

clones of their parents and thus equally dangerous. As a Jewish historian I am reminded of the Nuremberg Laws which discriminated against Jews simply because they were Jews. I am also reminded of the legend of Jewish guilt in perpetuity for the crucifixion of Christ. Such arguments amount to political biology—a form of political pollution.

With the exception of the extreme right “Republikaner,” German politicians of all parties and German society as a whole stress the difference between Nazi Germany and the democratic values of the new (West) Germany. These are also the values of the “gentle revolution” of 1989 in East Germany. Germans make this distinction without forgetting or ignoring Auschwitz and the Holocaust. In doing so they find themselves in the best of Jewish company. In 1952 Israel’s first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, said: “He who stares only at the past will be unable to master the present and the future.”

To turn from the past to the future, the key question is: What institutions and safeguards will offer insurance against a revival of German adventurism?

First of all, nobody wants to resurrect the old German nation state. The goal is a “European Germany” rather than a “German Europe” and this is inseparable from the political, economic, and military integration of a European Community. Integration means interdependence and not dominance. A united and federative Germany in a federated Europe will be incapable of dominating the rest of the continent.

The West German constitution contains provisions which have prevented and will continue to prevent anti-democratic forces from taking over the polity. Racist and anti-Semitic parties can be and have been banned. The chief reason why the “Republikaner” have not been outlawed so far is to avoid creating martyrs for the extreme right.

The continued presence of U.S. and other allied troops in Germany is an important guarantee against German unilateralism. Germans have long accepted the principles of military integration and the renunciation of force as a means of settling international disputes.

What about the economic danger allegedly posed by a united Germany? Over the next decade, huge sums will be required to rebuild the East German economy and society. West Germany’s export-driven economy will have to finance this enterprise. As an exporting nation Germany is dependent on the willingness of the outside world to buy German products. This, in turn, depends on more than just the quality of German goods. Economic necessity dictates that the Germans must act prudently, lest they alienate their clients. There is no reason to fear a German economic giant.

Unrealistic and irrational arguments against German unification can only give Germans the impression that no matter what they do it will be wrong, even if what they are doing is creating a Western, humane, and democratic society. Such must not be allowed to become self-fulfilling prophecy.—

Prof. Michael Wolffsohn

How Germany can quickly reunify

With wise forethought, the framers of West Germany’s post-war constitution, the Basic Law, drafted Article 23, which lays the basis for an uncomplicated unification of Germany by means of a simple vote of any German territory which wants to join the Federal Republic of Germany. This would be a far superior route than the holding of a convention to draft a new constitution, as is being demanded by the just-defeated Social Democratic Party (SPD)—a process which would have the effect of postponing reunification into the indefinite future. Indeed, as Chancellor Helmut Kohl has stressed, a new constitutional convention would be a disaster, because today, “the consensus and insights which characterized the fathers of our 1949 constitution no longer exist as they did then, so we also couldn’t proceed from the same fundamental convictions without which the Basic Law would have never come about.” He was referring to such elements as the West German Green party, who flaunt their disdain for the basic cultural values of Western civilization.

Article 23 deals with the territorial extension of the area in which the Basic Law is in effect. It is short and to the point:

Art. 23. This Basic Law is henceforth valid in the areas of the states of Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Greater Berlin, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rheinland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein, Württemberg-Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern. In other parts of Germany, it is to be put into effect following their entry [into the Federal Republic].

The framers of the Basic Law wisely left the question open as to which “parts” were to join, while at the same time making clear in the preamble that the Basic Law had been framed on behalf of those Germans “who have been prevented from participating.” Thus, Article 23 sets forth the territorial validity of the Basic Law as it was designed for all Germans, and which, as soon as the yoke of communist dictatorship has been thrown off in one part of Germany, would naturally be extended.

It would therefore not even require a vote in West Germa-

Toward a new preamble. . .

On the day not too far in the future when West Germany's constitution, the Basic Law, becomes the constitution of a unified Germany, its current preamble, which specified the conditions for reunification, will have fulfilled its purpose, and a new one will have to be framed. Helga Zepp-LaRouche, chairman of the Patriots for Germany party, which played a key role in organizing the pro-unification mandate in the East German elections, has issued the following thoughts which could serve as the basis for such a new preamble.*

German unity was made possible by the peaceful revolution in the eastern part of Germany which declared the German people's desire for freedom and its rejection of dictatorships of all kinds.

It is henceforth the highest task of all German governments to defend all Germans' inalienable human rights and human dignity, rights which are based on natural law. These inalienable rights include the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

The interests of a sovereign Germany will never stand in contradiction to, but will always be in harmony with the interests of all mankind. This interest of mankind was defined by our great poet of freedom Friedrich Schiller as follows: "The state itself is never an end in itself; it is only important as a condition under which humanity's purpose can be fulfilled, and that purpose is nothing other than the fostering and development of all of the human being's powers: progression."

Thus also, the right to freedom cannot be conceived of as freedom to violate the laws of the order of creation. Rather, freedom is the right to the greatest possible unfolding of all of the human being's innate creative abilities, such that each individual can contribute in the best possible way to the development of the nation and of all mankind.

The right to the pursuit of happiness refers to the happiness of a fulfilled life which has thrived on wisdom, virtue, a sense of beauty and of love, and which ultimately consists in passing on our spiritual and cultural heritage, enriched and expanded, to future generations.

Since the unfolding of reason's divine spark is a right of each and every human being on this planet, the newly united German nation sets as its peaceful goal, to do everything in its power to help overcome injustice in this world. The means for this will be supplied through human-oriented scientific and technological progress, so that we not only sustain the human species, but enable future generations to have a better life, and in so doing, ensure the growth of humanity.

Therefore, the only limitation which can be placed on Germany's sovereignty, is that of natural law.

**The preamble to the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany, adopted on May 23, 1949, reads as follows: "Conscious of its responsibility before God and man, inspired by the will to preserve its national and governmental unity and to serve peace in the world as a member enjoying equal rights in a united Europe, the German people in the states of Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein, Württemberg-Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern have adopted this Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany in order to provide, by strength of its legislative power, a new order to national life, for a transitional period. It has also acted on behalf of those Germans who have been prohibited from participating. It remains the task of the entire German people, in free self-determination, to complete Germany's unity and freedom."*

ny in order to effect reunification not to speak of a Europe-wide plebiscite, as has been suggested by British and allied circles; only the East Germans would have to vote. There is even a precedent for this: In 1959, the Saar district, which had belonged to France since 1947, joined the Federal Republic of Germany by such a vote.

The only question remaining to be worked out now, is the definition of these "parts" and the specific requirements for their vote. One possibility is that the joining "part" would be the region of the entire German Democratic Republic. According to the G.D.R.'s current constitution, there are at least two ways to do this. The simplest would be to amend it in order to state that such "entry" is possible. This would require a two-thirds majority in the East German parliament.

The second approach would involve a plebiscite on the question of unification, which would only require a simple majority vote.

It would also be possible, though more messy, for the individual states (*Länder*) to join. At present, the five *Länder* exist only on paper, since the communists put all administrative power in 15 districts (*Bezirke*) instead. The *Länder* would therefore have to reconstitute themselves juridically before they could vote to join the Federal Republic of Germany.

It would even be possible for the individual *Bezirke* to join; but they will more likely be liquidated in order to clean out the large number of communist SED bureaucrats who are lodged there.