Western part of the city into submission. But for 10 months the Western powers managed to keep the two million Berliners in the Western part of the city supplied with their most urgent needs by air, through the famous Berlin airlift. Finally, in May 1949, the Soviet Union lifted the blockade. Then, in 1958, followed another attack: the Soviet Union issued an ultimatum to the Western powers to agree to the transformation of West Berlin into a "demilitarised free city." Resolutely the Western powers rejected the demand. Thwarted in achieving its objective in this way, the Soviet Union first set about solving a particularly pressing problem it faced in its own way. This was the flight of hundreds of thousands of GDR inhabitants every year through the open sector boundary in Berlin. On August 13, 1961 the GDR, with Soviet backing, sealed off the sector boundary by constructing a wall right across the city which, in the passage of time, was consolidated into a deep system of anti-escape barriers. Berlin was now also a physically cleaved city.

In 1949 the eastern sector of Berlin, in violation of the city's four-power status, was declared the capital of the just founded GDR. As time went by the eastern sector was increasingly integrated into the GDR system. This violates the "London Protocol" of September 1944 in which initially Great Britain, the USA and the Soviet Union, and later France, agreed that all of Berlin would belong to none of the occupation zones and that hence this area is subject to special status. The West still holds to this legal position.

The Basic Law of 1949 and the Berlin Constitution of 1950 proceeded from the premise that Berlin (West) is a Land of the Federal Republic. The Western powers declared that this regulation is irreconcilable with the four-power status of Berlin and retained supreme government authority for themselves. But they permitted West Ber-



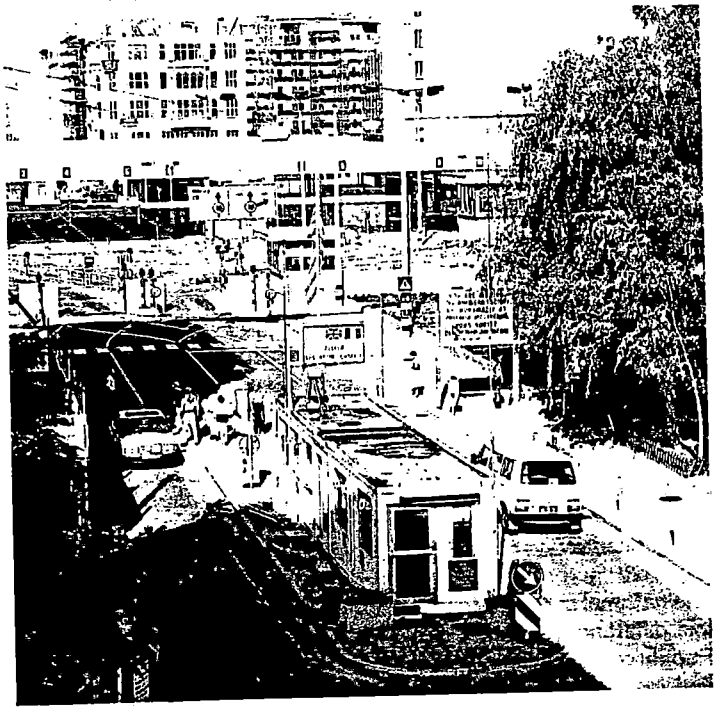
Bellevue Palace, the Berlin residence of the Federal President

lin's integration into the legal, economic, fiscal, monetary and social systems of the Federal Republic of Germany. For years the eastern side raised no objections to this. But after construction of the dividing wall it turned increasingly against West Berlin's ties with the Federal Republic. Almost all Berlin activities of the Federal Republic were claimed to be illegal. The free part of Berlin was to be an "independent political unit" devoid of any ties with the West German state. To underline this demand the GDR persistently obstructed traffic between Berlin and West Germany. Travellers to Berlin had to put up with arbitrariness and chicaneries. More than once the situation on the transit routes through GDR territory assumed crisis proportions.

The Berlin Agreement. Since the Berlin problem had proved a stumbling block to a general policy of detente in Europe, the four powers in March 1970 began negotiations over Berlin. The outcome was in the Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971 which entered to force on June 3, 1972. It brought no final solution of the Berlin problem, the signatories not even being able to agree on its geographical area of application, which in the Western interpretation covers all Berlin, in the Soviet only West Berlin. But the agreement contains practical regulations which have helped the city's situation. The Soviet Union no longer disputes the right of the Western powers' presence in Berlin and accepts the existing ties of the part-city to the Federal Republic of Germany, including the right of Bonn to represent Berlin (West) to the outside world. Traffic on roads, railways and waterways between Berlin and West Germany has been put on a secure legal footing by the Four Power Agreement and subsequent bilateral agreements between the two German states. After years of prohibition, Berliners in the Western half of the city were now again able to visit the eastern sector and the GDR at large. Telephone services between the two parts of the city, suspended for years, were resumed.

In line with the unchanged legal standpoint of the Western powers, Berlin (West) is still not a part of the Federal Republic of Germany nor is it governed by it. This is why federal laws are not directly applicable in Land Berlin but are taken over in a special procedure. But the existing economic, financial, legal and cultural ties between Berlin (West) and the Federal Republic of Germany are being maintained and developed further. The federal government makes a substantial contribution to the budget of Land Berlin.

Border crossing point from Berlin (West) to Berlin (East)



Berlin (West) sends 22 deputies to the Bundestag in Bonn and th[illegible] the European Parliament, though these delegates are not e[illegible]by the population at large, but by the city parliament, the A[illegible]dnetenhaus. They are not entitled to vote in plenary divisions in the Bundestag on legislative matters or in the election of the Federal Chancellor. The same holds for the Berlin representatives in the Bundesrat (Federal Council, the assembly of federal states). In Bundestag and Bundesrat committees and in the European Parliament, however, the Berlin representatives do have full voting powers and in the Federal Convention (Bundesversammlung) they participate in the election of the Federal President. The Governing Mayor (Regierender Bürgermeister) of Berlin (West) is, in rotation with the heads of government of the federal states (Bundesländer), President of the Bundesrat and thus deputy to the Federal President every 11 years. The Federal President has an official residence in the city and many federal authorities and institutions are based there.

The Quadripartite Agreement has by no means done away with all points of dispute. There are still periodic frictions with the Soviet Union—and the GDR—over the interpretation of individual provisions. But all in all the agreement has made the future of Berlin (West) more secure.

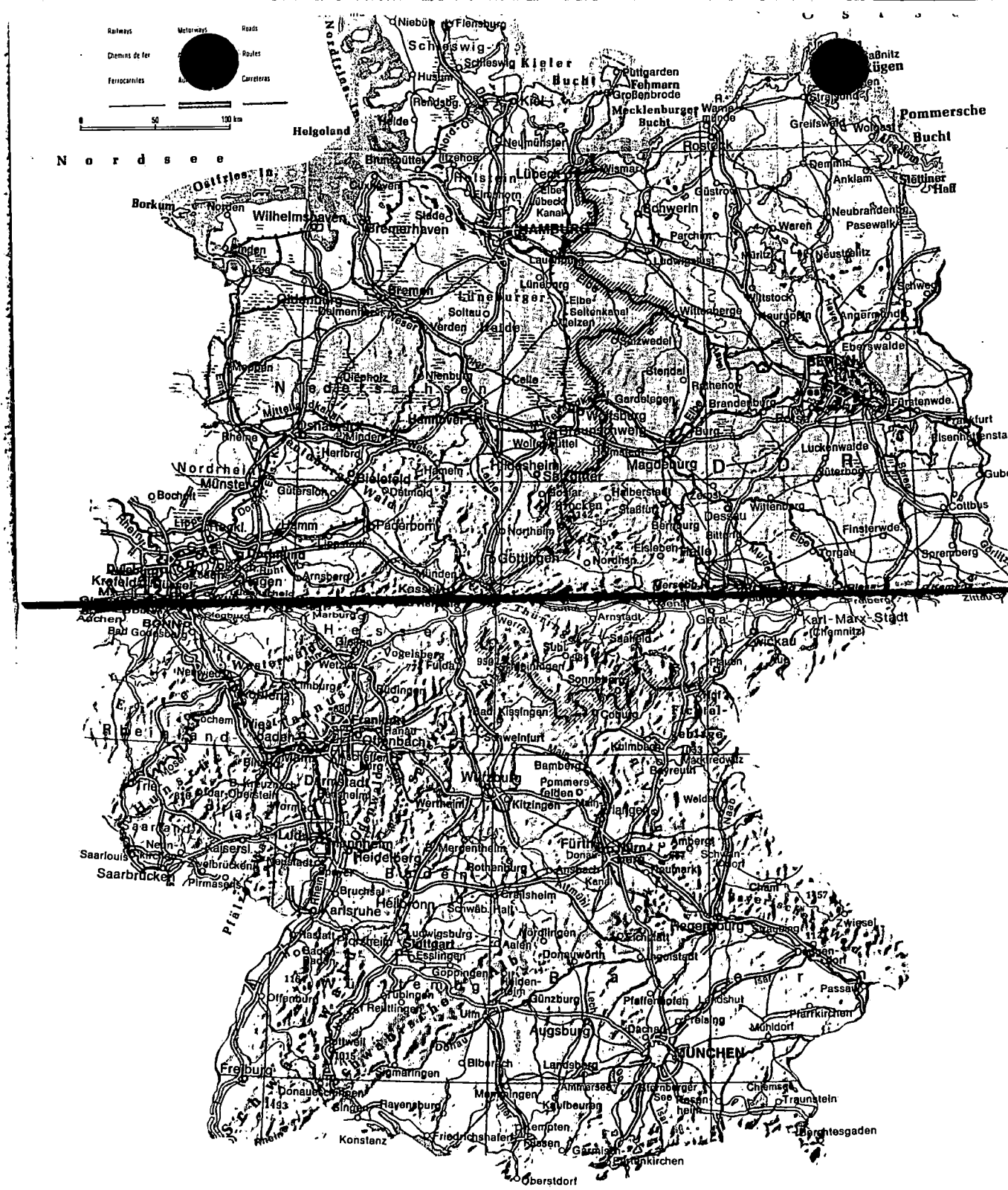
Since then much thought has been devoted to how this future should look. Berlin (West) had to redefine its role once it was no longer capital or "front city" in the "Cold War." Much has happened meanwhile in the economic field but much remains to be done. As a result of the years of insecurity the city's economic development has not been able to keep pace with average growth in the Federal Republic. Many people of working age have left, giving the city an unfavourable age structure. Here Bonn tries to help, giving tax advantages for investments in the city and, through financial incentives, trying to encourage young people to settle there. Its isolation [illegible]thstanding, Berlin (West) has remained a major cultural cen[illegible]s theatres, orchestras and museums enjoying world renown. Whatever the future may hold in store for Berlin, one thing is certain: nowhere are people as aware of Germany's division as there. Within sight of the wall one cannot forget that the national question is still unsolved.

The national question. In the national question there are incompatible differences between the two states in Germany. The Federal Republic of Germany continues to maintain that Germans in East and West form one nation. There are good grounds for this view. Almost 40% of the inhabitants of the Federal Republic have relatives or acquaintances in the GDR; leading Federal German politicians were born on what is now GDR territory, leading GDR politicians in what is now the Federal Republic.

That is a degree of personal intertwinement that can rarely occur between alien nations. But above all, the inhabitants of both the Federal Republic and the GDR continue to feel as members of one German nation, linked by a common language and history and many other common heritages which cannot simply be wiped away from one day to the next. This is why it is out of the question for the Federal Republic of Germany to recognise the GDR as a foreign country in terms of international law. According to the Basic Law an inhabitant of the GDR is just as much a German citizen as any inhabitant of the Federal Republic. In trade, the Federal Republic imposes no import duty on products coming in from the GDR. For mail to the GDR, inland postage is charged. From the point of view of the Federal Republic there is a very special relationship between the two German states: as part-states in Germany they are independent of each other, but not foreign countries to each other. The Federal Constitutional Court has confirmed these principles. It has ruled that the Basic Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany the German Democratic Republic is compatible with the Basic Law, emphasising at the same time that it is the duty of all organs of the Federal Republic of Germany to work towards restoration of unity of government and to avoid any action that would thwart reunification.

The GDR takes a totally different stand on this issue. It refuses to acknowledge any special relationship between the two German states. As far as it is concerned, there is the same international legal relationship between them as between any other two states. In recent years the GDR has even moved away from the concept of a common German nation. Whereas in its 1968 constitution it still saw itself as a "socialist state of the German nation" and proclaimed as an objective "the gradual rapprochement of the two German states until their unification," its new 1974 constitution struck out all references to the continuing existence of a German nation. Since then the GDR insists that the two are now completely separate nations. This abrupt about-turn has no basis in reality. The brusque demarcation apparently serves the purpose of nipping in the bud newly awakened hopes among the GDR population of reunification, or at least of closer relations between the two states.

The "German question," that is the entire complex of issues concerning divided Germany, has of late come back into the headlines


Railways
Chemins de fer
Ferrocarriles
Motorways
Autoroutes
Autopistas
Roads
Routes
Carreteras
0
50
100 km
Nordsee
Helgoland
Borkum
Schleswig
Flensburg
Husum
Kiel
Lübeck
Rostock
Wismar
Schwerin
Neubrandenburg
Pasewalk
Greifswald
Stralsund
Pommersche Bucht
Stettiner Haff
Ankiam
Demmin
Waren
Neustrelitz
Wilhelmshaven
Bremerhaven
Hamburg
Bremen
Oldenburg
Emden
Norden
Leer
Meppen
Lingen
Nienburg
Celle
Hannover
Braunschweig
Wolfsburg
Gardelegen
Stendal
Rathenow
Brandenburg
Potsdam
Berlin
Eberswalde
Fürstenwde.
Frankfurt
Luckenwalde
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Bernburg
Dessau
Wittenberg
Cottbus
Finsterwde.
Sprembergh
Bielefeld
Münster
Osnabrück
Minden
Herford
Detmold
Paderborn
Hamm
Lippstadt
Soest
Arnsberg
Siegen
Dortmund
Bochum
Krefeld
Aachen
Bonn
Köln
Leverkusen
Wuppertal
Essen
Duisburg
Mönchengladbach
Marburg
Gießen
Kassel
Göttingen
Northeim
Hildesheim
Salzgitter
Wolfsburg
Celle
Soltau
Verden
Uelzen
Lüneburg
Elbe-Seitenkanal
Elbe-Lübeck-Kanal
Ludwigslust
Parchim
Güstrow
Malchin
Torgau
Elsterwerda
Jena
Gera
Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz)
Zwickau
Plauen
Arnstadt
Saalfeld
Suhl
Meiningen
Schweinfurt
Bad Kissingen
Coburg
Hof
Bayreuth
Kulmbach
Bamberg
Würzburg
Aschaffenburg
Hanau
Frankfurt
Darmstadt
Mainz
Wiesbaden
Koblenz
Trier
Saarbrücken
Saarlouis
Kaiserslautern
Ludwigshafen
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Karlsruhe
Pforzheim
Stuttgart
Heilbronn
Crailsheim
Rothenburg
Ansbach
Nürnberg
Fürth
Erlangen
Amberg
Schwandorf
Cham
Regensburg
Straubing
Deggendorf
Passau
Landshut
Pfarrkirchen
Mühldorf
Pfaffenhofen
Ingolstadt
Augsburg
München
Rosenheim
Traunstein
Chiemsee
Garmisch-Partenkirchen
Oberammergau
Oberstdorf
Füssen
Kempten
Memmingen
Kaufbeuren
Landsberg
Ammersee
Starnberger See
Bad Tölz
Wolfratshausen
Dachau
Freising
Ulm
Günzburg
Neu-Ulm
Donauwörth
Nördlingen
Aalen
Schwäb. Hall
Bad Mergentheim
Tauberbischofsheim
Wertheim
Kitzingen
Schweinfurt
Meiningen
Suhl
Sonneberg
Saalfeld
Rudolstadt
Weimar
Erfurt
Eisenach
Fulda
Gießen
Limburg
Wetzlar
Siegen
Olpe
Meschede
Brilon
Warburg
Höxter
Holzminden
Bad Pyrmont
Hameln
Rinteln
Stadthagen
Bückeburg
Nienburg
Verden
Soltau
Uelzen
Lüneburg
Winsen
Buchholz
Harburg
Cuxhaven
Otterndorf
Stade
Buxtehude
Itzehoe
Neumünster
Rendsburg
Eckernförde
Flensburg
Niebüll
Sylt
Föhr
Amrum
Helgoland
Fehmarn
Großenbrode
Mecklenburger Bucht
Rügen
Hiddensee
Usedom
Wolgast
Anklam
Demmin
Neubrandenburg
Pasewalk
Prenzlau
Angermünde
Schwedt
Eberswalde
Frankfurt
Eisenhüttenstadt
Guben
Cottbus
Finsterwalde
Spremberg
Görlitz
Zittau
Freiberg
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Plauen
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Selb
Marktredwitz
Weiden
Amberg
Schwandorf
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Elbe
Oder
Havel
Spree
Lech
Isar
Inn
Donau
Thüringer Wald
Harz
Rhön
Spessart
Odenwald
Schwarzwald
Schwäbische Alb
Fränkische Alb
Bayerischer Wald
Böhmerwald
Erzgebirge
Fichtelgebirge
Frankenwald
Thüringer Wald
Rothaargebirge
Sauerland
Eifel
Hunsrück
Taunus
Westerwald
Vogelsberg
Rhön
Spessart
Odenwald
Pfälzerwald
Schwarzwald
Schwäbische Alb
Fränkische Alb
Bayerischer Wald
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Erzgebirge
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Frankenwald
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Rothaargebirge
Sauerland
Eifel
Hunsrück
Taunus
Westerwald
Vogelsberg

not only of the German media. Even [illegible]
falsely that the "German question" has long been settled, for many Germans on both sides of the frontier it is still a painful reality and will remain an issue until the entire German nation gets the opportunity to exercise its right to self-determination within the framework of a peaceful order in Europe.

The Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 to the present

The two major political parties, the conservative Christian Democratic alliance (CDU/CSU) and the Social Democratic Party (SPD), [illegible]ut of the August 14, 1949 Bundestag election almost equally [illegible] Together they received more than 60% of the votes. There [illegible] was a broad body of public feeling that in view of the country's difficult situation they should go into a "grand coalition" and govern together. But grave political differences and perhaps even more the wilful personalities of the two party leaders, Konrad Adenauer of the CDU and Kurt Schumacher of the SPD, stood in the way. Thus a coalition between CDU/CSU, Free Democrats (FDP) and Deutsche Partei (a small right-of-centre party) which had already been practised in the Frankfurt Economic Council, was continued. This constellation lasted until 1966. The CDU/CSU governed with one or two small partners, the SPD forming the opposition.

Decision for the West. The office of Federal Chancellor was taken by 73-year-old Konrad Adenauer. He remained head of government for 14 years, a period of office longer than the entire Weimar Republic between the two world wars.

When it came into existence the Federal Republic of Germany was no sovereign state. In an Occupation Statute the three Western powers retained supreme authority in many fields. Adenauer saw as his most important objective gradually to regain the freedom of action for the new German state. The best means of achieving this was, to his mind, the greatest possible integration of the Federal Republic of Germany with the gradually forming Western community.

World-political events favoured this approach. East-West tensions sharpened even more, climaxing in the outbreak of the Korean war in the summer of 1950. That year the Federal Republic joined the Council of Europe, negotiations began over a West European coal and steel community and Adenauer made the Western [illegible]rs the offer of mobilising German troops for a European De[illegible] Community. In several stages and not without setbacks the integration of the Federal Republic with the Western alliance system proceeded. Under the Paris Agreements of 1954 it became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). With the coming into force of these treaties on May 5, 1955 occupation rule ended. Occupation troops became stationed troops with contractually regulated status. The Federal Republic became sovereign.

The policy of rearmament and Western integration was subject to impassioned dispute. The mainly Social Democrat opposition rejected it, their main argument being that it prevented Germany's reunification (see p. 72–74). Adenauer was, however, able to point to broad popular backing. In the 1953 Bundestag election his party scored enormous gains and in 1957 it even won an absolute majority.

The "economic miracle." But these electoral successes were not, of course, primarily due to foreign policy. What probably swayed most voters was the astounding economic recovery made possible by the economic policies of the Adenauer government. Several factors converged to cause this so-called "economic miracle." Adenauer's economics minister, Ludwig Erhard, energetically promoted private initiative according to market economy principles. The initial spark was provided by the economic aid given by the USA within the framework of the Marshall Plan. Also significant was that the Federal Republic had no military expenditure and that in the refugees from the East it had a large reservoir of people ready to work hard. Production figures and profits rose quickly and so did incomes. In the early 50's full employment was achieved. The standard of living of a broad section of the population rose noticeably and with that there grew the readiness to settle permanently for the West German state system originally conceived as provisional.

Carried by solid majorities, Adenauer continued his Western-orientated policy. Apart from the unification of Western Europe, reconcillation with the "hereditary enemy," France, was close to his heart. For its sake he was willing to agree to a "European" settlement for the Saar region which France had taken out of its occupation zone in 1946 and tied closely to itself. But in a 1955 plebiscite the Saar population rejected the intended statute which was to be guaranteed by the Western European Union. In 1957 the Saarland became a Land of the Federal Republic of Germany. A big step towards West European unification came with the 1957 Treaties of Rome founding the European Economic Community (EEC). The six founding states have meanwhile been joined by six more.

After Adenauer. Adenauer's star began to sink in the late 1950's. Home policy crises and electoral losses in the 1961 Bundestag poll gave rise to criticism within his own party. In 1963 he resigned at the age of 87. The party chose Ludwig Erhard to succeed him. The le-

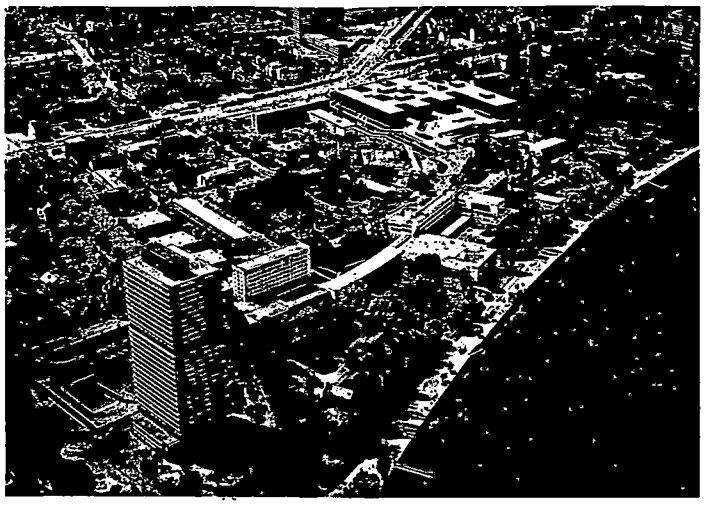
gendary man of the "economic miracle" was less successful as head of government. Although winning a convincing electoral victory in 1965, when economic recession set in a year later differences in the coalition government camp over how to deal with it culminated in his resignation.

Political parties entered negotiations which brought a complete new constellation. A grand coalition was formed by the CDU/CSU and the SPD, with the CDU's Kurt Georg Kiesinger as Federal Chancellor and Willy Brandt of the SPD as Foreign Minister. The Free Democratic Party, with only 49 Bundestag seats, became the opposition, no other parties having been represented in the house since 1961.

With a programme of fast-acting measures the grand coalition government quickly overcame the recession. In foreign policy it continued the course of integration with the West which the SPD had meanwhile espoused. The main home policy project of the grand coalition was the enactment of legislation for a national emergency, lacking until then in the Basic Law. The drafting of these provisions led to acrimonious public dispute, critics fearing they would curb civil liberties. In the course of the debate the bills were greatly modified. In 1968 the Bundestag adopted the emergency laws (Notstandsgesetze).

The Social-Liberal coalition. After the 1969 Bundestag election there was a reversal of the party-political fronts. Social Democrats (SPD) and Liberals (FDP), who together had only a narrow majority, formed a coalition government, with Willy Brandt (SPD) as Chancellor and Walter Scheel (FDP) als Foreign Minister. For the first time in its history the CDU/CSU alliance had to go into opposition. The new government tackled an extensive programme of domestic reforms. But above all it set new importance on foreign and intra-German policies. While clinging to the Federal Republic's incorporation in the Western alliance system, it strengthened the up to then only hesitant efforts to settle with its eastern neighbours the questions remaining open since World War II. This objective was served by a whole host of treaties concluded from 1970 to 1973. They put relations with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the GDR on new foundations and strengthened the viability of Berlin (West) (see p. 74–76 and 136–139).

This new "Ostpolitik" (eastern policy) was highly controversial. The disputes over it rank as some of the most dramatic since 1949. In spring of 1972 the SPD/FDP government lost its Bundestag majority, but the opposition could not muster the necessary votes to topple it through a vote of no-confidence. Premature elections that same year strengthened the coalition.



Government quarter in Bonn

In May 1974 a close aide of Chancellor Willy Brandt was unmasked as a spy for the GDR. Brandt assumed political responsibility for the affair and resigned. He was succeeded by Helmut Schmidt (SPD) and Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) became the new Foreign Minister. The coalition was also continued after the 1976 and 1980 elections.

Whereas in the first years of the SPD-FDP coalition, foreign policy had been in the foreground, from 1973 onwards public interest turned more and more to economic and social policy. The oil price explosion, the world economic recession and the constantly rising number of unemployed hit the Federal Republic hard. The gross national product stopped growing, more and more enterprises were collapsing, it was becoming more difficult to fund the social security system and the public debt assumed menacing dimensions.

Dissension grew between the ruling SPD and FDP parties—and also within the chancellor's SPD—over how to tackle the crisis, as well as over foreign and defence policies. These differences ultimately led to their coalition government's breaking apart.

The coalition of the centre. The withdrawal from the coalition by the FDP Liberals left the Social Democrats unable to govern be-

cause on their own they had no parliamentary majority. On 1 October 1982 the allied CDU/CSU Conservatives and most of the FDP MPs in the Bundestag carried a vote of no-confidence in the Social Democrat chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, and elected CDU chairman Helmut Kohl to take over. He formed a coalition government of his [redacted] the Bavarian CSU and the FDP, whose chairman, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, remained vice-chancellor and foreign minister. The new government declared a crash programme focusing on righting the state's accounts, creating jobs, bringing welfare benefits into line with economic potentials and conducting foreign policy on the basis of existing treaties. After putting in train the most urgent measures, the Kohl-led government put these policies to the voters in a premature election in March 1983. It received a clear majority.

Against much domestic resistance the coalition government implemented the deployment of US nuclear missiles in the country as decided by NATO in 1979. The "ice age" many had predicted would ensue in East-West relations did not come. Negotiations with the GDR further eased human contacts. State debt was substantially reduced, the way was cleared for tax cuts and social security was put on a solid financial foundation. The economy underwent a new upswing and prices stayed stable. Employment also increased, halting the dramatic rise in joblessness, albeit at a high level. There are still more than two million people out of work. The January 1987 federal election confirmed the successful course of the government. In its programme, "Preserving Creation—Winning the Future" it outlined the major policy goals up to 1990: protection of the environment, safeguarding peace, economic stability.

State Politics The Law

The Basic Law
The constitutional bodies
The legal system
Political parties and elections
Federal, regional and local government
Regional planning and rezoning
The Federal Republic of Germany in the world
Public finance
Public service
Internal security
Defence

The Basic Law

The Basic Law (Grundgesetz) of the Federal Republic of Germany was created in 1949 "to give a new order to political life for a transitional period." Since then almost four decades have passed. The provisional constitution has become permanent for the foreseeable future and has proved a viable foundation for a stable, democratic system of society.

The authors of the Basic Law had seen under the Hitler dictatorship how the law and human dignity had been trampled underfoot and they remembered how in the final phase of the Weimar Republic a weak democracy had succumbed almost without resistance to the forward-surging tyrants. These were the things uppermost in their minds as they went about their work. Many provisions of the Basic Law testify to their eagerness to avoid the kinds of mistakes which contributed to the collapse of the first German republic.

The basic rights. The first 17 articles of the Basic Law list the main basic rights. It is no coincidence that it begins with them, underlining that the state is there for people's sake and not vice versa, that it is not to rule but to serve.

Part of the basic rights are such classic liberties as freedom of faith and conscience, of expression, assembly and movement, postal privacy and the right to property. The authors of the constitution added the right of conscientious refusal of military service and the equality of men and women. Some basic rights may be restricted by laws within narrow bounds. No law is allowed to violate the essence of a basic right.

A catalogue always leaves gaps. These are closed by the first articles of the Basic Law which comprehensively guarantee e's dignity and freedom of action and the equality of all before law.

The basic rights are directly applicable law. Here lies one of the major advances on earlier German constitutions, whose basic rights catalogues were more in the nature of non-binding programme declarations. The parliaments as lawmakers are just as strictly bound to the basic rights as the governments, the courts, the administration, the police and the armed forces.

The following is a famous example of how respect for a basic right was enforced. Article 6 of the Basic Law stipulates among other things that "illegitimate children shall be provided by legislation with the same opportunities for their physical and spiritual development and their place in society as are enjoyed by legitimate children."



Signing the Basic Law, 1949.
At the table: Reinhold Maier; partly hidden by the microphone: Theodor Heuss; left of him: Paul Löbe, Carlo Schmid

No such legislation had been enacted up to 1969. Thereupon one interested party filed suit with the Federal Constitutional Court which, in turn, ordered the Bundestag to fulfil within a specified time the duty commanded by the Basic Law. Soon afterwards the relevant law was enacted.

By its accession to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1952 the Federal Republic of Germany committed itself to the principle of international control of human rights. Article 25 of this convention entitles citizens of signatory countries to file complaints, even against their own states, before the European Commission and the European Court. The Federal Republic also ratified the international human rights convenants of the United Nations in 1973.

The foundations of the state order. Four principles govern the state order of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is a democracy, ruled by law, a social welfare state and a federation.

The democratic principle means that the people are the sovereign. The Basic Law has implemented this constitutional principle in the form of a representative democracy: the people exercise state power indirectly through elected representatives. In general, direct, free, equal and secret elections all citizens from the age of 18 elect the deputies of the German Bundestag who in turn elect the Federal Chancellor. At federal level forms of direct democracy, such as popular petition or referendum, no longer apply, although they do in some federal states.

The principle of constitutionalism implies that all state actions are subject to law and justice. This makes state activity predictable and examinable for the citizen. It is at the same time, however, a commitment to real justice, to which the legislative is also bound. Injustice remains injustice, even if it has become law. Such a law would be unconstitutional and could be invalidated by the Federal Constitutional Court. The exercise of state power is entrusted to legislative, executive and judiciary bodies, independent of each other according to the principle of the division of powers. The legality of all acts of state can be tested by independent judges if the person affected sues. A call against all forms of tyranny is contained in a Basic Law article giving all Germans "the right to resist any person or persons seeking to abolish the constitutional order should no other remedy be possible."

The principle of the social welfare state is a modern supplement to the inherited concept of constitutionalism. It obliges the state to protect the socially weaker and always to strive for social justice. Social basic rights—e. g. the rights to work, to education and training, to housing, to recuperation and to social security—are not expressly mentioned in the catalogue of basic rights. But with the principle of the social welfare state, constitutional onus to implement social justice is placed on legislation and the judiciary. Numerous federal laws and court judgments bear witness to the success of this endeavour. The authors of the Basic Law deliberately omitted to prescribe any particular social and economic order. By and large, the Basic Law is neutral in respect of economic policy.

The principle of federalism enables regional distinctions to be taken into account. It gives room for initiative which, in a centralised state, would hardly have a chance. Finally, it distributes power and thus prevents the possible abuse of it by central bodies.

The national anthem

The national anthem of the Federal Republic of Germany is the "Lied der Deutschen" or "Deutschlandlied." The lyrics of the three-verse song are by August Heinrich Hoffmann (1798—1874), the melody is that of "Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser" ("God Save Emperor Francis") by Joseph Haydn (1732—1809). On state occasions the third verse is sung:

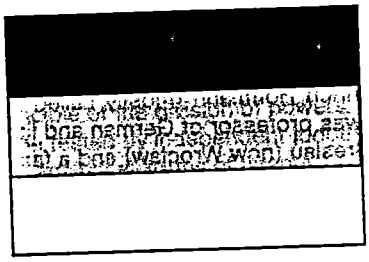
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Für das deutsche Vaterland!
Danach lasst uns alle streben
Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand!
Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit
Sind des Glückes Unterpfand—
Blüh im Glanze dieses Glückes,
Blühe, deutsches Vaterland!

(Unity, justice and freedom
for the German fatherland!
Fraternally, with heart and
hand, let us all strive
for this! Unity, justice and
freedom are the pledges of
happiness. In their radiance
flourish German fatherland!)

August Heinrich Hoffmann (mostly called Hoffmann von Fallersleben) was professor of German and literature at the university of Breslau (now Wroclaw) and a famous poet. He wrote the song in 1841. Germany was then a country torn apart. It consisted of more than 30 independent states, many of which were under despotic rule. The liberal-minded middle class were striving for a unified Germany with a liberal constitution. It was to this yearning that Hoffmann gave expression in the song and in this other poems. The Prussian government considered him a dangerous revolutionary and in 1842 dismissed him from his university post without a pension. The first verse of the song begins with the words "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" ("Germany, Germany above all else"). But by that Hoffmann meant that he felt more committed to Germany as a whole than to any one of its many smaller states, and that was how he was understood in his day. Later, however, the words "über alles" ("above all else") were misunderstood and misused to express national arrogance and imperialist designs. To avoid such misinterpretations only the third verse is sung on ceremonial occasions.



The arms of the Federal Republic of Germany



The federal flag

Changes to the Basic Law. The Basic Law can be changed only with the approval of two thirds of the members of the Bundestag and two thirds of the votes of the Bundesrat. Since a party or a coalition of parties would rarely command two-third majorities in both the Bundestag and the Bundesrat—only the grand coalition from —1969 has done so far—very broad consensus is required to ge the Basic Law, which as a rule has to include part of the opposition. In most cases this consensus is achieved only after hard and long negotiations. The most incisive changes of the Basic Law have been the "defence addenda" of 1954/1956 and the "emergency constitution" of 1968. The defence addenda regulated the constitutional position of the armed forces which were set up with the accession of the Federal Republic to the Western alliance system. The emergency constitution set the framework for wider executive powers in internal or external emergencies which had hitherto rested with the Western allies from the time of the postwar occupation.

But some provisions of the Basic Law cannot be changed at all, not even with a two-thirds majority. These are the federative structure, the division of powers, the principles of democracy, constitutionalism, social welfare and the commitment to the dignity of man and a system of inviolable basic rights. These provisions are, indeed, so fundamental that their elimination would bring down the entire structure of the Basic Law.

After almost four decades the ideas of the Basic Law have by and large become social reality. Like no former German constitution it has taken root in the minds of the citizens. It has brought forth a state which has been spared constitutional crises. This stability contributes substantially to the society's political credibility and to the well-being of its citizens.

The constitutional bodies

The exercise of state power has been assigned by the Basic Law to the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Together they embody the democratic federal system of government based on the rule of law which the Basic law prescribes.

The Federal President. The head of state of the Federal Republic of Germany is the Federal President (Bundespräsident). He is elected by the Federal Convention (Bundesversammlung), a constitutional body which convenes only for this purpose. It consists of the Bundestag deputies (including those from Berlin [West]) and an equal number of members elected by the assemblies of the Länder. The term of office is five years. Re-election is permitted only once. The President represents the Federal Republic in its international relations. He concludes agreements with foreign states in its name. He accredits and receives ambassadors, appoints and dismisses federal judges, federal civil servants, officers and non-commissioned officers of the armed forces. The President can pardon convicted criminals. He checks whether laws have come about by the proper constitutional procedure and publishes them in the Federal Law Gazette (Bundesgesetzblatt). He proposes to the Bundestag a candidate for the office of Federal Chancellor and on the suggestion of the Chancellor appoints and dismisses cabinet ministers.

If a motion of no-confidence in the Federal Chancellor is carried by the Bundestag, the President of the Federal Republic of Germany may, upon the proposal of the Federal Chancellor, dissolve the Bundestag. Premature elections were brought about in this way in 1972 and again in 1983.

The tasks of the President are mainly of a representational nature. He can advise, warn and encourage—this last includes the awarding of decorations.

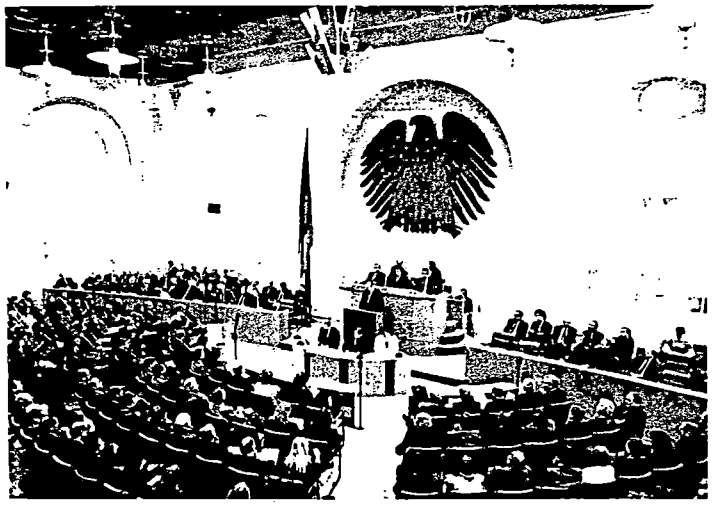
By and large the Presidency has been given merely titular powers because of the experiences of the Weimar period. The constitutionally strong position of the Reich President in the final phase of the Weimar Republic contributed to the collapse of parliamentary democracy. The office of Federal President demands of its incumbent special political sensitivity and the ability to mediate. Almost all presidents to date, because of their personalities, have also exercised no small measure of political influence.

The Bundestag. The Deutscher Bundestag (House of Representatives) is the popularly elected federal chamber of parliament of the Federal Republic of Germany. It is elected for four years in general, direct, free, equal and secret elections by a system of "personalised proportional representation" (see p. 121). Its main tasks are legislation, the election of the Federal Chancellor and controll of the government. In Bundestag plenary session the big issues of home and foreign policy are debated. Television coverage of proceedings increases public awareness. Whether it contributes to the objectivity of parliamentary debates is in dispute.

The extensive preparatory work in legislation takes place not in plenary session but in committees. This is due to the great number of detailed issues usually involved. The plenary assembly would simply be overtaxed in time and expertise if it had to cope with so much detail. The Bundestag committees correspond to the various government departments. The parliament's budget sovereignty lends corresponding prestige and importance to the fiscal committee. Any citizen can turn with requests and complaints to the petitions committee.

Bills can be introduced by any Bundestag deputy (MP), by the Bundesrat (Federal Council) or—most frequently—the Federal Government. They go through three Bundestag readings and as a rule are referred to the relevant committee once. The final vote is

The Bundestag in session





Theodor Heuss



Heinrich Lübke



Gustav Heinemann



Walter Scheel



Karl Carstens



Richard von Weizsäcker

The Presidents of the Federal Republic of Germany

Theodor Heuss (FDP)	1st term	1949–1954
	2nd term	1954–1959
Heinrich Lübke (CDU)	1st term	1959–1964
	2nd term	1964–1969
[illegible]av Heinemann (SPD)		1969–1974
[illegible] Scheel (FDP)		1974–1979
[illegible]arstens (CDU)		1979–1984
[illegible]ard von Weizsäcker (CDU)		1984–



Konrad Adenauer



Ludwig Erhard



Kurt Georg Kiesinger



Willy Brandt



Helmut Schmidt



Helmut Kohl

The Federal Chancellors

Konrad Adenauer (CDU)	1st cabinet	1949–1953
	2nd cabinet	1953–1957
	3rd cabinet	1957–1961
	4th cabinet	1961–1963
Ludwig Erhard (CDU)	1st cabinet	1963–1965
	2nd cabinet	1965–1966
Kurt Georg Kiesinger (CDU)		1966–1969
Willy Brandt (SPD)	1st cabinet	1969–1972
	2nd cabinet	1972–1974
Helmut Schmidt (SPD)	1st cabinet	1974–1976
	2nd cabinet	1976–1980
	3rd cabinet	1980–1982
Helmut Kohl (CDU)	1st cabinet	1982–1983
	2nd cabinet	1983–1987
	3rd cabinet	1987–

taken after the third reading. A bill (providing it does not change the constitution) is passed if it gets a majority of the votes cast. (In s[illegible]cases, however, it still requires the approval of the Bundesrat [illegible]me law.)

[illegible]deputies are not bound by mandates and instructions but subject only to their conscience. In line with their party allegiances they form parliamentary groups (Fraktionen). Freedom of conscience and solidarity with party colleagues can on occasion collide. If a deputy feels he can no longer identify with the policies of his party and leaves it he does not lose his Bundestag seat. It is on this point that the deputy's independence becomes most evident.

The relative strengths of the party groups in the house determine the allocation of seats on the various committees. The President (Speaker) of the Bundestag is elected, according to old German constitutional custom, from the ranks of the strongest parliamentary party. The two allied Christian CDU and CSU parties have since 1949 formed one joint parliamentary group in the Bundestag which has mostly been the strongest party grouping.

The Bundestag deputies are paid a "compensation" (Entschädigung) corresponding to the importance of the office of MP. Anyone who has been a member of parliament for at least six years is paid a pension upon reaching retirement age. The federal deputies are entitled to travel free of charge on German Federal Railways and on domestic flights of Lufthansa Airlines.

The Bundesrat. The Bundesrat (Federal Council) also participates in legislation. It is not elected but consists of members of the Länder governments or their delegates. Each Land has at least three votes. Länder with larger populations have four or five votes. A Land's votes can be cast only as a block.

Laws require the formal approval of the Bundesrat in cases defined by the Basic Law, especially when the law concerned touches [illegible]rticularly strongly on Länder interests. This is the case in more [illegible]half of all laws, above all those which intervene in the financial [illegible]dministrative sovereignty of the Länder. In the remaining cases—that is those for which Bundesrat approval is not mandatory—the Bundesrat has the right of objection, though this can be overruled by the Bundestag. If Bundesrat and Bundestag cannot reach agreement, a mediation committee composed of members of both chambers must be convened and this, in most cases, is able to work out a compromise. In the 10th legislative period (1983—1987) the mediation committee was called to intervene on six bills.

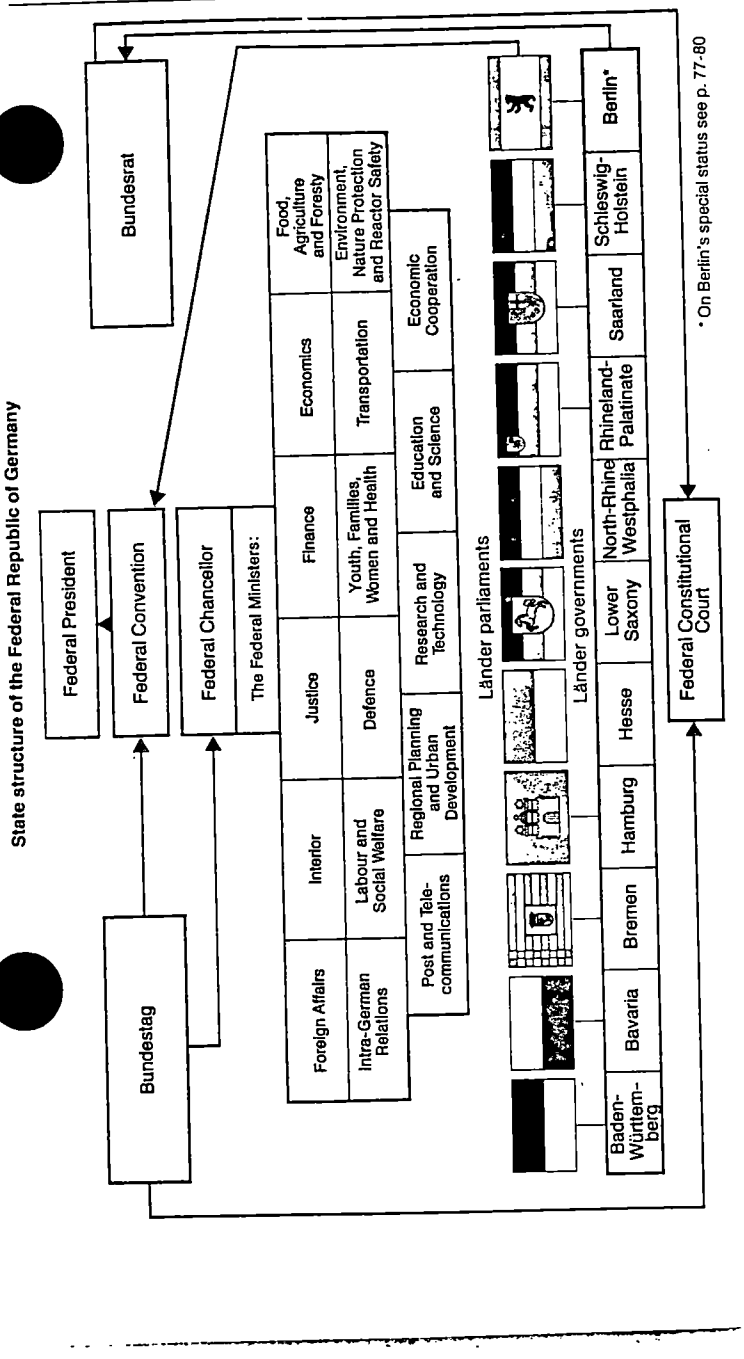
The various Länder having varying interests, voting majorities often change in the Bundesrat. Bundesrat members are not, however, only ministers of their respective Länder but at the same time also members of political parties, so that party-political interests do play a role apart from Länder interests. This is why Bundesrat votes often split along party lines. For the federal government this can spell trouble if the party which is in opposition in the Bundestag commands the majority in the Bundesrat.

According to a fixed rota the Bundesrat elects from among the Länder prime ministers (Ministerpräsidenten) its President for a year. The Bundesrat President exercises the powers of the Federal President if the latter is prevented from so doing.

The Federal Government. The federal government (Bundesregierung) in Bonn consists of the Federal Chancellor and the Federal Ministers. The Federal Chancellor is nominated by the Federal President and elected by the Bundestag. In making his proposal, the Federal President takes into account the voting strengths in the Bundestag. He will nominate only a candidate who has prospects of being elected. The Federal Ministers are nominated by the Chancellor and formally appointed by the Federal President.

The Federal cabinet after its nomination on March 12, 1987. First row, third from left: President Richard von Weizsäcker





The Federal Chancellor has a strong position. This is why the Federal Republic's system of government is often referred to as a "chancellor democracy." The chancellor is the only member of government elected by parliament and he alone is responsible to it. He determines the guidelines of government policy. The ministers direct their departments within these guidelines, independently and under their own responsibility.

Mindful of the Weimar Republic experiences, the Basic Law introduced the "constructive vote of no-confidence." It is to prevent opposition groups who agree only on the rejection of government policy but not on any alternative programme of their own from being able to overthrow the government. If a Bundestag majority wants to pass a vote of no-confidence in the chancellor they must, under this provision, at the same time elect his successor in a majority vote.

Of the two attempts to bring down a chancellor with the aid of a constructive no-confidence vote, only one has succeeded. A no-confidence motion in 1982 removed Helmut Schmidt from office and Chancellor Helmut Kohl was elected to succeed him. There is no Basic Law provision for no-confidence motions against individual federal ministers.

The Federal Constitutional Court. An institution for which there was no counterpart in German constitutional life before the foundation of the Federal Republic is the Federal Constitutional Court (Bundesverfassungsgericht). It is the guardian of the Basic Law. The Federal Constitutional Court rules, for example, in disputes between Bonn and the Länder, or between individual federal bodies. Only this court has the power to declare that a party is out to undo the free, democratic order of the Federal Republic and is thus acting anti-constitutionally, in which case it orders the party's dissolution. It examines federal and Länder legislation as to its conformity with the Basic Law. If it rules a law unconstitutional that law can no longer be applied. The court acts in these and many other matters only if called upon by certain bodies, such as the federal government, Länder governments, parliament, lower courts, etc.

Every citizen also has the right to turn to the Federal Constitutional Court with a constitutional complaint if he feels his basic rights have been violated by the state. Before doing so he must as a rule have been unsuccessful in the responsible lower courts, however.

So far the Federal Constitutional Court has passed judgment in well over 65,000 cases. Some attracted the greatest possible public interest. The court has overturned important laws and given restric-

tive interpretation to international agreements. The court has repeatedly stressed, however, that it does not see its task as prescribing a certain course of political action to the state bodies. To a high degree the Federal Constitutional Court has contributed to filling the letter of the Basic Law with life. Giving substance to the basic rights is the most important part of its work.

The Federal Constitutional Court is located at Karlsruhe. It consists of two senates, each with eight judges. The Bundestag and the Bundesrat elect half each. The term of office is twelve years. Re-election is not possible.

The legal system

The law of the Federal Republic of Germany is predominantly written law, most of it federal. It comprises more than 4,000 laws and ordinances having the force of law. There are also Länder laws, which apply mainly to cultural affairs, i. e. education. Other sources are customary and case law.

Precedence also plays a part in legal practice. In most cases it appears meaningless to begin proceedings if higher courts have consistently dismissed similar suits. But fundamentally no judge is bound by any superior court's ruling on a similar case, with the exception of some by the Federal Constitutional Court, which are binding on all other courts.

The state based on the rule of law. Historically Federal German law goes back partly to Roman law and partly to numerous regional German sources of law. In the 19th century, a centralised private law for the entire German Reich was created for the first time. The Civil and Commercial Codes to this day preserve the liberal spirit in which this occurred. They are dominated by the principle of freedom of contract.

The constitutionalist tradition becomes most clear in criminal law and criminal procedure. Here the tenet applies that no offence (act or omission) may be punished unless its punishability had been laid down before it was committed (nulla poena sine lege). This means that a criminal court judge is banned from pronouncing sentence on the basis of analogus application of legal provisions. The administration of justice is entrusted to judges who, as a rule, cannot be dismissed or transferred against their will and who are subject only to the law.

Almost all these fundamental principles were already laid down by the 19th century judiciary laws: a Judicature Act (regulating structure, organisation and jurisdiction of courts), the Code of Civil Procedure and the Code of Criminal Procedure. It has gone largely unnoticed abroad that both the Civil Code, which went into force on January 1, 1900, and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes (both dating from 1877) were wrested by liberal and democratic forces from the imperial government towards the end of the last century in long drawn-out parliamentary reform struggles.

Some German codified laws have found their way into foreign legal systems. For example, the Civil Code was the model for its Japanese and Greek counterparts.

Citizen and public administration. While the principles of constitutionalism had already been implemented in criminal and civil procedures, in the relationship of the citizen to public administration the authoritarian state thinking continued to dominate for a long time to come. It took more than 100 years of development in legal policy to overcome it.

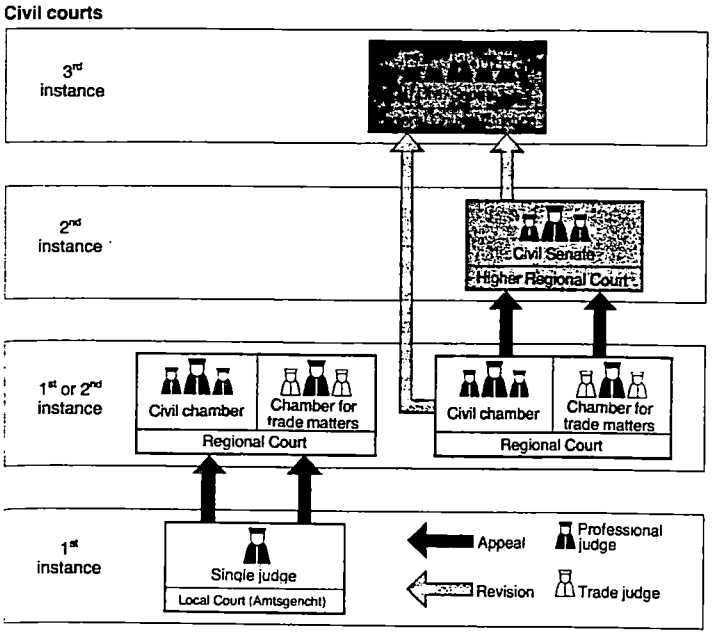
"Administrative Courts" were established in several German Länder in the 19th century to control the public administration in the interests of the legal protection of the individual citizen. These courts were set up in Hesse in 1832, Baden in 1863, Württemberg in 1876, Bavaria in 1879 and in Prussia only in 1883. But even then, only certain, legally listed types of administrative acts could be contested before these courts by those they concerned. It took until 1949 for the Basic Law to give everyone throughout the Federal Republic recourse to contesting in court any administrative act concerning them if they felt it was unlawful or had come about through the abuse of power, thereby violating basic civic rights. This applies to all types of administrative acts, be they tax assessment notices or the decision whether or not to promote a school pupil to the next grade, be it withdrawal of a driving licence or the refusal of a building permit. The condition is that the plaintiff himself must be affected by the administrative act; it is not possible for anyone else to file a complaint, unless they themselves are affected.

The order achieved by the constitutional state is crowned and guarded by the Basic Law and the jurisdiction of the Federal Constitutional Court respectively. The Basic Law guarantees to all Germans (and in parts also to resident foreigners) a catalogue of basic rights going far beyond the classic human rights. It also guarantees the principles of the modern state based on the rule of law, such as the ban on retroactive punishment and on the death penalty.

Anyone can turn to the Federal Constitutional Court with a complaint of unconstitutionality provided he has exhausted all other legal instances or if the progression through all the instances offered no effective legal protection. The Federal Constitutional Court can respond to such a complaint by ruling a law invalid if it does not conform to the Basic Law.

Justice in the social welfare state. In the 20th century it became ever more necessary to take into account social welfare requirements when legislating. In Articles 20 and 28 the Basic Law commands that the democratic and social order be expanded. In this spirit a great deal of labour and social welfare legislation has been enacted since the formation of the Federal Republic which assures the individual financial support in situations over which he has no control, such as illness, accident, invalidity, old age and unemployment. It also helps those who are partially or wholly to blame for their own predicament to make a new start.

A very impressive example of the legal fulfilment of the social welfare state principle is labour law. Originally it was set out in only 20 sections of the Civil Code under the heading of the "service contract." Now federal German labour law comprises a great number of laws and collecive agreements. Of particular importance are the Labour Courts Act, the Collective Agreements Act, the Works Constitution Act and laws on codetermination.



Organisation of the legal system. The Federal German courts system is marked by completeness of legal protection and far-reaching specialisation. It consists of five branches:

☐ The so-called "ordinary courts" are responsible for penal matters, civil matters except labour law and the area of voluntary jurisdiction (which includes notary, inheritance and wardship matters). There are four types: Local Court (Amtsgericht), Regional Court (Landgericht), Higher Regional Court (Oberlandesgericht), Federal Court of Justice (Bundesgerichtshof). In penal matters, depending on the type of case, each of the first three courts named can be responsible, in civil proceedings it will be either the Amtsgericht or the Landgericht. Two or more courts can be appealed to on points of fact or law.

☐ The labour courts. These are of three types: Local Labour Court (Arbeitsgericht), Regional Labour Court (Landesarbeitsgericht) and Federal Labour Court (Bundesarbeitsgericht). They are responsible for employer/employee disputes, disputes between trade unions and employers and matters concerning the works constitution and worker participation (co-determination).

☐ The administrative courts—Local Administrative Court (Verwaltungsgericht), Higher Administrative Court (Verwaltungsgerichtshof or Oberverwaltungsgericht) and Federal Administrative Court (Bundesverwaltungsgericht)—handle all administrative law proceedings except those falling under the jurisdiction of the social and fiscal courts and disputes of constitutional law.

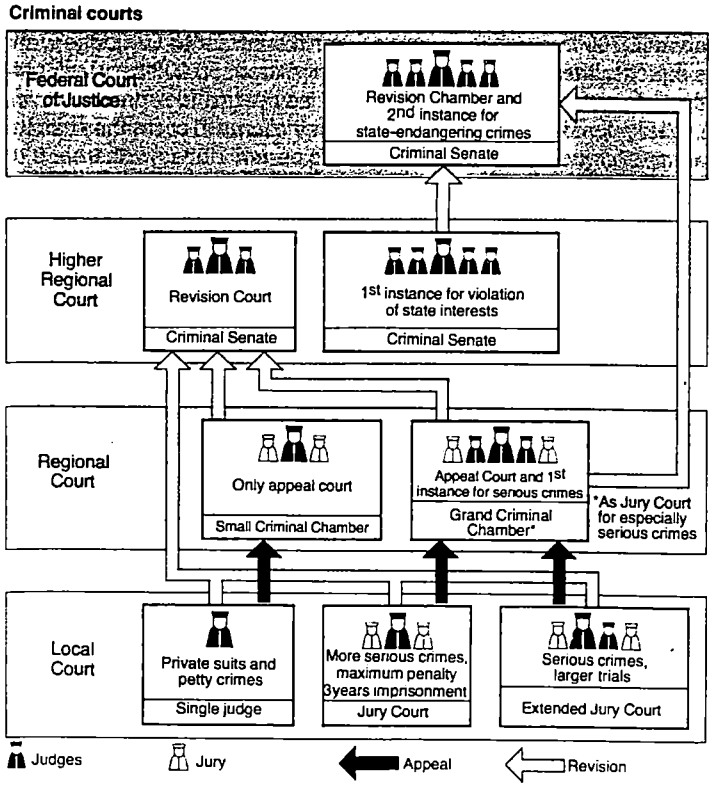
☐ The social courts—Local Social Court (Sozialgericht), Higher Social Court (Landessozialgericht) and Federal Social Court (Bundessozialgericht)—rule on disputes in the entire field of social insurance.

☐ The fiscal courts—Finance Court (Finanzgericht) and Federal Fiscal Court (Bundesfinanzhof)—deal with taxation and allied matters.

Separate from these five branches is the Federal Constitutional Court which is not only the highest court in the land but also a constitutional body.

The system of appeals is complex and provides for numerous possibilities for review. In principle, there are two stages of appeal. The first stage (*Berufung*, appeal) permits a review on points of fact and law, which means that new evidence can be introduced at this hearing.

Recourse to the second stage (*Revision*, revision), on the other hand, leads only to an examination as to whether the law has been properly applied and the essential procedural formalities observed. Increasing use is being made of the individual's right of recourse to courts of first instance and to appellate courts. The result is that courts are over-burdened and cases are taking ever longer to



resolve. This is why consideration is now being given to shortening and simplifying proceedings at all court levels.

The administration of justice is carried out in the Federal Republic by more than 17,000 professional judges, more than three quarters of whom are assigned to the ordinary courts. Judges are appointed for life and their administration of justice is subject only to the spirit and letter of the law. At the Amtsgericht level most of the voluntary judicial matters are taken care of by higher-ranking court officials who have received special training but are not judges. In several types of court lay judges sit with the professional. Through their experience of life or specialised knowledge in certain fields—labour and welfare law, for example—they help the courts to make realistic decisions. Over and above that they embody part of the citizen's direct responsibility for the state.

The public prosecutors (state attorneys), of whom there are about 3,700, are public servants who, in contrast to the judges, are subject to the orders of their superiors. About 50,000 lawyers practise a free profession as independent advisers and representatives in legal matters. By representing their clients in court they help to administer justice. They are subject to certain duties, adherence to which is watched over by courts of honour. More recent legislation has clarified these duties.

Professional judges, public prosecutors and attorneys-at-law must be "qualified to be a judge." That means they must have graduated in law from a university and completed practical training, and have passed final state examinations.

Data protection. The development of electronic data processing has created new problems in the law and the legal order. Computers are used in almost all fields in modern industrial society. Be it in accounts handling in banks, seat reservations with an airline, the issuing of tax statements by the internal revenue or the collection of information on lawbreakers by the police, electronic data processing has become indispensable everywhere. It enables vast amounts of data to be stored for retrieval at any time. This modern technology has greatly eased and speeded up the work of many firms and authorities. For example, the statutory German pensions insurance can now process pension applications much faster than before and the police have achieved great successes in apprehending criminals with the aid of computers. At the same time, however, it has become clear that modern data technology also poses dangers. The stored data can be used illicitly and fall into the wrong hands. Anyone who possesses enough data gains insight into people's privacy, which must remain inviolable.

To avert these dangers data protection in the Federal Republic began to be regulated by federal and state legislation in 1977. These laws stipulate what personal data authorities and business enterprises may store. In all other cases the storing of such data is forbidden. Personnel of agencies processing data are bound to secrecy. The citizen has a legal entitlement to obtain from every data processing agency information on the data it holds on him. He can demand the correction of wrong data, the blockage of disputed data and the removal of any that have been improperly obtained. To control public data processing the Federal President, on the recommendation of the Federal Government, appoints a Federal Commissioner for Data Protection who exercises the office independently of other authorities. Any citizen who feels that his data interests have been violated by public agencies can turn to him with a complaint. The data ombudsman reports annually to the Bundestag. The federal states also have data protection ombudsmen. Business enterprises using data are also obliged to name a data protection ombudsman. These enterprises are also subject to supervision by the relevant authorities in the various Länder which monitor adherence to data protection regulations.

The constitutional dimension has been made clear by a 1983 ruling of the Federal Constitutional Court. It saw in Article 2 of the Basic Law the citizen's right to self-determination about his personal data. The conclusions drawn from this judgment are reflected in the 1987 Census Act, which fully provides for the protection of personal privacy.

The data protection legislation of the Federal Republic is among the most modern and comprehensive in the world. It has helped sharpen public awareness of the need for data protection. To remain responsive to technical developments which will continue to be subject to rapid change it must remain open to adaptation like hardly any other legislation.



Hans-Jochen Vogel, party chairman of the Social Democrats, campaigning for his party

name which the Hitler regime outlawed in 1933. The other parties saw themselves as completely new formations, building only in part on the traditions of the Weimar Republic between the world wars. In

The state (Länder) parliaments

Land	Election year	Total number of deputies	CDU*	SPD	FDP	Greens**	Others
Baden-Württemberg	1988	125	66	42	7	10	–
Bayern	1986	204	128	61	–	15	–
Bremen	1987	100	25	54	10	10	1
Hamburg	1987	120	49	55	8	8	–
Hessen	1987	110	47	44	9	10	–
Niedersachsen	1986	155	69	66	9	11	–
Nordrhein-Westfalen	1985	227	88	125	14	–	–
Rheinland-Pfalz	1987	100	48	40	7	5	–
Saarland	1985	51	20	26	5	–	–
Schleswig-Holstein	1988	74	27	46	–	–	1
Berlin (West)***	1985	144	69	48	12	15	–

* In Bayern CSU
** Other names used in some states, e.g. "Alternatives"
*** On the special status of Berlin see p. 76–80

contrast to the Catholic Centre Party (Zentrumspartei) of the Weimar period the CDU and CSU sought their electoral support among both of Germany's two major Christian creeds, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The FDP laid claim to the heritage of German liberalism which was shared by quite a number of parties before 1933.

In the four decades since their establishment all the parties have undergone significant changes. Nowadays all perceive themselves as "popular" parties representing all classes of people.

The SPD, CDU and FDP all have very distinct right and left wings. This is not only due to their histories but also because in a modern parliamentary democracy with only few big parties all kinds of views and positions seek integration in these "popular" groupings which appeal to a broad spectrum of voters.

In 1983 "The Greens" (Die Grünen) won seats in the Bundestag for the first time, after they had been in several state parliaments previously. "The Greens" developed into a political party out of a radical environmentalist movement, uniting opponents of nuclear power and other protest groups and representing pacifist tendencies. The new party's organisation and programme are not yet very firm. It finds most of its support in the young generation. The Greens have had a federal organisation only since 1979.

The emergence of The Greens has brought some changes in the political landscape. For more than 20 years there had been practically a three-party system in the Bundestag (where the CDU and

Party congress of The Greens in Hanover, 1986



Political parties and elections

In any democracy political parties are among the most important political institutions. The Federal Republic's Basic Law takes due account of this in devoting to them an article of their own (Art. 21), in contrast to former German constitutions which made almost no mention of them. The Basic Law defines their task as participating "in the forming of the political will of the people." The parties must be democratically structured and render public account of the sources and expenditure of their funds and their assets. Details are laid down by the Parties Act of 1984.

The parties. There are at present five parties in the Bundestag, the House of Representatives in Bonn. They are the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), the Christian Social Union (CSU) in Bayern (Bavaria), the Free Democratic Party (FDP) and The Greens (Die Grünen). The CDU has no membership in Bavaria, leaving the field there to its sister party, the CSU, which in turn operates only in Bayern. At national level, in the Bundestag, the two sister parties form one joint parliamentary CDU/CSU block.

The four parties came into being from 1945 to 1947. The SPD was a re-creation of the former mainly labour-oriented party of the same

Christian Democrat (CDU) chairman and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl at the "Germany meeting" of his party in Dortmund, 1987





Christian Social Union (CSU) chairman Franz Josef Strauss campaigning in Augsburg

Martin Bangemann, party chairman of the Free Democrats, during the 1987 election campaign



CSU have always formed one group), and each of the parties has been the coalition partner of the other two on one or more occasions. The Greens are a fourth grouping in the house. Initially none of the other three parties would coalesce with them. The first coalition with The Greens was established by the SPD at state level in Hesse in 1985. This government partnership lasted only 14 months before it broke apart.

Small parties and the five per cent barrier. There has always been a fluctuating number of smaller parties which have also tried to get into the parliaments. In the first Bundestag election in 1949, these smaller parties together polled 27.9% of the votes, compared with a mere 1.3% in the 11th Bundestag poll in 1987. This decline is mainly the result of a "five per cent debarring clause" now contained in all state and federal electoral laws. This clause stipulates that only parties gaining at least 5% of the votes in the given election area can send deputies into parliament. The Federal Constitutional Court has expressly ruled that this provision conforms to the Basic Law.

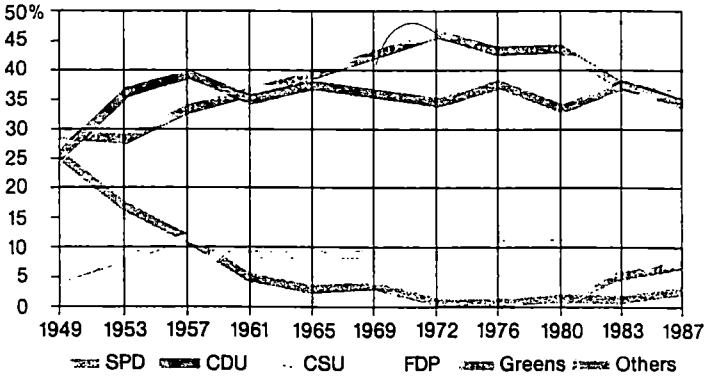
Extreme right or left-wing parties have rarely overcome this five per cent hurdle. The Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD) was only once represented in the Bundestag, with 15 deputies, from 1949 to 1953. The communist groupings which exist today have so far failed to move into any state or federal parliament, although they are represented on a number of municipal councils. Of the more extreme right-wing parties, only the German Reich Party (Deutsche Reichspartei) has had a small Bundestag representation—five deputies in the 1949–1953 parliament. The ultra-right-wing National Democratic Party (Nationaldemokratische Partei, NPD) was represented in a number of state assemblies (Landtage) from 1966 to 1972 but lost all its seats in subsequent elections.

The five per cent clause is waived for the representations of ethnic minorities. This is why the Southern Schleswig Voters Association (Südschleswigscher Wählerverband), representing the Danish minority, has one deputy in the Landtag of the northernmost state of Schleswig-Holstein although it accounts for less than five per cent of the votes.

The results of local government elections sometimes differ greatly from the federal and state elections. At community level so-called "town hall parties" often play a major role. These are small groups of voters, on the whole concerned purely with local affairs, and independent of the main political parties.

Party bans. "Parties which, by reason of their aims or the behaviour of their adherents, seek to impair or abolish the free democratic principle or to endanger the existence of the Federal Republic of Germany" (Art. 21 of the Basic Law) can be ruled unconstitutional by the Federal Constitutional Court upon application and thereupon disbanded. According to this provision the Socialist Reich Party (Sozialistische Reichspartei), probably the most extreme postwar right-wing party, was outlawed in 1952. In 1956 the Communist Party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD) was also ruled to be unconstitutional.

Bundestag elections performance



Bundestag seats held*

1949	136	118	24	53	79	
1953	162	197	52	53	45	
1957	181	222	55	43	18	
1961	203	201	50	67		
1965	217	202	49	50		
1969	237	201	49	31		
1972	242	186	48	42		
1976	224	201	53	40		
1980	228	185	52	54		
1983	202	202	53	35	28	
1987	193	185	49	48	44	

*at the start of the legislative term in each case; including the deputies from Berlin (West)

SPD CDU CSU FDP Greens Others

The German Communist Party (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei, DKP) has taken over its political heritage without, however, attaining the importance of the former KPD. Neither the Federal Government nor the Bundestag or Bundesrat have so far made use of the right to seek the outlawing of the DKP, or the other communist parties which have formed meanwhile, through the Federal Constitutional Court.

Membership and finances. In 1986 the parties represented in the Bundestag had the following memberships: the SPD 919,000, the CDU 719,000, the CSU 183,000, the FDP 67,000, The Greens 39,000. Of the other national parties the only ones with notable memberships were the DKP with 57,000 and NPD with 6,000.

All parties ask their members to pay subscriptions, but these cover only a small part of their financial requirements. Nor do grants they receive from political sympathisers suffice. Moreover, grants pose the danger of the donor's trying to sway the party to his will or expecting something in return. This is why the Parties Act stipulates that donations in excess of DM 20,000 a year have to be publicly declared. Over and above their own revenues, the parties receive state subsidies for their election campaigning costs. All parties which win at least 0.5% of the votes—and that includes many small ones—receive DM 5 per vote from public revenue.

1987 Bundestag election

Party	Party list votes	%	Deputies (Berlin deputies bracketed)
SPD	14,025,763	37.0	186 (7)
CDU	13,045,745	34.5	174* (11)
CSU	3,715,827	9.8	49 –
FDP	3,440,911	9.1	46 (2)
Greens	3,126,256	8.3	42 (2**)
Others	512,817	1.3	– –
Total	37,867,319	100.0	497 (22)

* Including one additional seat in Baden-Württemberg
** Deputies of the "Alternative list" (AL)

The electoral system. Elections for all legislative bodies are general, direct, free, equal and secret. Every German who has attained the age of 18 is eligible to vote and to stand as a candidate. There are no run-up primary elections. Candidates are chosen only by the members of the parties.

The electoral system for the Bundestag is complicated. It is a so-called "personalised proportional representation" system, that is to say a mixture of first-past-the post constituency voting and national representation by party lists. Half the Bundestag members (not counting those of Berlin [West], who do not have full voting powers), 248 in all, are elected according to the simple majority system in the constituency, the remaining 248 from lists nominated by the Land groupings of the parties. Every voter has two votes, one for a local candidate, the other for a party. Distribution of all votes cast is done in such a way, however, that the Bundestag is constituted almost in proportion to the votes cast (barring the votes for the below-5% parties). If a party wins more direct mandates in the constituencies (i. e. has more "first-past-the-post" winners) than it would be entitled to by its Land list share, it keeps these so-called additional seats. In that event the Bundestag consists of more than the usual 496 members with full voting rights. The Bundestag deputies representing Berlin (West) are elected by the Berlin Chamber of Deputies from its own members.

The Federal Republic's citizens show keen political interest in all elections. Participation in the 1987 Bundestag poll was 84.3%. Even local government elections attract up to 80% turnout.

The parties in the Bundestag:

Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands
Ollenhauerstr. 1
5300 Bonn 1

Christlich-Demokratische Union Deutschlands
Friedrich-Ebert-Allee 73–75
5300 Bonn 1

Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern
Nymphenburger Str. 64
8000 München 2

Freie Demokratische Partei
Baunscheidtstr. 15
5300 Bonn 1

Die Grünen
Colmantstr. 36
5300 Bonn 1

Federal, regional and local government

The name "Federal Republic of Germany" already expresses the federative structure of the West German state. The Federal Republic consists of the "Länder" (federal states, see p. 24–44).

The Länder were partly reconstituted, partly newly created after 1945. They are no mere provinces but states in their own right with their own sovereign powers. Each Land has its own constitution (Landesverfassung) which must conform to the principles of the republican, democratic, social state based on the rule of law, as laid down in the national constitution, the Basic Law (Grundgesetz). Apart from that the Länder are free to shape their constitutions as they wish.

German traditions. The federative structure is an old German constitutional tradition, interrupted only by the Hitler regime. German federalism has historic roots and in the past was often lamented as an expression of national fragmentation or even as a national misfortune. Today the federal structure is proving a great advantage. It makes it possible to a great extent to do justice to regional peculiarities, wishes and special problems.

In several countries the concentration of administration, industry, commerce and cultural facilities in the capital city, or in few large centres, has proved to be a disadvantage. All over the world the call for regionalisation is becoming stronger. The traditional German federalism has contributed to the Federal Republic's being spared such difficulties.

There has been barely any manifestation in the Federal Republic of Germany of the centrifugal tendencies often cited as drawbacks of federalism. Small in area in any case, it is well served by all means of transport and its population is more unitary than those of many other countries. The once very marked tribal differences have been blurred somewhat by the great postwar population movements and the great mobility modern economic life entails.

Why federalism? Paradoxical as it may appear, the sense of federalism must today be seen more from the point of view of the state as a whole. Democracy becomes more lively if the citizen can take part in the democratic process through elections and referendums at the more readily understandable regional level. Administration works closer to the people within the framework of a federal state or region. To the citizen it is nearer and more familiar than the administration in the federal capital. The regional government for its part is better able to act on its knowledge of regional requirements and conditions. It can contribute, for example, to the preservation of cultural characteristics and regional ethnic peculiarities. A regional government is also able, in certain fields such as education, to test new systems which may later serve as national models.

Parties which are in opposition at national level are often at the same time in government in several states. Thus all parties have the chance democratically to carry responsibility and prove their ability to govern.

But above all, the federal states, especially by their participation in national legislation through their assembly, the Federal Council (Bundesrat) can contribute to the balance of power. This role is seen as so fundamental that both the federal structure and the states' participation in federal legislation are laid down as irremovable by the Basic Law.

The powers of the federal states. The powers of the Federal Republic in legislation and administration under the original 1949 text of the Basic Law appear very restricted in comparison to those of the states. However, the Federal Republic's economic and social development has been such that the Basic Law has empowered Bonn to legislate in ever more spheres, owing to their supraregional importance.

The states have nevertheless retained important lawmaking fields. These include local government law, parts of environmental protection (a competency currently very much in dispute) and the major part of the police system. Police law is, however, to be standardised in all the states to improve crime prevention and detection across inter-state boundaries.

The Länder's principal field of lawmaking is in cultural affairs. Elementary, secondary and special schools (e. g. for the handicapped) are under state jurisdiction, as is the increasingly important field of adult education. Major aspects of vocational and university education are also regulated by Länder laws. For these two last, however, as well as for further vocational training, federal lawmakers also have some jurisdiction. Overall, however, the autonomy of the states is most strongly felt in cultural life (see also p. 330/331).

The major activity of the states is administration. Apart from the few federal authorities with regional branches (for example the customs and armed forces administrations) the states are solely

responsible for applying federal laws. This is also German tradition.

By and large, the states implement federal legislation independ- [illegible]nd free of detailed directives from the federal authorities. The [illegible] government merely ensures that this implementation is consistent with the body of valid laws. Only a few administrative tasks, expressly listed in the Basic Law, are carried out by the states on instruction from Bonn. In these matters the states are also subject to federal directives in regard to the execution of the law.

In Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North-Rhine Westphalia and Rhineland-Palatinate there is between the Land government and the rural and urban counties (Landkreise, Stadtkreise) the administrative level of government districts (Regierungsbezirke). A Regierungsbezirk is headed by a district commissioner (Regierungspräsident) appointed by the Land government.

Local self-government. Local government, as an expression of civic freedom, has a long and great tradition in Germany. It may be traced back to the privileges of the free towns in the Middle Ages, when civic rights freed people from the bonds of feudal serfdom. ("Stadtluft macht frei – town air makes free," a German saying of the time went.) In modern times local government is primarily linked, however, to the great reforms of the Prussian minister Freiherr vom Stein, in particular the Municipal Ordinance of 1808.

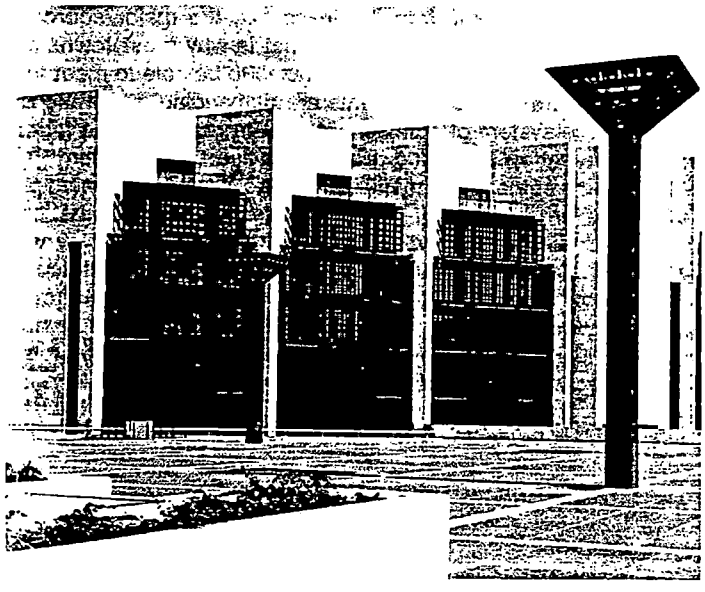
This tradition of civic liberty is manifested in the self-government of towns, communes and counties expressly guaranteed by the Basic Law and all state constitutions. The Basic Law stipulates two things: the states must guarantee to local governments the rights to regulate their own communal affairs – within the framework of the law; all towns, communities and counties must be democratically organised. For historical reasons the municipal constitutions vary greatly from state to state. But local administrative practice is by [illegible] large the same everywhere.

[illegible]ery community governs itself in all local affairs. This includes, [illegible]ve all, local public transport, local roadbuilding, electricity, water and gas supplies, housing construction, building and maintenance of elementary and secondary schools, theatres and museums, hospitals, sports facilities and public baths, adult education and youth welfare. In these fields of self-government local authorities are subject only to legal control by the Land. That is to say that the Land is only allowed to ensure that the law is abided by; the purpose of its actions is determined by each community itself.



Town hall in Schwalenberg, Weserbergland

New city hall in Mainz



Many of the tasks named overtax the financial and organisational resources of small municipalities but these affairs can be taken [redacted] by the next higher level of local government, the county, or [redacted]." The "Kreistag," the "parliament" of the county, is directly [redacted]ed by the local population, as are the representations of the towns and communes.

Municipalities and counties also implement many federal and state laws. In this they are subject not only to legal control by the Land but in some cases are given detailed directives to work to.

Current problems of self-government. Local self-government and communal autonomy must wither if local authorities lack the money they need to fulfil their tasks. This is why the question of adequate funding of the communities is at the centre of many discussions.

The major communal revenues are taxes. The communities have a constitutional claim to income from certain taxes. The major ones are trade tax and land tax as well as a number of minor taxes such as dog tax and beverage tax. On top of that the communities receive shares of other tax revenues from the federation and the states, e.g. from income taxes. In return, they must transfer part of their income from business tax to the federation and the states.

Various legislative measures of the federation to ease taxes have greatly reduced income from business tax, the major source of communal revenue, in recent years. That is why most towns and communes no longer take in enough taxes to be able to meet their tasks. Therefore local governments are demanding a far-reaching reform of the system of communal taxes. In response the federal states have set up a working group to devise a new system.

There is agreement that municipal self-government must be preserved and strengthened. It gives the citizen scope for almost day-by-day codetermination and control, whether it be through conversation with elected communal representatives, or through access to communal development plans and budgetary data. Thus towns [redacted]d local governments in a sense are the state's smallest political [redacted]is, whose independent and democratic functioning is a prerequisite of freedom and justice in government and society.

Regional planning and rezoning

Working and living conditions are not the same all over the Federal Republic. Life in a densely inhabited industrial area is unavoidably different from that in a thinly populated rural one. Every inhabitant should nonetheless be able to live in an environment in which elementary needs of life can be satisfied. That means adequate provision must be made for the various spheres of human life—housing, employment, care, recreation, education, transport, communication. Society, the economy and the environment must be in optimal balance.

Tasks of regional planning. Such a balance does not come about of its own accord. The state must contribute to the best possible distribution of housing, jobs and recreational areas, cultural and social facilities and their linkage by transportation and communication systems. This is the broad field covered by regional planning.

The general principles and aims of regional planning are set out in the Federal Regional Planning Act (Bundesraumordnungsgesetz) of 1965. All three levels of government—federal, state and local—are charged with its implementation. Every four years the Federal Government publishes a regional planning report—the most recent was in 1986— in which it accounts for the most important regional developments and what has been done in the field. Guidelines of regional planning policy are the Federal Regional Planning Programme of 1975 and the "Programmatical Priorities of Regional Planning", whose implementation is the task of the Länder, which are responsible for the concrete realisation of regional planning and settlement policy, with local government also taking part in it.

The areas of emphasis in regional planning policy lie in the overdened conurbations, the economically retarded areas and the ntier zone abutting the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and echoslovakia.

With the expansion of built-up areas and the constantly growing pollution of the air, soil and water, environmental and nature protection are becoming increasingly important. The major ground water reserves and raw material deposits must be safeguarded. Even fringe areas are being increasingly affected by pollution emanating from the industrial centres through the natural exchange of air and water over large areas.

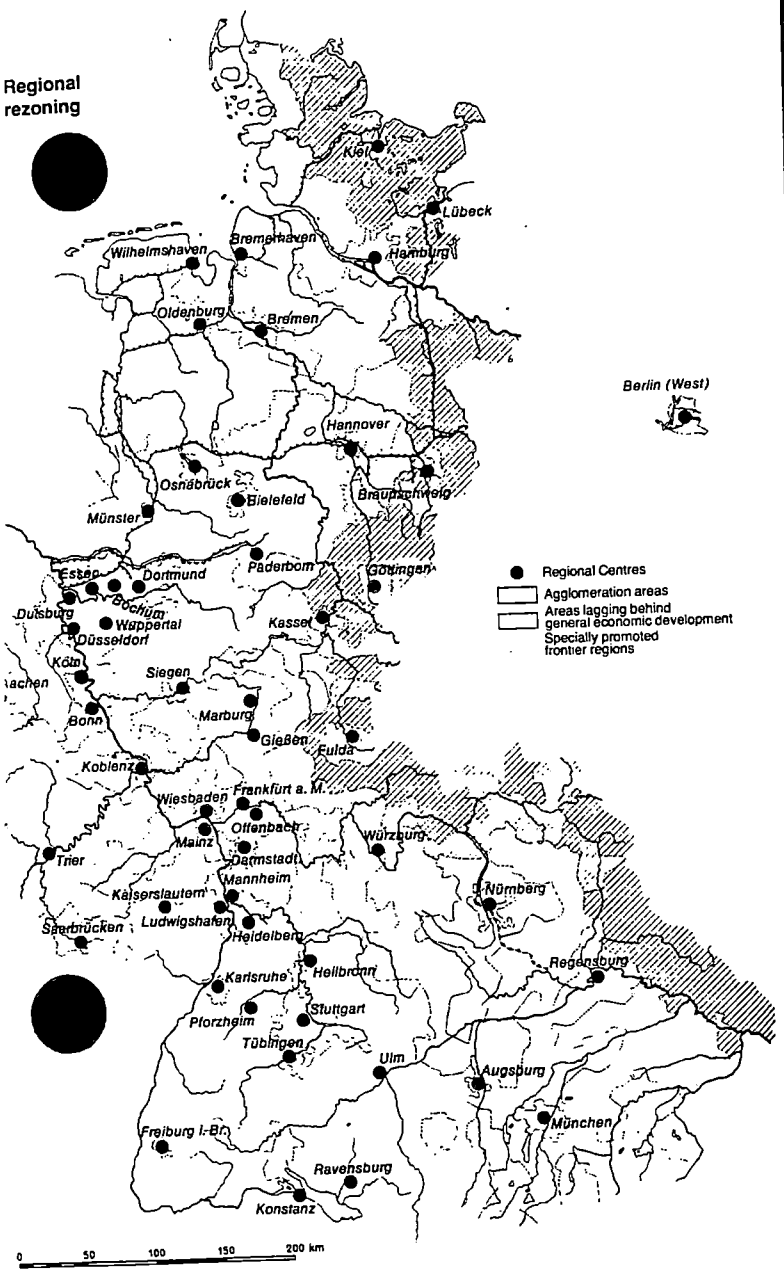
Settlements cover only about 12% of the Federal Republic of Germany but the population density varies considerably by regions. Great problems are posed by the expansion of already densely settled regions since the recreational areas and green zones that still exist near them are indispensable. Hence one of the major tasks of regional planning is to protect these areas. Thus necessary measures should be implemented in such a way that as few as possible of these green zones are lost and as many new ones as possible are created.

In less densely settled areas the differences between centres and villages are even more apparent. The population of rural regions continues to decline as young people move to the conurbations.

In the less developed areas living and working conditions overall are worse than the federal average. This is particularly so in areas solely dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Here there are too few non-agricultural employment opportunities and social and cultural facilities. Priority measures for improving living and working conditions in these regions are the attraction of industrial and service enterprises, the construction of universities and hospitals and the improvement of transportation facilities.

But the areas with partially outdated one-sided industrial structures, including parts of the Ruhr region and the Saarland as well as the shipbuilding locations on the coast, have been showing structural problems for a number of years. High environmental strains from heavy industry, low residential quality and lack of green areas for recreation combine. Moreover, the rate of unemployment there is often as high as in structurally weak rural regions. New industries and modern technologies and services are to be attracted to restore a broader, viable economic basis.

Preference is given to the so-called "Zonal Fringe Region" (Zonenrandgebiet), a 30 to 50 km belt abutting the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Here regional planning faces particular difficulties because the enforced drawing of the boundary has arbitrarily cut apart formerly viable transportation, economic and cultural units. Many towns have lost their former hinterlands which now lie over the border in the GDR. The extensive zonal promotion programme has brought some improvement in living and economic conditions in this region. Special attention is also given to promoting Berlin (West). Because the city has been deprived of its natural hinterland special efforts are needed to preserve and enhance its attractiveness. One priority in this is stronger economic and transportation linkage to the federal area.



Structural problems. All planning and management notwithstanding, it must not be overlooked that there are limits to structuring society and the economy. Overall, the regional and settlement structure of the Federal Republic must be seen as satisfactory, even by international standards. The infrastructural facilities of communes and regions have been substantially improved with massive help from the Federal Government. Despite this, there is still a considerable gap between the strongly growing high-density areas and the peripheral rural regions. Newly emergent are the problems in the old industrial areas and the shipbuilding locations. This has made visible a north-south prosperity gap.

Challenges to regional planning policy are the population decline and the shift in age-structure. The population decline is particularly marked in rural regions and in the conurbation core areas. Hence greater efforts are needed to assure adequate infrastructures, especially transportation, social security and health services.

Local government rezoning. Planning and development can be sensibly approached only if there is the greatest possible identity of administrative, economic and habitation areas. Most of the historically grown structures of administrative regions dated from pre-industrial times. To adapt them to the needs of present-day society sweeping administrative rezoning began in 1968 in all Länder except Hamburg, Bremen and Berlin (West) which ultimately reduced the number of autonomous local authorities (Gemeinden) in the Federal Republic by almost two thirds. Before the reform there had been 24,000; after its conclusion in 1978 there were about 8,500. The number of county boroughs (kreisfreie Städte) fell from 139 to 91, that of counties from 425 to 237. By mergers of smaller communities, often with nearby conurbations, the number of cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants rose from 57 to 64.

One of the major aims of the reform, reducing the number of planning authorities and creating efficient administrative units, has by and large been achieved. But the gain in efficiency has often been at the expense of "nearness to the citizen". Geographically and emotionally the administration has moved further away from him. People feel less inclined than before to become directly involved in their local affairs. On the whole, however, rezoning has strengthened local government. For example, it brought full-time professional administration to rural areas and improved local facilities for the citizens.

The Federal Republic of Germany in the world

The Federal Republic of Germany lies in the heart of Europe, at the line dividing East and West. Its eastern neighbour is the other German state, the GDR. The dividing line between them separates not only Germany but also marks the frontier of two different systems of society. Nowhere is the difference between East and West clearer than in this divided country.

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the major industrial and trading states with worldwide economic ties. It depends on a stable and functioning world economic system and hence is directly affected by all conflicts between North and South, between industrial and developing countries.

Because of its geopolitical location and economic interests, but also because of the Germans' national cause and the experiences of recent history, German policies must first and foremost be policies in pursuit of peace.

The basis of this foreign policy is and will remain the Federal Republic of Germany's permanent place in the ranks of the free democracies, its membership of the European Community and the North Atlantic Alliance. This poses four fundamental foreign policy objectives: continuation of the work of European unification, maintenance and strengthening of the North Atlantic Alliance, the further development of the policy of détente with the East and consolidation of cooperation with Third World countries.

The Federal Republic of Germany at present has diplomatic relations with 161 states. It has 202 missions abroad, of 128 which are embassies.

European unification. Since its creation the Federal Republic of Germany has pursued the aim of European unification. Together with Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands it established the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952 and the European Economic Community and European Atomic Energy Community in 1957 which today are most commonly referred to as the European Community (EC). European Political Cooperation began in 1970 and since then has become the centrepiece of the foreign policies of the member states and a second pillar of European Unification. The entry of Denmark, Ireland and Britain in 1973, Greece in 1981 and Portugal and Spain in 1986 brought the number of EC members to 12. The Single European Act, signed in 1986,



Meeting of the European Council in Brussels

which came into force on 1 July 1987, marks a decisive stage on the way to European union.

The Single European Act is the basis for

- completion of the internal market in the Community by the end of 1992;
- creation of a technology and research community;
- cooperation in preserving and improving the vital natural resources;
- further institutional development of the Community;
- expansion of European political cooperation into a European foreign and security policy.

Since the mid-1970s the heads of state and government and their foreign ministers as well as the President of the European Commission have been meeting twice a year in the European Council to lay down the guidelines for further development of the Community. The European Parliament, elected directly for the second time by the citizens of the member countries in 1984, gives additional impetus to the unification process.

Almost all customs and trade barriers between the member states have been eliminated. This has created a common market in which more than 300 million people enjoy freedom of movement and free exchange of goods takes place. By 1992 this internal market is to be completed by removing all hindrances to the exchange not only of goods but also of services. Towards the rest of the world the European Community has an open trade policy which is aimed at a market-economy-oriented world economic order and resists protectionist tendencies. Its economic and trade relations with countries outside the Community rest on a close-knit net of trade, cooperation and association agreements. Trend-setting for the cooperative partnership with developing countries is the present Lomé Convention with 66 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) states.

The European Community helps to strengthen freedom and democracy in Europe. It rests on the solidarity of its members. As the economically strongest member the Federal Republic of Germany makes substantial financial contributions to expand the Community. It will continue to promote further development and integration of the Community to the best of its ability.

The North Atlantic Alliance and the Allies. The North Atlantic Alliance, NATO, is the indispensable foundation for the security of the free, democratic states of Western Europe. Under its protection, they were reconstructed after the war. Only under its protection can they develop further.

To secure the freedom and independence of the country and its citizens from military and political pressure the Federal Republic joined NATO in 1955. From the outset it placed its armed forces completely under the NATO supreme command. Only the balance of forces between NATO and the Warsaw Pact can, in the long term, guarantee peace and ensure the continuation of free democracies. To maintain this balance the presence of American and Canadian armed forces in Europe is indispensable.

Close and trusting relations, of vital importance to its security, link the Federal Republic with the United States of America. They have grown in more than three decades into a friendship based on shared values and long-term identity of interests. This rapport determines the close cooperation in the alliance, in security policy and in all questions concerning Berlin, as well as in foreign, world economic and monetary policies and also at international conferences involving the two countries.

The reconciliation with France, begun by the first postwar chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, and the treaty of friendship signed by him and President Charles de Gaulle in 1963, have grown into a trustful partnership. It is the driving force in the European unification process. The network of regular mutual consultations provided for by the treaty has been continually knitted more closely. The semi-annual summit meetings of the heads of state and government in



Paris Agreements, 1954.
From left: Mendès-France, Adenauer, Eden, Dulles

which a number of other specialised ministers also take part are of particular importance. This partnership covers political, economic, technological and cultural activities, a very far-reaching conception of European security and a joint vision of the future in Europe.

The Federal Republic of Germany also maintains friendly relationships with other Western states. In particular the cooperation with Britain has been consistently expanded and deepened. The two countries' heads of government also meet every half year. Similarly the Federal Republic is closely linked with its other Western neighbours and allies in a tightly woven fabric of agreements, consultations and mutual visits.

Safeguarding peace and pursuing détente. The relationship of the Federal Republic to the East European states was initially governed by the confrontation between the Western and Eastern blocs. In 1955 Bonn established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. With the beginning of the worldwide détente efforts a chance developed to complement the policy of permanent integration of the Federal Republic into the Western alliance system with a policy aimed at normalisation and good-neighbourly relations with the East. One of the first steps in this direction was the establishment of diplomatic relations with Romania in 1967.

In 1970 a treaty was signed in Moscow between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in which the two sides renounced the threat or use of force and undertook to settle their disputes only by peaceful means. Borders as they presently exist in Europe were declared inviolable. In a "Letter on German Unity", handed over in connection with the signing of the agreement, the Federal Government declared "that this treaty does not conflict with the political objective of the Federal Republic of Germany to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will recover its unity in free self-determination".

Also in 1970 a treaty was signed in Warsaw between the Federal Republic of Germany and the People's Republic of Poland which laid down that the existing boundary line along the Oder and western Neisse rivers constitutes the western state frontier of Poland (see p. 67). This treaty laid the foundations for normalisation and development of relations between the two countries. A treaty on mutual relations was entered into with Czechoslovakia in 1973. It established that both sides treat as null and void in their relations the Munich Agreement of 1938. Agreement was also reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations with Bulgaria and Hungary.

In a joint declaration of 17 May 1972 the Bundestag emphasised that the treaties of Moscow and Warsaw do not pre-empt a peace treaty for Germany and create no legal basis for the present borders. The Bundestag declared that the inalienable right to self-determination is not diminished by the treaties and that the Federal Republic of Germany makes no territorial claims or claims to change boundaries. In a ruling on both treaties the Federal Constitutional Court emphasised that by concluding them the Federal Republic of Germany has not prejudiced the territorial status of Germany or the rights to assets of former inhabitants of areas previously under German sovereignty.

The treaties of Moscow and Warsaw smoothed the way to the 1971 Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (see p. 78) and the 1972 Treaty on the Basis of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (see p. 74/75). Relations between the two Germans states are not part of foreign policy because in the Federal Republic's view the German Democratic Republic is not a foreign country, but they cannot be shaped independently of foreign policy as they are an integral part of the overall development of relations between East and West.

The Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic are members of different alliance systems. The frontier between them is at the same time the dividing line between the two

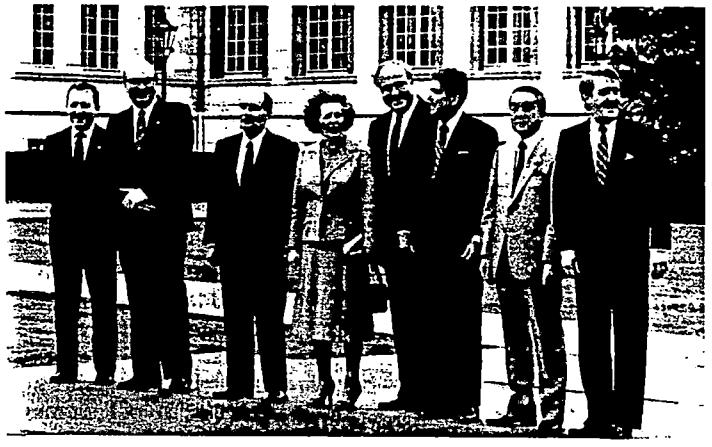
most important international tasks of our time, especially vis-à-vis the least developed countries. Together with its EC partners it ...kes constructive contributions to the dialogue between indus... and developing countries, helping in the struggle against hun... and misery, for improved living conditions and for more transfer of resources to the developing countries.

The efficiency of the cooperation and increased help is promoted by a well-functioning world economy, especially by the freest possible exchange of goods. All states and groups of states are therefore called upon to participate with substantial contributions to the ongoing dialogue and balancing of interests between North and South, regardless of their economic and social orders. A few decades ago, after the devastation of World War II, the German people urgently needed outside help to rebuild their country and they got it. It is therefore self-evident that now the Federal Republic of Germany supports countries which need help to develop. Since coming into existence it has spent continuously rising amounts on development aid. By 1986 the official and private aid to developing countries had totalled almost DM 280,000 million. More increases are planned in official aid for the years immediately ahead (see also p. 217–221).

Membership of the United Nations. The Federal Republic of Germany has been a member of the United Nations since 1973 but for a long time before that had cooperated with its subordinate and specialised agencies. It takes an active part in the multilateral international cooperation in the world organisation. For the 1987/88 period the Federal Republic is a member of the UN Security Council for the second time. In line with the Charter of the United Nations it supports worldwide efforts to secure peace, economic and social progress and the implementation of human rights and the right of self-determination of nations. It condemns in the sharpest possible terms all kinds of racism and colonialism and resists with determi... ation the creation of new spheres of power and influence.

Foreign cultural policy has a threefold task:

- ☐ To promote knowledge and dissemination of the German language in the world;
- ☐ to convey abroad a comprehensive image of the Federal Republic of Germany, reflecting its democratic multiplicity of opinion and its cultural achievements;
- ☐ to disseminate knowledge of foreign cultures in the Federal Republic of Germany.



The Economic Summit in Bonn, 1985

Culture in this sense encompasses all the facets of life and thought of peoples, including their civilisatory and social problems. Regardless of differences in scientific and technical development, cultural exchange presupposes the same dignity of all cultures.

The aim of German cultural policy abroad is to break down prejudices and to strengthen mutual respect between peoples. Through this it also serves to foster economic and political cooperation. Responsibility for this part of foreign policy rests with the Federal Foreign Office, which cooperates closely in this field with the governments of the Länder.

The Federal Republic of Germany has cultural agreements with 50 countries. Such an agreement is not, however, a prerequisite for close cultural exchange. Most of the exchange activities are carried out by specialised agencies which work independently within a foreign policy framework set by the Federal Government. The four most important are:

- ☐ The Goethe Institute, which has 155 branches in 66 countries, concentrates on teaching the German language and providing comprehensive information about Germany.
- ☐ The German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD) is responsible for exchanges of postgraduates and students.
- ☐ Inter Nationes looks after foreign guests in Germany and produces and disseminates all manner of films, tape recordings and printed matter.



Signing the Moscow Treaty, 1970

alliances and between contrasting systems of society. Following two decades in which there were no relations between the two parts of Germany, the Basic Treaty provided the foundation for a regulated co-existence, humanitarian improvements and more contacts between their inhabitants. With this the Federal Republic pursues the aim of keeping alive the feeling of all Germans that they belong together and of mitigating the effects of the division.

The Federal Republic pursues a policy vis-à-vis the East which rests on two principles: maintaining the security of the West by adequate defence capability and simultaneous readiness for dialogue and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of central and eastern Europe. This policy is designed for the long term and makes use of all possibilities for political contacts and economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. The goal is lasting détente between East and West based on a realistic assessment.

With its policy the Federal Republic of Germany also smoothed the way to the convening of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). In the Helsinki Final Act (1975) all European states (except Albania), the USA and Canada agreed on a code of conduct for improving their relations and continuing the CSCE process. The Federal Republic's priorities in this are respect for human rights, development of trust between nations, expansion of economic and scientific cooperation, reunion of separated families and the easing of contacts between people. Meanwhile three CSCE follow-up meetings have taken place in Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna. At the last meeting in Vienna the aim was again to achieve progress in all three CSCE fields, to usher in a second phase of the

Conference on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe (CDE) and to agree on a further follow-up meeting.

Precondition to viable détente is a reduction of military confrontation. The Federal Republic of Germany has already made concrete contributions to securing peace, disarmament and arms control in the past, in particular by eschewing ABC weapons, signing the nuclear test ban treaty, joining the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and eschewing the export of arms to areas of tension. The Federal Republic of Germany contributes actively to all efforts to diminish the danger of military confrontation and to create a stable balance of strengh between East and West. Armament control is an integral part of its security policy. It takes an active part in the various multilateral negotiations.

Creation of conventional stability in Europa is especially important to the security of our continent. In the field of chemical weapons the federal government is seeking early agreement on a verifiable and worldwide ban. In nuclear arms the USA and the USSR reached a first agreement in 1987 to do away with medium range missiles. The federal government supports the objective of Geneva talks to halve the American and Soviet potentials in strategic offensive weapons as a second step in nuclear disarmament. Bonn's objective in respect of American and Soviet short-range nuclear missiles is a clear, verifiable reduction to equal ceilings.

Policy vis-à-vis the Third World. Cooperation with the countries in the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Asia has become an ever more important element of German foreign policy. This turning towards the Third World reflects the increased responsibility of the Federal Republic in the world, its global economic involvement and its vital interest in a worldwide peaceful order.

Respect for the self-determination and equal rights of nations is an essential foundation of the policy of the Federal Republic of Germany. It maintains relations with the states of the Third World on a basis of balanced and egalitarian partnership. It fully backs their claim to independent and sovereign development. It strives for no spheres of influence and wants to export no ideologies; the Federal Republic works towards a world in which all nations determine their political, economic and cultural affairs themselves and in which they cooperate as partners.

To achieve this objective the prosperity gap between industrial and developing countries in North and South must be narrowed. The Federal Republic faces up to co-responsibility for solving these

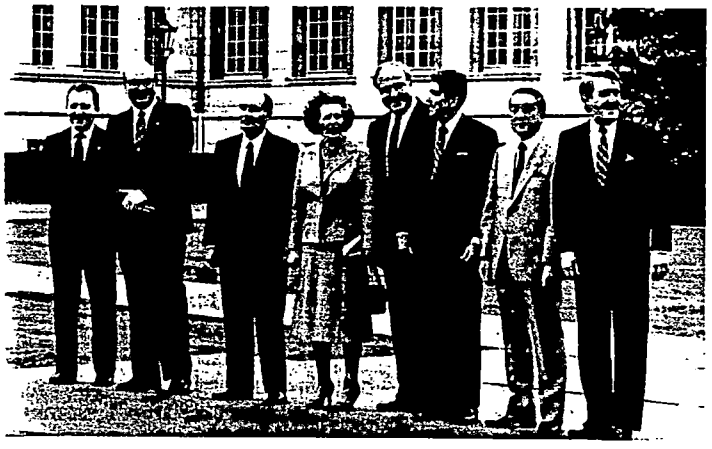
most important international tasks of our time, especially vis-à-vis the least developed countries. Together with its EC partners it makes constructive contributions to the dialogue between industrialised and developing countries, helping in the struggle against hunger and misery, for improved living conditions and for more transfer of resources to the developing countries.

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□ The Institute for Foreign Relations (Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen) specialises in organising German exhibitions abroad and foreign exhibitions in Germany.

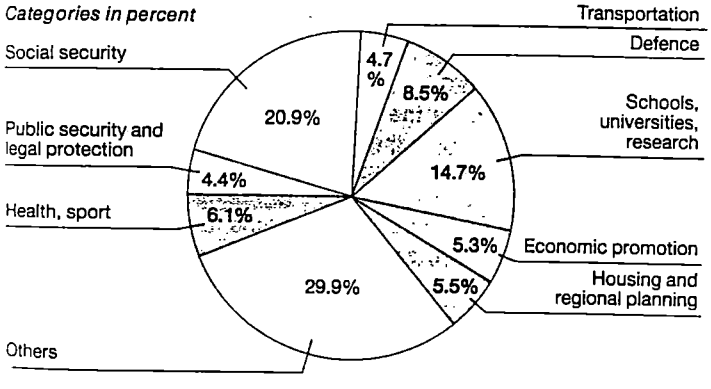
Public finance

In many countries, more and more tasks which used to have a private character are now being taken care of by the state. Consequently, the importance of public finance has grown. This also applies in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Federal Republic's total public budget comprises not only the federal budget but also the budgets of the Bundesländer (federal states) and about 8,500 communes (local governments) and associations of communes as well as a number of special accounts. One must always keep this in mind when making comparisons. For example, the military expenditure of the Federal Republic is easy to ascertain because defence is a federal matter and spending on it appears as a self-contained block in the federal budget. By contrast, it is not easy to tot up the total spending on cultural amenities—education, science, arts, etc.—because it is spread among the budgets of the Federal Government, the Länder, the communes and many non-governmental institutions.

The distribution of tasks. The lowest administrative level on which public services are rendered is the commune (Gemeinde). It deals with all local affairs. These comprise manifold basic needs of the public such as water, gas and electricity supplies, garbage dispo-

Federal, State and local government spending (1984)
Total DM 583,600 millions
Categories in percent



sal, maintenance of communal roads and, together with the Länder, administration the schools system and other cultural responsibilities.

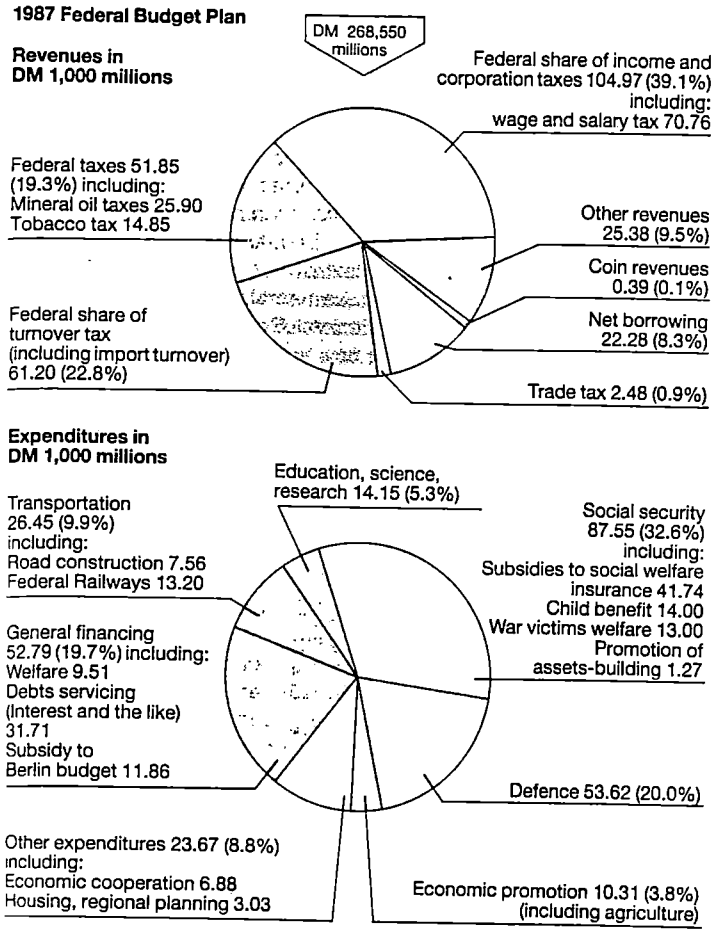
The tasks of the Länder lie mainly in the field of culture, primarily schools and other education facilities. They are also responsible for the police forces and public health services.

The greatest load of public tasks is carried by the Federal Government. Two large fields predominate: social security and—as already mentioned—defence. In addition the Federal Government has important tasks in many other fields: transport and communications (Federal Railways, posts, road construction), education and vocational training, science and research, energy and business promotion, agriculture, housing and urban works, public health, internal security and development aid.

Apart from this there are tasks addressed jointly by the Federal Government and the Länder. These include the expansion and new construction of universities, improvement of regional economic structures, agricultural structure and coastal protection, as well as cooperation in education planning and the promotion of science.

Financing the public budgets has become more and more difficult since the mid-1970s. Especially the spending on social security but also the Federal Republic of Germany's payments to the European Community have risen enormously since then. All levels of government are also finding it increasingly difficult to bear the growing administrative costs, especially for personnel, and the cost of debt servicing. The increasing burden on the state has consistently narrowed its scope for action and more and more reduced the public funds available for investment. That is why consolidation of the public budgets is a high priority task for federal and state governments and will remain so in the years to come despite the headway already made.

Finance planning. A 1967 Law for the Promotion of Economic Stability and Growth requires the federal and Länder governments to orientate their budgeting to the main economic policy objectives. These are stability of prices, high employment, balanced foreign trade and steady, commensurate growth. The Federal Government and the Länder must draw up financial plans for their areas of responsibility in which incomes and expenditure are projected for a period of five years. The main purpose of this finance planning for several years ahead is, above all, to harmonise public incomes and expenditures with national economic resources and requirements. Anticipated budgetary liabilities, listed in order of priority, are to be



brought into line with the total economically justifiable amount of revenue. The local government regulations of the states stipulate that communal governments must also draw up medium-term finance plans.

The great importance of the public budgets requires close coordination through all administrative levels. The most important body of this voluntary cooperation is the Financial Planning Council, set up in 1968, in which Federal Government, Länder, communes and the Federal Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) participate. The Econ-

omic Policy Council also has a coordinating and advisory function (see p. 164).

[redacted]ibution of revenues. The major source of the revenue the fed- and Länder governments, as well as local authorities, need to carry out their tasks is taxes. There are more than two dozen different types. But five of these alone—income, corporation, turnover, mineral oil and trade taxes—raise more than four fifths of the entire tax revenue. Before 1914 the Reich, Länder and communes each received about a third of the total tax revenue. With the reweighting of tasks the share of revenue intake has also shifted in favour of central government. Today the Federal Government controls just under half of the entire tax revenue.

The distribution of tax revenues among the three levels of government is complicated. Income, corporation and turnover taxes

Tax revenues in the Federal area *(in millions of DM)*

Tax type	1970	1980	1986
Shared taxes	99,949	267,300	333,675
Wage	35,086	111,559	152,233
Income (excl. wage tax)	16,001	36,796	29,881
Capital gains	2,021	4,175	8,121
Corporation	8,716	21,322	32,301
Turnover, import turnover	38,125	93,448	111,139
Federal taxes inc. EC shares	27,396	46,053	56,351
Customs, excise	2,871	4,603	5,239
Tobacco, coffee, sugar	7,718	12,906	16,282
Spirits monopoly	2,228	3,885	4,065
Mineral oil	11,512	21,351	25,644
Other consumer	451	780	934
Surcharge	948	39	9
Other	1,667	2,490	4,177
[redacted]änder taxes	9,531	16,072	21,255
[redacted]operty	2,877	4,664	4,396
[redacted]otor vehicles	3,830	6,585	9,356
Beer	1,175	1,262	1,263
Other	1,650	3,560	6,239
Local government taxes	15,679	35,736	41,155
Land	2,683	5,804	7,636
Trade (profits and capital)	10,728	27,091	31,987
Other	2,267	2,597	1,532
Total	152,555	364,918	452,437

are "joint taxes". They are shared between the Federal Government and Länder according to a fixed, in the case of sales tax a periodically renegotiated distribution scale. The local authorities also receive a part of the income tax revenue. In exchange they have to surrender to the Federal Government and Länder part of the trade tax they raise, which used to be a purely local government tax. Another part of the sales tax goes to the EC.

Other taxes go to only one level of government. Federal Government sources are the customs and excise duties (after deduction of the EC share), the incomes from finance monopolies (e.g. spirits monopoly) and various consumer and traffic taxes (e.g. mineral oil, tobacco and capital transfer taxes). The Länder receive the motor-vehicle, property, inheritance and beer taxes as well as a number of smaller taxes. The communes receive the revenues from real estate and local consumption and expenditure taxes.

The highest revenues are brought in by income tax. This is the one which most strongly affects the average person. Dependently employed, i. e. wage-earning or salaried workers and public servants, have it deducted from wages or salary by the employer who remits it to the tax office (the "pay-as-you-earn" principle). The rate of taxation rises with income. After allowance of a number of certain non-taxable sums it comprises at present at least 22% and at most 56%.

Apart from tax revenues a major source of public finance is government borrowing. The Federal Republic's budgets in 1986 were DM 792,600 million in debt, which broke down to about DM 13,000 per inhabitant. This was a high level of public debt. In recent years new borrowing at the three national budget levels was cut by means a consistent retrenchment policy. This consolidation course is to be continued in principle to cut the debt burden further.

Financial equalization. The tax-raising capability of the Länder varies considerably because their natural conditions and economic structures are also very different. Thus there are financially strong states like Baden-Württemberg, Hamburg and Hesse and financially weak states like Lower Saxony, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Schleswig-Holstein and Bremen. These differences in tax-raising potential are by and large balanced out by a "horizontal financial equalization". This is achieved in part by a differential sharing of the Länder's turnover tax income, partly by equalization payments by the financially stronger to the weaker Länder. In addition the federation supports the financially weak Länder to improve further their financial capacity.

A "vertical financial equalization" takes place between Länder and local authorities. The tax and other revenues of the communes are [illegible]dequate for their tasks. The municipal administrations therefore [illegible]end on subsidies from the Länder. Some of these are tied to [illegible]ific purposes but others are freely disposable. This municipal financial equalization aims at reducing the differences between communes with high tax revenues and those with low tax revenues.

Public service

For the average citizen the state as such is an abstract concept. It takes on flesh and blood only in the person of its servants. In the Federal Republic some 4.4 million people are in direct public employment, 3.6 million full-time, in federal, state and local government and in public corporations and institutions. Only some of them carry out administrative work in the strictest sense. Public servants include various groups, e.g. departmental civil servants and dustmen, swimming baths supervisors and professors, judges and nurses, teachers and engine drivers but also the soldiers of the Federal Armed Forces.

Professional civil servants. About 40% of the public servants comprise what are called "Beamte" in German, meaning permanent civil servants. The permanent civil service is a specifically German characteristic. The Basic Law has retained this proven institution which in the democratic, constitutional state of the Federal Republic has proved an objective administrator of the common good. The Basic Law expressly rules that "the law of the public service shall be regulated with due regard to the traditional principles of the professional civil service". The professional civil service is to ensure that public tasks are carried out reliably and free of extraneous influences at all times.

The Basic Law entrusts the civil servant with "the exercise of state authority." This authority is exercised by an official, for example, when he orders the demolition of a dangerously delapidated house, regulates traffic, imposes a fine or chases a robber with a pistol. The public servant's "status, service and loyalty are governed by public law".

The "Beamter" has a special obligation of loyality to his employer. He is dutybound at all times to defend the free democratic order as laid down by the Basic Law. All his actions must be aimed at the common good and conform to administrative law. Even where he has scope for decision he may never take action as he thinks fit but only in line with duty-abiding discretion. His superior can demand obedience from him, yet he remains responsible himself for the legality of his actions. Even in his basic rights the Beamter is subject to certain limitations. Although Beamte, like all citizens, have the right to become politically active they are obliged to exercise mod-

eration and restraint. They also have the "right of association," that is the right to form professional groups, but are not allowed to strike.

As well as special duties, the Beamte also have special rights. [redacted]ule Beamte are appointed for life. For the period of their active employment and in retirement they and their families have a claim to welfare benefits from their employer. If they become incapacitated or when they reach retirement age they are paid a civil-service pension.

Status and pay in the civil service are hierarchically structured. Every Beamter belongs to one of four "service grades": sub-clerical, clerical, executive or administrative service. Which of these categories he is grouped in is determined by educational standards achieved and professional qualification. Generally, the highest grouping requires a university degree. Moving from a lower to a higher category is possible only under certain conditions, although it has in recent years been eased. Within the various grades there are several differently remunerated levels.

Wage and salary earners in the public service. About 60% of public employees are wage and salary earners without Beamter status. In many respects they have the same rights and status as their colleagues in private enterprise. They have therefore to pay contributions into the social insurance schemes and are not from the outset employed for life. They become indismissable only after 15 years and after the age of 40. Over the years their status has, however, been more and more adapted to that of the permanent civil servants.

Yet significant differences remain in their legal position although sometimes non-Beamte public employees do the same, or similar, jobs as their Beamte colleagues.

The problem of extremists. The public service, above all its perma[redacted]nt civil servants, put the constitution and legislation into practice. [redacted]this they implement the order of the state. For this reason most states put their civil servants under higher than normal obligations of loyality. They demand that they be always ready to defend and promote the constitutional order.

However, the procedures according to which civil servants are appointed vary. Many countries have chosen very pragmatic ways. For the Federal Republic of Germany, the Federal Constitutional Court has laid down that an applicant's loyalty to the constitution must be tested as one prerequisite for his employment, but that a rejection must be justified with facts which can be reviewed by an independent court.

The appointment practice for federal and Länder civil servants was, and is, not uniform everywhere. A decision by the heads of the federal and state governments in 1972, the so-called "radicals decree" (Radikalenerlass), brought no clarification at the time. Depending on political standpoints, individual cases of rejection were used as arguments in the occasionally vehement debate over an appointment procedure which did justice to all the requirements of a state based on the rule of law.

Meanwhile highest court rulings have pointed the way to a procedure conforming to the principle of the rule of law. Accordingly, the Federal Government in 1979 adopted new "Principles for Testing Loyalty to the Constitution" ("Grundsätze für die Prüfung der Verfassungstreue") for the federal administration.

Internal security

Maintenance of public security and order is one of the state's most important tasks. In the Federal Republic it is carried out by federal and state (Land) authorities.

The police of the Länder. Principally the police forces are under the jurisdiction of individual federal states. The federal states having legislative power in this field, there are eleven different Land police laws which are nevertheless similar in many major points. Close cooperation between the state police forces is assured by regular conferences of the Land interior ministers which the Federal Minister of the Interior also attends.

Police tasks are varied. The police body with which the citizen has most contact is the traffic police. No less important to internal security are general police forces (Schutzpolizei, Bereitschaftspolizei and Wasserschutzpolizei) as well as criminal police, the only plainclothes part of the forces. In crime-fighting the focus is on violent crime, theft, fraud, juvenile delinquency and narcotics crime, and on an increasing scale political extremism and politically motivated terrorism. For police training and for manpower support of the regular forces, the states also keep uniformly trained Alert Forces (Bereitschaftspolizei) numbering about 25,000 men. The Alert Forces are uniformly equipped by the federation and their operational readiness is kept under constant review.

The Federal Border Guard. The Federal Border Guard (Bundesgrenzschutz, BGS) is a federal police force responsible to the Federal Minister of the Interior. Its overall strength is 22,600 men. The main task of the BGS is controlling the Federal Republic's external borders. It checks incoming and outgoing traffic. In the frontier region it has to ward off threats and remove disturbances.

The Federal Border Guard also keeps watch on federal installations (e. g. the official residence of the Federal President and the Federal Chancellery) and threatened foreign missions, and it is used for security work during state visits and similar events. A special border police guard operative since 1973, the "Grenzschutzgruppe 9" (GSG 9), won worldwide recognition when in October 1977 it freed 86 hostages held by terrorists in a Lufthansa airliner at Mogadishu, Somalia.



Police attending to a traffic accident

In internal emergency the Federal Border Guard can be assigned special tasks. In particular, they can be brought in to avert a threat to the existence of the free democratic order of the Federal Republic or a federal state. In an external emergency, i. e. an armed attack on federal territory from outside, the Bonn government can, if necessary, deploy the BGS in the entire federal area.

The Federal Criminal Police Office. The Federal Criminal Police Office (Bundeskriminalamt, BKA), which is based at Wiesbaden and has a main directorate near Bonn, is the centre for cooperation between federal and state law-enforcement agencies. It collects information and documentation for crime-fighting by the police and evaluates them. The BKA has technical and identification facilities and functions as the national centre for INTERPOL, the international criminal police organisation.

The BKA handles serious crimes itself, e.g. international drug trafficking, or when it is asked to do so by a Land. A BKA security group based in Bonn protects the federal constitutional organs and their guests. BKA personnel strength has been almost quadrupled since 1969 to 3,500. This was an important contribution to strengthening internal security in the Federal Republic of Germany, especially to fighting violent crime by terrorist groups and serious crime in general.

The authorities for protection of the constitution. Protection of the free, democratic basic order against its removal and undermining is defined as "Verfassungsschutz" (protection of the constitu-

tion) by the Basic Law. In order effectively to provide this protection the relevant federal and Länder authorities collect information about extremist and security-threatening activities and evaluate it f[redacted] federal and Länder governments, for executive authorities a[redacted] courts.

Another important field of activity in protecting the constitution is counter-espionage, that is fighting the secret service activities of foreign powers in the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The federal authority charged with these tasks and the central collecting point for documents relating to them is the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesamt für Verfassungsschutz, BfV) in Köln (Cologne). The BfV is accountable to the Federal Minister of the Interior. It cooperates with the corresponding agencies of the federal states. The agency is a pure information-gathering service. It has no executive police powers.

The federal and Länder authorities for the protection of the constitution are subject to several levels of control. It is exercised by the responsible ministers, the parliaments and the Commissioners for data protection. The agencies are also subject to control by the courts, public opinion and the media.

Defence

The security policy of the Federal Republic of Germany is aimed at protecting its peace, freedom and independence. This requires the ability to withstand any political blackmail and to make any attempt at the use of military force an intolerable risk for a possible aggressor.

Defence capability and readiness to seek détente are the two components of this security policy. This is why the Federal Republic of Germany is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) pact while at the same time taking part actively in international détente efforts. It is guided by the fundamental principle not to become a nuclear power.

The task of the armed forces. The Bundeswehr (Federal Armed Forces)—the official name of the armed services—exists to safeguard peace. Its existence is a prerequisite for a policy of détente. It provides the biggest contingent of conventional troops of NATO in Europe.

NATO exercise



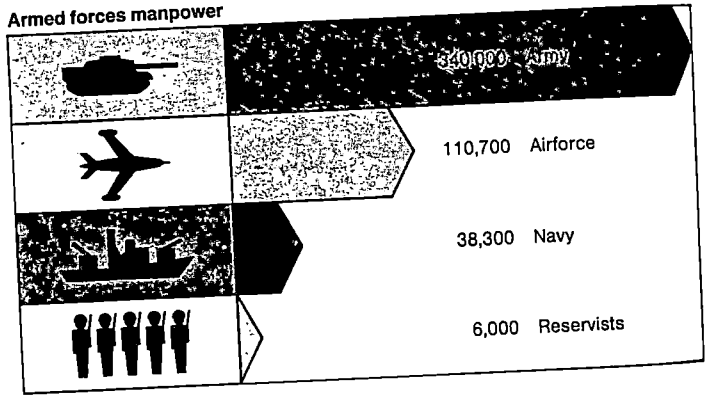
The Bundeswehr has the tasks

- in peacetime, together with the troops of the allies, to deter an enemy from threatening or using military force by maintaining constant operational readiness;
- in crises to help enable the political leadership to negotiate without having to submit to foreign political will,
- in a state of defence, to preserve or restore the inviolability of the territory of the Federal Republic by means of a joint defensive effort with its allies near the border (forward defence).

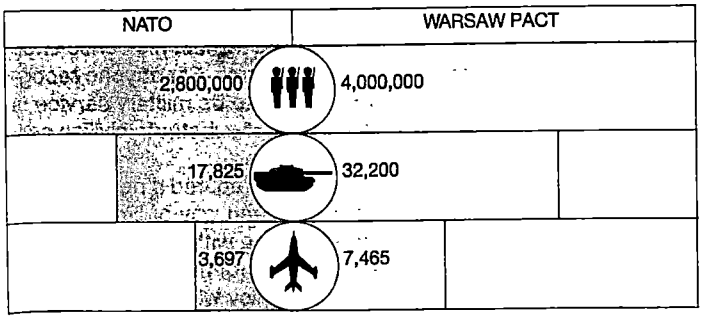
Because of its high population density and its high level of industrialisation the Federal Republic of Germany is highly vulnerable to any attack. A strip only 100 kms wide west of the border with the states of the Warsaw Pact houses 30% of its population and 25% of its industrial capacity. War action of any appreciable duration on the territory of the Federal Republic would destroy what is meant to be defended. This is why the forward defence principle is vital.

The organisation of the Bundeswehr. In the Federal Republic of Germany there is general compulsory military service for men. The basic military service currently lasts 15 months; from 1 June 1989 it will be extended to 18 months. The Bundeswehr is no purely conscripted army. As a highly technical fighting force it needs soldiers who are at its disposal longer. Currently 495,000 rank-and-file soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers are serving in the Bundeswehr. About half of them are conscripts, the rest are career servicemen or volunteers who have signed on for periods of up to 15 years.

Armed forces manpower



Forces comparison central Europe *(soldiers, tanks, fighter planes)*



The Bundeswehr comprises three services, the Army (Heer), Air Force (Luftwaffe) and Navy (Marine). It is now indisputably one of the well-equipped forces in the North Atlantic Alliance. The fighting strength and the efficiency of the three services have been improved and strengthened by introduction of new and modernisation of existing weapons systems and armaments. Things will keep developing in this field.

Longer-serving soldiers can take part in courses and sit exams during their service which will later help them in their working lives. Since 1973 the Bundeswehr has had universities of its own where future officers can study in various fields and obtain qualifications which are also recognised in civilian life. The Command and Staff College of the Bundeswehr trains officers for senior posts.

Bundeswehr and society. The Bundeswehr is responsible to the political leadership. The primacy of parliament and political leaders is guaranteed by supreme command resting with the Federal Minister of Defence in peacetime and with the Federal Chancellor in the event of war. Parliamentary control of the Bundeswehr is exercised by the committess of the Bundestag, especially the Defence Committee.

A parliamentary control function is also exercised by the Defence Commissioner of the Bundestag (Wehrbeauftragter), who is elected by the parliament for a term of five years. It is his job to safeguard the constitutional rights of servicemen. Every serviceman has the right to turn to him directly with complaints without going through his superiors. The Defence Commissioner is empowered to demand information and access to files from military offices and to visit any Bundeswehr installation unannounced.

As well as the civic duty to do military service the individual has a ic right to refuse for conscientious reasons. Article 4 of the Ba- Law rules that no-one can be compelled against his conscience to render war service including the use of arms. For anyone recognised as a conscientious objector the duty to do military service is cancelled. Instead, he must do 20 months of substitute civilian service in social institutions, e. g. hospitals.

The citizens of the Federal Republic are prepared if necessary to defend their democratic system of values and way of life by resort to armed force. They want a military balance with the East and regard the peace which has existed in Europe for more than 40 years as being partly due to German security policy within the North Atlantic Alliance. An essential factor in the broad approval of the citizens is the declared will of all members of the Western alliance never to use their weapons except in response to an attack.

Civil defence. Civil defence involves preparation and execution of all defence measures in the non-military sector. It lies exclusively in the jurisdiction of civilian authorities. Its main tasks are maintenance of national administration and government functions, protection of life and health of the population from the effects of war, provision of supplies vital to survival of the population and defence efforts and support of the armed forces.

The main task of civil defence is protection of the population. The central authority for this is the Federal Civil Defence Agency (Bundesamt für Zivilschutz). Among other things it is responsible for warning and alerting services, air rescue, shelter construction in residential buildings, schools and hospitals. The job of the Federal Self-Protection Association (Bundesverband für den Selbstschutz) is to instruct the population about the effects of offensive weapons and means of protection. So far more than 5.5 million people have taken part in its courses.

Economics

The economic system
Employment
Incomes and prices
Consumer protection
Farming, forestry, fishing
Industry
Raw material and energy supplies
The crafts
Commerce
Intra-German trade
Foreign trade
Cooperation with developing countries
Money and banking
Fairs and exhibitions
Transportation
The Post
Tourism

The economic system

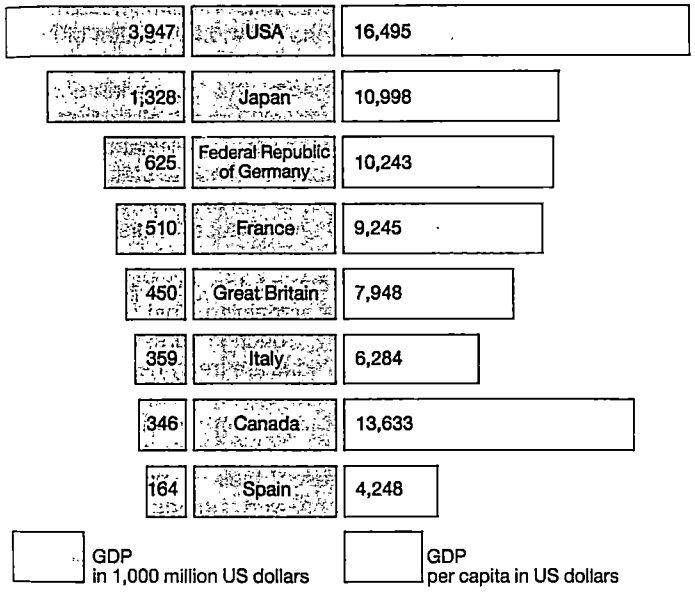
The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the major industrial countries. In terms of overall economic performance it comes fourth in the world; in world trade it even takes second place. Its Gross National Product—i. e. the value of all goods and services produced for the market—has more than doubled from 1960 to 1986. (Expressed in 1980 prices it has risen from DM 731,700 million to DM 1,618,400 million. In terms of market prices it rose from DM 303,000 million to DM 1,949,000 million.) Since in this period the number of gainfully employed and the average working time have diminished, the growth of the GNP is due to a mighty rise in productivity. The Federal Republic was also hit by the worldwide recession which began in 1974. The slowing of economic growth and the rising unemployment have been its most pressing problems. A new orientation of economic and government spending policies have meanwhile reinvigorated the forces of growth.

Social market economy. The Federal Republic's economic system has developed since the war into a socially responsible market economy coupled with macroeconomic management. This system rejects equally the old-style laissez-faire and government interventionism. It combines the free initiative of the individual with the principles of social progress. The Basic Law, which guarantees freedom of private enterprise and private property, stipulates that these basic rights be exercised to the public good. Under the tenet of "as little government as possible, as much government as necessary" the state has a mainly regulatory function in the market economy. It sets the general framework of conditions within which market processes take place. The question as to which and how many goods are produced and who gets how much of what is decided above all in the marketplace. In the Federal Republic there is almost no state intervention in price and wage fixing.

Market economy. The prerequisite for the functioning of the market mechanism is competition. Without it there can be no market economy. But competition demands effort. And so it is understandable that entrepreneurs time and time again try to neutralise competition, be it by agreements between competitors or by mergers of firms. To prevent such attempts is the objective of a Law against Restraints of Competition (Cartel Act), first enacted in 1957 and substantially improved meanwhile. It forbids concerted practices and agreements which influence market conditions by restricting competition. Enforcement of the law is the function of the Federal Cartel Office (Bundeskartellamt) in Berlin (West) and the cartel offices of the Länder.

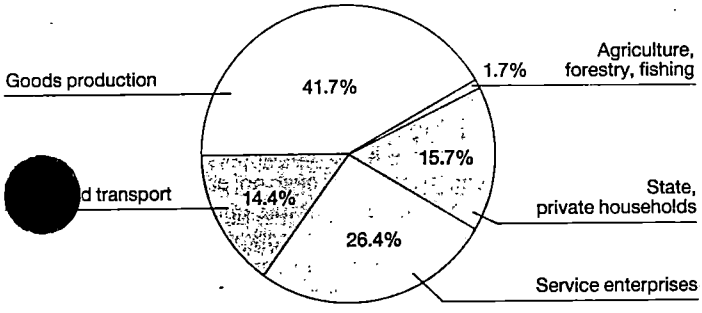
The driving force of the market economy is the striving for profit. This is why it is bound to fail wherever no profits are, or can be made. For this reason a number of sectors of the German economy were never completely subject to the market economy system, for example agriculture, parts of the transportation system and hard-coal mining. Above all for social reasons agriculture cannot be completeley exposed to free market competition. Moreover, it is subject to the EC regulations governing the agricultural market codes. The German Federal Railways (Deutsche Bundesbahn) and the German Federal Post Office (Deutsche Bundespost) are publicly owned. They cannot orientate their activities purely to profit but have to serve the general public. The railways must, for example, offer

Gross Domestic Product of important industrial states 1985



Source: OECD, Main Economic Indicators, March 1987

Generation of Gross Domestic Product 1986 (DM 1,944,000 millions)



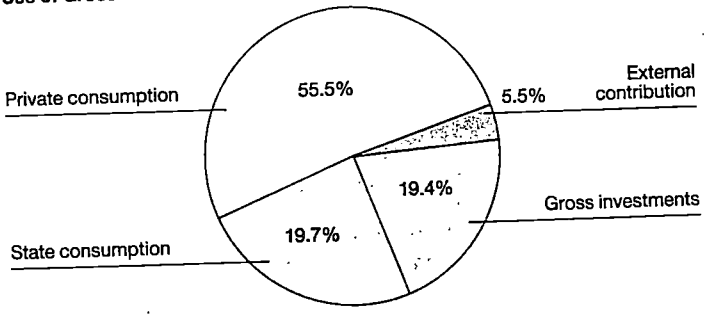
socially acceptable fares and the post office cannot exclude remote villages from its services.

The shortage of housing resulting from the war initially led to the housing market being state-controlled. In the meantime it has by and large become free again. The state does, however, watch that competition on it does not result in socially intolerable conditions. The most important measures to this end are laws protecting tenancy, the payment of rent supplements to low-income households, the promotion of building projects and the modernisation of housing. In a number of vocations, in which in principle there is free competition, lawmakers have made entry into the market dependent on certain prerequisites. Thus craftsmen and retail traders must prove they have the necessary professional qualifications before they can set up in business. For other vocations the state demands special training and a minimum age, for example in the fields of health, legal practice, accountancy and taxation consultancy.

Industrial relations. In the labour market, too, the free play of forces applies. There is free collective bargaining. That is to say that labour-employer agreements on pay, working hours, vacation entitlements and general working conditions are freely negotiated. The organisations of the two parties to the agreements, the trade un- [illegible] nd the employers' associations—often called "social part- [illegible] n Germany—thus play an important role in economic life. [illegible] ed, their main task is to represent their members' interests with determination and, on occasions, with hardness. However, at the same time they bear a large measure of responsibility for the economy as a whole. The way they conduct their bargaining can greatly influence the functioning of the economic system.

Labour and employers in the Federal Republic have been aware

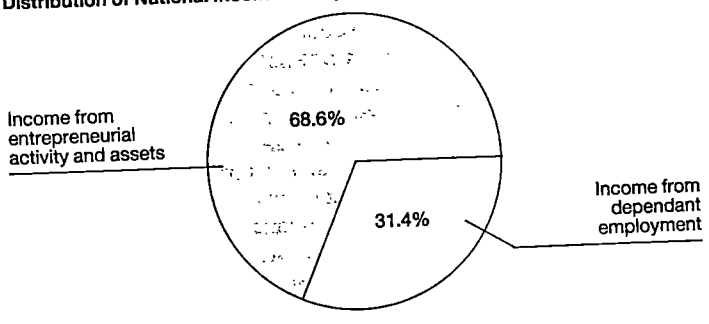
Use of Gross National Product 1986 (DM 1,949,000 millions)



of this responsibility. To a large degree the stability of the economic system is due to them. The realistic policies of the trade unions have in recent years contributed to limiting the effects of the oil price crises on the Federal Republic's workers. Here the specific form of trade unionism which has grown in West Germany since the war shows its worth. The trade unions of the Federal Republic of Germany are "unitary trade unions" in a double sense: each represents all the workers in an entire branch of industry (i. e. not only the members of a certain craft or skill) and they are party-politically and denominationally neutral (i. e. not split into various allegiances). This structure gives them their strength, spares them rivalries and makes them pillars of social stability.

Social welfare. One major reason why hitherto it has been possible to avoid social unrest in the Federal Republic better than in other countries is that its inhabitants are protected by a close social sec-

Distribution of National Income 1986 (DM 1,514,200 millions)



urity network. Social protection is considerable, especially for employees. Whether an employee is old or sick, injured by accident or [illegible]less, affected by the bankruptcy of his employer or taking retr[illegible]ing in a more promising occupation—most of the financial probl[illegible]ms are solved by the welfare system.

This support is not charity. It is based on a system of solidarity. Those in employment pay contributions to the various branches of the social insurances and are thus assured of getting what they need when they need it.

However, the social system extends far beyond the employees' contributions. It includes child benefit for every child, rent supplements, social benefits for the needy and compensation of war victims. The entire public and private expenditure on social security amounts to about a third of the national product.

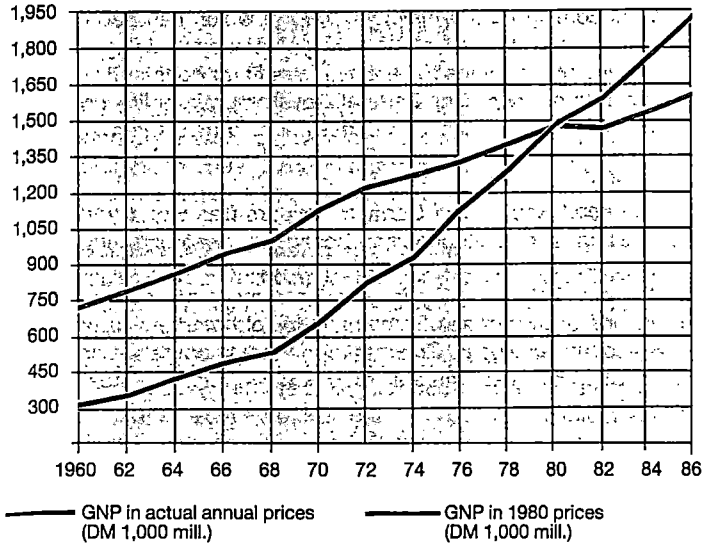
Overall economic development. Undesirable developments can also happen in a market economy. The state must try to counter them by means of budgetary, taxation, welfare and competition policies. Since 1967 the Federal Republic has had an instrument for management of the economy. It demands that stability of prices, a high level of employment and external economic balance under conditions of steady and adequate growth be secured. However, it is not only the state which is called upon to implement these hard-to-reconcile aims. The independent German Federal Bank (Deutsche Bundesbank) as well as the trade unions and employers' associations, who determine incomes policy, also bear decisive responsibility for the way the economy fares. The following bodies participate in the coordination of economic and fiscal policy:

The Economic Policy Council consists of the federal ministers of economics and finance, one member from each Land government and representatives of the communes and associations of communes. The Federal Bank can also take part in the consultations which take place twice a year. The council tries to achieve as unitary an approach to cyclical policy as possible by all concerned. The similarly composed Financial Planning Council (Finanzplanungsrat) has the task of coordinating federal, Länder and communal finance planning.

Bonn and the Länder are committed to drawing up finance plans for several years ahead so that public revenues and expenditure can be harmonised with the needs and capacity of the national economy.

In 1963 the Board of Experts for the Assessment of Overall Economic Trends (Sachverständigenrat zur Begutachung der gesamt-

Gross National Product of the Federal Republic of Germany in actual annual prices and prices compared with 1980



wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung) was set up. This panel of five independent economic experts (popularly known as the "five wise men") draws up an evaluation of overall economic developments every autumn which is to help all concerned in economic decision-taking.

Every January the Federal Government presents to the Bundestag and Bundesrat the annual economic report which contains a response to the annual assessment of the Board of Experts, an outline of the economic and finance policy objectives pursued by the Federal Government in the current year and of the planned economic policy.

Current objectives. Although in recent years economic growth has increased, prices have remained stable and the number of people employed has also been rising, the persistent high unemployment remains a serious problem. To reduce it is a central task of economic policy. The key to more employment lies in higher investment. To ensure adequate profitability for investments the Federal Government is trying to strengthen the market's own forces, especially the incentives for individual performance. The influence of the state on the economy is being reduced, regulations hindering the

market are being eliminated. This makes possible freer competition and adaptation to new developments. Important impetus in this direction is coming from a major tax reform which has been set in train. Among measures to cut unemployment are retraining and further-training programmes to keep workers fit for constantly changing demands on them. The Federal Government's policy on small and medium-sized businesses is designed to help them improve their efficiency, which also contributes to the protection and creation of jobs.

The Federal Republic of Germany favours free world trade and rejects all forms of protectionism. Because it exports a third of its GNP it depends on open markets. For the economy of the Federal Republic it is vital for the European internal market to be expanded and outside the European Community for old markets to be held and new ones developed. The market economy course at home is matched by persistent pursuit of open markets and free trade worldwide.

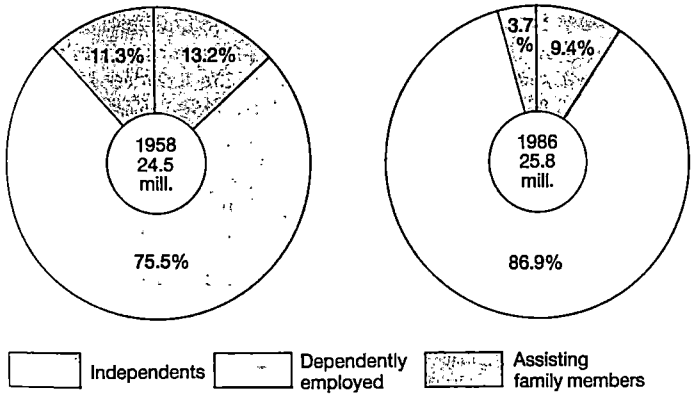
Employment

In the first decades of the Federal Republic's existence the greatest influence on its labour market was the influx of expellees from the eastern territories and refugees from the GDR. Despite great economic difficulties it was possible to integrate these millions of people into the work process. Indeed, they contributed greatly to the Federal Republic's economic advancement.

The labour force (including self-employed) rose from 20.4 million in 1950 to 27.2 million in 1965. From about 1960 onwards the increase of the workforce was due mainly to ever larger numbers of foreign workers streaming into the Federal Republic. In 1965 the number of "guest workers" (Gastarbeiter), as they are popularly called, had risen above a million and in 1973, at the peak of foreign-worker employment, it was more than 2.6 million. Since then, recruitment of foreign workers has been cut, with the exception of those from European Community member countries. In 1986 there were 1.6 million foreign workers in the Federal Republic. The biggest contingent are the Turks, followed by Yugoslavs, Italians, Greeks, Austrians and Spaniards.

For a decade and a half, from the late 1950's to the early 1970's, the Federal Republic enjoyed full employment; there was, in fact, a

Gainfully employed by vocational status



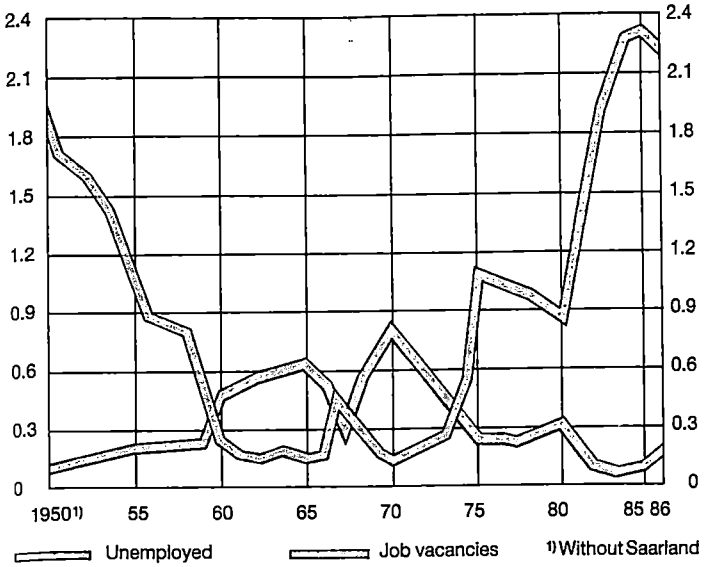
labour shortage. With an annual average of around 150,000 the number of jobless fell to its lowest level in 1970. At the same time there were almost 800,000 job vacancies. Thereafter the labour force diminished gradually and the number of unemployed has been rising since 1974. It rose above one million in 1975 and since 1982 there have been more than two million jobless. Almost every tenth person capable of working is without a job.

There are various reasons for the high unemployment. A major one was certainly the international economic crisis of the 1970's. The inflationary development which appeared in all Western industrial countries was exacerbated by the explosion of petroleum and other raw material prices. But there are also causes for weak growth and unemployment at home. The consumption proportion

Gainful employment by economic sectors *(in 1,000s; annual averages)*

Sector	1960	1970	1980	1986
Agriculture, forestry, livestock-breeding, fishing	3,623	2,262	1,436	1,345
Self-employed	1,159	767	513	486
Assisting family members	1,931	1,200	680	610
Dependently employed	533	295	243	249
Industrial production	12,518	13,024	11,633	10,544
Self-employed	808	653	565	544
Assisting family members	248	145	83	69
Dependently employed	11,462	12,226	10,985	9,931
Commerce and transportation	4,515	4,655	4,841	4,678
Self-employed	766	664	623	647
Assisting family members	272	207	96	79
Dependently employed	3,467	3,784	4,122	3,952
Other sectors (services)	5,591	6,727	8,392	9,219
Self-employed	541	606	660	747
Assisting family members	181	180	96	89
Dependently employed	4,869	5,941	7,636	8,383
Total	26,247	26,668	26,302	25,786
Self-employed	3,284	2,690	2,361	2,424
Assisting family members	2,632	1,732	955	847
Dependently employed	20,331	22,246	22,986	22,515

Unemployed and job vacancies *(in millions, annual average)*



of GNP rose consistently until 1982. This took place at the expense of investments and hence growth and employment. This development was exacerbated by a high public debt and ever more bureaucratic hindrances to industry.

The policy followed since 1982, which has been more strongly aimed again at improving the conditions for growth and reducing hindrances to employment, has noticeably improved the employment situation in recent years. While the number of people in work dropped by almost a million from 1980 to 1984, from 1984 to 1986 almost 400,000 new jobs became available. This stopped unemployment rising further, but there has been no significant drop. The main reason for the persistent joblessness lies in the development of the population. While the population is declining as a whole, the number of people able to work is rising. Additionally, many more women now seek employment. Moreover, jobs are being lost through rationalisation and the use of robots, computers and microchips, as well as through worldwide structural changes in a number of industries, for example coal, steel and shipbuilding.

Some groups are especially hard hit by unemployment, such as workers with inadequate vocational qualifications and the older and

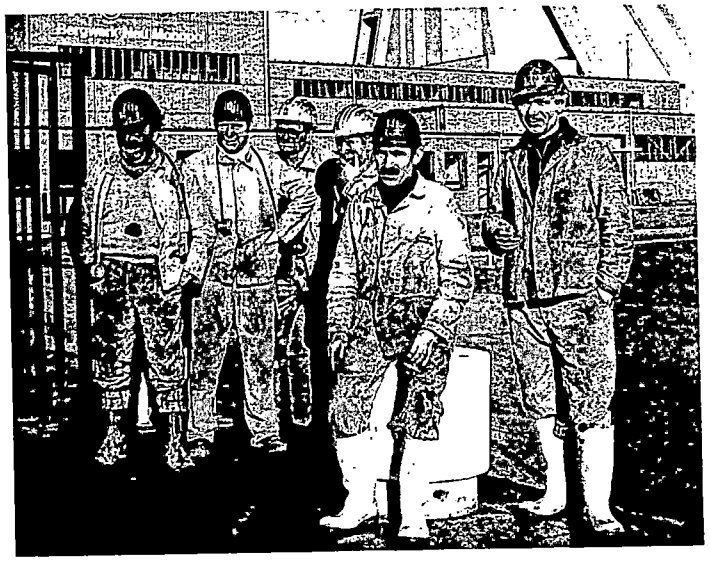
long-term unemployed. The government and industry are making great efforts to help them. Because of the increasing use of modern technology, vocational qualification is very important. But it is also important that the social security system should guarantee those affected by unemployment an adequate subsistence basis.

Unemployment insurance. Since 1927 there has been a statutory unemployment insurance scheme in Germany. It is covered today by the Work Promotion Act (Arbeitsförderungsgesetz) of 1969. The authority administering the scheme is the Federal Institute for Employment (Bundesanstalt für Arbeit) in Nürnberg (Nuremberg). Responsible to it are about 150 local labour exchanges (Arbeitsämter) with many sub-branches. All employees (except the Beamte, the professional civil servants), are subject to obligatory insurance (i. e. payment of contributions into the scheme), regardless of how much they earn. Funds for the insurance are provided by both the employee and the employer. Any unemployed person whose previous employment was subject to insurance contribution and who is ready to accept "tolerable" employment offered by the labour exchange is entitled to draw unemployment benefits. The "unemployment benefit" (Arbeitslosengeld) is up to 68% of the last net pay. As a rule it is paid at most for one year, in the case of older unemployed people at most for 32 months. Thereafter anyone who is still unemployed can apply for "unemployment support" (Arbeitslosenhilfe) which can be up to 58% of the net wage or salary, other sources of income, including those of other family members, being taken into account.

Labour promotion. The Institute for Employment has many other tasks, e.g. job placement and vocational guidance. A particularly

Foreign workers in the Federal Republic of Germany

Country of origin	1973	1976	1979	1986
Total	2,595,000	1,921,000	1,934,000	1,592,000
From:				
G	250,000	173,000	140,000	102,000
It	450,000	279,000	300,000	193,000
P	85,000	62,000	59,000	35,000
Spain	190,000	108,000	90,000	66,000
Turkey	605,000	521,000	540,000	513,000
Yugoslavia	535,000	387,000	367,000	295,000
Other countries	480,000	391,000	438,000	388,000



Foreign workers in a Ruhr coal mine

important function is the promotion of vocational training. The agency gives juveniles and adults subsidies and loans for vocational training if they cannot raise the funds themselves. It also promotes vocational further training and re-training in other skills. If further training or re-training is necessary, e. g. to end unemployment or to acquire a lacking vocational qualification, the agency covers the costs arising from participation under certain conditions and pays a sustenance benefit.

Over and beyond this the agency also promotes vocational advancement by granting sustenance loans or covering costs during training. These benefits from the agency help especially the unemployed to adapt their skills to the rapidly changing demands on the labour market.

Labour market and vocational research is another of the Institute's functions. It continuously observes the type and extent of employment and development of the labour market, the vocations and vocational training opportunities. The research findings are submitted to the Federal Minister for Labour and Social Affairs as an aid to decision-making.

GENIUS also see TALENT

Every man of genius sees the world at a different angle from his fellows.
HAVELOCK ELLIS, quoted in *Columbia Forum,* Winter 1969

Evidently one characteristic of genius is to search for relevance in the apparently commonplace and frivolous.
DAVID ELKIND, *New York Times,* May 26, 1968

A man possesses talent; genius possesses the man.
ISAAC STERN, "Previn and the Pittsburgh," PBS, Apr. 23, 1978

Genius is a spiritual greed.
V. S. PRITCHETT, *The Mythmakers,* 1979

Give me a condor's quill! Give me Vesuvius's crater for an inkstand!
HERMAN MELVILLE, *Moby-Dick,* 1851

When I am finished painting, I paint again for relaxation.
PABLO PICASSO, quoted in Françoise Gilot, *Life with Picasso,* 1964

I don't know why God or gods, or whoever it was, selected me to be the vessel. Believe me, this is not humility, false modesty; it is simply amazement.
WILLIAM FAULKNER, letter to Joan Williams, 1953, *Selected Letters of William Faulkner,* Joseph Blotner, ed., 1977

The average underdeveloped mind thinks that any genius is weird.
EDWARD J. DALY, interview in *Newsweek,* Apr. 23, 1979

Before I was a genius, I was a drudge.
IGNACE PADEREWSKI, quoted in *Writer's Digest,* Apr. 1967

GERMANS/GERMANY

People without nuances.
JOSEPH GOEBBELS, *The Secret Conferences of Dr. Goebbels,* Willi A. Boelcke, ed., 1970

I've never met a relaxed German.
HEINRICH BÖLL, quoted in *Time,* May 21, 1973

How can you expect the Germans to revolt when they don't even dare walk on the grass?

JOSEPH STALIN, quoted in *Newsweek,* Sept. 13, 1965

As soon as six or seven Germans arrived in any place they founded a choir or singing group almost as quickly as they built a brewery.

RICHARD O'CONNOR, *The German-Americans,* 1968

When you start a sentence in German, you have to know in the beginning what the end will be.

OTTO FRIEDRICH, *Before the Deluge,* 1972

GHETTOS also see BLACKS

The section of the niggers where a nickel costs a dime.

LANGSTON HUGHES, quoted in *Vital Speeches,* Sept. 15, 1970

Six blocks of cruelty.

NTOZAKE SHANGE, *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide* (drama), 1975

It's a kind of concentration camp, and not many people survive it.

JAMES BALDWIN, *A Rap on Race,* 1971

You mustn't forget that the key feature of living in an oppressed condition is the assassination of all hope.

LIVINGSTON WINGATE, quoted in *Newsweek,* Apr. 19, 1971

You can view our communities as war-torn areas. And our people as those who view the police and other authorities as occupying forces.

ARTHUR BARNES, interview in *New York Post,* Aug. 14, 1975

Living in a frustrating, stress-inducing environment like a ghetto every day of your life makes many people walking powder kegs. There's a pent-up rage that isn't ventilated elsewhere; when something happens to trigger that rage, it can be murderous.

DR. LAMAURICE GARDNER, quoted in *Newsweek,* Jan. 1, 1973

Form is everything in the ghetto and substance is nothing—it's not what you say, man, it's how you lay it down that counts.

REGINALD BRAGONIER, JR., *New York Times,* Sept. 7, 1975

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5 I am not in the giving vein to-day.
William Shakespeare (1564–1616) English dramatist. *Richard III*, IV:2

GENIUS

See also talent, talent and genius

1 Genius is an infinite capacity for taking pains.
Proverb

2 Genius (which means transcendent capacity of taking trouble, first of all).
Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881) Scottish historian and essayist. *Frederick the Great*, Vol. IV, Ch. 3

3 Great Wits are sure to Madness near alli'd
And thin Partitions do their Bounds divide.
John Dryden (1631–1700) British poet and dramatist. *Absalom and Achitophel*, I

4 Genius is one per cent inspiration and ninety-nine per cent perspiration.
Thomas Edison (1847–1931) US inventor. Attrib.

5 True genius walks along a line, and, perhaps, our greatest pleasure is in seeing it so often near falling, without being ever actually down.
Oliver Goldsmith (1728–74) Irish-born British writer. *The Bee*, 'The Characteristics of Greatness'

6 Most of the knowledge and much of the genius of the research worker lie behind his selection of what is worth observing. It is a crucial choice, often determining the success or failure of months of work, often differentiating the brilliant discoverer from the . . . plodder.
Alan Gregg (1890–1957) *The Furtherance of Medical Research*

7 The true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction.
Samuel Johnson (1709–84) British lexicographer. *Lives of the English Poets*, 'Cowley'

8 A genius! For thirty-seven years I've practiced fourteen hours a day, and now they call me a genius!
Pablo Sarasate (1844–1908) Spanish violinist and composer. On being hailed as a genius by a critic. Attrib.

9 When a true genius appears in the world, you may know him by this sign, that the dunces are all in confederacy against him.
Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) Irish-born Anglican priest and writer. *Thoughts on Various Subjects*

GERMANY

See also Europe, Hitler, Nazism, World War II

1 Hamelin Town's in Brunswick,
By famous Hanover city;
The river Weser, deep and wide,
Washes its wall on the southern side;
A pleasanter spot you never spied.
Robert Browning (1812–89) British poet. *The Pied Piper of Hamelin*

2 Don't let's be beastly to the Germans.
Noël Coward (1899–1973) British dramatist. *Title of song*

3 *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles.*
Germany, Germany before all else.
Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1798–1876) German poet. German national anthem

4 Germany will be either a world power or will not be at all.
Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) German dictator. *Mein Kampf*, Ch. 14

5 How appallingly thorough these Germans always managed to be, how emphatic! In sex no less than in war – in scholarship, in science. Diving deeper than anyone else and coming up muddier.
Aldous Huxley (1894–1964) British novelist.

6 All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words *Ich bin ein Berliner.*
John Fitzgerald Kennedy (1917–63) US statesman. Speech, City Hall, West Berlin, 26 June 1963

7 The German Empire has become a world empire.
Wilhelm II (1859–1941) King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany. Speech, Berlin, 18 Jan 1896

8 America . . . is the prize amateur nation of the world. Germany is the prize professional nation.
Woodrow Wilson (1856–1925) US statesman. Speech, Aug 1917. *Mr Wilson's War* (John Dos Passos), Pt. III, Ch. 13

GIBBON, Edward

(1737–94) British historian whose monumental *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88) caused considerable controversy for its treatment of Christianity.

Quotations about Gibbon

1 Gibbon is an ugly, affected, disgusting fellow, and poisons our literary club for me. I class him among infidel wasps and venomous insects.
James Boswell (1740–95) Scottish lawyer and writer. *Diary*, 1779

2 Johnson's style was grand, Gibbon's elegant. Johnson marched to kettle-drums and trumpets. Gibbon moved to flutes and hautboys.
George Colman the Younger (1762–1836) British dramatist. *Random Records*

Quotations by Gibbon

3 To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College: they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life.
Autobiography

4 Crowds without company, and dissipation without pleasure.
Referring to London. *Autobiography*

5 The romance of *Tom Jones*, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria.
Autobiography

6 The various modes of worship, which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord.
Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. 2

7 The principles of a free constitution are irrecoverably lost, when the legislative power is nominated by the executive.
Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ch. 3

8 His reign is marked by the rare advantage of furnishing very few

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People wash their dirty linen at home. France has more need of me than I of France.

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)
to the French Senate in 1814

In Poland everyone is a leader.

Lech Walesa (b. 1943)

We want a few mad people now. See where the sane ones have landed us!

Poulengey, *Saint Joan*
George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)

Omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.
No one would have doubted his ability to reign had he never been emperor.

Tacitus (c. 55-c. 120)
Roman historian
of Emperor Galba

So long as the people of any country place their hopes of political salvation *in leadership of any description*, so long will disappointment attend them.

William Lovett (1800-1877)
English Chartist leader

SEE Defoe on GENERALS; Ledru-Rollin on MOBS; Halifax on OBEDIENCE; Rogers on POLITICAL PARTIES

Learning

A little learning is a dangerous thing;
Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring:
There shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
And drinking largely sobers us again.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744)

A learned fool is one who has read everything, and simply remembered it.

Josh Billings (1818-1885)
American humorist

His knowledge of books had in some degree diminished his knowledge of the world.

William Shenstone (1714-1763)
English poet

Learning. The kind of ignorance distinguishing the studious.

Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914)
American author

No person ever knew so much that was so little of purpose.

R. W. Emerson (1803-1882)
American essayist, poet, philosopher
of Macaulay

He not only overflowed with learning, but stood in the slop.

Sydney Smith (1771-1845)
English writer, clergyman
of Macaulay as conversationalist

All wiser men are specialists, but his specialism is omniscience.

Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1859-1930)
of Mycroft Holmes

A learned blockhead is a greater blockhead than an ignorant one.

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790)

Wear your learning, like your watch, in a private pocket: and do not merely pull it out and strike it; merely to show that you have one.

Lord Chesterfield (1694-1773)
English statesman and man of letters

Pedantry is the dotage of knowledge.

Holbrook Jackson (1874-1948)
British author

Erudition. Dust shaken out of a book into an empty skull.

Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914)
American author

Some people will never learn anything; for this reason, because they understand everything too soon.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744)

The man who is too old to learn was probably always too old to learn.

Henry S. Haskins (b. 1875)
American author

With just enough of learning to misquote.

Lord Byron (1788-1824)

SEE Young on QUOTATIONS; Penn on READING; SCHOLARSHIP; Hazlitt on SHAKESPEARE

Lebanon

Here, even the law of the jungle has broken down.

Walid Jumblatt (b. 1949)
Leader of the Lebanese Druze

The Left

Leftwingers are incapable of conspiring because they are all egomaniacs.

Norman Mailer (b. 1923)

SEE COMMUNISM; MARXISM; SOCIALISM

Leisure

A perpetual holiday is a good working definition of hell.

George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)

More free time means more time to waste. The worker who used to have only a little time in which to get drunk and beat his wife now has time to get drunk, beat his wife – and watch TV.

Robert M. Hutchins (b. 1899)
American educator, writer

Gentlemen

I can make a lord, but only God almighty can make a gentleman.

King James I of England (1566-1625)

Education begins a gentleman, conversation completes him.

18th century English proverb

He was the product of an English public school and university ... no scholar, but essentially a gentleman.

H. Seton Merriman (1862-1903)
English novelist

A gentleman is one who never hurts anyone's feelings unintentionally.

Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

Almost an Emperor and not quite a gentleman.

Lord Ancaster (1867-1951)
British politician, administrator
of Hugh, 5th earl of Lonsdale

He is every other inch a gentleman.

Rebecca West (1892-1983)
British author

I am parshial to ladies if they are nice. I suppose it is my nature. I am not quite a gentleman but you would hardly notice it.

Daisy Ashford (1881-1972)
British writer of *The Young Visiters*, aged 9

It is at unimportant moments that a man is a gentleman. At important moments he ought to be something better.

G. K. Chesterton (1874-1936)

Anyone can be heroic from time to time, but a gentleman is something you have to be all the time.

Luigi Pirandello (1867-1936)
Italian playwright, author

I do not know the American gentleman, God forgive me for putting two such words together.

Charles Dickens (1812-1870)

The only infallible rule we know is, that the man who is always talking about being a gentleman never is one.

R. S. Surtees (1803-1864)
English novelist

SEE Cromwell on The ARMY; Johnson on BLOODSPORTS; Wilde on EXAMINATIONS; Macaulay on The NAVY; Congreve on UNIVERSITY

Germany

We Germans will never produce another Goethe, but we may produce another Caesar.

Oswald Spengler (1880-1936)
German philosopher, historian
in 1925

They are a fine people but quick to catch the disease of anti-humanity. I think it's because of their poor elimination. Germany is a headquarters for constipation.

George Grosz (1893-1959)
German artist

Everything ponderous, viscous, and solemnly clumsy, all long-winded and boring types of style are developed in profuse variety among Germans.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)

Whenever the literary German dives into a sentence, that is the last you are going to see of him till he emerges on the other side of his Atlantic with his verb in his mouth.

Mark Twain (1835-1910)

Getting On

Getting on is the opium of the middle classes.

Walter James (b. 1912)
British journalist

There are only two ways of getting on in the world: by one's own industry, or by the stupidity of others.

Jean de la Bruyère (1645-1696)
French writer, moralist

No one rises so high as he who knows not whither he is going.

Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658)

When you are getting kicked from the rear it means you're in front.

Fulton Sheen (1895-1979)
American author, clergyman

You have to be a bastard to make it, and that's a fact. And the Beatles are the biggest bastards on Earth.

John Lennon (1940-1980)

The path of social advancement is, and must be, strewn with broken friendships.

H. G. Wells (1866-1946)

To establish oneself in the world, one does all one can to seem established there already.

François, Duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680)
French writer, moralist

The trouble with the rat-race is that even if you win, you're still a rat.

Lily Tomlin (b. 1939)
American comedy actress

SEE AMBITION; PROMOTION; Barrie on The SCOTS; SUCCESS; WINNING

Give and Take

Do unto the other feller the way he's like to do unto you an' do it fust.

Edward Noyes Westcott (1847-1898)
American novelist

Do not do unto others as you would that they should do unto you. Their tastes may not be the same.

George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)

Abscond. To 'move' in a mysterious way, commonly with the property of another.
Ambrose Bierce (1842-1914)
American author

The thief. Once committed beyond a certain point he should not worry himself too much about not being a thief any more. Thieving is God's message to him. Let him try and be a good thief.
Samuel Butler (1835-1902)
English author

A thief believes everybody steals.
Ed (E. W.) Howe (1853-1937)
American journalist, novelist

A burglar who respects his art always takes his time before taking anything else.
O. Henry (1862-1910)
American short story writer

Crimine ab uno disce omnis.
From a single crime know the nation.
Virgil (70-19 BC)

Crimes of which a people is ashamed constitute its real history. The same is true of man.
Jean Genet (1910-1986)

Far more university graduates are becoming criminals every year than are becoming policemen.
Philip Goodhart (b. 1925)
British Conservative politician

When rich villains have need of poor villains, poor ones may make what price they will.
Borachio, *Much Ado About Nothing*
William Shakespeare (1564-1616)

If weakness may excuse, what murderer, what traitor, parricide, incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it? All wickedness is weakness.
John Milton (1608-1674)

SEE Shenstone on HONESTY; Mencken on POVERTY; Chesterton on PROPERTY; Fletcher on SIN; Emerson on VILLAINS

Crises

The time is out of joint. O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!
Hamlet, *Hamlet*
William Shakespeare (1564-1616)

There can't be a crisis next week. My schedule is already full.
Henry Kissinger (b. 1923)

The situation in Germany is serious but not hopeless; the situation in Austria is hopeless but not serious.
Austrian proverb
collected by
Franklin Pierce Adams (1881-1960)

When written in Chinese the word crisis is composed of two characters. One represents danger and the other represents opportunity.
John F. Kennedy (1917-1963)

Criticism

Criticism is the endeavour to find, to know, to love, to recommend, not only the best, but all the good, that has been known and thought and written in the world.
George Saintsbury (1845-1933)
British literary critic

Of all the cants which are canted in this canting world, – though the cant of hypocrites may be the worst, – the cant of criticism is the most tormenting!
Laurence Sterne (1713-1768)
English author

It is the nature of the artist to mind excessively what is said about him. Literature is strewn with the wreckage of men who have minded beyond reason the opinions of others.
Virginia Woolf (1882-1941)

A blind man will not thank you for a looking-glass.
18th century English proverb

You should not say it is not good. You should say you do not like it; and then, you know, you're perfectly safe.
J. M. Whistler (1834-1903)
American artist

On an occasion of this kind it becomes more than a moral duty to speak one's mind. It becomes a pleasure.
Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

I like criticism, but it must be my way.
Mark Twain (1835-1910)

Do not use a hatchet to remove a fly from your friend's forehead.
Chinese proverb

To many people dramatic criticism must seem like an attempt to tattoo soap bubbles.
John Mason Brown (1900-1969)
American essayist

I find that when I dislike what I see on the stage I can be vastly amusing, but when I write about something I like I find that I am appallingly dull.
Sir Max Beerbohm (1872-1956)
British author

Your manuscript is both good and original; but the part that is good is not original, and the part that is original is not good.
Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

Eloquence

Ah, si je pouvais pisser comme il parle!
Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929)
French politician, Prime Minister
of David Lloyd George

The finest eloquence is that which gets things done; the worst is that which delays them.
David Lloyd George (1863-1945)
Welsh Liberal politician, Prime Minister

Genuinely good remarks surprise their author as well as his audience.
Joseph Joubert (1754-1824)
French essayist, moralist

In the midwives' phrase, a perfect conception with an easy delivery.
Alexander Pope (1688-1744)

L'art de la parenthèse est un des grands secrets de l'éloquence dans la Société.
The art of the parenthesis is one of the great secrets of eloquence in Society.
Nicolas-Sébastien Chamfort (1741-1794)
French writer, wit

To say that he was not at a loss for a word is one of the great understatements of all time. He was not at a loss for 500,000 words and we heard 'em, every one.
Cassandra (Sir William Connor) (1909-1967)
British journalist

He talked on for ever; and you wished him to talk on for ever.
William Hazlitt (1778-1830)
English essayist
of Coleridge

When a man gets talking about himself, he seldom fails to be eloquent and often reaches the sublime.
Josh Billings (1818-1885)
American humorist

SEE Inge, Junius on PERSUASION; Molière on SPEECHES

Embarrassment

Man is the only animal that blushes. Or needs to.
Mark Twain (1835-1910)

We never forgive those who make us blush.
Jean-François de La Harpe (1739-1803)
French poet, playwright

Emotion

Half our mistakes in life arise from feeling where we ought to think, and thinking where we ought to feel.
J. Churton Collins (1848-1908)
English author, critic, scholar

The advantage of the emotions is that they lead us astray.
Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

'There are strings', said Mr Tappertit, '. . . in the human heart that had better not be wibrated'.
Barnaby Rudge
Charles Dickens (1812-1870)

The young man who has not wept is a savage, and the old man who will not laugh is a fool.
George Santayana (1863-1952)
American philosopher, poet

He is not affected by the reality of distress touching his heart, but by the showy resemblance of it striking his imagination. He pities the plumage, but forgets the dying bird.
Thomas Paine (1737-1809)
pamphleteer, revolutionary
of Edmund Burke

SEE Arnold on RELIGION

Empire

Not once or twice in our rough
island-story
The path of booty was the way
to glory.
anonymous

We seem, as it were, to have conquered and peopled half the world in a fit of absence of mind.
Sir J. R. Seeley (1834-1895)
English classicist, historian

If Germany is to become a colonising power, all I say is, 'God speed her!'. She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence for the advantage of mankind.
W. E. Gladstone (1809-1898)
in 1885

With a hero at head, and a nation
Well gagged and well drilled and
well cowed,
And a gospel of war and damnation,
Has not Empire a right to be proud?
A. C. Swinburne (1837-1909)

To plunder, to slaughter, to steal, these things they misname empire; and where they make a wilderness, they call it peace.
Tacitus (c. 55-c. 120)
Roman historian
of the Romans

The reluctant obedience of distant provinces generally costs more than it [the territory] is worth.
Lord Macaulay (1800-1859)
English historian

The conquest of the earth, which mostly means the taking it away from those who have a different complexion or slightly flatter noses than ourselves, is not a pretty thing when you look into it.
Joseph Conrad (1857-1924)

N

Nagging

Nagging is the repetition of unpalatable truths.

Edith, Lady Summerskill (1901-1980)
British Labour politician

Nationalism

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam.

John Milton (1608-1674)

No man has a right to fix the boundary of the march of a nation; no man has a right to say to his country – thus far shalt thou go and no further.

Charles Stewart Parnell (1846-1891)
Irish nationalist politician

Germany will either be a world power or will not be at all.

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)
Mein Kampf

It is humiliating to remain with our hands folded while others write history. It matters little who wins. To make a people great it is necessary to send them to battle even if you have to kick their arses. That is what I shall do.

Benito Mussolini (1883-1945)
11 April 1940

Nations whose nationalism is destroyed are subject to ruin.

Colonel Muhammar Qaddafi (b. 1938)

After fifteen years of work I have achieved, as a common German soldier and merely with my fanatical will-power, the unity of the German nation, and have freed it from the death sentence of Versailles.

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)
21 December 1941

The crazy combative patriotism that plainly threatens to destroy civilization is very largely begotten by the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress in their history lessons. They take the growing mind at a naturally barbaric phase and they inflame and fix its barbarism.

H. G. Wells (1866-1946)

SEE Aldington on PATRIOTISM

Nature

Anyone who has got any pleasure at all from nature should try to put something back. Life is like a superlative meal and the world is the maître d'hôtel. What I am doing is the equivalent of leaving a reasonable tip.

Gerald Durrell (b. 1925)
British conservationist and author

In nature there are neither rewards nor punishments – there are consequences.

R. G. Ingersoll (1833-1899)
American lawyer

However much you knock at nature's door, she will never answer you in comprehensible words.

Ivan Turgenev (1818-1883)

One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the ages can.

William Wordsworth (1770-1850)

It is false dichotomy to think of nature *and* man. Mankind is that factor *in* nature which exhibits in its most intense form the plasticity of nature.

A. N. Whitehead (1861-1947)
British philosopher

All things are artificial, for nature is the art of God.

Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682)
English physician, author

To be natural is to be obvious, and to be obvious is to be inartistic.

Oscar Wilde (1854-1900)

SEE Whistler on ART; Clark on BLOODSPORTS; Moore on LOVE; Huxley on MORALITY

The Navy

The royal navy of England hath ever been its greatest defence and ornament; it is its ancient

suffering for the most part, makes men petty and vindictive.

W. Somerset Maugham (1874-1965)

Few can believe that suffering, especially by others, is in vain. Anything that is disagreeable must surely have beneficial economic effects.

J. K. Galbraith (b. 1908)
American economist

There is one psychological peculiarity in the human being that always strikes one: to shun even the slightest signs of trouble on the outer edge of your existence at times of well-being . . . to try not to know about the sufferings of others and your own or one's own future sufferings, to yield in many situations, even important spiritual and central ones – as long as it prolongs one's well-being.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn (b. 1918)

One does not love a place less for having suffered in it.

Jane Austen (1775-1817)

How much atonement is enough? The bombing must be allowed as at least part-payment: those of our young people who are concerned about the moral problem posed by the Allied air offensive should at least consider the moral problem that would have been posed if the German civilian population had not suffered at all.

Clive James (b. 1939)
Australian critic, humorist

The only antidote to mental suffering is physical pain.

Karl Marx (1818-1883)

J'aime la majesté des souffrances humaines.
I love the majesty of human suffering.

Alfred de Vigny (1797-1863)
French poet, novelist, dramatist

SEE Byatt on GRIEF; Burke on REBELLION

Suicide

Je m'en vais enfin de ce monde, où il faut que le coeur se brise ou se bronze.
And so I leave this world, where the heart must either break or turn to lead.

Nicolas-Sébastien Chamfort (1741-1794)
French writer, wit
suicide note

The prevalence of suicide is a test of height in civilization; it means that the population is winding up its nervous and intellectual system to the utmost point of tension and that sometimes it snaps.

Havelock Ellis (1859-1939)
British psychologist

I take it that no man is educated who has never dallied with the thought of suicide.

William James (1842-1910)
American psychologist, philosopher

It is always consoling to think of suicide: in that way one gets through many a bad night.

Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900)

If you are of the opinion that the contemplation of suicide is sufficient evidence of a poetic nature, do not forget that actions speak louder than words.

Fran Lebowitz (b. 1951)
American journalist

There are many who dare not kill themselves for fear of what the neighbours will say.

Cyril Connolly (1903-1974)
British critic

Razors pain you;
Rivers are damp;
Acids stain you
And drugs cause cramp;
Guns aren't lawful;
Nooses give;
Gas smells awful;
You might as well live.

Dorothy Parker (1893-1967)
American humorous writer

A lover forsaken a new love may get,
But a neck when once broken can never be set.

William Walsh (1663-1708)
English poet

However great a man's fear of life . . . suicide remains the courageous act, the clear-headed act of a mathematician. The suicide has judged by the laws of chance – so many odds against one, that to live will be more miserable than to die. His sense of mathematics is greater than his sense of survival.

Graham Greene (b. 1904)

It is the role of cowardice, not of courage, to crouch in a hole, under a massive tomb, to avoid the blows of fortune.

Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592)
French essayist

Just as I shall select my ship when I am about to go on a voyage, or my house when I propose to take a residence, so I shall choose my death when I am about to depart from life.

Seneca (c. 5-65)
Roman writer, philosopher, statesman

Dear World, I am leaving you because I am bored. I am leaving you with your worries. Good luck.

George Sanders (1906-1972)
British actor
suicide note

SEE Webster on CONFESSIONS;

The dipsomaniac and the abstainer are not only both mistaken, but they both make the same mistake. They both regard wine as a drug and not a drink.

G. K. Chesterton (1874-1936)

Wine gives a man nothing. . . It only puts in motion what had been locked up in frost.

Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

There is a devil in every berry of the grape.

Qu'ran

I prefer the gout.

Lord Derby (1865-1948)
British administrator
on trying a South African port recommended for gout sufferers

It's a Naïve Domestic Burgundy without Any Breeding, But I Think You'll be Amused by its Presumption.

James Thurber (1894-1961)
American humorist, illustrator
cartoon caption

I often wonder what the Vintners buy
One-half so precious as the stuff
they sell.

from *The Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*
trans. Edward Fitzgerald (1809-1883)

Ah! bouteille, ma mie,
Pourquoi vous videz-vous?

Ah, bottle, my friend, why do you empty yourself?

Molière (1622-1673)

Wine makes a man better pleased with himself; I do not say that it makes him more pleasing to others.

Dr Samuel Johnson (1709-1784)

SEE DRINK

Winning

Your first win is like making love and you enjoy it so much the first time that you want to do it again and again.

Nigel Mansell (b. 1953)
on winning South African Grand Prix soon after his British victory, 1985

I never thought myself beaten so long as I could present a front to the enemy. If I was beaten at one point I went to another, and in that way I won all my victories.

Duke of Wellington (1769-1852)

We will get everything out of her [Germany] that you can squeeze out of a lemon and a bit more. . . I will squeeze her until you can hear the pips squeak.

Sir Eric Geddes (1875-1937)
Scottish Conservative politician
on war reparations after the First World War

An intelligent victor will, whenever possible, present his demands to the vanquished in instalments.

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945)
Mein Kampf

Even victors are by victories undone.

John Dryden (1631-1700)

Thrusting my nose firmly between his teeth, I threw him heavily to the ground on top of me.

Mark Twain (1835-1910)

Une victoire racontée en détail, on ne sait plus ce qui la distingue d'une défaite.
A victory recounted in detail is hard to distinguish from a defeat.

Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980)

That is the whole secret of successful fighting. Get your enemy at a disadvantage; and never, on any account, fight him on equal terms.

Sergius, *Arms and the Man*
George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950)

You may have to fight a battle more than once to win it.

Margaret Thatcher (b. 1925)

Nothing except a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won.

Duke of Wellington (1769-1852)

When in doubt, win the trick.

Edmond Hoyle (1672-1769)
English writer on cards

SEE Shakespeare on FOUL PLAY; Tomlin on GETTING ON; Khrushchev, Pitt on WAR

Wisdom

Some folks are wise, and some are otherwise.

Tobias Smollett (1721-1771)
Scottish novelist, surgeon

There is somebody wiser than any of us, and that is everybody.

Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821)

Every law which originated in ignorance and malice, and gratifies the passions from which it sprang, we call the wisdom of our ancestors.

Sydney Smith (1771-1845)
English clergyman, writer

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.

Bible, Psalms

Truth from his lips prevailed with
double sway,
And fools, who came to scoff,
remained to pray.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774)

It is the province of knowledge to speak, and it is the privilege of wisdom to listen.

Dr Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894)
American writer, physician

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When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?
—UNKNOWN

If a man is a gentleman, he knows quite enough, and if he is not a gentleman, whatever he knows is bad for him.
—OSCAR WILDE (1854-1900) *A Woman of No Importance,* Act III

GENTLENESS

Gentle in manner, firm in reality.
—AQUAVIVA (1543?-1615) *Industriæ ad Curandos Animæ Morbos*

The great mind knows the power of gentleness,
Only tries force because persuasion fails.
—ROBERT BROWNING (1812-1889) *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau*

The mildest manners and the gentlest heart.
—HOMER (*c.* 10th-8th C. B.C.) *Iliad,* xvii, 756 (Pope's tr.)

Gentleness succeeds better than violence.
—JEAN DE LA FONTAINE (1621-1695) *Fables*

It is only people who possess firmness who can possess true gentleness. Those who appear gentle generally possess nothing but weakness, which is readily converted into harshness.
—FRANÇOIS DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULD (1613-1680) *Maxims*

We were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children.
—NEW TESTAMENT: *I Thessalonians,* ii, 7

The servant of the Lord must . . . be gentle unto all men.
—*Ibid. II Timothy,* ii, 24

GERMANY
AND THE GERMANS

An appeal to fear never finds an echo in German hearts.
—OTTO VON BISMARCK (1815-1898) Speech, 1868

Germany, Germany above all—above all in the world.
—AUGUST HEINRICH HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN (1798-1874) *Song of the German*

To have a character, and to be German mean beyond doubt the same.
—JOHANN GOTTLIEB FICHTE (1762-1814) *Speeches to the German People* in *Misinterpretation of Man*

A true German can't endure a Frenchman, but he likes French wine.
—JOHANN WOLFGANG GOETHE (1749-1832) *Faust,* Pt. i

Christianity has somewhat softened the brutal Germanic lust of battle, but could not destroy it.
—HEINRICH HEINE (1797-1856) *History of Religion and Philosophy in Germany*

O Lord, Thou seest that we have become different, that the German nation is no more a nation without honor, a nation covered with shame, a nation at war within itself, a nation of little courage, a nation of little faith. No. Lord, the German nation is strong again in its own will, strong in perseverance and strong to make every sacrifice. Lord, we will not let thee go!
—ADOLF HITLER (1889-1945) May 1, 1933

Germany's military defeat was, alas, not an undeserved catastrophe, but a merited chastisement of eternal retribution. The defeat was more than deserved by us . . . No, the military collapse was itself but the consequence of a series of unhealthy manifestations.
—Idem *Mein Kampf*

Germany is like a brave and gallant horse, highly fed, but without a good rider; as the horse runs here and there, astray, unless he have a rider to rule him, so Germany is also a powerful, rich and brave country, but needs a good head and government.
—MARTIN LUTHER (1483-1546) *Table-Talk,* No. 885

The Germans have a two-track mind, and an inexcusable habit of combination; they always want one thing and another, they want to have it both ways. They are capable of turning out great personalities with antithetic principles of thought and life.
—THOMAS MANN (1875-) *Doctor Faustus*

Wherever Germany extends her sway, she ruins culture.
—FRIEDRICH WILHELM NIETZSCHE (1844-1900) *Ecce Homo*

Life is too short to learn German.
—RICHARD PORSON (1759-1808), attr.

The only way to treat a Prussian is to step on his toes until he apologizes.
—AUSTRIAN PROVERB

Members of the German race . . . look upon beer drinking as an essential element in man's social and moral nature, and think everybody a Puritan or fanatic who holds different views.
—J. E. STEBBINS *Fifty Years History of the Temperance Cause,* Ch. xix, 1874

The situation in Germany is serious but not hopeless; the situation in Austria is hopeless but not serious.
—VIENNESE SAYING

GHOSTS

Ghosts, like ladies, never speak till spoke to.
—RICHARD HARRIS BARHAM (1788-1845) *The Ghost*

The only ghosts, I believe, who creep into this world, are dead young mothers, returned to see how their children fare. There is no other inducement great enough to bring the departed back.
—SIR JAMES M. BARRIE (1860-1937) *The Little White Bird*

The outward and visible sign of an inward fear.
—AMBROSE BIERCE (1842-1914?) *The Devil's Dictionary*

I don't believe in ghosts, but I've been afraid of them all my life.
—CHARLES A. DANA (1819-1897)

Thin, airy shoals of visionary ghosts.
—HOMER (*c.* 10th-8th C. B.C.) *Odyssey,* xi, 48 (Pope's tr.)

O'er all there hung a shadow and a fear;
A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said as plain as whisper in the ear,
The place is Haunted.
THOMAS HOOD (1799-1845) *The Haunted House*

It is not only what we have inherited from our fathers that exists again in us, but all sorts of old dead ideas and all kinds of old dead beliefs and things of that kind. They are not actually alive in us; but there they are dormant, all the same, and we can never be rid of them. Whenever I take up a newspaper and read it, I fancy I see ghosts creeping between the lines.

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I quote others only in order the better to express myself. — MONTAIGNE

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THE MORROW BOOK OF QUOTATIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY

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We look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want . . . everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear . . . anywhere in the world.

(Speech to Congress, 6 January 1941)

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

(Speech to Congress, 8 December 1941)

Defeat of Germany means the defeat of Japan, probably without firing a shot or losing a life.

(Message to Winston Churchill, 1942)

We all know that books burn—yet we have the greater knowledge that books cannot be killed by fire. People die, but books never die. No man and no force can abolish memory. . . . In this war, we know, books are weapons.

(Message to American Booksellers Association, 23 April 1942)

It is fun to be in the same decade with you.

(Cable to Winston Churchill, responding to congratulations on his sixtieth birthday, 1942)

Stalin hates the guts of all your top people. He thinks he likes me better and I hope he will continue to do so.

(In conversation with Churchill, attributed)

True individual freedom cannot exist without economic security and independence. People who are hungry and out of a job are the stuff of which dictatorships are made.

(Message to Congress, 11 January 1944)

You sometimes find something good in the lunatic fringe. In fact, we have got as part of our social and economic government today a whole lot of things which in my boyhood were considered lunatic fringe, and yet they are now part of everyday life.

(Press conference, 30 May 1944)

even the inherited caution of class or rank, these men, intoxicated, think they are the wave instead of the float, and that they have created the business which has created them.

They are gluttons of luxury and power, rough, unsocialized, believing that mankind must be kept terrorized.

(*Wealth Against Commonwealth*, 1894)

John Locke (1632–1704): *English philosopher*

In the beginning, all the world was America.

(Second Treatise on Government, 1690)

Henry Cabot Lodge (1850–1924): *Senator from Massachusetts*

New England has a harsh climate, a barren soil, a rough and stormy coast, and yet we love it, even with a love passing that of dwellers in more favored regions.

(Speech, 1884)

Let every man honor and love the land of his birth and the race from which he springs and keep their memory green. It is a pious and honorable duty. But let us have done with British-Americans and Irish-Americans and German-Americans, and so on, and all be Americans. . . . If a man is going to be an American at all let him be so without any qualifying adjectives; and if he is going to be something else, let him drop the word American from his personal description.

(Speech, 1888)

There was no hour down to the end when he would not turn aside from everything else to preach the doctrine of Americanism, of the principles and the faith upon which American government rested, and which all true Americans should wear in their heart of hearts. He was a great patriot, a great man; above all, a great American. His country was the ruling, mastering passion of his life from the beginning even unto the end.

(Eulogy for Theodore Roosevelt before Congress, 9 February 1919)

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1902–): *Senator from Massachusetts*

We live in a welfare state which seeks to put a floor below which no one sinks but builds no ceiling to prevent man from rising.

(Speech, 18 September 1959)

GERMANY
Federal Republic

Words by
AUGUST HEINRICH HOFFMAN von FALLERSLEBEN
(1798-1874)

Music by
FRANZ JOSEPH HAYDN
(1732-1809)



Authorised as National Anthem on 11 August, 1922 when the first verse of von Fallersleben's poem was sung. In 1950 the Federal Republic adopted the third verse instead as the official words.

APR-22-92 WED 16:55 MUSIC A/P FAX NO. 2027070065 P. 01



Free Translation

Unity and right and freedom
For the German fatherland;
Let us all pursue the purpose
Brotherly, with heart and hands.
Unity and right and freedom
Are the pawns of happiness.
Bis { Flourish in this blessing's glory,
{ Flourish, German fatherland!

APR-22-92 WED 16:55 MUSIC A/P FAX NO. 2027070065 P. 02
Words f
GHANA
Official
were w
1965.

2. *Glück und Friede sei beschieden*
Deutschland, unserm Vaterland.
Alle Welt sehnt sich nach Frieden,
Reicht den Völkern eure Hand.
Wenn wir Brüderlich uns einen,
Schlagen wir des Volkes Feind.
Lasst des Licht des Friedens scheinen,
Dass nie eine Mutter mehr
Ihren Sohn beweint, ihren Sohn beweint!

3. *Lasst uns pflügen, lasst uns bauen,*
Lernt und schafft wie nie zuvor,
Und der eigen Kraft vertrauend
Steigt einfrei Geschlecht empor.
Deutsche Jugend bestes Streben
Unsres Volks in dir vereint,
Wirst du Deutschlands neues Leben,
Und die Sonne scheint wie nie
Über Deutschland scheint, über Deutschland scheint.

2. May both joy and peace inspire
Germany, our motherland
Peace is all the world's desire,
To the peoples give your hand.
In fraternity united
We shall crush the people's foe.
May our path by peace be lighted
That no mother shall again
Mourn her son in woe.

3. Let us till and build our nation,
Learn and work as never yet
That a free new generation
Faith in its own strength beget
German youth, for whom the striving
Of our people is at one,
You are Germany's reviving
And over our Germany
There is radiant sun.

APR-22-02 WED 16:39 MUSIC A/P FAX NO. 2027070065 P. 02

Words by
AUGUST
(1798-18

Author:
In 1950

Wed. → flew to Helsinki
went to Hels. Fair Centre
- tacky
- cold
- big

While bigwigs went to Presidents residence
we ran around & took pictures
- saw huge ferries
come in to dock.

me
PC
Barney
MikeyB.

Drove to hotel - excellent milk chocolate!

Out for dinner to Solna
- had salmon, salad
w/ bread, potato soup
w/ lamb, & parfait (tyrmin berry)

- excellent food

- Dr. Mohr, Jake, Susan, Manny, Scott

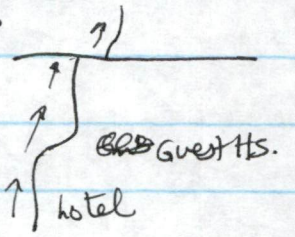
- behind us, PC, Murnane, BD, Mikey

- drunk got thrown out

Called Michele Nancy Christina tried Bill @ lunch
Called Bill when home from dinner - talked to dad too. left msg. for Mom on machine.

directions to Solna

go out of hotel, past guest house
at end of that road, cross street
keep going "straight"



Go about 3-4 blocks; turn left
one block after school (yellow houses
on corner)

Go about 3 or 4 blocks.
Solna will be on the left as you get into
a more commercial area.
Small, tables @ window.

Thurs. Bfast w/ Susan at rest. (ravintola)
Redproduct 19 flakes, yoghurt, croissant

mailed post cards

a.m. – 1st saw coverage of LA riots re: Rodney King

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Notes	Handwritten notes by Carol Aarhus, re: trip to Germany. (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Aarhus, Carol
Subseries: Alphabetical File
WHORM Cat.:
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527. Our century is bursting with contradictions.

Gorbachev, M., *Pravda*, October 16, 1985.

FASCISM

528. Every man is free to express his attitude toward this or that ideology, has the right to defend or reject it. . . . But no ideology, no philosophy can be destroyed with fire and sword. We can respect or hate Hitlerism, like any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to start a war for the destruction of Hitlerism is to commit criminal stupidity in politics.

Izvestiya, October 9, 1939 (Editorial paraphrasing a Molotov speech, October 31, 1939).

529. As with any other ideological system, one may accept or reject the ideology of Hitlerism—that is a matter of political views. But everyone will understand that an ideology cannot be destroyed by force, that it cannot be eliminated by war. It is therefore not only senseless, but criminal to wage such a war—a war for the "destruction of Hitlerism," camouflaged as a fight for "democracy."

Molotov, V., "Foreign Policy of Soviet Union" (October 31, 1939), Fifth Session of Supreme Soviet, *Pravda*, November 1, 1939.

530. It must be borne in mind that before attacking the Allied countries the major fascist states destroyed the last remnants of bourgeois-democratic liberties at home and established there a cruel terroristic regime, trampled on the principles of the sovereignty and free development of small countries, proclaimed as their own the policy of seizing foreign territory, and shouted from the housetops that they were aiming at world domination and the spreading of fascist regimes all over the world; and by seizing Czechoslovakia and the central regions of Asia, the Axis powers showed they were ready to carry out their threat to enslave all freedom-loving people.

Stalin, J., "Speech to Moscow Election District" (February 9, 1946), *Pravda*, February 10, 1946.

GERMANY

531. . . . We watch with sympathy the efforts of Germany to free herself from the fetters which bind her feet by dint of the Treaty of Versailles. We would warmly welcome the results of these efforts . . . but of course, only in those cases where the adjustment of relations does not involve Germany in anti-Soviet combinations. . . . Germany holds first place in our economic relations with the West.

Litvinov, M., speech on December 4, 1929, *Pravda*, December 5, 1929, p. 2.

532. [When questioned by Emil Ludwig regarding the respect in Russia for things American Stalin replied:]

You exaggerate, we have no special respect for everything American. . . .

If one is to speak about our sympathies for any nation, or to be more correct, for the majority of any nation, one would, of course, speak of our sympathies to the Germans. There can be no comparison between these sympathies and our feelings for the Americans.

Stalin, J., "Interview with Emil Ludwig" (December 13, 1931), *Bolshevik*, no. 8, April 1932, p. 38.

533. History has shown that enmity and war between our country and Germany have been to the detriment of our countries, not to their benefit. Russia and Germany were the countries that suffered most in the war of 1914–1918. Therefore the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany do not lie in mutual enmity. On the contrary, the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany need to live in peace with each other. . . . We have always stood for amity between the peoples of the USSR and Germany, for the growth and development of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the German people.

Molotov, V., "On Ratification of Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact," 4th Session of Supreme Soviet of USSR (August 31, 1939), *Pravda*, September 1, 1939.

534. We have always been of the opinion that a strong Germany is an indispensible condition for durable peace in Europe. It would be ridiculous to think that Germany could be put aside and simply struck off the books. The powers which cherish this foolish and dangerous dream ignore the deplorable experience of Versailles. . . .

Molotov, V., "Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union" 5th Session of the Supreme Soviet (October 31, 1939), *Pravda*, November 1, 1939, p. 1.

535. We know, for example, that in the past few months [August–October 1939] such concepts as "aggression" and "aggressor" have acquired a new concrete connotation, a new meaning. . . .

Today, as far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of the war and for peace, whereas Britain and France which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are reversed.

Molotov, V., "Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union," 5th Session of the Supreme Soviet (October 31, 1939), *Pravda*, November 1, 1939.

536. Of no little importance in this respect was also the fact that fascist Germany suddenly and treacherously violated the non-aggression pact she had concluded with the USSR in 1939, ignoring the fact that the whole world would regard her as an aggressor. Naturally, our peace-loving country, not wishing to take the initiative in breaking a pact, could not report to perfidy.

Stalin, J., *On Great Patriotic War of Soviet Union* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1946), p. 8.

537. Question: Do you think the four zones of Germany should in the near future be united as regards economic administration, with the aim of restoring Germany as a peaceful economic unit and thus lightening the burden of occupation for the four powers?

Stalin: Not only the economic but the political unity of Germany must be restored.

Stalin, J., Answers to questions of Hugh Baillie, President, United Press, October 1946, *Pravda*, October 30, 1946.

538. Germany, not wishing to cooperate with the USSR, attacked the USSR. Could the USSR have cooperated with Germany? Yes, the USSR could have cooperated with Germany, but the Germans did not wish to cooperate. Otherwise the USSR would have cooperated with Germany as with any other country.

Stalin, J., "Interview with Harold Stassen" (April 9, 1947), *Pravda*, May 8, 1947, p. 1.

539. By concluding the non-aggression pact with Germany, Soviet diplomacy frustrated the schemes of the British and French reactionaries, who counted on the isolation of the Soviet Union, and on directing German aggression against it. By this pact Soviet diplomacy created the possibility of a further strengthening of the defense of their own country, inasmuch as it secured a prolongation of the respite, and compelled Hitlerite German diplomacy to recognize before the whole world the might of the USSR and their fear of eventual participation of the Soviet country in the struggle against Germany on the side of the Anglo–French bloc.

"Third Volume of History of Diplomacy," *Bolshevik*, no. 10, May 1946, pp. 74–75.

540. There can be no doubt that, given the peace-loving policy of the German Democratic Republic together with the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union which possess the sympathy and support of the peoples of Europe, the cause of peace in Europe can be assured.

. . . European and consequently international peace cannot be insured without the correct solution to the German question.

Malenkov, G., speech on 32nd Anniversary of Revolution (November 6, 1949), *Pravda*, November 7, 1949.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

541. The Soviet Union does not belong to the League of Nations because it is completely opposed to imperialism and to the oppression of colonial and subjugated countries.

Stalin, J., "Interview with Foreign Workers Delegations" (November 5, 1927). *Leninism* (Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers, Moscow, 1934), vol. 1, p. 401.

542. An equally striking indication of the solidarity of the front of the United Nations is to be seen in the decisions of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference on postwar security. There is talk of differences between the three powers on certain security problems. Differences do exist, of course, and they will arise on a number of other issues as well. Differences of opinion are to be found even among people in one and the same party. They are all the more bound to occur between representatives of different states and different parties. The surprising thing is not that differences exist, but that these differences do not transgress the bounds of what the interests of unity of the three great powers allow, and that in the long run they are resolved in accordance with the interests of that unity. . . . It is well known, however, how futile the efforts of the fascist politicians to disrupt the alliance of the great powers have proved. That means the alliance between the USSR, Great Britain and the United States is founded not on casual, short-lived considerations but on vital and lasting interests. . . .

Stalin, J., "Statement at the Meeting of the Moscow Soviet of Deputies of the Working People" (November 6, 1944), *Pravda*, November 7, 1944.

543. Question: What importance do you attribute to UNO as a means of preserving international peace?

Answer: I attribute great importance to UNO since it is a serious instrument for preservation of peace and international security. Strength of this international organization consists in the fact that it is based on the principle of the equal rights of states and not on the principle of domination over others. If it can preserve in future

1015. The course of events dictated realistic corrections in the tactical and strategic plans of communists . . . [this] experience [in the Baltic countries as in Afghanistan] has general application . . . demonstrating how a new breakthrough into the imperialist system may be accomplished, how another step forward is made in the world-revolutionary process . . . a further broadening and strengthening of the base for socialist revolution [in the USSR] is achieved.

Kommunist, February 1980.

Poland

1016. Soviet ambassador to Poland, B.I. Aristov, brought to the attention of Comrades S. Kania and W. Jaruzelski . . . that counterrevolutionary forces are widely and illegally conducting a campaign of lies and slander against the Soviet Union and its domestic and foreign policy. Such activities . . . arouse in Poles feelings of enmity and hatred for the Soviet state and the Soviet poeple . . . [this activity] is being conducted by such counterrevolutionary organizations as Kos-Kor, the "Confederation for an Independent Poland," and the extremist leaders of "Solidarity."

Pravda, September 19, 1981.

1017. In your struggle [with counterrevolution and the vile slanders of the USSR], you may count on true revolutionary solidarity of the workers of our country [USSR] and on fraternal internationalist aid and support.

Letter from Kiev factory workers, *Pravda*, September 19, 1981.

1018. The fraternal parties reaffirm their solidarity with the communists and all patriots of socialist Poland in their struggle with anti-popular forces of counterrevolution and anarchy, and for overcoming the crisis and strengthening socialism and the leading role of the Polish worker's party [communist] in society, for the assured development of the Polish People's Republic as an inseparable link within the socialist commonwealth.

Pravda, November 5, 1981.

1019. The Polish army eliminated the threat of a counter-revolutionary coup [in January 1981].

Red Star, January 13, 1982.

1020. The USSR and Poland strongly condemn and reject interference by the USA and other capitalist countries in the internal affairs of Poland. This is the crudest possible violation of generally accepted norms of international law. . . . It is stressed that all calculations on subverting the foundations of socialism in Poland, including those coming from abroad, will inevitably fall.

"Joint Soviet-Polish Communique," *Pravda*, March 3, 1982.

Hungary

1021. Once order has been restored in Hungary and its government considers the presence of Soviet troops to be no longer necessary, the Soviet Union on its part will under no circumstances insist that its forces remain there.

Pravda, November 23, 1956.

1022. Could the Hungarian people in the recent days of the counterrevolutionary mutiny have curbed the fascist cutthroats so quickly and so decisively, had it not been for the timely help of the Soviet Union?

Izvestiya, March 9, 1957.

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Brassey's Soviet and Communist Quotations

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