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Economic reforms of the Willy Brandt government 1969-1972

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Abstract

Willy Brandt's government was able to fulfill its pledges to farmers through grants and agrarian reform policy that contributed to increasing the farmers' yield and reviving this vital sector.

Despite the independence of industry from direct government administration, Willy Brandt's government attached great importance to this sector through the establishment of industrial cities, and the provision of loans to industrialists, which contributed to Germany's ranking second after the United States in the field of industry.

By looking at the trade policy of the Brandt government, we find that it focused its imports on capital goods instead of luxury goods.

Despite the inflated annual budgets and the difficulty of their approval in the House of Representatives during the first Willy Brandt government, it fulfilled all the government's political, economic and social obligations.

Introduction

Willy Brandt announced, from the first hours of the formation of his government in 1969, his intention to launch a campaign of unprecedented economic reforms, which he affirmed in his government program, which he delivered before the Bundestag on October 28, 1969, by referring to the adoption of a fiscal policy that works to redirect the import and export of goods, And holding consultations with the German Central Bank on monetary and credit policy plans, intensifying cooperation with trade unions and representatives of the agricultural sector, and cooperating with local governments in the Public Sector Economic Council, and during his first government that lasted for the period (1969-1972) Willy Brandt succeeded in reviving the agricultural sector from By providing the necessary conditions for their development by granting soft loans to farmers and providing subsidies, financial grants and free high-quality seeds, Willy Brandt also succeeded in advancing the industrial and trade sectors through financial and administrative policies that contributed to the growth of these two sectors, and his government followed effective measures in preparing a budget It covered all government obligations, whether economic or social. The research section contains an introduction, four sections and a number of conclusions. The first topic dealt with the reforms of the Willy Brandt government in the agricultural sector, the second topic included the industrial reforms of the Willy Brandt government, the third section touched on the commercial reforms of the Willy Brandt government, and the fourth section concluded with the budget and reform policy 1969-1972.. The researcher relied on many sources and references, foremost of which is the minutes of the German Parliament (Bundestag), as well as many books and academic research.

Literature review

Willy Brandt government reforms in the agricultural sector

Agriculture in the Federal Republic of Germany is viewed from an economic point of view as being of secondary importance, when compared to the rest of the economic sectors (A. Ghanie, 1993), as agriculture is a relatively small sector in the economy of the Federal Republic of Germany, and its share in the gross domestic product does not exceed 1.6 percent, and agriculture occupies approximately 5% of the total workforce in the Republic. Organized and succeeded by agricultural unions in Western European countries, as the German Farmers Union succeeded Deutscher Bauernverband Persuading the Brandt government to ensure continuity of financial support to farmers through generous programs of price support, agricultural subsidies and grants (Eric, 1996). The Brandt government clearly and unambiguously formulated the objectives of its agricultural policy in its government program issued on the 28th of October 1969, which aimed to assist the agricultural sector in overcoming the difficulties it faces, and the government's endeavor to make the agricultural sector an equal part in the modern national economy. Brandt adopts an agricultural plan based on leaving freedom for individuals to engage in agricultural activity or mixing agricultural activity with other economic activities and not forcing people to move to agricultural activity, but rather creating conditions for those who wish to engage in agricultural activity to take advantage of the capabilities provided by the federal government represented in adapting production to consumption With a view to improving the level of agricultural prices so that the income of farms is not endangered, the advancement of agricultural

industries, support for the old-age and accident insurance system, and the introduction of health insurance for farmers (Deutscher, 1971), strengthening water management and cultural building measures for peasants, the Brandt government worked to protect the environment in rural areas by adopting sewage treatment measures to protect plantings, and the federal government increased agricultural information and advice by paying attention to the training of agricultural professionals (Deutscher, 1972). Agriculture in the Federal Republic of Germany received great financial support from the Brandt government. In the budget of 1970, the government allocated an amount of fourteen billion three hundred seventy-four million nine hundred (14,374,900 German marks (Deutscher, 1970), Then the government took the German in the fifth of June 1970, to pass a law to compensate the farmers affected by the float German currency, according to the federal financial plan for the years (1970-1974) German agriculture payments received during which compensation directly as shown in the table below:

Table No. (1) shows direct compensation payments to farmers in millions of marks.

1970	1971	1972
920 million marks	920 million mark	810 million marks

Government support, as a result of direct compensation payments to farmers, contributed to curbing the rise in prices of agricultural and livestock products. The Willy Brandt government did not stop at supporting agricultural policy at this point. In order to support the adaptation process and avoid social hardships for those affected, the financial plan provided for social policy measures in the field of agriculture (aging and accident insurance (with sums ranging from eight hundred and seventy-nine (879) million marks to nine hundred and ninety-one (991) million marks(Deutscher, 1970).

Willy Brandt Government Industrial Reforms

Aircraft industry:

Since 1949, the Christian Democratic Union has been committed to limiting state interference in economic activity, but this situation deviated from its course during the Social Democratic Party's assumption of power. After the war, which prevented the Federal Republic of Germany from participating in defense-related industries, such as the manufacture of warplanes and related air navigation systems (Geoffrey,2012), And accordingly has taken the government Brandt important steps to support the civil aircraft industry, At the request of the Federal Government took the Bundestag on the thirteenth of September 1970, a decision funded by the civil aircraft industry, and because the aircraft industry costs very expensive decided Bundestag at the same session re - negotiations Initiated by the previous government in 1967, with Britain and France to establish a United European Airlines (Deutscher, 1970).After hard negotiations between Germany, France and Britain, an agreement was reached on the eighteenth of December 1970 (Ulrich, 1998), under the so-called Bonn Protocol Bonner Protocol On the creation of Airbus AirbusAs a consortium of European airlines, the agreement included financial participation and industrial cooperation in the Airbus joint venture between Aerospatiale. Aerospatiale French and Airbus Ltd. Airbus GmbH German and British Aerospace British Aerospace That co-financed

the Rolls-Royce Airbus engine Rolls-Royce75%, while the French and German governments bore the rest, which amounted to 12.5% each. Florian, 2010), and the headquarters of the company was taken in Paris (Ulrich, 1998).The establishment of Airbus came to break the dominance of the American competitor, Boeing The Boeing Companion the global market (Sueddeutsche, 2010) The company then adopted a plan to produce Airbus aircraft with multiple payloads, including Airbus (A318(with a payload of one hundred and seven (107) passengers, and an Airbus (A340) with a capacity of three hundred and eighty (380) passengers, and an Airbus (A380) which can carry up to five hundred and fifty five (555) passengers (Wilhelm, 2006).The government of the Federal Republic of Germany financed Airbus during the period 1970-1972, with sums ranging from three hundred and sixty-one (361) to seven hundred and sixty-three (763) million marks, as shown in the table below:

Table No. (2) Shows the federal government funding for Airbus in millions of brands.Deutscher, 1970).

1970	1971	1972
361.8 Million Mark	732.5 million marks	763.7 million marks

B- Auto industry:

Willy Brandt's government has embarked on adopting a program of action aimed at improving the performance of small and medium-sized companies, including car manufacturers, with financial sums of up to 1.8 billion marks, fuel subsidies and tax cuts (Deutscher, 1970), and as a result of government support, the automobile industry has rebounded in the Federal Republic of Germany. Since 1970, the automobile industry sector has witnessed a greater increase in production than any other sector.(Eckard, 2015The production of cars reached three million and eighty-four thousand (3,84) cars in 1970, which are manufactured in Germany, compared to three million and four thousand (3.4) cars in 1969, and more than six hundred thousand (600,000) were manufactured abroad compared to five hundred And sixty- seven thousand (567,000) cars in 1969, so that the automobile industry achieved in 1970, an increase of 6.6% compared to 1969, and car industries of all kinds and categories achieved sales of (41.7) billion German marks in 1970 compared to (35 (8,1 billion German marks in 1969, and domestic sales of passenger cars and commercial vehicles exceeded the two million mark for the first time in 1970, exceeding sales in 1969, by 14.4%)(Jahresbericht, 1971). In the first five months of 1971, the pace of car production continued to increase by 8% higher than the level of the previous year. The table below shows the production differences for the years 1969-1971:

Table No. (3) shows the differences in production between 1969-1970, and 1970-1971)(Jahresbericht, 1971).

car brands	1969	1970	Percentage of increase %	From January to May 1970	From the month of January to the month of May 1971	Percentage of increase %
Cars and station wagons	3,312,539	352,7864	+5,6	1,516,331	1,639,800	+1,8
Trucks and buses	292,028	314,383	+7,7	131,328	132,900	+2,1

And offer us the company Dalemer BansDaimler-Benz An annual statistic of the growth rate of production and employment for the years 1970-1972, as shown in the table below:

Table No. (4) shows the growth in production and employment in Daimler Benz for the period 1970-1972)(Daimler-Benz, 1979)

employees	1970	144,372	1971	146,996	1972	149,799
output	1970	280,419	1971	284,230	1972	323,878

C- Coal and Energy Sector:

In the aftermath of World War II and the division of Germany, the areas rich in coal belonged to the Federal Republic of Germany, especially in the Ruhr and Sareland regions.European Coal and Steel Community) (Philipp, 2018), But the coal sector stone faced major problems throughout my contract fifties and sixties consisted of lower demand after replacing it with oil and its derivatives and the use of nuclear energy in the production of electric power, which led to a decline in the industry and rising unemployment among workers pushing the decline in demand for coal, the government brandt to Adopting a strategy based on bringing other industries to coal mining areas in order to preserve this industry as a strategic commodity and to keep the specter of unemployment away from the thousands of workers working in this sector. An amount of seventeen (17) billion marks to improve the infrastructure of the coal-producing areas in order to attract German companies to the region. Until 1972, the government succeeded in bringing in about one hundred and forty (140) companies specializing in mining, steel, the automobile industry, and the refining industry. The oil and chemical industries, and the government built coal-fired electric power plants, and government measures until the end of 1972 provided twenty-five thousand (25,000) new jobs through the development, support and development of this sector (Philipp, 2020).

Willy Brandt's business reforms

The Federal Republic of Germany is the second largest trading country in the world after the United States of America, especially during the rule of Chancellor Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany (Udo E, 1976), And largely due to the results of the East Brandt policy that led to the opening of socialist markets to the products of Federal Republic of Germany which all of the Soviet Union, the Democratic Republic of Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary (Statisticsches, 1971), which led to an increase in exports and imports alike, and this can be seen by comparing the value of exports and imports from the gross national product (GNP) (Udo E, 1976), The share of imports (11.7%) in 1950 increased to (14.1%) in 1960 to (16.1%) in 1970, while the share of exports of GNP in the years mentioned from (8,6 rose (in 1950, to (15.9%) in 1960, and reached (18.5%) in 1970)(Bernhard, 1972. German exports included many commodities, foremost of which are cars. More than two million one hundred and three thousand nine hundred and forty-eight (2,103,948) cars were exported in 1970, compared to two million and fifty-five thousand and seventy-one (2,55,71) cars in 1969.(Jahresbericht, 1971), the global market share of German passenger cars and trucks is as shown in the table below:

Table 5 shows the share of the German car market in the world markets (Hans, 1976).

Country	Percentage of the German car market share in the world		
	1970	1971	1972
France	9,10%	5,11%	2,11%
Italy	1,16%	5,14%	5,12%
Holland	6,39%	6,37%	6,34%
Belgium	6,36%	7.37%	3,36
Britain	1,5%	1,6%	0,6%
Luxembourg	8.36%	5.35%	0.36%
Denmark	7,33	9,34%	0.38%
Norway	0.32%	4,36%	0.41%
Sweden	3,33%	2,36%	1,36%
Finland	2,19%	2,18%	5.22%
Switzerland	0.37%	4,36%	3,35%
Austria	4,45%	0.46%	1,44%

United States of America	7.8%	5.7%	5,6%
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German exports and imports were not limited to cars, but included many commodities, including German machinery and electrical appliances, clothing, mineral fuel products and lubricating oils that were exported to the European Free Trade Association. European Free Trade Association, the United States and Canada, as well as chemical products are exported to Western industrialized countries, while imports included mechanical engineering products, electro technical goods, iron group, sheet metal, metal goods, plastics, cellulose and synthetic resins, as 3.99% of the imports were purchased from Western industrialized countries, namely In general, industrial goods whose purpose is to supply German industries with raw materials, followed by mechanical, optical, photochemical, precision products, as well as watches (Udo E, 1976), Either agricultural products have included all kinds of grains, sugar, milk, trade cows and pigs (Deutscher, 1970), as shown in the table below:

Table No. (6) Shows the growth of merchandise trade in Germany in millions of marks during the period 1969-1972 (Bernhard, 1972).

general	Values of the supplied goods	Exported commodity values	Ratio of increase in exports to imports
1969	97,972	113,557	+15,584
1970	109,606	125,276	+15,670
1971	120,119	136,011	+15,892
1972	128,744	149,023	+20,279

It is evident from the above table that there is a great tendency towards exports. The trade balance recorded an export surplus during the four years in an amount exceeding sixty-seven (67) million German marks.

Budget and Reform Policy 1969-1972

The economic achievement of the Socialists during the government of the Grand Alliance and the mitigation of the effects of the economic crisis in the Federal Republic of Germany during the sixties was the direct cause of the arrival of the Social Democratic Party and its free democratic partner to power in 1969 (Eric, 2017), led by Brandt, but the economic factor was a double-edged sword for the Brandt-Schell government. On the one hand, the Socialists had to fulfill their promises to their voters in the face of the price hikes caused by the Kissinger government and remove German fears of inflation, and they had to implement what Willy Brandt had promised during the presentation His government program is to be an advisor on internal reforms and to set clear indications for a progressive social policy, one of whose goals is to set a (solidity and stability) budget that reconciles between revenue and spending on the other hand. Coincided with the formation of the Social-Liberal coalition, an unprecedented economic boom in the Federal Republic of Germany, to the extent that Die Zeit newspaper Die ZeitThe German Weekly had to write an article in which it said: "The prophets are full of confidence... The

economic future of the Federal Republic appears to be secure with full employment, high social benefits, strong economic growth rates and relatively stable prices” (Zitiert, 2010), and it seemed at the end of 1969 that all economic concerns had disappeared and that the only problem was how to distribute the increasing welfare, but what the writer of the newspaper article did not consider is that the economic factor is like the political factor subject to a continuous alternation between rise and contraction, stability and instability ([2]), the state’s income has risen rapidly due to the good economic situation, so the increase in tax revenue for the whole of 1969 amounted to 19% compared to the previous year, and this growth in income taxes is attributed to the rise in wages and salaries, and given this positive sign of public income it was difficult Finance Secretary Alex Mueller should impose budget discipline and pursue an economic policy based on reducing fiscal deficits by raising taxes to meet the spending requirements to curb prosperity ([3]), under the conditions of prosperity and fast-growing revenues, it was easy to absorb the spending requirements of the ministries; However, with the onset of the recession, the state’s deficit began to grow more than ever before, as tax revenues did not keep pace with the growth in spending needs of various ministries. Since 1970, tax revenues are no longer able to meet the increasing spending requirements in light of the increasing costs of employees and the huge funds that required to implement Willy Brandt’s government program (Jack H, 1981).The financial plans of former Finance Minister Strauss had predicted a need of 85.9 billion marks to cover the expenses of the 1970 budget, and the calculators of the new Minister of Finance Alex Muller identified an inevitable additional requirement of the assumed obligations of 7.3 billion marks, bringing the total amount to the budget 93.2 billion, as estimates led His initial cabinet colleagues were to increase Mueller’s draft budget to nearly 97 billion marks ([4]), and about that split ministers Socialist Alliance - Liberal in the first finance their session to discuss the budget in 1970, on the tenth of December 1969, into two parts Vizier Finance Alex Mueller wanted to raise taxes and cut spending to benefit the state of the economic boom, Flopped ideas Rejected by Brandt and most of the ministers who believed that such a measure would endanger the German economy (Zitiert, 2010).Finance Minister Alex Muller had no choice but to threaten to resign to increase pressure on the Cabinet in order to reduce spending by the various ministries, and Mueller stated that if he complied with the ministries’ wishes in the 1970 budget, it would cost the state a total of more than one hundred (100) billion marks, i.e. a percentage of 11.8 percent more than government spending in 1969 (Hans, 1990), After arduous negotiations, an agreement was reached on the thirteenth of February 1970, the adoption of the budget in the amount of ninety - one billion four hundred and thirty - two million seven hundred and ninety - nine thousand seven hundred (91,432,799.700) German marks (Deutscher, 1970), And the freezing of \$ (2.6) billion mark as a reserve to cope with economic fluctuations. The approval of the budget resulted in an increase in spending of 8.8% over the expenditure of the previous year (Jutta, 2002), According to statistics provided by the Bundestag in the twenty - fifth of May 1970, government spending increased by 8.3% in the first quarter of 1970, and attributed the increase to the Bundestag increase in personnel expenses in the amount of seven hundred (700) million mark (Deutscher, 1970), not to mention the increase in expenditures in each of the Ministry of Education, Transport, Agriculture, and Defense, as shown in the table below

Table No. (7) shows the increase in expenditures in the 1970 budget compared to the expenditures of 1969 (Zitiert, 2010).

Ministry	%increase in expenditures over the 1969 budget
Farming	41%
education	40%
Transport	16.2%
Defense	10%

The opposition blamed social-liberal reforms usually as the direct cause of increased spending, but social-liberal reforms were not the original increase in spending by Brandt's cabinet; Because the additional spending items were not related to the internal reforms adopted by Brandt, but were related to agriculture, defense, personnel and transportation, and these ministries in particular were targeted by increased spending by the previous government (Jutta, 2002). The 1971 budget was no less than its predecessor, Alex Muller, who lost his authority to draw up budget policy because the desire to expand spending was strong among his colleagues in the Cabinet, as none of the actors in the government wanted to reduce spending, so pressure increased to increase spending to satisfy voters, so a budget was approved on the eighth The twenty of January 1971, with an amount of one hundred (100) billion marks, increasing expenditures by 12%. (Deutscher, 1970). Finance Minister Mueller was no longer able to withstand the pressure between the budget cover requirements, the ministries' desires, and the expectations of reform policy. On February 25, 1971, the government discussed the 1972 budget and medium financial planning. In the meantime, Alex Mueller met with resistance from ministers, and Defense Minister Schmidt was the most outspoken in his clarification of the financial interests of his administration and rejected Mueller's austerity proposals. Meanwhile, the Munich Institute for Economic Research came to the conclusion that, by 1975, spending by the federal and state governments would increase by thirty-five (35) billion The new demands of the ministries would have resulted in an additional spending of twenty (20) billion marks for the 1972 fiscal year) Zitiert, 2010). The rest of the government ministers brandt rejected the proposals of the Minister of Finance Mueller reduce spending to secure the budget in 1972, and after two months and a half lost Alex Muller nerves in introducing the twelfth of May 1971, to submit his resignation in a letter addressed to the Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt, announcing the reasons for his resignation of requests Constantly increasing spending from his cabinet colleagues and lack of support from the chancellor (Adolf, 2018). Federal Chancellor Willy Brandt accepted Alex Mueller's resignation on May 13, 1971. Commenting on Mueller's resignation, Brandt said that he was surprised by the resignation, and accepted it with regret, and then on the same day assigned Economy Minister Karl Schiller the tasks of the Ministry of Finance (Martin, 2017), and this is evidence that Brandt supported the request for the resignation of the Minister of Finance and assigning Karl Schiller in his place the next day. Karl Schiller faced the same problem that raised Muller. He was concerned about employee costs, which rose by 15%, and the trend in agricultural expenditures did not stop. The Ministers of Labor and Transport expressed violent objections against reducing their expenditures, and despite the objections that faced Karl Schiller, he succeeded in reducing the requirements Expenditure and prevent a large wave of job expansion. Out of eleven (11,000) thousand required job grades, only four hundred and eighty-four (484) job grades were approved.

Despite Schiller's success in reducing spending requirements by six (6) billion marks, government spending remained high in August 1971, then Schiller succeeded in securing an inflationary budget of one hundred and seven (107) billion marks, in addition to an emergency budget of three (3) billion marks in the event of an economic downturn. On the tenth of September 1971, the federal financial plan and budget were approved from The Cabinet accepted after Karl Schiller assured the Council of Ministers that the budget would not rise to more than (106.6) billion marks, but Schiller's assertions were misplaced, as it became clear at the beginning of 1972, that the budget would rise to (109.3) billion Mark so it was not It is necessary to increase the national debt of the federal government from (2.6) to (7.3) billion marks. Zitiert, 2010), Which is why the Bundestag rejected the twenty - eighth of April 1972 vote on the budget after the vote two hundred and seven and forty (247) in favor of approving the budget in exchange for rejection of two hundred and seven and forty (247), with one abstentions (Winfried, 1979).As a result of the budget failure, the government was forced to bear its expenses under Article (111) of the German Constitution, which means that the government can dispose of only 80% of the previous year's estimates, and according to Article (112) of the German Constitution, the federal government was also not allowed to spend money except on The necessary needs, however, the government was able under the Basic Law to conduct financial matters for a period of eight months, provided that the budget is determined by law before the beginning of the next fiscal year in accordance with Article (110) of the Basic Law.Karl Schiller saw that raising taxes was the only way out of the crisis, because spending cuts did not bring in more than 1.34 billion marks to the government. In May 1972, Schiller entered into deliberations with his colleagues in the Cabinet regarding tax increases, but Schiller did not find a deaf ear. It seemed to Schiller that the only available solution at his disposal was to submit his resignation after the clear disregard by the ministers for his proposals (Zitiert, 2010), Karl Schiller submitted his resignation to Willy Brandt on July 6, 1972, and the latter accepted it the following day (Bernhard, 1972).One day after Karl Schiller resigned, Willy Brandt appointed Defense Minister Helmut Schmidt to take over the Finance Ministry (Ludger, 2005), And after the inauguration of Helmut Schmidt and the Ministry of Finance re - paradise financial evaluation of the budget of \$ (106.6) billion mark and the Commission found the government 's need to more than 109 billion to cover its expenses, Helmut Schmidt before introducing the situation to impose a tax increase by 12% to cover spending and reduce government debt (Bundesrat, 1972), And was the adoption of Helmut Schmidt 's decision and approved the budget by the Bundestag, the atheist and the twentieth of December 1972 (Alexander, 1975), for a total amount of one hundred and eight billion nine hundred and seventy-eight (108,978,000,000) million marks(Bundesgesetzblatt, 1972).The presentation of the general budgets of the Federal Republic of Germany during the period (1970-1972) shows an increase in government spending by approximately twenty-seven (27) billion German marks, distributed over three years, accompanied by an increase in the national debt, which caused the resignation of Mueller and Schiller, which prompted Many critics have stated that Willy Brandt's government was not successful in its economic policy, especially financial ones, but Brandt's critics did not take into account the economic and social achievements that Brandt had achieved during the three years of taking office in implementation of his government program, which caused an increase in spending and the national debt alike.Economist Albrecht Muller argues Albrecht Muller That Willy Brandt's period as chancellor was one of the most successful periods than any other German chancellor, especially in the economic field. The

growth rate of the gross national product rose to 27.4% more than all subsequent advisers, and the unemployment rate was no more than 2.3% lower than the rate of all his successors, and the total income of employees increased by 17.2%, and as a result, the share of wages in the national product rose to 67.4%, after it was only 60.6% before he took over the chancellery (Albrecht, 2013). Objectively, when evaluating the term of Willy Brandt's rule 1969-1972, the evaluation should not be subject to emotions and outbursts, but rather evaluate the work with its results. With regard to this government, economic growth, social improvement, and family welfare made important leaps during its reign, and this is what dictates. On the other hand, the government has succeeded in fulfilling its promises to its voters on the one hand, and the ideas it believed in in building modern Germany on the other hand. Brandt is a living example of this.

Conclusions

Through what was presented, the researcher reached a number of conclusions, which can be summarized as follows:

Willy Brandt's government was able to fulfill its pledges to farmers through grants and agrarian reform policy that contributed to increasing the farmers' yield and reviving this vital sector.

Despite the independence of industry from direct government administration, Willy Brandt's government attached great importance to this sector through the establishment of industrial cities, and the provision of loans to industrialists, which contributed to Germany's ranking second after the United States in the field of industry.

By looking at the trade policy of the Brandt government, we find that it focused its imports on capital goods instead of luxury goods.

Despite the inflated annual budgets and the difficulty of their approval in the House of Representatives during the first Willy Brandt government, it fulfilled all the government's political, economic and social obligations.

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