

Ordoliberalism Between Theory And Practice

A Research into the Role of Scientific Bureaus of Political Parties
as Mediators of Exchange between Ordoliberal Theory and Practice
in Germany and the Netherlands in the Postwar Period

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Abstract

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Abstract: Compared to most of their European counterparts, Germany and the Netherlands often take deviating positions with regards to economic policies. This phenomenon has been explained by the influence of ordoliberalism. The role of scientific bureaus of political parties as mediators of exchange between ordoliberal theory and practice had not yet been documented. This research fills large parts of this knowledge gap by analysing this role. By means of an extensive archive research, the formative years of ordoliberal policies (1945-1970) have been covered. In Germany, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (CDU) and the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FDP) were studied. In Netherlands, these were the Teldersstichting (VVD), Doctor Abraham Kuypersstichting (ARP) and the Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming (KVP). The detailed descriptions of these diverse institutions and their publications allows for many interesting observations and conclusions. The most important conclusion is that the ideas that the German scientific bureaus expressed, were clearly ordoliberal. In addition, in the Netherlands only significant ordoliberal traces have been found at the Teldersstichting.

Keywords: *ordoliberalism, neoliberalism, scientific bureau, political party, think tank, social market economy, Wirtschaftswunder, postwar, Germany, the Netherlands*

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I Introduction

Ever since the financial and economic crisis hit Europe, a marked difference in economic policy insights among EU member states became apparent. No matter whether the topic at hand was ‘Eurobonds’, ‘quantitative easing’, ‘Greece’ or simply ‘austerity’, Germany and the Netherlands were always on the one side of the table. On the other side? Practically the rest of Europe. The continued ‘rebel position’ of the two countries has led to increasing frustrations and misunderstandings in the rest of the EU. It has also worked the other way round: the differing opinions in the rest of the EU have also frustrated the Germans and the Dutch.¹

This phenomenon has quickly found its way into academic research, where scientists tried to identify how ideas came to diverge to such a great extent across national borders. A good example is this year’s bestseller *The Euro and the Battle of Ideas*, that tried to explain the differences between ‘German’ and ‘French’ economic traditions by tracing their respective long-term historical, intellectual and cultural origins. In comparable fashion, a considerable chunk of the literature focused on the continued influence of ‘ordoliberalism’ in Germany. Although some authors disagree, most find that the influence of ordoliberal thought is clear and has been pervading German economic thinking throughout society, ever since it came to prominence shortly after the Second World War. Even Sahra Wagenknecht, the current leader of the communist wing of the most leftwing party in the German parliament, *Die Linke*, advocated a return to and improvement of a society built on ordoliberal ideas. With this plea she also explicitly states that ordoliberal policies indeed have been implemented in the postwar period, a fact that is well-documented and not disputed. An aspect that has been neglected though, is the role that

¹ For examples of non-scientific articles that either showcase the described frustration or report about it, see Münchau 2014, accessible via [ft.com/content/e257ed96-6b2c-11e4-be68-00144feabdc0](https://www.ft.com/content/e257ed96-6b2c-11e4-be68-00144feabdc0) (last accessed 12 December 2016); The Economist 2015, accessible via [economist.com/news/Europe/21650565-german-ordoliberalism-has-had-big-influence-policy-during-euro-crisis-rules-and-order](https://www.economist.com/news/Europe/21650565-german-ordoliberalism-has-had-big-influence-policy-during-euro-crisis-rules-and-order) (last accessed 12 December 2016); Rossbach 2016, accessible via [faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wirtschaftspolitik/sachverstaendigenrat-kritisiert-ezb-14507550.html](https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/wirtschaftspolitik/sachverstaendigenrat-kritisiert-ezb-14507550.html) (last accessed 12 December 2016).

scientific bureaus of political parties have had in the increasing authority of ordoliberalism.²

Ordinary think tanks are a relatively new phenomenon in Europe. The first few decades after the Second World War the research institutes that had by far the most influence in Germany and the Netherlands, were the party-affiliated research institutes, or scientific bureaus of political parties³. Usually these institutes form the basis of the eventual programme of the affiliated political party. And where do the institutes get their information from? The idea is that scientific bureaus derive it from academic research. Or simply put: scientific bureaus of political parties transpose scientific theory into concrete policy measures and these policy measures will be adopted for the greater part by the corresponding political parties.⁴

This research tries to fill a knowledge gap by describing and analysing the role of scientific bureaus of political parties in transposing ordoliberal theory to policies. To narrow down the research, the focus is on two countries: Germany and the Netherlands. Germany is an easy pick, as, among other reasons: it is the birthground of ordoliberalism; nearly all research into ordoliberalism focuses solely on Germany; Germany is the most powerful country in the EU with even a quasi-veto for matters that require only a qualitative majority; and most important: many claim ordoliberalism pervades German economic thought to this day. Why the Netherlands? It practically always sides with the (ordoliberal) economic policies pursued by Germany; research about ordoliberalism in the Netherlands is virtually non-existent, meaning there is another knowledge gap that can be filled. There are also a few other countries that often side with Germany and the Netherlands when it comes to economic policy in the EU, most notably Austria, Finland and Luxembourg. There are several reasons why not to include these into the analysis, including the following: Luxembourg has a marginal influence when it comes to EU

² Brunnermeier, James & Landau 2016, p. 1-448; for examples of recent academic researches that focused on ordoliberalism, see Meijer 2007, p. 171-185; Bonefeld 2012, p. 633-656; Siems & Schnyder 2014, p. 377-396; for examples of academic researches that focused on the influence of ordoliberalism in the Euro crisis, see Young 2014, p. 276-287; Feld, Köhler & Nientiedt 2015, p. 1-25; Nedergaard & Snaith 2015, p. 1094-1109; for Wagenknecht's plead, see Wagenknecht 2012, p. 1-406.

³ In German: '*parteinahe Stiftung*'. In Dutch: '*wetenschappelijk partijbureau*'.

⁴ Stone & Denham 2004, p. 1-336.

decisions; Finnish documents are impenetrable for non-Finnish speakers; one has to narrow one's Master Thesis down and because the author is Dutch, it is easier for him to relate to the Netherlands than to Austria.

To further narrow down the research, the focus will be on the period after the Second World War to approximately 1970. This is the period of the heyday of ordoliberal policy in Germany, led by Ludwig Erhard and his aides.⁵ Although nearly always in a coalition, the CDU and its little sister-party the CSU have been in government for this whole period. Also, under Merkel's leadership these two parties have been the main political current in all coalition governments of the last more than 10 years, covering the full duration of the financial and economic crisis. The choice for researching the scientific bureau of the CDU is then evident. The CSU is left out of the equation, as it is not nearly as influential as the CDU. On the other hand, the scientific bureau of another party is scrutinised though, namely the FDP. The hypothesis is that it is more likely to find ordoliberal links in this party that is outspokenly liberal. Moreover, the FDP had been in power during most of the postwar years as well.

For the Netherlands, it is a little more complicated. The current Dutch equivalent of the CDU/CSU is the CDA. On its own merit that would already be a good reason to choose to research the economic policies advanced by the scientific bureau of the CDA. Moreover, the CDA has been in the coalition government in the first five years of the financial and economic crisis. However, the CDA did not yet exist in the postwar period. Therefore, the scientific bureaus of its two most important predecessors, the KVP & ARP⁶, are scrutinised instead. Just like the CDU, both these parties had often been in government during the postwar period in the Netherlands, thereby further providing grounds for choosing them as the objects of this research. The latter also holds true for the Dutch VVD, which in addition is an outspokenly liberal party and thereby the equivalent of the German FDP.

⁵ In the following decade, the country followed a more keynesian policy mix.

⁶ The third founder of the CDA is the CHU. The CHU itself is a spin-off of the ARP and has had similar policy stances as the ARP. Together the ARP and the CHU had approximately the same political weight as the KVP on its own in the formation of the CDA. When one has to limit the scope of his research, leaving out either the ARP or CHU is easy to defend. The CHU is left out, because they had been marginally smaller than the ARP.

To sum it up, the scrutinised scientific bureaus are those of the German CDU and FDP, and the Dutch KVP, ARP and VVD. Did their scientific bureaus indeed play the role as has been described above? Did they indeed transpose ordoliberal economic thought into ordoliberal economic policy? And if indeed they did, what causes or reasons behind this can be found? Also, what about the Netherlands? Can evidence be found for ordoliberal economic theory being transposed into economic policy there? Are there any parallels between the developments of the scientific bureaus of the political parties in the two countries? Or can specific knowledge flows of ordoliberal ideas be identified? The methodology for doing this research was fairly straightforward, but still innovative. It can be retraced in the structure of this thesis. First, a firm academic framework was constructed about ordoliberalism. What is ordoliberalism, what were its economic ideas, and where did it come from? This is answered by relying heavily on prior research, in which the German ordoliberalism is also placed in the appropriate international context (Chapter II). Second, all the facts and circumstances are described that are necessary to provide a sound image of the five different scientific bureaus. Facts and circumstances that could be important for linking a scientific bureau with either ideas or policy receive extra attention. That also means that a close look is taken at the relation between the political party and its scientific bureau, for example by scrutinising the funding, appointments and the history of creating the scientific bureau. Of course, a description of the activities of the scientific bureaus is provided as well. A large emphasis is placed on their written publications, for they often give the most precise view of the ideas that were propagated. In order to present a description of all the mentioned information and more, a thorough research into the archives of the scientific bureaus had been conducted. To bring some order, the results for the individual German (Chapter III) and Dutch (Chapter IV) scientific bureaus are presented in two different chapters. In these chapters, complicated crosslinks, interpretations and in-depth analyses are not too frequent. Due to the complex nature of comparing five different scientific bureaus, in two different countries, and linking economics, politics and history, a proper explanation in these chapters would often require too much space. Therefore, the choice has been made to save these considerations for the end of the thesis (Chapter V).

II Ordoliberalism

What are the historical, ideological and political backgrounds of the development of ordoliberalism? In answering this question, first an excursion is started into a broader international movement that is at the root of the development of ordoliberalism (§II.1). It tells the story of how marginalised liberals finally found a first way of putting new life into their ideology: neoliberalism was born. The story continues with how Friedrich von Hayek set up the influential Mont Pèlerin Society and how this society slowly lost its neoliberal feathers. Subsequently, a description of the German branch of this international movement is presented (§II.2). The narrative starts with a brief history of Germany and its economy in the preceding decades, which in many ways were of great influence in the forming of ordoliberal thought. In addition, it identifies the main advocates of ordoliberalism, their personal ideological backgrounds, and the economic ideas they propagated. The last paragraph then describes how these economic ideas were implemented into policies by Ludwig Erhard and his companions (§II.3).

§II.1 Neoliberalism and the Mont Pèlerin Society

Ordoliberalism is rooted in a broader international movement that started to take shape in the second half of the 1930's. This was a turbulent time, with the Great Depression still wrecking countries throughout the world. In some countries, this helped provide the opportunity for fascist leaders to find their way to power, such as Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany and later Franco in Spain. In other countries, extensive government-sponsored programmes were set up to try to keep the economy afloat, such as in the UK or in the US with Roosevelt's 'New Deal'. In addition, Stalin was turning the Soviet Union into an experimental communist society. Among these leaders there was a broad consensus it was the state's responsibility to manage and steer the economy. Indeed, the public debate about economic issues did not concern the question *if* the state should intervene, but *how* it should do so. This was in a sharp contrast with the previous era of laissez-faire, during which governments simply allowed the market to run its course. It is against this historical background that intellectuals that broadly self-

identified as liberals felt marginalised, as their ideas were laughed upon and not taken seriously.⁷

In an attempt to overcome their marginalisation, these liberals sought ways of keeping their liberal legacy alive. This was easier said than done, mainly because of two interrelated obstacles. First, they were widely dispersed geographically, which severely hampered the possibilities to effectively exchange ideas. Communication with peers is essential for a body of thought to survive, let alone for it to prosper. Second, as liberal ideas were anything but fashionable, it was hard to disseminate them. Not only were fewer and fewer people open to these views, this also directly reduced the possibilities of finding outlets that wanted to publish the liberal message. In a society with none of the current network possibilities, all these obstacles formed real hurdles for keeping the liberal thought alive.⁸

Especially the obstacle of a wide dispersion prompted some liberals to attempt to set up an international forum for likeminded people. The first successful attempt was the *Colloque Walter Lippmann*, held in Paris in August 1938. The *Colloque* was so named after the transatlantic visit of Walter Lippmann, an American journalist who had recently published a well-received book that fiercely criticised the totalitarian tendencies of the American society: *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society*.⁹ Organised by the French philosopher Louis Rougier, the *Colloque* included several recurring characters in the history of neoliberalism and ordoliberalism, such as Friedrich von Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Wilhelm Röpke and Alexander Rüstow.¹⁰ As such the *Colloque* could very well be understood as the starting point of the history of neoliberalism. Then the assembled academics decided that 'neoliberalism' was the collective thought that they would represent, albeit without reaching consensus on its name or its contents. What they did agree upon was that they should embark upon the creation of a community that would discuss how to reconstruct liberal doctrine. Interesting to note here is that at the end of the *Colloque* Alexander Rüstow said he could already observe two reconstruction camps:

⁷ Burgin 2012, p. 45-54.

⁸ Burgin 2012, p. 45-56.

⁹ Lippmann, 1937, p. 1-402.

¹⁰ Walter Eucken was also invited for this colloquium, but did not receive permission to leave the Third Reich.

a majority camp that sought liberalism's failings within liberalism itself, and a minority camp that deemed nothing wrong with the old liberalism. Leaning more towards the former camp, the participants¹¹ decided to found the *Centre International d'Études pour la Renovation du Libéralisme*, an institution with the goal to study what the exact role of a government should be if it were not to be 'an indifferent spectator, but a neutral arbitrator that would 'protect the rules of the game'¹². Although the *Colloque Walter Lippmann* and the *Centre Internaional* provided a fruitful start of enlivening liberalism, the outbreak of World War II subsequently upset all efforts.¹³

World War II put a complete halt to the neoliberal project. Instead of moving forward, all emphasis was on preserving the existing ties.¹⁴ Immediately after the war the neoliberals took up where they had left off, with Friedrich von Hayek being the main protagonist. By that time, Hayek was one of the most prominent academics worldwide and he was well-known within both the English-language and German-language academic world. Born in Austria-Hungary in the early 1920's, he earned doctorate degrees in both law and political science at the University of Vienna, in addition to which he had also studied philosophy, psychology and economics. After among others a brief spell as a research assistant in the United States, Hayek joined the London School of Economics (LSE) in 1931, where only one year later he was named Professor of Economic Sciences. In the two following decades, he quickly rose further in the academic world, not in the least due to his debates with the leading British economist John Maynard Keynes. The combination of a diverse academic background in the two major academic languages of the time, with experience on both sides of the Atlantic, gave Hayek the perfect profile for finding a complementary group of likeminded academics. On top of that, his bestseller *The Road to Serfdom* (1944)¹⁵ made him a well-known public figure too. In this book, Hayek argues that socialist ideas of central planning and government controls will ultimately

¹¹ The idea to create the institute was suggested by Marcel Bourgeois. Rougier would manage the institute, and the plan was that Röpke, Hayek and Lippmann would lead the different chapters. Whether the more conservative participants objected to the idea of creating the institute, or whether they withheld themselves from any involvement, is not known.

¹² Burgin 2012 p. 76.

¹³ Burgin 2012 p. 55-78.

¹⁴ Burgin 2012 p. 78-86.

¹⁵ The original book: Von Hayek 1944, p. 1-184.

always lead to tyranny and a loss of individual freedom. It is important to note here that it is not the original publication that made an impact on the public at large, but a heavy re-work by America's most widely circulating magazine: the Reader's Digest.¹⁶ This re-work overly simplified the original work and cherry picked his arguments to better suit the Reader's Digest's anticommunist editors. Contrary to public perception even these days, Hayek's original was a rather nuanced book, with qualifications abound.¹⁷

Already before the end of the Second World War Hayek had been planning to create a society along the lines of what would become the Mont Pèlerin Society (MPS). Once the changing circumstances of the time after the Second World War allowed him to, it was time to put his plans into motion. Relying on his extensive network and his excellent reputation, Hayek invited a wide range of intellectuals to exchange their views on the contemporary relation between freedom and the state in a very broad sense. These intellectuals came from all sorts of academic backgrounds, covering fields from philosophy to economics and from history to politicology. Besides, the thirty-six members were evenly distributed between Europeans and Americans, the latter of which were sponsored by the Volker Fund. In 1947 they all made the journey to a resort located at the Swiss mountain of Mont Pèlerin, the name giver of the society. The invitees included some Germans that would play an important role in the development of the German strand of neoliberalism called 'ordoliberalism'. Most notable were Wilhelm Röpke and Walter Eucken, who were present at the very first meeting in 1947. Soon others joined their ranks, such as Alfred Müller-Armack, Ludwig Erhard and Alexander von Rüstow. Other interesting figures included Ludwig von Mises, Michael Polanyi, Karl Popper, Milton Friedman and Albert Hunold, who was the co-founder together with Hayek. Although most of them self-identified as liberals, this wide selection of academics cannot simply be classified as such, for their views differed too greatly among them. However, the big binding factor of this diverse society is that all its members agreed with the necessity of discussing those matters which were ultimately reflected in the written aims of the society's foundation.¹⁸

¹⁶ The heavily edited book, republished: Von Hayek 1999, p. 1-131.

¹⁷ Burgin 2012 87-94.

¹⁸ Burgin 2012, p. 94-102.

The society's statement of aims first describes that their members fear the development of diminishing freedom in contemporary societies. To revert this development, no clear alternative was agreed upon. Therefore, instead, the statement of aims included certain matters that have to be studied further. These matters were characteristics of a society that most MPS members believed were necessary for a free society, such as the rule of law, no misuse of history, and an international order to safeguard peace and harmonious international economic relations. They rejected totalitarianism, defended the market mechanism and stressed the importance of moral absolutes. Many members preferred to sing a somewhat different tune by including some more progressive ideas, as they feared that their society would otherwise seem to be defending laissez-faire liberalism. However, for they did not reach consensus on these matters, they were left out of the statement of aims.¹⁹

In the final paragraph of the statement of aims the MPS reveals how the society wants to achieve the 'goals' mentioned above:

*'The group does not aspire to conduct propaganda. It seeks to establish no meticulous and hampering orthodoxy. It aligns itself with no particular party. Its object is solely, by facilitating the exchange of views among minds inspired by certain ideals and broad conceptions held in common, to contribute to the preservation and improvement of the free society.'*²⁰

Exactly in line with the spirit of these last words, throughout the years the Mont Pèlerin Society was a recurring platform where ideas about the foundations of liberalism were thoroughly discussed. It was not a fanboys' network of one interpretation of liberalism, instead the platform was used to critically examine negative aspects of certain flavours of liberalism, such as the potentially morally damaging influences of the market mechanism. All these discussions also had the goals to come up with a new and better form of liberalism. After all, the public at large closely associated the term 'liberalism' with the hugely unpopular old excesses of laissez-faire. This also meant that all MPS members

¹⁹ 'Statement of Aims', *Mont Pelerin Society* 1947, accessible via montpelerin.org/statement-of-aims/ (last accessed 12 December 2016); Burgin 2012, p. 102-108.

²⁰ 'Statement of Aims', *Mont Pelerin Society* 1947, accessible via montpelerin.org/statement-of-aims/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

agreed not only to improve the material ideas of liberalism, but also to label it differently. Although the society's members could not reach consensus, most agreed to use the term 'neoliberalism', which is also the principal term that has been used for referring to the ideas of the members of the MPS.²¹

The ideas that the MPS members express, have been referred to as 'neoliberalism'. However, these ideas changed over the years, and so did the society's members. With the society's success, more and more people wanted to become a member, leading to the situation that the society had to actually turn down applicants as opposed to the initial quest for new members. From a cosy small-scale society, in which all members knew each other by name, the influx of new members gradually but markedly altered the composition of the society. Relatively more and more Americans joined the club, and economists soon had the clear majority over academics with other backgrounds. The changing composition is one reason why the deeper, more philosophic debates about neoliberalism gave way to more technical discussions about the market mechanism. Another reason was that (neo)liberalism had found its way out of the line of fire and was blossoming in academic, political and public perception. Coincidentally a clear majority started to take shape within the Mont Pèlerin Society that refuted any progressive elements into (neo)liberalism. Like Mises they seemed to stick a lot closer to the original ideas of laissez-faire, where less government and more market seemed to be the only answer to any contemporary issue. The changing direction of the MPS accelerated because the changing direction itself prompted disappointed members to distance themselves from the society, which further tilted the balance within the MPS in the radical pro-market idealists. The fate of MPS's changed direction was finally sealed when Milton Friedman assumed a leading intellectual role starting in the later years of the '50s. Friedman, who had excellent connections with the media and highly placed politicians, was a fierce protagonist of the extreme pro-market ideas. He himself called his ideas 'radical liberalism', although the outside world most often still called it neoliberalism. For convenience sake, the term is used that some of his colleagues also did and which is sometimes used in contemporary literature as well: 'paleoliberalism'²². At this point it

²¹ Burgin 2012, p. 102-120.

²² Though this term has a somewhat negative tone, it unmistakably refers to the later more extreme ideas of the members of the MPS and cannot be confused with other radical flavours of liberalism, such as laissez-

should be clear that internationally the main development of liberalism in the post-war period is the one from a diverse forum that deeply discussed the many roots of liberal theories to a group of likeminded economists that advocated pro-market solutions. In other words: neoliberalism developed into paleoliberalism.²³

§II.2 Ordoliberalism – the German branch of neoliberalism

§II.2.1 Germany before, during and directly after the Second World War

Alongside the described international developments in liberalism, it is important to keep the specific German historical background in mind in order to fully understand the rise of ordoliberalism. Since Germany's unification in 1871 under Otto van Bismarck's leadership, the country had not had many policies in place that were inspired by liberalism. Until the defeat and collapse of the German Empire in the First World War, laissez-faire was seen as an anarchy which would ultimately lead to Marxism and international class war. Trade and commerce were severely restricted. Instead the government stood up for special interests, above all for big industrial and agrarian corporations. With those big corporations organising production, unnecessary losses caused by competition would be prevented. Besides, this economic system could easily be steered in order to serve the national interest. Moreover, 'corporatism' would bring harmony by uniting labourers with their natural leaders.²⁴

After the First World War, the Weimar Republic was founded. Also this short period in the history of Germany, which lasted until Hitler's assumption of power in 1933, was characterised by little preference for liberal ideas and policies. During this politically unstable period nationalistic ideas dominated most parties. Even for the liberal parties, issues like free trade and more competition were only of secondary importance. As an example, nationalist liberals saw cartels as a symbol of power of the strong over the weak.

faire liberalism. Besides, calling something radical would present a comparable problem, as it can give a false impression of attributing a positive connotation to it.

²³ Burgin 2012, p. 116-138, 175-185, 207-213.

²⁴ Nicholls 1994, p. 1-9.

Even more striking is the fact that most laissez-faire²⁵ economists considered cartels to be nothing more than an exponent of the freedom of contract. During this period there had only been a few attempts to inhibit abuse by these cartels, but inadvertently these attempts led to further monopolisation.²⁶

Times for (neo)liberals were even harder under Hitler's leadership. The regime made it difficult for proclaimed liberals to continue life as usual. This prompted many of them to emigrate to countries such as the US, the UK, Switzerland and Turkey. Those who stayed, risked being fired or at least lost all prospects of making promotion, especially in the first years of the nazi takeover. The (neo)liberals that were less idealistic, took a more pragmatic approach. Some simply gave Hitler's regime the benefit of the doubt, also due to its confident enthusiasm which coincided with unprecedented economic growth. In particular Hitler's tackling of the war reparations was valued highly. Other pragmatist (neo)liberals considered the political change an excellent opportunity to influence the new regime. Either they tried to push the regime towards more (neo)liberal policies, or they simply tried to secure their jobs or promotions. Throughout the years, the nazi regime became ever more repressive, violent and power hungry. These experiences on the one hand reinforced the neoliberals' belief in the importance of the struggle of freedom against collectivism. On the other hand, these experiences also increased their sympathy for the masses, which brought the ideas of social justice further to the fore.²⁷

As is widely known, the Second World War brought about large-scale destruction throughout the whole of Europe, with the losing German side obviously not as an exception. Railways, bridges and all sorts of other transportation and communication infrastructure had been destroyed. Even many residential areas were heavily wrecked by Allied strategic bombing, causing great housing shortages immediately following the war. The influx of about 7.5 million German refugees from east of the Oder-Neisse line further worsened this housing crisis, on top of creating all sorts of other problems and tensions in the German society, including the economy. Unsurprisingly also the industry was hit heavily, although not as bad as sometimes thought, for during the war the Germans had

²⁵ Germans mostly did not refer to 'laissez-faire', but rather to 'Manchester liberalism'. See Nicholls 1994, p. 48.

²⁶ Nicholls 1994, p. 15-31, 34-39.

²⁷ Nicholls 1994, p. 60-71.

some success preserving their precious assets by hiding these or by moving factories literally underground. However, Allied' policies immediately after the war offset this marginal success. Many industry assets that made it through the war, had to be dismantled or were simply left to rust.²⁸

When talking about Germany immediately after the Second World War, one has to be clear about what one exactly means.. Several large stretches of land were lost to other nations, the most eye-catching being the former Prussian lands east of the Oder-Neisse line. The parts that remained in German possession, were divided into several occupation zones. The Soviets occupied what later became East-Germany²⁹, with its particular communist economy. In this research the focus is on West-Germany though, as with hindsight can be said that the eastern side has had a markedly different economic history than the western side. For convenience sake: 'German' and 'Germany' will therefore only refer to West-Germans and West-Germany, unless stated otherwise. West-Germany was occupied in three main occupational zones of influence: a British zone, an American zone and a French zone.³⁰ In 1947 the former two zones merged into 'Bizone', and halfway 1948 France joined as well to complete West-Germany³¹. Although West-Germany was already whole in 1948, it took until 1955 for the country to have its full sovereignty back. Over the years the Germans gradually regained more and more powers. Directly after the war, the several occupying countries fully decided the economic policies though.³²

The policies of the Allies were to strictly control the economy, both to keep the country under their control and because they genuinely believed these economic policies were most beneficial for the local population. Because the several occupying powers did not fully harmonise their policies, barricades arised that hampered economic recovery. Other than minor problems like the high barriers to move across the newly drawn (occupational) borders, these barricades also greatly exacerbated food supply issues. With the Soviet forces forbidding grain exports, West-Germany was namely cut of from

²⁸ Nicholls 1994, p. 122-129.

²⁹ Officially the German Democratic Republic.

³⁰ For convenience sake, the Saar protectorate, Berlin and some minor occupation zones are excluded from this brief history.

³¹ Officially the Federal Republic of Germany.

³² Nicholls 1994, p. 139, 322; see also Nicholls 1994 p. 122-321.

its granary that were the old East-Prussian lands. The Allies tried to combat the resulting hunger and all the previously named challenges, like the housing shortages, with strict rationing and governmental planning. At the same time the Reichsmark had grown to be nearly worthless, which caused people to barter. Instead of selling products and services for worthless Reichsmarks, many preferred going to the countryside to barter for extra food. Others spent time along the railroad track in search for coals, instead of spending time at their ordinary jobs. On an individual level these examples make sense, but on a macro-level it was disastrous for the economy. Moreover, many entrepreneurs and industrials withheld large parts of their stocks from sales, for on top of the problems with the Reichsmark the occupational authorities made importing and exporting extremely difficult and often nonsensical. German exporters could only receive the exact domestic worth of their products in Reichsmark, thereby removing any incentive to export. At the same time, foreign importers had to buy these goods for a much higher value in dollars, which in addition were very scarce in Europe anyway. For German importers, the same problem existed. If these were not enough obstacles for international trade, the Allied Joint Export-Import Agency had to improve every single transaction and had the sole authority of deciding both the internal and external value of the transaction. To end with a few positive economic circumstances of the time, Germany still had access to a more than sufficient number of highly trained labourers. In addition, despite the dismantling policies Germany was still home to a wide range of strong industries. However, directly after the Second World War, both the overall state of the economy and its prospects were very gloomy.³³

§II.2.2 The ordoliberals

After the Second World War a group of German academics emerged that would become known as 'ordoliberals', named after the academic journal they set up and used to publish their ideas: *ORDO – Jahrbuch für die Ordnung von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, or in short just 'ORDO'. Like the name suggests³⁴, the published articles in the year-book cover how the economy and society should be arranged. According to the ordoliberals a

³³ Nicholls 1994, p. 122-135.

³⁴ Not only the subtitle reveals the contents of the yearbook; the title 'ORDO' is based on the Latin word for 'order': *ordo*.

planned economy was not the way to go, as it would turn everyone into slaves of the bureaucracy. Moreover, they took a clear position against the laissez-faire economy, for in their eyes a concentration of private economic power would not be any less harmful economically and socially than a dirigiste state. The ordoliberals found their ideal in between the two. According to them, a strong state is needed to have an optimally functioning market. A market economy is the most efficient system for allocating resources where they are needed the most. However, because this system can be abused and because it often leads to socially undesirable results, a strong framework needs to be created that prevents the coming about of such results. Besides, this framework needs to make sure there is enough room for a market to flourish. Competition should be guaranteed, for example by combatting monopolies and cartels. The role of the state is to create and uphold this framework. Altogether the ordoliberals call this system the 'social market economy', or '*die soziale Marktwirtschaft*'. To be clear, the element that makes this form of market economy 'social' is not just the fact that the state has an important role in this system. It is the ascribed socially optimal results of the whole system that do. The framework of the state should namely be designed to prevent socially unacceptable laissez-faire excesses. Besides, in the social market economy the state has the role to compensate the losers of the market and thus create more socially desirable results. In general, the ordoliberals agreed that this compensation should be designed in such a manner that it does not distort the market system, although different ordoliberals favoured different flavours.³⁵

In ORDO the ordoliberals mainly discussed all the different aspects that had to do with the social market economy. As ordoliberalism is not a strict ideology, it is better to view this school of thought as a group of independent thinkers that agreed on the general principles of how an economy is to function optimally. On the details these thinkers had different degrees of opinion, and ORDO was the main platform to discuss these differences. In addition, of course the ordoliberals did not restrain themselves from offering views outside the scope of the social market economy. For instance, they often stressed the importance of a stable currency, explained their preference of international openness over nationalism, and showed relatively high concern for the interests of the

³⁵ Nicholls 1994, p. 145-146; Burgin 2012, p. 82-85.

common masses. However, the social market economy was definitely the principal theme.³⁶

Already from the outset in 1948 ORDO was by far the most used and most influential magazine for propagating ordoliberal thoughts and it has been publishing its yearbooks until this very day. In the remainder of this paragraph, the ordoliberal heavyweights of the first decades of the postwar era are spotlighted. For every heavyweight a brief personal history and a small selection of his³⁷ most notable topics are provided. Both provide possibilities of comparisons in the next chapters; the latter also exemplifies what ordoliberalism is all about.

§1.2.2.1 Walter Eucken

Walter Eucken is one of the two founder-editors of ORDO. As such, he qualifies to be included among the main ordoliberal advocates. In addition, even though his untimely death in 1950 gave him only a few years of direct influence after the Second World War, his indirect influences persevered via his prior teachings, publications and his leading role of the Freiburg School of Economics.

Walter Eucken was born and raised in Wilhelmine Jena. He grew up in an outspoken intellectual³⁸, elitist³⁹ and Lutheran environment. After doing the bulk of his economics studies in Jena and Kiel, he deliberately applied for Bonn to study under the auspices of Heinrich Dietzel. Dietzel was namely one of the few academics in Germany

³⁶ Illustrative of the centrality of the social market economy are the forewords of the several yearbooks. The foreword of the second yearbook starts the following way: *‘Im Vorwort zum ersten Band von ORDO ist **mit Nachdruck** betont worden, daß **die Aufgabe**, der das Jahrbuch dient, mit einer **grundsätzlichen Darlegung der Idee der Wettbewerbsordnung** noch keineswegs gelöst ist; (...)’* (highlights added, MW). Sidenote: in the first years ORDO mainly used the term *‘Wettbewerbsordnung’*, or ‘competition economy’. The term ‘social market economy’ overtook this phrasing throughout the years. This also has to do with the first priorities of the ordoliberals after the Second World War. For more information, see §1.2.3. See *ORDO. Jahrbuch für die Ordnung von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, zweiter Band*, Düsseldorf: Helmut Küpper vormals Georg Bondi 1949, vol. 2, p. IX; Nicholls 1994, p. 115-116, 145-146; Burgin 2012, p. 82-85.

³⁷ No women are among the most influential ordoliberals in the postwar era.

³⁸ His father, a philosopher, had won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1908 for his work on ethics.

³⁹ Walter grew up in a big villa and looked down upon the common masses, especially until the Second World War.

that taught classic liberal economics, as opposed to the mainstream historical school of economics. In Bonn Eucken received his first doctorate degree. Soon afterwards the First World War started, during which Eucken was an army officer. When the war was over, Eucken took up a modest post at the University of Berlin, where he ultimately received his professor title in 1921. The first few years of his academic career he kept a low profile, but once Germany's hyperinflation problems grew, he stepped up and wrote a well-received critique of the country's monetary policy. That was the real starting point of Eucken's rising influence. Other than producing more well-read publications, he became a common invitee to several (secret) committees that had to advise on (monetary) economic issues.⁴⁰

After a brief spell in Tübingen, Eucken took the economics chair in Freiburg in 1927, where he stayed until his death. During this period he obviously met many interesting figures, but three of them stand out due to their influence on Eucken's thinking: Edmund Husserl, Hans Grossmann-Doerth and Franz Böhm. Husserl was a logical philosopher that prompted Eucken to link economics with other theories about human behaviour. Grossmann-Doerth and Böhm underlined the pivotal role law has in the economy. Whereas many of his contemporaries often assumed that the law simply reflected economic practices, Eucken became fully convinced that a strong legal framework greatly furthers competition and therefore makes the economy work efficiently.⁴¹

As leader of the Freiburg School Eucken did not give in to Nazi pressures. He cleverly hid his critiques on the regime, for example by using overly technical narratives that were incomprehensible to the Nazi layman. Another trick was moulding his critique into discussing how the radically different transitional economy after the war should look like, without specifying the winner. Eucken's preferred transition was a two phase procedure. In the first the government should replace the production of war products by the production of consumer goods. Phase two meant removing trade barriers and actually

⁴⁰ For example, Eucken was a member of both the executive committee an association of economists and businessmen that promoted the market economy (the German League for Free Economic Policy / *Deutscher Bund für freie Wirtschaftspolitik*) and of a crisis management group set up by the Reichsbank; Nicholls 1994, p. 32-34, 40, 43.

⁴¹ Nicholls 1994, p.34, 45-49, 62-68, 110-116.

introducing the consumer based market economy. Of course he had many other ideas throughout the years with which he continuously fed the minds of yet another generation of students. One of these ideas is his whole approach of economics. Eucken firmly believed in rationalism and economics as a science. He promoted the use of general theories and stressed the need to always view the economy as a whole when coming up with policies. More specifically, his ideas were all about the promotion of the market economy with a strong framework provided by the state. He was a little more hesitant than most ordoliberalists when it came to structural social interventions, as he feared interventions would be concessions to vested interests. Moreover, Eucken attached much weight to monetary policies, where he promoted a balanced state budget, the need to get rid of the excessive purchasing power of the Reichsmark, and the need of a stable currency. In addition, he viewed monetary ideas along the line of what later became the Bretton-Woods plan as the way to expand world trade.⁴²

§1.2.2.2 Franz Böhm

Franz Böhm is the other founder-editor of ORDO. Other than that, he deserves to be included among the main ordoliberal advocates due to both his academic contributions and his political influence. As an academic his main contributions to ordoliberalism have been the embedding of anti-cartel and anti-monopolistic ideas, plus emphasising the role of law in the functioning of the market economy.

Shortly after his birth in Konstanz in 1895, his family took Franz Böhm to Karlsruhe because his father became a minister in Baden's government. His father an Old Catholic and his mother an Evangelic, Böhm was raised a Protestant in the latter city. Following his graduation at the local humanistic grammar school, Böhm quickly joined the army ranks in the First World War. Surviving the war, he moved to nearby Freiburg to study law and political science. Following his graduation, he spent a few months in the same city as a public prosecutor, before moving to Berlin to work for the economics ministry of the Weimar Republic. In this six-year spell starting in 1925 he worked at the cartel department, which proved to be an essential experience. From close by he observed how cartels and monopolies harmed everyday economic life. This prompted Böhm to

⁴² Nicholls 1994, p. 62-68, 110-115, 139-141, 180, 184, 327, 337.

write a second dissertation, once more at the University of Freiburg. In this dissertation he argued that both cartels and monopolies were harmful to the economy, because they severely obstructed competition. This challenge should be solved by radical reforms of the law, which would give the state the power to properly challenge the cartels and monopolies. Instead of protection big business and special interest groups, the law should protect competition. These ideas convinced many former supporters of laissez-faire and they would later become central tenets of the social market economy.⁴³

In his second spell in Freiburg Böhm quickly worked his way up and became a professor. Together with his good friend Eucken he set up the Freiburg School of economics and became an influential figure, despite the withdrawal of his teaching rights by the Nazi regime in 1938. After the Second World War he quickly took up his old post again in 1946 and he would remain bonded to the University of Freiburg, although his political career let it tick over for a while. To concretise Böhm's political career's highs: in 1945-1946 he was the minister of cultural affairs in Hessen and from 1953 to 1965 he was a member of the Bundestag for the CDU.⁴⁴

§1.2.2.3 Wilhelm Röpke

Already before the Second World War, Wilhelm Röpke was an active member of the community that wanted to improve and revive liberal ideas. He was one of the attendees of the *Colloque* and, after staying in contact with Hayek during the war on how to proceed afterwards, he was one of the founding members of the Mont Pèlerin Society. In the latter he became the president in 1961, but due to disagreement with the direction the Society was heading, he stepped down a year later. Directly after the Second World War, Röpke had a short-lived project of creating something with a similar function to what ORDO would ultimately have. Röpke created an international academic journal called 'Occident', which should promote his form of neoliberal ideas. However, this project was not successful, which may have something to do with its elitist tendencies, such as expecting readers to be trilingual (German, French, English). A few years later Röpke

⁴³ Biedenkopf et al. 1980, p. 9-13, 131-133; Nicholls 1994, p. 45, 68-69; Hansen 2009, p. 17-24.

⁴⁴ Biedenkopf et al. 1980, p. 9-13, 131-133; Nicholls 1994, p. 45.

joined Eucken and Böhm with their ORDO-project and become a member of the advisory board. He was also one of the personal advisors of both Adenauer and Erhard.⁴⁵

Röpke grew up within a liberal family in the protestant North of Germany. After serving in the army in the First World War, he started with his studies of law and political sciences in Göttingen. Via Tübingen he found his way to Marburg, where he did economics instead. With 24 years of age he became the youngest professor in Germany, with chairs in Marburg, Jena and Graz (Austria). In 1933 he fled to Istanbul, where he worked as a professor for a few years, before moving to Geneva in Switzerland, where he would live until his death. Especially from the latter safe environment he knew to reach a sizable crowd within the German-language world through his prolific productions in mostly Swiss, but also incidentally German newspapers. Despite nazi censorship and the fact that Swiss newspapers were not widely available, Röpke could spread his ideas this way.⁴⁶

On the whole Röpke was clearly an ordoliberal. He was looking for a 'third way' between collectivism and the old liberalism and found this in a combination of a market economy what he called 'liberal interventionism'. The price mechanism is best suited for creating just outcomes, but these outcomes are not perfect. The state can intervene, but such interventions should be in harmony with economic development. The state should protect the market to ensure free competition, besides fighting against monopolies, corruption and other distortions. Moreover, the state has a role to play in providing several public goods which should be state monopolies, such as a police force, foreign affairs, public health and electricity. After the Second World War, when Röpke regularly returned to Germany, he stressed the importance of getting rid of all price controls as quickly as possible, plus promoting measures that would lead to a stable (new) currency.⁴⁷

Röpke also had his particular topics and ideas of interest, as a result of which he was described as both a radical and a conservative. More so than most of his ordoliberal equals, he was very interested in ethics and religion, and how these relate to the ordoliberal ideas. Humans in his view were religious beings and therefore it would be necessary that the market in both its workings and its outcomes could be reconciled with

⁴⁵ Nicholls 1994, p. 90-101, 145-146, 273-274; Burgin 2012, p. 64-67, 82-85, 137-138.

⁴⁶ Nicholls 1994, p. 39-42, 57-59, 90-101.

⁴⁷ Nicholls 1994, p. 91, 96-99, 159-177; Burgin 2012, p. 80-83.

the spiritual nature of mankind. He feared that the market would lead to a social environment where every kind of morality would be conceivable. In this light one should see Röpkes plea for restricting the market mechanism to particular fields. Or in other words: the state should intervene or control here. A big example of this is Röpkes plea for the protection of the family farm and small local economies from the power of capitalism. The key to a free society is to have as many economic independent people as possible, and economies of scale and scope are overrated. The more equal a society, the bigger the market, the faster capital grows. To help small farmers and economies, the government should, for instance, provide them trainings so they can adapt to the new market circumstances. Röpke also somewhat feared the power of the market of democracy, which could lead to restrictions of the market or minorities and thereby lead to despotism and less freedom. The solution for this would be more legal protections; a self-regulating market is nonsense and only politicises the economy.⁴⁸

§1.2.2.4 Alexander Rüstow

Alexander Rüstow is another member of the advisory board of ORDO. Just like Röpke he was also active in the pre-war efforts of enlivening liberal ideas. He attended the *Colloque* and became a member of the Mont Pèlerin Society, where he too left because of his disappointment with the paleoliberal direction the Society was taking under Milton Friedman. Rüstow is well-known for adding some social elements into ordoliberalism.⁴⁹

Rüstow was born and raised in Prussia by his strictly nationalistic father and strictly protestant mother. He had a very broad intellectual basis, with studying mathematics, physics, philosophy, economics, law and classical philology in Göttingen, München and Berlin. After he obtained his doctorate in philosophy in Erlangen, he briefly worked as the academical leader at a publisher in Leipzig, before returning to pursuing purely academical studies. Like most of his contemporaries, he joined the military in the First World War. Seeing the senselessness of the war, he started to favour socialism. He even participated in the failed German revolution in 1918. A year later he started working for the Ministry of Economics as an advisor for general economic questions, where he was

⁴⁸ Nicholls 1994, p. 43-44, 90-101; Burgin 2012, p. 80-83, 114-120; Van Hees, Van Schie & Van de Velde 2014, p.24.

⁴⁹ Nicholls 1994, p. 145-146; Burgin 2012, p. 137-138.

one of the forces behind the anti-cartel regulations. After five years he quit his position, because he became too disappointed with both bureaucratic red tape and the power of lobbyists. From then until 1933 he worked as a judicial advisor for the *Verein deutscher Maschinenbau-Anstalten* (Association of German Engineering Manufacturers), where he gradually moved his political preference from right-wing socialism to socialistic liberalism. In 1929 Rüstow became a member of the executive committee of the *Deutscher Bund für freie Wirtschaftspolitik* (German League for Free Economic Policy), together with Eucken, among others. Röpke was also a member. The three have been in touch since, and had lively conversations about improving and resurrecting liberalism.⁵⁰

Throughout the years Rüstow built quite the reputation for himself. Just before Hitler took over, the then Chancellor asked Rüstow to become his new Minister of Economics. It was all too late and Rüstow was placed on a list of people to purge immediately after the nazi take-over. He decided to flee to Istanbul, just like Röpke, where the two kept in close touch. Rüstow also regularly interchanged letters with Eucken there.⁵¹

Although Rüstow changed to being a liberal who favoured the market mechanism, he had always kept an interest in social justice and saw the negative aspects of a free market. Strongly believing in the economic and moral benefits of a more equal spread of wealth, he favoured some ideas that his ordoliberal colleagues thought were too radical. Many were ultimately accepted in a toned down version though. Rüstow for instance saw that the market could never achieve an equitable allocation of wealth, which redistribution could. Because the latter is incompatible with the free market, Rüstow saw the solution in what he called *Startgleichheit* and *Startgerechtigkeit*. This amounted to making sure everyone could only start his life with a certain maximum amount of wealth, this way also ensuring a minimum for everyone. This extreme form of inheritance regulation was never implemented, although milder forms of inheritance taxes were. Due to his experiences on both the public and the private side of society, Rüstow was also slightly more pronounced than most of his equals, on the importance of having a strong state that was both above the economy and removed from interest groups.⁵²

⁵⁰ Nicholls 1994, p. 41-44, 49; Burgin 2012, p. 73-75.

⁵¹ Nicholls 1994 p. 57-59.

⁵² Nicholls 1994 p. 44-49, 101-103.

§1.2.2.5 Alfred Müller-Armack

Among the ordoliberals, Alfred Müller-Armack could be described as the odd one out. Before he emerged as one of the key ordoliberals, he was not a well-distinguished professor like the others, and he did not have a history of promoting a third way in between socialism and fascism. On the contrary, of the famous ordoliberals Müller-Armack was the only one to join the Nazi party. His later actions and influence make him instrumental in realising ordoliberal ideals, though.⁵³

Müller-Armack was born and raised in a protestant middle-class family in Essen. Being slightly younger than the other liberals, he was just young enough to escape having to serve during the First World War. He studied economics in Gießen, Freiburg, München and Cologne. In 1924 he obtained his doctorate in Cologne and received his license to teach at the university in 1926. His mentor, Leopold von Wiese, worked on what he called 'social liberalism' and sparked Müller-Armack's further interest in social questions. After working in Cologne for a while, he became a professor of economics in 1934. Subsequently, he moved to Münster to take up a seat at the university there in 1940. One of the reasons that made it possible for him to become a professor at these institutes, had been his choice to join the NSDAP. If one looks at his writings before the nazi period, other than simply believing his dissociating remarks after the war, it is safe to say this choice was probably made more for reasons of opportunism than because of any strong pro-fascist views. Although in some papers Müller-Armack showed some corporatist tendencies, in others he appeared to dislike cartels. In other words, his writings were not really outspoken and sometimes it was hard to pinpoint his exact beliefs. What is quite clear though, is that he was in favour of a market economy and that he was sensitive for social issues.⁵⁴

Also due to his nazi party membership, Müller-Armack made his way into several additional functions. One of the nazi industry groups, the *Wirtschaftsgruppe* for textiles in Westphalia, wanted to set up a research institute that had to do research about the textile market. The institute, which was affiliated with the University of Münster as well, was to

⁵³ Nicholls 1994 p. 71-73, 144-150; Exenberger 1997 p. 1-9.

⁵⁴ Nicholls 1994, p. 71-73; Exenberger 1997 p. 1-9; M. Lingen, 'Alfred Müller-Armack', *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* n.d., accessible via kas.de/wf/de/37.8260/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

be lead by Müller-Armack. He was also appointed as the director of a research unit for the study of urban settlement and housing policy (*Forschungsstelle für Siedlungs- und Wohnungswesen*). His experiences in these different roles gave him not only valuable leadership skills, both also privileged insights in the working of the nazi price controls. These insights led Müller-Armack to detest the controls, although he did not utter them openly and disguised them in criticism on marxism, which he despised anyway.⁵⁵

The nazi's permitted Müller-Armack to receive the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, one of the Swiss newspapers in which Röpke often published. Therefore Müller-Armack was constantly informed about the state of the war. At some point he decided it would be safer to move his research institute towards the Dutch border. There he received help from his Dutch protestant friends for printing and distributing his views to otherwise unreachable colleagues in Germany. While his disappointment with the nazi's stadually grew, he secretly sought more and more time to put his views black on white, and to make a coherent story out of these.⁵⁶

In 1947 he finally published this work, called '*Wirtschaftslenkung und Marktwirtschaft*⁵⁷', which roughly translates as 'Guidance/Governance of the Economy and Market Economy'. In this book he first has a look at the then economy, where he blames socialism and nationalism for the world-wide drop in production. Looking for a solution, he refers to Hayek's *A Road to Serfdom*, arguing that a commanded economy will lead to an unwanted concentration of power. Laissez-faire policies were not an option either, for they were incompatible with the then contemporary values. Referring to the likes of Eucken, Böhm, Röpke and other ordoliberals, he states there is academic consensus on how to heal the economy, namely the reintroduction of free prices and market forces. Müller-Armack then introduced his concept of what he called the '*Soziale Marktwirtschaft*'. The social market economy would not be a mix of socialism and the free market, but it involved a fundamentally free market economy that was corrected with measures where necessary. The corrections had to be in correspondence with market principles though.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Nicholls 1994, p. 103-110, 120.

⁵⁶ Nicholls 1994, p. 136-144.

⁵⁷ Müller-Armack 1946, p. 1-144.

⁵⁸ Nicholls 1994, p. 136-144; Exenberger 1997 p. 1-9.

For creating the social market economy, first some steps had to be taken that mostly had to do with the relation Germany had with its occupiers. Examples of these included: returning the right to trade with other countries; stopping the policy of dismantling German industry; currency reform; creating a German agency that would be empowered with deciding upon economic and financial policy, without interference by the occupiers; the creation of a German central bank. He then provided a whole catalogue of concrete policy measures that together would constitute the social market economy. Because his proposals served as probably the most important guideline for the actual policies that had been pursued in the subsequent years, it is useful to quickly go through many of these proposals. They included: obviously, replacing price controls⁵⁹ by the free market; legally protecting competition, for instance by strongly regulating monopolies and by forbidding the abuse of economic power; promoting the issuance of credit, which should stabilise the economy; providing social housing and allowing the creation of bottom-up building corporations; abolition of rental controls, combined with rent subsidies for the poor; further reducing inequality in society by taxation and awarding family allowances; giving employees social participation rights in their companies, for both social and productivity reasons; introducing a minimum wage and facilitating contract negotiations; improving the social security system; incentivising people to set up their own small farm or business. As you can see, according to Müller-Armack the market is not a natural phenomenon, but a man-made construction.⁶⁰

§1.2.3 Ludwig Erhard & the Materialisation of the Social Market Economy

Ludwig Erhard is the last and arguably the most influential ordoliberal champion. It is not his contributions to ordoliberal theory that were so impressive, but his role in actually implementing ordoliberal policies. The importance of Erhard and his fundamentally different role earn him a separate section in this thesis, dedicated just to him and his endeavours as Minister of Economics and later as Chancellor of the Federal Republic.

⁵⁹ Bread, milk, fat and rents for the elderly were the only 'goods' that had to be excepted to the general rule of 'no price controls'.

⁶⁰ Nicholls 1994, p. 136-140; Exenberger 1997 p. 1-9.

Erhard was born and raised in Fürth, a small city next to Nürnberg. His father a catholic and his mother a protestant, Erhard was baptised a protestant. After successfully finishing his education to become a linen merchant, he had to join the ranks in the First World War. At the infamous front around Ypres he got heavily injured, and became physically unable to work in his father's drapery. His future plans had to be changed, so Erhard decided to upgrade his degree at the university of applied sciences in Nürnberg, also within the field of commerce. His main teacher, Wilhelm Riegel, strongly believed in the market mechanism as bringing the only just price, and also underscored the importance of a stable currency. Subsequently Erhard obtained his doctorate at the University of Frankfurt in 1925, under Franz Oppenheimer. Oppenheimer, both a sociologist and an economist, had developed a typical ideology, which he called 'liberal socialism'. Like the neoliberals, he rejected Marxism and laissez-faire capitalism. According to him, monopolies were terrible and also big landowners ruined proper free competition. Yes, Oppenheimer strongly favoured free competition, but it was the state that had to ensure this. Property had to be distributed equally and other necessary means had to be taken to ensure that as many people as possible would participate in the market process. In Oppenheimer, Erhard thus had a teacher that taught him ideas that were very similar to what the ordoliberals furthered, albeit without the more philosophical underpinnings that warn for collectivism.⁶¹

In 1928 Erhard started to work at a research institute, called the '*Institut für Wirtschaftsbeobachtung für deutschen Fertigware*', where he collected and published data on consumption and marketing of end products. During this work Erhard also regularly came in contact with Müller-Armack, who worked at a similar institute in Münster. Disagreeing with the nazi policies of the time, at work Erhard embarked upon formulating the policies Germany had to pursue once it was peace time again. Although he did not explicitly speak out against the nazi regime, this finally cost him his position in 1942. With the help of some industrial sponsors, Erhard continued this work at the research institute he set up himself, the '*Institut für Industrieforschung*'. He still had to be careful with his phrasing in order not to have the nazi regime meddling with his institute for 'industry research'. Still, he sent around his ideas to many businesses, and also the underground

⁶¹ Nicholls 1994, p. 73-79; V. Laitenberger, 'Ludwig Erhard', *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* n.d., accessible via kas.de/wf/de/37.8091/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

was aware of Erhard's work. His ideas were very similar to that of the other ordoliberals. If one wants to distinguish his flavour from the others, one could say he was preoccupied more with reintroducing the market mechanism than with introducing social components. Indeed, Erhard had even said that the 'social market economy' does not mean the market has to be made social. Rather, it meant that the market is inherently social. Furthermore, Erhard often focused on the possibilities of increased consumerism, for example by easing the issuance of consumer credits.⁶²

After the Americans freed Bavaria from the Nazi regime, soon a state government needed to be installed. The then prime minister was still looking for a candidate for the post of Minister of Economics. The Americans pushed for Erhard, both because of his clean record, and because they hoped he could provide a counterweight for the socialist elements in the government. Erhard and the prime minister accepted. The former only kept his post for approximately a year though, because subsequent elections led to a government coalition of a different colour. The new coalition, led by the '*Christlich-Soziale Union*' (CSU), were hostile to Erhard and his policies. Despite being overthrown by the later sister party of the CDU after such a brief period, Erhard gained practical experience in reforming an economy. In 1947 the Bizone created a commission that had to look into the possibilities in the German zones for currency reform, the '*Sonderstelle Geld und Kredit*'. A proposal of a member of the FDP was accepted and Erhard was to become its leader. He made a good impression here, and when the top position of the Economic Council of Bizone⁶³ became available, Erhard became one of the candidates. Nevertheless, the SPD and the communists all did not favour him. On the other hand, the CDU did, although they opted for another candidate because its Bavarian sister party were also hostile to Erhard here. Because both voting blocks did not have a majority, the FDP was kingmaker. Also in this situation, it was the FDP that proposed Erhard. In the end the non-socialist block could agree on this candidate.⁶⁴

⁶² Nicholls 1994, p. 73-79, 104, 116-119; V. Laitenberger, 'Ludwig Erhard', *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* n.d., accessible via kas.de/wf/de/37.8091/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

⁶³ The Economic Council can be considered the Ministry of Economics of Bizone, albeit with severely fewer powers than a normal ministry, due to the occupation.

⁶⁴ Nicholls 1994, p. 151-158.

Under the leadership of Erhard, the Economic Council created an academic advisory board, the '*Wissenschaftlicher Beirat bei der Verwaltung von Wirtschaft*'. The idea behind this was to create an organ that could sway the occupational powers into supporting policies that were more favourable for the Germans. Amongst others, Eucken, Böhm, Müller-Armack and some other ordoliberal⁶⁵ took seat in this advisory board. Supported by the advisory board, Erhard tried to remove price controls as quickly as possible, in addition to trying to remove trade controls. Hereby he often overstepped his official powers, much against particularly Britain's wishes. Both the Americans and the British saw both kind of controls as ways of keeping the Germans in check. Moreover, Britain firmly believed in the effectiveness dirigist policies anyway. Creating and subsequently using a loophole in currency reform legislation, Erhard ridded the economy of practically all price controls. This immediately lead to the famous 'shop-window miracle', when all stocked up products were put on the counter again. As a result, the economy suddenly sprang to life again.⁶⁶

Unsurprisingly, Erhard became a very popular public figure. Therefore Adenauer, who would become Germany's first chancellor after the Second World War, tried to convince Erhard to be placed on the CDU slate. Adenauer not only thought this would lead to a popularity boost of the CDU, but that it would also keep the party itself as far away from the socialist track as possible. Adenauer's ideas could be considered a component on the right-wing of the CDU, and he wanted to prevent cooperation with the SPD on any level at all costs. Erhard, not particularly liking the CSU, was in doubt. On the one hand, the obvious choice would be to join the FDP, which was ideologically much closer to him. Besides, the FDP was the party that helped him twice to make a big jump in his career. However, Erhard was ultimately convinced by Adenauer's arguments.⁶⁷ In private correspondence to FDP leaders, he confessed he made the choice out of opportunism. He thought by joining the future winners of the elections, he could keep Germany on the right, anti-dirigist road. Erhard was right. The CDU won the first elections and Erhard became

⁶⁵ For example, Adolf Lampe and Erwin von Beckerath.

⁶⁶ Nicholls 1994, p. 178-233; V. Laitenberger, 'Ludwig Erhard', *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* n.d., accessible via [kas.de/wf/de/37.8091/](https://www.kas.de/wf/de/37.8091/) (last accessed 12 December 2016).

⁶⁷ Erhard was put on the list for the CDU. Interestingly, he never became an official member of the party, not even when he became the party leader.

Germany's first postwar Minister of Economics in 1949. From that moment on, he could focus on fulfilling the social market economy. Röpke was one of his main advisors and he even appointed Müller-Armack as head of the economics department of his Ministry of Economics. The reforms went smoothly, for they resulted in the famous *Wirtschaftswunder*. The CDU kept winning elections, and Erhard was to stay in his position until 1963. He did not just resign for any reason. No, Erhard succeeded Adenauer as federal chancellor of West-Germany and kept his new position until 1966. Throughout all these years in the driving seat of the economy, Erhard could mould the economy based on the model of the social market economy, based on the ordoliberalism, or so they say...⁶⁸

⁶⁸ Nicholls 1994, p. 234-247, 270-272, 322-366.

III Germany

Primarily based on published secondary literature, the previous chapter explained what ordoliberalism is, what its backgrounds are and how its economic ideas were implemented into concrete policy measures. An open question in this literature, however, is an account of how exactly the ordoliberal ideology found its way into these policy measures. More in particular, the literature neglects the key role scientific bureaus of political parties have played as the mediator and actor in this transposition. This chapter aims to unveil this role, based among others on archival sources not previously studied. The analysis is restricted to the two scientific bureaus of political parties that prima facie were the most likely to (partly) support ordoliberalism. First, the scientific bureau is discussed that is affiliated with the party where Erhard established the social market economy: the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), affiliated with the CDU (§III.1). Second, the scientific bureau is examined that is affiliated with the party that is an outspoken supporter of liberalism: the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FNS)⁶⁹, affiliated with the FDP (§III.2). For both foundations, a wide variety of issues are separately discussed, such as their establishment, their activities, their main characters and their publications. All these issues are viewed through the lens of ordoliberalism as described in the previous chapter.

§III.1 The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

§III.1.1 KAS - A brief history

In the earlier 1950s to the early 1970s, the scientific bureau was known under various names and had been looking for the right approach to achieve the goals it set itself. The focus in this section is on the actual establishment, for this tells the most about the scientific bureau, how it functioned, what its goals were and how the institute can be linked to ordoliberalism and/or its advocates.

⁶⁹ In 2007 the foundation changed its name to 'Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit', and wishes to be referred to it that way. For convenience sake, this research sticks to the name under which the foundation was known during the studied timeframe: 'Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung' or simply 'FNS'.

In the early years after the formation of the CDU there were discussions about creating an institute to promote the party's ideas, but there had not been any concrete proposals. In 1953 Bruno Heck, the then 'federal executive director' (*Bundesgeschäftsführer*)⁷⁰ of the CDU, used the recent successful Bundestag elections to try to get things moving. When lobbying important party figures, he argued that the party needed such an institute to also achieve future election victories, as it would prepare it for the dawning societal changes. In addition, a second reason for the founding of such an institute played an important role in the background. The then recently (1950) created federal party bureau (*Bundesgeschäftsstelle*) namely hoped an institute of political education could be a useful means of achieving the desired convergence of the several CDU state organisations, which had a wide range of traditions and profiles. At the same time the CDU state organisations feared a far-reaching centralisation of the originally federal party and hence provided some opposition to Heck's ideas. Konrad Adenauer was also rather reserved, as he feared the creation of new power centres within its party. Moreover, foundations and organisations of the old Zentrumspartei pushed Adenauer not to erect such a new institute, because they found that they already filled this role more than sufficiently. Contrary to the catholics, the evangelical wing of the CDU did not have any institutions that fulfilled the role of political education. That meant that its leaders, Hermann Ehlers and Robert Tillmanns, were easily convinced. With their backing, Heck only needed to convince Adenauer, which he managed in the end. This was not the end of internal party politics though. In the first years, especially the catholics repeatedly stipulated provisions and conditions which the foundation needed to fulfill in order to keep their support. One of the solutions for easing the resulting tensions was appointing catholics in some important party positions, including in the soon to be erected institute for political education.⁷¹

With the party backing the idea of political education, it was clear from the outset that all necessary material and organisational conditions were lacking. Other than the absence of a dedicated group of persons working efficiently on the project, the CDU did not own a space that could host conferences and the like. All activities had to be hosted

⁷⁰ This position back then was similar to the contemporary general secretary (*Generalsekretäre*), a position which was only created by the CDU in 1967. Coincidentally the first Generalsekretäre was also Bruno Heck.

⁷¹ Beaugrand 2003, p. 13-18, 21-44, 113-124.

provisionally in an inn which was too remote for most party members' likings as well. Soon the call for the acquirement of a large building in the direct neighbourhood of Bonn, to be used for the exclusive use of the political education, became loud. These developments culminated in a meeting with all the prominent party members on 20 December 1955, on the invitation of Heinrich Krone, the leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group. At this meeting the attendants signed two documents. The first document agreed on the acquisition of *Schloss Eichholz*, a large manor that would serve as the location for the party's political education. It is interesting to note that one of the reasons for choosing this manor is its location, which is exactly between the political centre of Bonn and the big academical centre of Köln. The party leaders hoped that Schloss Eichholz would so serve as a practical and attractive intermediary for exchanges between academia and politics. The second document founded the first precursor of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung: *die Gesellschaft für christlich-demokratische Bildungsarbeit* (the Society for Christian Democratic Education Work).⁷²

After most of the reconstruction works in the manor had been finished about one year later, the manor could start being used in December 1956, even before the official opening a few months later in April 1957. Typical of the then relation between the CDU and the newly created institute is the fact that at the opening merely party members were present. In contrast, in the early twenty-first century these high-profile occasions would always be attended by representatives of other scientific bureaus of political parties, plus both federal and state officials, regardless of political colour.⁷³

The first leaders of the Gesellschaft were three prominent figures of the CDU, that have remained closely related to the educational centre throughout many years. First there is the aforementioned federal executive director of the CDU, Bruno Heck, who became the very first chairman of the centre. Second, Konrad Kraske, who was Heck's deputy at the federal party bureau and who was also appointed as Heck's deputy for the Gesellschaft. The third leader was the also aforementioned Heinrich Krone, the leader of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, who was appointed as secretary. While the connection between the CDU and the newly created educational centre are already very apparent, it is even more so if one takes into account that these three gentlemen simply combined

⁷² Beaugrand 2003, p. 21-44, 291-297.

⁷³ Beaugrand 2003, p. 21-44, 291-297.

their new positions with their previous ones. Indeed, they actually considered their activities at the Gesellschaft as being part of the responsibilities of their main positions. The close, intertwining links between the Gesellschaft and the CDU were not viewed as problematic, but as necessary, logical and obvious. These intertwining links were still possible at the time, because the *Bundesverfassungsgericht*⁷⁴ had not yet narrowed the possibilities of party funding. One can also see this in the fact that in the earlier years of the political educational centre its activities have been put on the balance sheet of the federal party bureau of the CDU.⁷⁵

About a year later in April 1958, the Gesellschaft changed its name to *Politische Akademie Eichholz*, predominantly in light of a recent judgment of the Bundesverfassungsgericht about party financing. The name change came accompanied with several changes in the highest echelons of the educational centre. Arnold Bergstraesser became the first chairman, with Kraske working as second chairman next to him. Bergstraesser, who had studied economics among other subjects, represented the Akademie externally. As a professor of scientific politics and sociology he had to give the educational centre a more scientific face. Interestingly he held his seat in Freiburg where he set up the influential Freiburg School of Political Sciences. Interestingly enough, it is hard to find any personal or idealogical links with the Freiburg School of Economics, other than the obvious geographical links. The most plausible explanation would be that he only returned to Germany in 1954 after fleeing the country in 1935. Kraske, as second chairman, was mainly responsible for organisational and financial matters. He was actually also mainly responsible for Bergstraesser's appointment, as Kraske convinced the CDU party leaders that an influential scientist as first chairman would both raise the Akademie's status and provide some more independence for the institute, which Kraske attached more value to than Bruno Heck. About Kraske himself it is interesting to note that he too can be linked to Freiburg, as he studied and later obtained his doctorate there. It is a lot easier to link him to ordoliberal ideas than Bergstraesser. Although his promotor for his doctorate in philosophy was not a member of the Freiburg School of Economics, Kraske himself names Eucken as one of the personalities that formed his way of thinking.

⁷⁴ The Bundesverfassungsgericht is Germany's federal constitutional court.

⁷⁵ Beaugrand 2003, p. 21-44, 279-281, 291-297.

In addition, he names Adenauer and Erhard as his two idols, whom he both nearly blindly followed, intellectually.⁷⁶

Only two months after the appointment of Bergstraesser and the promotion of Kraske, a third person was given a leading role in the academy. Rüdiger Altmann, who was appointed both executive director (*Geschäftsführer*) and leader (*Leiter*) of the academy, was a big supporter of using the Akademie as a sort of drilling centre for CDU members. Under Altmann courses were prioritised that would teach the participants how to most effectively combat political opponents. Fundamental questions about political education were avoided. What the Akademie offered was also called '*parteipolitische Schulungsarbeit*', or 'party politics schooling work', thereby immediately indicating the nature of these courses. This practice could count on more and more criticism from within the party ranks, which condemned it as resembling the socialist party drilling and they also deemed the practice incompatible with the several layers of the CDU.⁷⁷

To turn the tide, the CDU elected a new leader instead of Altmann in 1960: Peter Molt. Molt, who would keep his position until 1966, earned his doctorate degree under Alexander Rüstow. When asked what he as a christian-democrat considered to be the christian components⁷⁸ of his beliefs, he named 'political freedom, defence against totalitarianism and the social market economy' as three of his five points. Molt also endorsed the idea that many simply followed Adenauer when it came to translating christian ideals into concrete policies. Perhaps redundant, but as Adenauer left the lion's share of the social market economy policies for Erhard to decide, Molt's ideas basically corresponded with most ordoliberal ideas.⁷⁹

It was Molt's task to lead the change of direction of the Akademie from the CDU party drilling institute it was to a proper centre of political education. The renewed centre would have to stay faithful to christian-democratic principles, and at the same time expand the research frontier of the historic and social sciences. Molt worked together with

⁷⁶ Beaugrand 2003, p. 37-45, 113-124, 277, 291-297; Gehler et al. 2013, p. 29-54; 'Biografische Notizen zu Arnold Bergstraesser', *Arnold Bergstraesser Institut* n.d., accessible via arnold-bergstraesser.de/biografische-notizen-zu-arnold-bergstraesser (last accessed 12 December 2016).

⁷⁷ Beaugrand 37-44, 113-124, 141-150.

⁷⁸ As opposed to his democratic beliefs.

⁷⁹ Beaugrand 2003, p. 113-124, 291.

Heck, Kraske, Bergstraesser and Molt's deputy Bernhard Gebauer to achieve this. Their philosophy was that the Akademie could only be successful if it would offer a programme that would appeal to the interests of their target groups. They thought the Akademie should not behave like a religious institute, which preaches what is right and wrong and is often aimed at a select group of people. Besides, finding common ground with all the different groups within the CDU would prove rather difficult, they thought. Therefore, the Akademie replaced the old programme step by step by a one which they considered to be educating citizens in a very broad sense. Ultimately only a four-day drilling course remained, which only targeted local CDU leaders. Molt also viewed this from the positive side, as he thought then at least also all local party leaders would know to find their way to Schloss Eichholz.⁸⁰

The period under Molt from was a time of searching and experimenting, which finally resulted in a flexible, future proof institute that could easily adapt to the changing circumstances of the time. In both size and status the Akademie kept on growing, both nationally and internationally. However, due to the unrest accompanied with the succession of Konrad Adenauer, he withdrew himself from the institute in 1966.⁸¹

Konrad Adenauer withdrew himself as federal chancellor in 1963, when he was already 87 years old. A few years later, in 1966, he also stepped down as CDU chairman. Due to his high age both acts were only a matter of time. In the meantime, he did not tutor a successor. These circumstances lead to uncertainty and unrest in and around the CDU, including the Akademie and later the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung. The opportunities that the educational centre had to offer were decreasingly made use of and CDU members increasingly underestimated the centre's value. Something had to be changed. With chairman Bergstraesser's death in 1964 the federal office of the CDU saw the time ripe for several changes. Although many employees of the Akademie preferred another academic to chair its centre, the CDU chose to elect a double chair with strong party ties. The new '*Doppelspitze*' consisted the recently stepped down state secretaries Franz Thedieck (Ministry of All-German Affairs, or *Bundesministerium für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen*) and Alfred Müller-Armack (Ministry of Economic Affairs), although the latter is better known for being one of the ordoliberal champions. These appointments coincided with the name

⁸⁰ Beaugrand, p. 75-84, 113-124, 141-150.

⁸¹ Beaugrand, p. 113-124.

change of the Politische Akademie Eichholz to the '*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung für politische Bildung und Studienförderung*', which was shortened in 1976 to simply '*Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*'. As this name shortening was not coupled with any other changes, for convenience sake the latter name is used to also refer to the centre in between 1964 and 1976. Other than the appointment of two men of great status and with a clear political CDU profile, the 1964 name change was also coupled with other organisational changes. The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS) was erected as its own legal entity, and within its structure several departments were created. Although personal links always ensured the KAS remained closely affiliated with the CDU, this meant a certain degree of independence was guaranteed. Adenauer's name was given to the refurbished Stiftung, because there was a strong desire within the party ranks to award him with a considerable memorial while he was still alive.⁸²

Although the change described above definitely had its effect, most especially on the organisation and independence of the Stiftung, there was a great amount of continuity in the path the KAS took with respect to contents. In the first two years after the name change Molt was still the leader of the academy, and when his deputy Bernhard Gebauer took over in 1966, he carried on Molt's work until the beginning of the eighties. The KAS kept on expanding and expanding both in size and scope, which is further elaborated below. Most important is to mention here that the focus of the Stiftung remained on further expanding and interlinking a network in which politicians, scientists, journalists and other opinion makers could exchange their experiences and ideas.⁸³

The last significant event in the postwar history of the KAS is the moment when the scientific bureau was put back under the chair of one man. In 1968 Bruno Heck, the very first chairman of the then *Gesellschaft*, took up his old post and would remain there until 1989. Heck, still of the opinion the bureau's future should be in the hands of the general secretary of the CDU, was trusted by the party leaders with the task of directing the KAS with all the new responsibilities it received and activities it pursued over time. Manfred Wörner, who would later become secretary general of the NATO, was appointed

⁸² Beaugrand 2003, p. 75-84, 113-124, 141-150, 278-279, 291-297.

⁸³ Beaugrand 2003, p. 141-150, 291-294.

as executive director. Other members on the executive board include Konrad Kraske, just as Heck one of the leading characters of the first hour.⁸⁴

§III.1.2 Target groups, themes & institutional growth

The previous section explained that the forerunners of the KAS gradually changed from an educational centre that should mould and drill CDU members' ideas into that of the official party line, to an institute that wanted to educate citizens according to Christian-democratic principles in a more general sense, alongside expanding the research frontier. But who exactly did the KAS and its forerunners target? Ever since the creation of the *Gesellschaft* the question has been whom to invite to the educational centre, because there were only limited means. Although the programme has undergone some radical shifts in the earlier years, those working at Schloss Eichholz had always considered their role to be to educate citizens to better fulfil their function as active citizens in the Federal Republic. The relevant citizens that were targeted, can be divided into three easily distinguishable groups. The first group consisted of public officials, public servants and employees of all the several party-related organisations. The second group consisted of those that were seen as responsible for shaping the public opinion, such as journalists, teachers and the clergy. The third group consisted of politically interested young men and women, and especially those that showed interest in learning about democratic values. Each of these groups were approached with different educational formats, so as to better fit the target group. They all had their own seminars, courses and so forth. Interestingly the Stiftung pursued this policy of targeting the elite all the way from the creation of the *Gesellschaft* up to the early eighties, when the masses were targeted as well.⁸⁵

To give an impression of who the people were that were attracted to the KAS, there are several facts about the average visitors in the sixties. About 60% of the participants were members of the CDU, CDU or one of its subsidiary organisations. The amount of female participants was relatively low back then, with only 12%. The predominant age group were young people of 18 to 35 years old. Other than teachers that were on the payroll of the KAS itself, with approximately 180 there were many visiting teachers or panel members that occasionally or regularly provided the institute with their input. In

⁸⁴ Beaugrand 2003, p. 21-44, 291-297.

⁸⁵ Beaugrand 2003, p. 13-18, 141-150.

1970 only the Politische Akademie Eichholz (PAE) pillar of the KAS, the most relevant for this research, organised 112 multi day conferences, seminars and courses, which totalled 3220 participants. 52 one day conferences were good for 490 participants. These were only the numbers for the location Schloss Eichholz. On top of that the PAE organised 85 seminars and conferences throughout the country that attracted 2234 participants in total. Last but not least, 313 local events were organised in the Bundesland Nordrhein-Westfalen that covered fundamental and then topical problems of the German democratic order, with 10063(!) participants. When one compares these numbers with those in earlier years, one can clearly see a trend of continuous rapid growth. In 1960 the PAE had 'only' 2025 total participants, which already had been more than doubled in 1964 to 4236. Of the grand total of all events in the end of the sixties yearly an average of 20 congresses and conferences were organised at Schloss Eichholz that were specifically intended for students from Western Europe, which indeed included the Netherlands.⁸⁶

The central role the KAS saw role for itself in educating active citizens for society has been discussed. Unlike many other confessional organisations, however, it was not strict and parochial. It chose actual topics and themes that were interesting for its target groups and treated these in a way that transcended typical group identity lines in society. By not sticking to a certain confession or social class, the Stiftung and the CDU wanted to be a real people's party. Looking back at its own history, the Stiftung noted that the topical themes in the early days definitely included some core political issues, such as the loss of lands and the split between East and West, the social market economy, international politics and development politics, the redesign of Europe, the functioning of political parties in Germany, antisemitism, and the fight against totalitarian ideologies. These themes indeed do not seem like very parochial issues. In general one can definitely say that within these core themes the KAS followed the politics and ideas as revealed by its namegiver, even long after his death.⁸⁷

Because of its popularity, the Stiftung kept on expanding and expanding, both in size and in scope, with regards to both the Stiftung's activities and its physical buildings at Schloss Eichholz. Most of these expansions started within the Politische Akademie Eichholz, which includes the time when it operated as one of the pillars of the Konrad-

⁸⁶ KAS Jahresbericht 1964, chapter I, p. 2; KAS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 7, 14; Beaugrand 2003, p. 141.

⁸⁷ Beaugrand 2003, 11-20.

Adenauer-Stiftung. Once certain programmes or topics grew big enough to work better with more autonomy, new institutes within the KAS were created. The institutes that were created before the seventies, are briefly be discussed. This also goes for the two most central seminars that have not been institutionalised.⁸⁸

Perhaps the most consequential expansion of the KAS has been the foundation of the '*Institut für Internationale Solidarität*' in 1962. Back then there were two reasons for the foundation of this institute. On the one hand Germany wanted to make the world a better place by providing the necessary developing aid. Both the federal government and the CDU/CSU parliamentary group were afraid of burning their fingers and therefore advocated a rather reserved approach. Because institutes like the KAS were considered excellent intermediaries, this finally resulted in the government wanting to fund all their development aid through them. On the other hand, christian-democratic movements had been trying to support the christian-democratic parties and the democratisation process in general in several foreign countries, most in particular those in Latin America. Therefore the KAS itself was very keen to put up the effort that the federal government desired. Throughout the years the *Institut für Internationale Solidarität* grew and grew, with already 62 full-time employeeed that were deployed in 22 countries in 1970. Currently the KAS has about 100 foreign offices that supports activities in over 120 countries worldwide. Although the scientific bureau of the CDU sometimes has some projects in the Netherlands, none of the foreign offices is located there. The Dutch projects are lead from the office in Brussels, which was opened in 1978 and therefore after the researched time slot.⁸⁹

In 1965 the KAS erected the '*Institut für Begabtenförderung*'. This is an institute that grants scholarships to all sorts of students, both in Germany and abroad. Although this already may sound impressive, the yearly grants totalled 'only' slightly more than 300 in 1970. The lucky ones received in between 500 and 600 DM a month though. It is good to know of the existence of this institute, but further details are not required for this research.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Beaugrand 2003, p. 11-20, 291-297.

⁸⁹ KAS Jahresbericht 1970, p.25-26; KAS Jahresbericht 2015 p. 89, 110-111; 'Europabüro Brüssel', *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* n.d., accessible via kas.de/bruessel/de/about/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

⁹⁰ KAS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 27-36; Beaugrand 2003, p. 291-297.

Another institute of the KAS that does not require many details, is the '*Institut für kommunalpolitische Bildung und Forschung*', which was quickly renamed to '*Institut für Kommunalwissenschaften*'. This institute focused on educating politicians that were solely active at decentralised political entities, such as municipalities. It was institutionalised out of the highly popular '*Kommunalpolitische Seminar*'; its increased autonomy gave it the room for further expansions.⁹¹

A more interesting part of the KAS is the '*Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung*'. Its history tells a lot about one of the roles the KAS played in translating science to politics. Soon after the inception of the *Gesellschaft*, Schloss Eichholz became a popular place for both scientists and politicians to get in touch with 'the other side'. Within this framework, the KAS decided to create a study centre at the Schloss, where important political issues could be researched with scientific methods, and which results could then be translated into everyday measures and politics. Because of the success of the study centre, it was institutionalised in 1967 under the name of '*Wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*', which was soon renamed to '*Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung*'. The new institute had the expanded task to use empirical methods, political sciences, documentation and statistics to acquire new fundamental knowledge nationally and internationally. The new knowledge could then be used for making policy, politics and improving the Stiftung's education.⁹²

Throughout the years, the KAS has also created several big seminars that have not resulted in a separate institution within the KAS, but were nevertheless successful. Two of these were created in the postwar period and both have survived up to this day. The first coherent seminar was the *Politische Seminar*, that was developed by Peter Molt, Bernhard Gebauer and others between 1962 and 1964. The seminar consisted of 4 blocks that together totalled 7 weeks, and covered both fundamental democratic issues and changing topical political questions. Examples of those fundamental issues are the functioning of political parties, the freedom of speech, and the ever-returning fight against totalitarianism from the left and right. Topical political questions always tried to include the full range of politics, from economic and social questions to international

⁹¹ Beaugrand 2003, p. 142.

⁹² KAS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 37-47; Beaugrand 2003, p. 291-297.

development. The second seminar, the *Wirtschaftspolitische Seminar*⁹³, was developed in 1967, unsurprisingly under the leadership of Alfred Müller-Armack indeed. This seminar was also chopped into 4 pieces that together totalled 7 weeks. According to the information of the KAS it covered issues such as 'How does a market economy function?', 'The cycle of the economy' and 'The social aspects of the market economy'. Especially the first and the last example sound similar to both the main issues covered by the ordoliberals and the two stage implementation process of the social market economy, lead by Ludwig Erhard. Both seminars had been receiving over 100 attendants a year, and many spinoff programs were developed to target specific groups who only had a limited amount of spare time available.⁹⁴

The continuing rapid growth of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung and its predecessors have not only been due to the increasing popularity. It also works the other way around. Increasing public funds also greatly expanded the possibilities of the scientific bureau. Around the time of the creation of the Gesellschaft and the buying of Schloss Eichholz, the CDU had not yet been thriving financially. The CDU, a young party with barely any capital means, could not simply replicate what their political rivals of the SPD did. The social democratic party was significantly older and had more than sufficient capital means to simply re-establish their '*Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*' in 1954, after their original scientific bureau (1925) had previously been shut down by the nazi regime. To erect a scientific bureau that was roughly modelled after the SPD's example, the CDU needed external funding. The '*Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie*' (BDI) provided this funding from the very beginning. Together with the CDU it created the '*Staatsbürgerlichen Vereinigung*' in 1954, an organisation which was used to funnel money to the CDU without paying taxes, as it was labelled an organisation for public benefit. Within the party there was quite some resistance against this construction, which was eventually overcome. Especially the committee for social democratic employees feared the CDU would bend for the interests of the industrialists. According to the KAS, there had never been any strings attached to this funding by the industrial lobby though. The BDI mostly wanted to improve the CDU members' understanding of the social market, plus improve the organisational

⁹³ The second seminar was originally created as '*Volkswirtschaftliche Seminar*'. The '*Volks*'-prefix had quickly been dropped.

⁹⁴ KAS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 7-9; Beaugrand 2003, p. 141-142.

structures of the party and thereby increase the stability in the country. The BDI thought a scientific bureau would be an excellent fit for these purposes.⁹⁵

From the beginning the BDI made clear that their funding was only intended to cover the starting period of the scientific bureau and that the CDU had to look for alternative means to continue their work in later years. After the industrial lobbyists finally made clear that were about to stop their funding, the increased CDU's searching effort resulted in 1960 in funding by the state of *Nordrhein-Westfalen* and by its public broadcaster *Westdeutscher Rundfunk*, better known as WDR. In 1962 also the federal government got involved. The scientific bureau, considered to be an organisation for public benefit, started to receive increasing sums of money from the *Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit* and subsequently also the *Bundesministerium des Innern*. The former ministry was only created a year earlier and funded all its foreign development activities through scientific bureaus like the KAS. The second ministry used the scientific bureaus in a similar way and wanted them to grant scholarships. Back then all federal funding was coordinated together with the aforementioned Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. All the public funding did not only increase the possibilities for political education, but it also gave rise to the creation of all the aforementioned institutes within the KAS. In addition, other expansions could be facilitated, such as a dramatic growth of its library and other supporting services.⁹⁶

Of course there were many other sources of income for the KAS, such as the sales of publications, membership and subscription fees, donations and inheritances.⁹⁷ All these sources combined are however dwarfed by the public funds. To put things into contemporary perspective: the estimated total income of the KAS in 2016 is 163,6 million euros, out of which 161,0 million euros come from public sources. The federal government is responsible for 154,3 million euros. That is indeed an enormous amount. To give an even better picture of how big the KAS is, it currently has 1176 employees worldwide, out of which approximately half is seated in Germany. 82,3 Million euros of the total budget, so approximately half, is spent on covering the international operations.

⁹⁵ Beaugrand 2003, p. 119-121

⁹⁶ Beaugrand 2003, p. 119-121

⁹⁷ Some wealthier people also put their full bequest into a foundation. The foundation would then donate yearly to the KAS.

In 1964, only 2 years after the *Institut für Internationale Solidarität* was created, the KAS already spent 4,8 million Deutsche Mark on the only initiating international operations. Corrected for inflation this corresponds to approximately 9,5 million present-day euros. When looking at the amount of employees, these already totalled 84 in 1965. Compared In 1970, the three year old *Institut für Sozialwissenschaftliche Forschung* (42) together with the *Institut für Internationale Solidarität* (62) already offered more than 100 full-time positions. Exact numbers on the total budget in the post-war period of the KAS and its predecessors unfortunately do not exist or have been lost^{98.99}

§III.1.5 Publications¹⁰⁰

The *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung* has produced 17 'loose titles' in the postwar period. Some of these titles were actually a series that contained 3 publications or more, so the number of 17 should be higher if one counts every publication separately. The *Stiftung* only started publishing these loose titles in the late sixties. By then particularly the *Institut für Internationale Solidarität* started producing series and other loose titles. The other institutions of the KAS followed suit, but only started to become productive in the seventies. Unfortunately, the contents of the published titles in the defined postwar period are not relevant for our research. In addition to the loose titles, the KAS published six periodicals: '*Die Frau in der offenen Gesellschaft*', a magazine aimed at women; '*Im Gespräch*', an information bulletin aimed at students; '*Overseas Indian*', a bulletin

⁹⁸ On the one hand, the predecessors of the KAS did not have their own budget and the CDU did not keep track of a separate budget for their scientific bureau. On the other hand, the KAS admitted they lost all annual reports before 1970, with the exception of 1964 and 1965/66. In addition, these first annual reports are a little scrappy from a finance perspective. They include many interesting facts and numbers of many activities of the KAS, but unfortunately they do not include any financial overviews or balance sheets.

⁹⁹ KAS Jahresbericht '64, p. 13-16; KAS Jahresbericht 1965/66, appendix 9, p. 1-3; KAS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 25, 40-41; KAS Jahresbericht 2015, p. 103; 'Inflation rate calculator, consumer price index (cpi) and price rise', *Online Calculator for German Family Law*, accessible via lawyerdb.de/Inflationrate.aspx (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Historic inflation Germany - CPI inflation', *inflation.eu*, accessible via inflation.eu/inflation-rates/germany/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-germany.aspx (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹⁰⁰ Most of the facts presented in this section are the result of personally going through the archive of *Die Politische Meinung*. The dataset was a result of this as well. Part of the dataset can also be deducted from Appendix A, which was also created by the author.

informing about the foreign activities of the KAS; *'Presseinformation der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung'*, the medium used for press releases. These four publications first appeared in the second half of the sixties. *'Eichholz-Brief'* is the oldest periodical of the KAS. It was a message bulletin covering the activities of the *Politische Akademie Eichholz*. Surprisingly, the circulation of this quarterly, that was aimed at employees and participants, was up to 20000. The circulation of the scientific journal of the KAS, the *'Die Politische Meinung'*, had only about 5000 subscribers. One number costed 1,50DM in 1958 and 4,-DM in 1967. This corresponds to €3,32 and €7,28 in 2016. Thereby the scientific journal more than compensated for the small increase in size of an individual issue. With

Year	Numbers	Articles	Pages
1956	7	144	672
1957	12	223	1152
1958	12	200	1134
1959	12	195	1152
1960	12	200	1150
1961	12	192	1152
1962	12	187	1152
1963	11	156	1072
1964	10	141	972
1965	10	150	1072
1966	8	120	828
1967	3	47	398
1968	4	62	498
1969	4	64	480
1970	4	63	468
Total	133	2144	13352
Average	8,87	142,93	890,13

Table III.1.1 Metadata of Die Politische Meinung.

less than a handful of exceptions, all issues were exactly 96 pages up to 1965. After a brief period of experimenting, this was increased to 120. This development can also be derived from Table III.1.1 above. In that table, it is also visible that around that time the *Meinung*

also made the switch from a monthly to a quarterly. This was due to a declining interest in the journal.¹⁰¹

Author	Articles
Karl Willy Beer	105
Anton Böhm	80
Günter Triesch	45
Egon Heymann	42
Stefan Sermage	39
Robert Ingrim	38
Ernst Deuerlein	35
Franz Herre	31
Waldemar Lentz	30
Ferdinand Otto Miksche	25

Table III.1.2 The most productive authors of the *Die Politische Meinung* in the postwar period.

Die Politische Meinung was founded by Otto Lenz and Erich Peter Neumann. In Table III.1.2 above, the most productive authors of the scientific journal are listed. The name that sticks out, is Anton Böhm. The ordoliberal wrote its first article for the *Meinung* in 1957, and produced many more since. Interestingly, he barely wrote about economic topics. Instead, the great majority of his articles treated political processes. The times he did cover an economic issue, it does not come as a surprise that his ideas were ordoliberal. Müller-Armack wrote one article the *Meinung*, in which he pleaded for measures that lead to less inflation. Röpke is the third and last ordoliberal who published in the *Meinung*, with 5 articles between 1959 and 1962. Two were about foreign policy, and the other three covered different facets of ordoliberal theory. Moreover, there were 7 authors who wrote both in the *ORDO* and in *Die Politische Meinung*. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn wrote 2 articles in *ORDO*. In the *Meinung* he did not write anything of real interest for our research.

¹⁰¹ Appendix A; *Die Politische Meinung* 1958, vol. 1, frontpage; *Die Politische Meinung* 1967, vol. 1, frontpage; KAS Jahresbericht 1965/66, p. 6, 8; KAS Jahresbericht 1974, p. 48-52; H. Baltes (personal communication, 3 May 2016); 'Inflation rate calculator, consumer price index (cpi) and price rise', *Online Calculator for German Family Law*, accessible via lawyerdb.de/Inflationrate.aspx (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Historic inflation Germany - CPI inflation', *inflation.eu*, accessible via 'inflation.eu/inflation-rates/germany/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-germany.aspx' (last accessed 12 December 2016).

The same goes for Wilhelm Grewe, with one article in both journals, and Fritz W. Meyer, with 10 in *ORDO* and 1 in the *Meinung*. Günter Schmolders wrote 5 articles in *ORDO*. In the *Meinung* he pleaded for private property. Hans Otto Wesemann wrote only once in *ORDO*. In the *Meinung* 4 of his 8 articles had economic topics, and with regards to content they were fully in line with ordoliberalism. The same goes for the only article Joseph Höffner wrote in the *Meinung*, which equals his publications in *ORDO*. Last but not least is Volkmar Muthesius, who wrote twice in *ORDO*. In the *Meinung* most of his 8 articles were about monetary subjects. He pleaded for monetary stability and against anti-cyclical policies.¹⁰²

With regards to contents, *Die Politische Meinung* supported the ordoliberal policies throughout the whole postwar period. There were not that many articles that followed the ordoliberal rhetorics and set out an inherently consistent ideology which resembles ordoliberalism though. This is probably due to ordoliberalism stemming from the neoliberal stream. In other words, such a trail of thought was typical for (neo)liberals. The concrete policy measures and even their underpinnings, were definitely ordoliberal. The social market economy had always been supported and the same goes for monetary stability, for example. The articles in the *Meinung* were pro-democracy, against totalitarianism, pro European integration and western and atlantic cooperation. Of course the platform of the scientific journal was used for some deviant opinions, but that did not get any further than cautiously asking whether using anti-cyclical policies would be a good idea. It is not so surprising for a scientific institute with so many elements that link it to the CDU, that its scientific journal follows the party line.

§III.2 The Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung

The *Freie Demokratische Partei* (FDP) was created a few years after the Second World War in 1948. For the first time in German history a party was created that combined all the different liberal streams in the country. Classical liberals, social liberals and nationalist liberals were all unified under the umbrella of the FDP. However, they were only unified as a political stream, not in ideology. The party was set up with a federal

¹⁰² Appendix A; Appendix F.

structure, allowing all the regional departments to keep their specific identity. In the meantime, the postwar years brought about protracted processes of both denazification and amnestying, that affected FDP too, most in particular the nationalist branches of the party. Despite the internal noise, the party had been part of the government coalition since Adenauer's first chancellorship in 1949. In 1957 the CDU/CSU grabbed the absolute majority and forced the FDP into opposition. The FDP was surprised by this event and started a period of internal reflection, that finally resulted in the party's very first political manifesto in the same year. In this the FDP considered itself a party with a conservative middle signature, positioned as a third power in between the social democrats and the conservatives. Added to the political problems were the lack of party funds, which was only exacerbated by the decreased significance of the FDP. One of the consequences was that the '*Bundesparteischule*', a party institute that was created just a year earlier to mould party members into the official party line, was severely threatened in its existence. Despite strong opposition from the party treasurer, Hans Wolfgang Rubin, the party chairman acquired sponsoring from the *Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie*, just like the CDU. However, the provided 50000 Deutsche Mark a month were not enough to cover all party costs. For financial reasons, the *Bundesparteischule* was closed.¹⁰³

However, the party wanted to ensure the continued possibilities of political education in an institution. From a financial perspective, the FDP thought it would be wise to set up such an institution slightly differently. If the new institution could be earmarked as an institution for general benefit, the limited sponsors of the party would be able to give parts of their funds tax-free to that institution. Substantively, there was a big push for a new institution as well, particularly from the reform oriented wing of the FDP. This wing wanted to renew the foundations of German liberalism. By developing an interior reform programme and a new concept of liberal social policies, it thought it could win intellectuals, the new middle class and some craftsman for the party. The best way to achieve this, would be to trigger a broad discussion on these issues and the best platform for this would be a newly created institute for modern liberalism. Two exponents of these ideas, Karl-Hermann Flach and his friend Hermann Gentner, then worked out a detailed plan for an association which they called the '*Friedrich-Naumann-Gesellschaft*'. The chosen

¹⁰³ Faßbender, p. 11-44.

name was smart in many ways, but mostly because Friedrich Naumann's backgrounds and ideas were so diverse that all different wings of the party had something to like in him. Naumann was a protestant theologian, who was both a liberal politician and a minister of a protestant church. He was a big supporter of the militarist nationalism under leadership of the German emperor. Moreover, he was sympathetic for the social cause and wanted to form a bridge between the liberals and the socialists. In addition, he had a strong belief about political education. According to him, citizens were required to be educated politically if they were to participate in the political process. And, political participation is the cornerstone of a functioning democracy. Therefore, Naumann was a big advocate of improving the political education of citizens. However, proper political education should never be along party lines, but should teach about democracy in a neutral, liberal way. It should naturally also be open for people of other denominations, and particularly to social democrats. With the exception of the mentioning of the lattermost part about social democrats, the detailed plan about the *Friedrich-Naumann-Gesellschaft* was basically that what Naumann himself envisaged. In addition, the detailed plan included a second pillar. As one of its core tasks, the created academic institute was to publish an academic journal called '*liberal*', which is further covered below. By means of enthusing participants of seminars and conferences, and readers of the academic journal for liberal ideas, the two pillars would also indirectly increase the potential of the FDP.¹⁰⁴

The FDP's federal secretary general (*Bundesgeschäftsführer*), Werner Stephan, was one of the staunchest supporters of the plan. He took it to Theodor Heuss, the first president of the Federal Republic and a father figure for the FDP. His initial response was that he was really enthusiastic, but that he could not be on the executive board, and that it was important that the institute should be closely linked to the party. Stephan then told Heuss that actually the idea was to create an institute that was fully independent from any party, just like the *Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung*. Heuss answered that that was also a good idea, because everyone then associated that scientific bureau with social democracy. As long as Stephan would create a scientific bureau that was clearly liberal and therefore

¹⁰⁴ Faßbender, p. 11-44; W. Gerhard, 'Friedrich Naumann. Namensgeber der Stiftung' *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* 2009, accessible via freiheit.org/content/friedrich-naumann (last accessed 12 December 2016).

ideologically linked with the FDP, Heuss would back the plan. In reality, Heuss also actively helped in shaping the institute whose namegiver was his political mentor. Mainly he co-decided the persons whom to ask for becoming a founder of the institute. Interestingly, one of the persons Heuss suggested was Alexander Rüstow, one of the ordoliberal champions. For unknown reasons, he declined the offer. The most eye-catching acceptance of the invitation was probably by Arnold Bergstraesser, who by then had been one of the two chairmen of the *Politische Akademie Eichholz* for over half a year. Of the 15 people who became the ultimate founders, most were either a scientist, journalist or industrialist. Only few of them were active members of the FDP. With the exception of one person, all founders were over the age of 60 and had thereby consciously lived successively in the German Empire, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich. This bonded the founders to a large degree in their preferred distance to party politics, although not to politics itself. Only once it was settled who would found the party and when, the several departments of the FDP were notified. Ultimately the *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung (FNS)* was founded on 18 May 1958, and Theodor Heuss was the first to put down his signature.¹⁰⁵

Just like before the creation of the FNS, it was Werner Stephan who pulled the strings during the first years of its existence. During its first year he acted as executive director of the scientific bureau, until he was officially appointed into the position in April 1959. He then resigned from his position at the FDP and could fully focus on his work at the *Stiftung*. Because the FNS would only start operating in April 1959 as well, the first few months were dedicated to many preparatory steps. For example, the starting capital of 50000 Deutsche Mark had to be scrambled together, something which the FNS would only accomplish in 1960. Luckily finding sponsors was a little easier, because the institution was earmarked as publicly beneficial and could therefore receive tax-free gifts. Although the gifts were a little disappointing, it was enough to keep the institution running. The other preparatory steps were related to the actual work of the *Stiftung*, namely organising conferences and congresses, and setting up the academic journal. In November 1958 the board of governors met for the first time, and appointed Walter Erbe as the first chairman of the institute. Erbe stepped down three years later to become the

¹⁰⁵ Faßbender 2009, p. 19-44. 219-224.

vice-chairman. Paul Luchtenberg took his place and stayed there until the end of the postwar period. Werner Stephan stepped down as executive director in 1964, although he remained a member of the board of directors until 1984. Barthold C. Witte took over and also kept his position during the rest of the postwar period. The ordoliberal champions have not been in the board of directors, board of governors or in the advisory committee. Hayek was though, in the lattermost and least influential of the three, which averaged over 40 persons at a time.¹⁰⁶

The activities and growth of the *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung* show a similar pattern to that of the *Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung*. The first years the yearly budget was in between 120000,- and 300000,- Deutsche Mark, and the scientific bureau focused on seminars and conferences. During these years, the FNS apparently mostly competed for the same sources of funding as the FDP. The scientific bureau mostly scrambled its budget together from federal funds, the public broadcaster WDR, decentralised public funding and some private sources. In 1962 things changed, because the federal government started to fully delegate development aid to scientific bureaus of political parties, including the FNS. The federal ministry of the interior also started subsidising political education in the country. The increased funding allowed for a great expansion in both scale and scope of the activities of the scientific bureau. New branches were opened in Asia, Africa and particularly South-America. Also within Germany the *Stiftung* started to expand, although the latter only really started in 1969, when 6 regional offices had been opened. In 1970 the total number of regional offices¹⁰⁷ in Germany was already 16. In the first three years 19 seminars in total were organised by the FNS, which was expanded to approximately a dozen a year. The number of conferences and other gatherings, was gradually increased as well, but did not exceed the number of seminars. The regional

¹⁰⁶ FNS Jahresbericht 1966, p.22; Faßbender 2009, p. 219-224; 'Werner Stephan', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via 50jahre.freiheit.org/wcsite.php?wc_b=4083 (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Paul Luchtenberg', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via 50jahre.freiheit.org/wcsite.php?wc_b=3941 (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Walter Erbe', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via 50jahre.freiheit.org/wcsite.php?wc_b=3911 (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Barthold C. Witte', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via 50jahre.freiheit.org/wcsite.php?wc_b=4092 (last accessed 23 December 2016).

¹⁰⁷ The *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung* makes the distinction between *Regionalbüros* (10) and *Landesbüros* (6). Together they number 16.

expansion greatly increased the conference number. In 1970 already 200 of such activities were organised by the local departments. Thereby the number of attendees was also multiplied greatly, with over 6000 regional visitors in 1970. The 'central' location of the FNS started with 500 in 1960, grew to 1200 in 1962 and did not expand much beyond that. It is important to note that the 'central' location of the FNS changed from meeting to meeting, because the *Stiftung* only owned a location suited for political education in 1967, when the construction of the *Theodor-Heuss-Akademie* in Gummersbach had finished. Perhaps the moving nature of the activities of the FNS gave rise to what the institute considered the only real difference in activities, compared to other scientific bureaus of political parties. Namely, seminars of the FNS regularly included field trips. The destinations were often located abroad, such as the NATO or the European institutions in Brussels or Strasbourg. Dutch destinations have not been identified. Finally, in addition to the construction of its own academy and the foreign and regional expansion, the FNS started a scholarship programme (1967), expanded its archive and increased its publications. In numbers, the budget increased from nearly 300000,- DM in 1962 to more than tenfold in 1966, nearly 7 million DM in 1969 and over 10 million DM in 1970. Employeewise, in 1960 only 5 people worked for the *Stiftung*, including one part-time. The number of full-time employees grew to 20 in 1964 and 148 in 1970, including those working abroad. In comparison, the budget in 2008 was €38 million with a staff of 88, excluding supporting employees. More than 95% of the budget comes from public funding.¹⁰⁸

The opening of the *Theodor-Heuss-Akademie* allowed for the reception of a greater number of guests, on a more frequent basis. The academy included hotel facilities and the *Stiftung* started organising more (international) conferences. Even guests from other continents were flown to Germany, in particular students that showed great potential in the foreign programmes of the FNS. Among the Europeans, Dutch people were not excluded. The most interesting visit is one by Edzo Toxopeus, who was the political leader of the VVD from 1963 to 1969. Furthermore, he was the leader of Liberal International,

¹⁰⁸ FNS Jahresbericht 1960/61, p. 1-8; FNS Jahresbericht 1962, p. 1-4; FNS Jahresbericht 1965, p. 4; FNS Jahresbericht 1969, p. 29; FNS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 4; FNS Jahresbericht 2008, p. 90-91; Faßbender 2009, p. 55-70; 'Organigramm', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via freiheit.org/content/organigramm (last accessed 12 December 2016).

the international federation of liberal political parties. In his second capacity he had been in touch with the FNS more often, although it is hard to say what effects this relation had. Albert Hunold of the Mont Pèlerin Society had been in touch with the FNS as well, although there is no evidence that he actually visited the *Stiftung* or that their contact had been anything more than an invitation to strengthen their ties. Domestically, the *Stiftung* identified several target groups for their activities. It thought the regional branches of the FDP, youth and student organisations, students of tertiary education, occupational organisations, and evangelic organisations would be nice sources of potentially interested persons. It was in doubt whether to canvass at the military as well. It turned out that especially young academics were interested in the work of the *Stiftung*, although female students were relatively hard to convince. As a result, before the opening of the *Theodor-Heuss-Akademie*, most activities were organised in universities (of applied science). The remaining activities were most often organised in hotels or evangelic academies. Surprisingly, the FNS struggled to convince FDP members to join the events of the FNS. Moreover, the highly esteemed groups of entrepreneurs and people with a free profession, appeared to be reluctant too.¹⁰⁹

The very first conference of the *Stiftung* had a special set-up. By inviting practically only journalists, the bureau hoped to quickly spread the word about its existence. The three-day conference had four main speakers, including Alexander Rüstow. In the first half year there were 13 activities, of which 4 had clearly liberal themes, such as 'liberalism yesterday and today'. The other 9 had a general theme, and none of those were economic. Of its activities, the FNS particularly documented its seminars well. In most years, one of its dozen seminars was specifically about the economy, but its contents are unknown. The other seminars often had a quite general theme. It is interesting to note that the themes were not approached from a 'harsh, businesslike' approach, but were more societally oriented. For example, the theme 'state and society' included topics such as 'church', 'school', 'family' and 'the company'. The only obviously liberal topic in this theme was 'freedom in the mass society'. In 1961 Rüstow was one of the main speakers at a

¹⁰⁹ FNS Jahresberichten 1960-1970; FNS Jahresbericht 1960 (1), p. 6; FNS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 3; 'Mr. E.H. (Edzo) Toxopeus', *Parlement & Politiek*, accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09llau5syr/e_h_edzo_toxopeus (last accessed 12 December 2016)

conference again, this time with the time 'the family in our time'. There Rüstow pleaded against child benefits, as it would remove the responsibility of families. The other participants disagreed with Rüstow. In 1970 the FNS notes that most social-economic topics had been neglected for a while. Topics that did regularly pass in review were 'co-determination' and 'the humane company'. In 1970 the long neglected topics of 'business concentration and competition' and 'scientific and technical cooperation with socialist countries' were put back on the agenda. Especially the first three sound like topics the ordoliberals occupied themselves with.¹¹⁰

In 1967 a stirring period in the *Stiftung's* existence started, which lasted for approximately three years. Since the 'Grand Coalition' of the CDU/CSU and the SPD took power in December 1966, rumours started to spread that rules concerning party financing would drastically change. New legislation was in the pipeline that would give political parties the power to decide where large parts of the federal funding of scientific bureaus would go to. This put the FDP in a position of power. It expected that it could decide how the money would be used. The FNS wanted to remain fully independent though, but it needed the funding. The position of the FNS was even made weaker, because some FDP members decided to found a new institute in 1967, the '*Wolfgang Döring Stiftung*' (WDS). Without any notice, the WDR withdrew its funding for the FNS and funded the WDS instead, thereby further weakening the position of the FNS. The FDP was at a crossroads as well. The WDS offered an alternative that was very outspoken in its support for the FDP, although it cannot really be called a scientific institute. Instead, it focussed on more accessible propaganda, and until then only on the land *Nordrhein-Westfalen*. In the years prior to the establishment of the *Wolfgang Döring Stiftung*, Erich Mende, the leader of the FDP from 1960 to 1968, was toying with the idea to set up a competing scientific institute too. The '*Max-Becker-Stiftung*' would never come to be, but it is telling that the party leader was that displeased with the position and working of the FNS. It must be clear that the situation of the *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung* was precarious. Step by step it gave in to the pressure from the FDP. More and more party members were given positions in the scientific bureau, and also the party archive had to be acquired by the FNS. In addition,

¹¹⁰ FNS Jahresbericht 1960 (1), p. 1-6; FNS Jahresbericht 1960 (2), p. 1-8; FNS Jahresbericht 1960/61, p. 1-8; FNS Jahresbericht 1962, p. 1-4; FNS Jahresbericht 1965, p. 4-25; FNS Jahresbericht 1966, p. 4-21; FNS Jahresbericht 1968, p. 1-8; FNS Jahresbericht 1969, p. 1-14; FNS Jahresbericht 1970, p. 1-11, 30-34.

the institute even had to fulfil a new role in moulding the FDP party members. The first decade of the *Stiftung* is known as one of unparalleled independence. The period that followed, brought the period of its greatest dependence. Outside the scope of this research is the current era, in which the FDP and the FNS have found a middle way.¹¹¹

§III.2.1 liberal¹¹²

The '*liberal*' has been the main publication of the *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung* since its first issue in 1958. As mentioned above, it was considered one of the pillars of the plan to create a scientific bureau. *Liberal* was to serve as a scientific forum for dynamic discussions and it should ensure public effectiveness of the liberal message. It should spearhead the political debate and help clear up the social deficit in liberal circles. Other than *liberal*, the FNS had issued several other periodicals as well. Because these are titles that serve as an internal announcing messenger, for example, these are not covered in our research. The focus is on the scientific periodical, which is the *liberal*. The *Stiftung* published a decent number of irregular works as well, which were often part of a series. Only two of these works were written within the theme of economics. The first can be translated as '*Planning in the market economy*'¹¹³, the second one as '*Currency between politics and economics*'¹¹⁴. Both are literal transcriptions of presentations and discussions at conferences that were about the topics that its titles suggest. The discussions fit perfectly into the narrative of the publications of the *liberal*, and are therefore discussed below.¹¹⁵

As can be seen in Table III.2.1, the first years of the *liberal* were quite irregular, with many extra numbers issued. The trend is clear though, with a continuous growth in numbers, articles and pages until halfway the sixties. In the last years of the postwar

¹¹¹ H.W. Rubin, 'Editorial', *liberal* 1966, vol. 1, p. 1-2; Faßbender 2009, p. 11-70.

¹¹² Most of the facts presented in this section are the result of personally going through the archive of the *liberal*. The dataset was a result of this as well. Part of the dataset can also be deducted from Appendix B, which was also created by the author.

¹¹³ Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung 1964. 1-275.

¹¹⁴ Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung 1962, p. 1-236.

¹¹⁵ FNS Jahresbericht 1960/61, p. 5; FNS Jahresbericht 1968, p. 23-26; Faßbender 2009, p. 21-22; S. Ackermann (personal communication, 29 April 2016); 'Bibliothek', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via freiheit.org/content/bibliothek (last accessed 12 December 2016).

period the issuance of the scientific journal stabilised. It is unclear how many subscribers it had. What is known, is that the FDP started sponsoring 3000 to 4000 subscriptions a year in 1967, as part of a deal between the FDP and the FNS that was made during the described power struggle. The sponsored subscriptions were mostly aimed at students and military officers, who did not have to pay any fee (anymore). In 1963 the normal fee for the then quarterly was 1,50DM per number or 5,-DM per year, of which the latter equals approximately €10,- a year.¹¹⁶

Year	Numbers	Articles	Pages
1958	0 + 1*	1	16
1959	1	3	27
1960	4	13	164
1961	4 + 1*	15	197
1962	4 + 1*	15	198
1963	4 + 1*	16	200
1964	6 + 2*	28	331
1965	12	73	868
1966	12	97	960
1967	12	111	960
1968	12	113	960
1969	12	107	960
1970	12	107	960
Total	71 + 6*	699	6801
Average	5,92	53,77	523,15

Table III.2.1 Metadata liberal. *Extra number.

Throughout the years the names of the different sections in the *liberal* changed, but the contents stayed the same. The most important were the scientific articles, which is discussed below. Other frequently recurring sections covered portraits, liberal documentation and event reportings, book reviews, readers' letters, discussions, and commentaries on all sorts of 'things', from political events to highlighted opinions in

¹¹⁶ Loose subscription card in *liberal* 1963, vol. 1; FNS Jahresbericht 1968, p. 26; FNS Jahresbericht 1969, p. 19; 'Inflation rate calculator, consumer price index (cpi) and price rise', *Online Calculator for German Family Law*, accessible via lawyerdb.de/Inflationrate.aspx (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Historic inflation Germany - CPI inflation', *inflation.eu*, accessible via inflation.eu/inflation-rates/germany/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-germany.aspx (last accessed 12 December 2016).

specific articles of newspapers and magazines. None of the two dozen portraits described the life of one of the ordoliberals. The liberal documentation section could be the summarised publication of a FDP document, the coverage of an international conference for young liberals, or the correspondence between certain liberal agents. Just like the readers' letters, this section did not contain any relevant information for our research. The number of book reviews declined from approximately equal to the number of scientific articles, to about a third of the latter. The great majority of the reviewed authors were either German or German-speaking. Röpke received a positive review in the first year of the *liberal*, and Rüstow was favoured positively in 1964. The authors of the limited foreign books ranged from Samuel Huntington to Mao Zedong, but none of them were economists or covered an economic topic.

Author	Articles	Active
Rolf Schroers	60	1965 - 1970
Manfred Rexin	30	1965 - 1970
Karl-Hermann Flach	23	1958 - 1970
Hans Wolfgang Rubin	23	1959 - 1970
Peter Menke-Glückert	22	1960 - 1970
Ernest Jouhy	15	1965 - 1970
Friedhelm Baukloh	13	1968 - 1970
Hildegard Hamm-Brücher ¹¹⁷	12	1960 - 1969
Barthold C. Witte	12	1960 - 1969
Klaus Scholder	11	1960 - 1970
Ansgar Skriver	10	1967 - 1970

Table III.2.2 The most productive authors of the *liberal* in the postwar period.

Table III.2.2 above lists the most productive authors of the *liberal* in the postwar period. Only articles have been taken into account. Looking at the table, Rolf Schroers immediately sticks out. Most of his articles were not long and scientific, but rather opinion forming columns about a topical subject. In the seventies he was the head of the *Theodor-Heuss-Akademie*. Manfred Rexin is interesting to mention, because when he started writing for *liberal*, he was a member of the youth organisation of the socialist SPD. He has had a long career as a journalist, including for the national public broadcaster ZDF. He has

¹¹⁷ In 1960 and 1962 Hildegard wrote under her maiden name. The table lists her with the name she used during the rest of the postwar period.

also remained active for the local SPD department in Berlin. Karl-Hermann Flach was one of authors of the first hour, and actually wrote the very first article in 1958. Flach had an interesting career, in which his occupation as a journalist and as a liberal politician took turns. He also wrote the political manifesto that the FPD used from 1971 to 1977, the *Freiburger Thesen*. In the manifesto he promoted a state based on law, freedom, tolerance, and human dignity. He wanted an alternative for absolutism, socialism and christian democracy. This fitted exactly in the spirit of his works for the *liberal*. Flach also had a position in the board of governors of the *Stiftung* for more than a decade, and before his untimely death he was briefly the vice-chair of the federal parliamentary fraction of the FDP. Hans Wolfgang Rubin was also one of the founders of *liberal*. Actually he was also one of the founders of the FDP, and was a member of the first hour of the FNS as well. From 1951 to 1980 he was the treasurer of the FDP, and after having continuingly had positions on several boards of the FNS, he became its chairman from 1970 to 1982. Even though he originated from the industry, in those circles they viewed him as being close to the SPD. Furthermore, Flach and Rubin were the two persons closest to Werner Stephan, and were thereby among the most influential persons in the *Stiftung*. Peter Menke-Glückert had been on the board of directors for nearly 20 years. At the same time, he made a career in the federal Ministry of the Interior and became a director-general. Ernest Jouhy, whose actual name was Ernst Leopold Jablonski, used to be a member of the communist political party KPD and several socialist organisations. As a jew, he fled Germany when the nazi's came to power. He became a professor of social pedagogy and wrote mostly about cultural subjects. Barthold C. Witte used to be the general secretary of the International Federation of Liberal Youth. From he 1961 to 1994 he held several positions in the boards of the FNS, from 1964 to 1970 he was even the executive director. Most of his writings were about development aid. After his work as an executive, his career brought him to the post of director of the cultural department of the Federal Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt*). He was also a member of the council of the Evangelic Church in Germany (*EKD*). Hildegard Hamm-Brücher was a member of the board of governors from 1958 to 1993. She became a state secretary of several departments in several lands, and also held the post of state secretary of foreign affairs for a few years. Her main concern was education though. Klaus Scholder studied Germanistics and Theologie, before he wrote for the *liberal*. For a few years he held the position of vice-

chairman of the board of governors. He became a professor of history of christianity, and devoted his life to work for the evangelic church, including pastoral duties. It is interesting note the wide variety in backgrounds of these authors. Moreover, quite a few are not evidently liberal. It may give a somewhat distorted view though, because among the less productive writers there was a fair amount of promint FDP politicians. Not only did no ordoliberal champion write in the *liberal*, but actually none of the nearly 140 authors who wrote in *ORDO* did so.¹¹⁸

This could raise the expectation that *liberal* did not embrace ordoliberal thought. However, the opposite is true. During the whole postwar period the articles in *liberal* were clearly ordoliberal. Particularly before the late sixties started, many articles were published that showcased an extensive view on what the author thought liberalism was, or how a state should be ordered. The special edition in 1961 includes a prime example of this. The introduction immediately refers to Röpke. It notes an increasing resonance of the opinion that the growing power of the state is dangerous. But how dangerous is this? The author argues a growing state is inevitable. It takes up more tasks and sometimes has to interfere with personal matters. The period of coexistence with the socialist neighbours and the explosion of population growth only further induce a growing state. Such a growing state can only be liberal, because it is convinced of the need of the rule of law and looks at the needs of all individual citizens. Liberal states, in contrast with the 19th century, have to be strong states that act against power concentrations and lobby groups.

¹¹⁸ *liberal* 1961, vol. 3, p.11; *liberal* 1963, vol. Sonderheft 3, p.5; Faßbender 2009, p. 20, 37, 39, 219-223; E. Troebst, 'Manfred Rexin zum 70. Geburtstag', *Berlin SPD* 2005, accessible via spd.berlin/partei/landesverband/unsere-geschichte/personen/l-z/rexin-manfred/ (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Chronik der Stiftung', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via freiheit.org/content/chronik-der-stiftung (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Karl-Hermann Flach. Leben und Werk', *Karl-Hermann-Flach-Stiftung* n.d., accessible via karl-hermann-flach-stiftung.org/content/karl-hermann-flach (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Hans-Wolfgang Rubin', *Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d.. accessible via 50jahre.freiheit.org/wcsite.php?wc_b=3993 (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Ernest Jouhy (1913-1988) Leben und Werk', *ernest-jouhy.de* n.d., accessible via ernest-jouhy.de (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Barthold C. Witte', *Friedrich-Naumman-Stiftung für die Freiheit* n.d., accessible via 50jahre.freiheit.org/wcsite.php?wc_b=4092 (last accessed 23 December 2016; deutsche-biographie.de/gnd122211375.html#ndbcontent F.W. Graf, 'Scholder, Klaus', *Deutsche Biografie* n.d., accessible via deutsche-biographie.de/gnd122211375.html#ndbcontent (last accessed 12 December 2016); Annex B; Annex F.

The question is not whether to plan. The mantra, that was repeated in many articles, is ‘as much freedom as possible, as much planning as necessary’. The economy of a liberal state can only be a market economy, because that would form the appropriate counterweight for state power. Tasks for the government would be to break concentrations of market power, and to ensure monetary stability. His whole argument is backed by Röpke, Böhm and Erhard, or so the author claims. As an addition to this narrative, the author warns for focusing too much on the ethical justification of the laws of supply and demand. Moreover, he warns for a new form of slavery, where large parts of society continuously have to work only to redeem their debts.¹¹⁹

An even better example of the kind of liberalism the *liberal* expressed, is the special edition from 1964. This edition was called ‘*Verantwortung für die Freiheit. Beiträge zum modernen Liberalismus*’ (‘Responsibility for freedom. Contributions to modern liberalism’), and included three comprehensive views on what liberalism is and where it should be headed. Although the emphasis was somewhat different, their views on *modern* liberalism was very alike. All three praised the wonderful achievements of liberalism in the postwar period. It brought about the change from absolutism to the rule of law, from an oppressed society to a free society and from a fruitless economy to the *Wirtschaftswunder* of the social market economy. The odes to the social market economy describes its ideas in all its facets, from a market economy leading to the most social outcomes, to the necessity of ensuring competition by fighting cartels, oligopolies and monopolies. The articles all refer to ordoliberalism like Eucken, Rüstow and Röpke, and they all distance themselves from ‘manchesterism’, or 19th century liberal policies. All also point to the importance of monetary stability. As a core of liberalism, they all see freedom. But freedom can only be ensured by responsibility. Responsibility not only for yourself, but also for the family and society. Responsibility means taking action, continuously. Diametrically opposed to the free, liberal society are the societies based on socialism or christian democracy. The latter two want their people to be ordered according to their ideology, and are therefore not free. Liberalism orders its society by letting individuals order themselves, based on the responsibilities they act upon. Unsurprisingly, the authors prefer the separation of church and state. Two even warn for christian conservative

¹¹⁹ G.A. Sonnenhol, ‘Sündenbock Staat? Die Chance des freien Menschen’, *liberal* 1961, vol. ‘Sonderheft 1’, p. 1-16.

politics. According to them, one should not be fooled by the fact christian conservatives were proposing similar policies to that of liberals, such as a market economy. These proposals were only based on opportunism. These policies would not be seen as inherently good and thereby a goal in itself, but a means to gain as much power as possible.¹²⁰

The narrative above finds its resonance throughout the *liberal*. Indeed, 'we in the FDP consider ourselves neoliberals', as one author wrote when the use of the term 'ordoliberalism' was still uncommon.¹²¹ Topics that looked at religion popped up often too, where evangelicism and/or protestantism received the bulk of the attention. In those articles the *liberal* often fiercely argued against christian conservative politics. Note the use of the term 'conservatism' instead of 'democracy'. Perhaps the scientific journal tried to lure devoted christians into their party that had more progressive ideas? If one considers that especially evangelicism itself was viewed rather positively, that could be the case. Several articles argued that there is no incoherence between evangelicism and liberalism, even a practicing evangelic pastor did.¹²²

In the last years of the sixties the focus of most articles was somewhat different to that in the first decade. The focus used to be on defining what was liberal and on how to orden the state to ensure freedom, hence the title and subtitle of the scientific journal: '*liberal. Beiträge zur Entwicklung einer freiheitlichen Ordnung*'. The focus in the late sixties was more on what the policies of the FDP should be. In those articles still references to the postwar successes of liberalism abounded, such as the social market economy and its *Wirtschaftswunder*. Moreover, references to the ordoliberal champions were still made as well. However, the authors did not elaborate too much on a coherent liberal ideology. Some authors observed a 'deideologification', that could cause this shift. They argue that the booming economy removed the need for a radical socialist ideology, thereby shifting the political spectrum towards liberalism. Another explanation could be that the FDP forced the *liberal* to focus more on concrete policy proposals, once the political party

¹²⁰ T. Dehler, 'Das liberale Leitbild', *liberal* 1964, vol. Sonderheft 5, p. 5-16; W. Erbe, 'Liberalismus heute', *liberal* 1964, vol. Sonderheft 5, p. 17-25; G. Letz, 'Für eine freie Gesellschaft', *liberal* 1964, vol. Sonderheft 5, p. 27-35.

¹²¹ E. Leuze, 'Das Problem der Freiheit in der Wirtschaftsordnung', *liberal* 1961, vol. 2, p. 17-24.

¹²² K. Scholder, 'Christentum und Liberalismus', *liberal* 1963, vol. Sonderheft 3, p. 5-11.

affirmed its grip on the FNS. Furthermore, the new editor in chief, Rolf Schroers, could have tried to increase its exposure to FDP members, who tended to ignore the *liberal*.¹²³

Two small observations rest here, which are both examples of the more concrete topics that dominated the end of the sixties. First, more and more international topics started to appear. The authors of the *liberal* had always favoured free trade, international organisations and multilateral agreements, but now they increasingly came to the fore. Second, a very extensive discussion of measures against monopolies and the abuse of power appeared in 1970. It urges the FDP to leave its inner contrarities behind on this issue, and finally adopt the measures which the author, and many before him, proposes. One year later, the FDP would finally yield and adopt the '*Freiburger Thesen*'. This political manifesto, written by the aforementioned productive Karl-Hermann Flach, furthered exactly the same measures, and closely resembled ordoliberal thought as a whole.¹²⁴

¹²³ R. Schroers, 'editorial', *liberal* 1965, vol. 7, p. 1; A. Kammholz, 'Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen', *liberal* 1970, p. 638-651; H. Lindemann, 'Liberalismus und F.D.P.', *liberal* 1970, p. 418-451; Faßbender 2009, p. 22-23.

¹²⁴ W. Bökel, 'Wirtschaftsnationalismus', *liberal* 1966, p. 824-829; Faßbender 2009, p. 55-70.

IV The Netherlands

The previous chapter contained the essentials of the scientific bureaux of political parties in Germany in the postwar period, in which the focus was on facts that are essential for understanding the links to ordoliberal theory or to actually pursued policies. Similarly, in this chapter several of their Dutch contemporaries are characterised. The focus in this chapter is slightly different, for the term ‘ordoliberalism’ was not used in the Netherlands. In other words: the group of ordoliberals was a German phenomenon and Dutch policies at the time were not directly linked to their ideas. When investigating the history of ordoliberalism in the Netherlands, it therefore does not make that much sense to dive into works of Dutch economists or to investigate policies pursued in the Netherlands. It is more interesting to look at potential spillovers of ordoliberal thought from Germany into the Netherlands.

First, a brief description of the postwar circumstances in the Netherlands is provided (§IV.1), that allows for a proper embedding of the selected Dutch scientific bureaux of political parties. Selected are the scientific bureaux of the parties that correspond with the political colour of the CDU and FDP. The Dutch counterpart of the FDP is the liberal *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie* (VVD), which translates to People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy. Its scientific bureau is called the ‘*Teldersstichting*’ (§IV.2). Finding a counterpart of the christian-democratic CDU is a little more complex, as its real counterpart, the Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA), meaning Christian Democratic Appeal, was only formed in 1980. The CDA had three predecessors two of which are investigated here. These are the *Katholieke Volkspartij* (KVP), or Catholic People’s Party, and the protestant *Anti-Revolutionaire Partij* (ARP), or Anti Revolutionary Party. The third constituent had a similar profile as the ARP, but was a smaller and participated in fewer government coalitions, hence the decision to narrow the research by leaving this party out.¹²⁵ After the VVD’s *Teldersstichting*, the ARP’s ‘*Kuyperstichting*’ (§IV.3) and the KVP’s ‘*Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming*’ (§IV.4) are discussed successively.

¹²⁵ The party that is left out is the *Christelijk-Historische Unie* (CHU), or Christian Historical Union. Ideologically there were no fundamental distinctions between the ARP and the CHU. Both were parties with a reformed protestant character.

§IV.1 Post-war situation in the Netherlands

The situation in the Netherlands directly after the Second World War was economically comparable to the situation in Germany. After years of war, chaos and looting, the country was in a dire state. Deep poverty was widespread, and there was a great lack of basically everything. Politically, the biggest difference with its eastern neighbour was that sovereignty was quickly returned to the Dutch state. In other words, there were no occupational powers that pulled the strings. Although several ideas had been suggested on how to structure Dutch society anew, the country reverted to its old political and societal institutions. This meant a continuation of the pre-war 'pillarisation', in which protestant, catholics, socialists and arguably liberals¹²⁶ all had their own political parties, newspapers, broadcasting stations, schools, et cetera. It went even so far that these groups tended to only buy products at shops from their pillar, and even swimming pools often had a clear denomination. As it were, there were several parallel societies in the Netherlands, where people living in one pillar had barely any interaction with people living in the other pillars. In contrast, the pillars' elites discussed issues regularly and often got along with each other perfectly fine. With the 3 or 4 parallel societies pushing their electorate to vote within their pillar, the outcome of the elections was pretty much set in stone. Until 1958 the core of the government consisted of the catholic KVP and the social-democratic PvdA. Even though these two together could form a majority-backed government in these years, other parties were added to broaden the consensus. These parties were either the liberal VVD and/or one or both of the reformed protestant parties, the ARP and the CHU. The marginal shifts in parliamentary representation caused a great amount of political stability and thereby also the optimal circumstances to rebuild the country with a wide consensus.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Arguably also a fourth pillar existed, the so-called 'general pillar', which was also called the 'liberal pillar'.

¹²⁷ Kossmann 1986, p. 207-210, 230-282; 'Kabinetten sinds 1945', *Rijksoverheid* n.d., accessible via rijksoverheid.nl/regering/inhoud/over-de-regering/kabinetten-sinds-1945 (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Zetelverdeling 1946-heden', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vh8lnhronvx6/zetelverdeling_tweede_kamer_1946_heden (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Verzuiling', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrpfxub/verzuiling (last accessed 12 december 2012).

The parties agreed that the recovery of the economy had to be pursued in harmony, which included societal organisation other than political parties. Entrepreneurial organisations and employees unions regularly discussed in the '*Stichting van de Arbeid*' (Labour Foundation), where the different social-economic classes were to reach consensus on a wages proposals for the government. This lead to dirigist wage politics based on collective labour agreements. Other economic policies were dirigist too. In the immediate postwar years the government controlled prices as well, and it could give preference to certain segments of the economy if it deemed it necessary. For deciding its politics, the government also made use of other recently created institutions, such as the '*Centraal Planbureau*' (Central Planning Bureau - CPB) and the '*Sociaal-Economische Raad*' (Social-Economic Council – SER). The former uses economic analyses to also make economic forecasts. The latter consists of entrepreneurial representatives, trade union representatives and experts, and is (one of) the most important advising organ of the government on all kinds of social-economic topics. Its first advice in 1951 is illustrative of the direction of the Dutch government in the immediate postwar period. It said the most important government goals were: full employment, a balanced budget, a stabile price level, adequate economic growth and an equitable distribution of income.¹²⁸

Backed by a wide consensus, the government pursued what it called 'soberness politics'. Most people's main concern was simply staying alive, which actually had been the case since the pre-war crisis struck the country. The rhetorics of the government also aimed a substantial amount on the mentality of its citizens. It needed to be tough, and the country should work its way out of misery. Wages were kept low, and were often even the lowest within Europe. Also due to this competitive advantage, the economic growth spurred throughout the fifties. On average, the real growth of the GNP in those years was 5%. The economy industrialised and shifted its industrial focus from the production of foodstuffs, textiles, shoes and clothes to the technically more advanced chemical and metal industries. The economic recovery and expansion in the Netherlands was quick and smooth. Already in 1954 the government for the first time saw room for an increase in wages more than just to compensate for the increases in prices. Industrialisation continued and the government found ways to expand a social safety for its welfare state.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ Kossmann 1986, p. 207-210, 230-282; Vanthoor 2004, p. 164-243.

¹²⁹ Kossmann 1986, p. 207-210, 230-282; Vanthoor 2004, p. 164-243.

The Netherlands also had monetary problems after the Second World War that had to be tackled. There was too much money in circulation, which needed to be reduced. On the other hand, the Dutch reserves were so low that extra money had to be created. A capital levy and a capital gains tax were part of the solution. Moreover, imports and exports were strictly regulated. Every ingoing or outgoing trade deal had to have the officials' approval, no matter how small. Ultimately the country fought through and had things in order, with even room for investments. The Marshall help funds were also a significant factor in improving the situation. After the economic recovery took hold in 1948, the dirigistic measurements were slowly loosened. In 1949 most distribution measures for consumption and capital goods had been abolished. Price controls were replaced by global price policies. Trade with Germany was liberalised in the same year, resulting in this trade relation nearly tripling in the relative size of all Dutch trade relations. In 1952 the overall trade balance changed into a surplus, and the excess money supply had mostly been absorbed by the same year as well.¹³⁰

A principal role in managing the monetary problems was '*De Nederlandsche Bank*' (DNB), the Dutch central bank. It was the authority that controlled the in- and outflow of goods and it had to oversee the monetary reforms. A complete overhaul of the DNB was planned after the Second World War. The then Minister of Finance, Piet Lieftinck, wanted the bank to purely play a technical role, executing the orders from the Ministry. However, with the new laws in 1948, the DNB kept most of its autonomy. Even though all the bank's shares came in the hands of the state and the Minister of Finance acquired a (never to be used) right to give the bank instructions in certain cases, the DNB as an institution grew in authority and a clear division between the tasks of the bank and the Ministry emerged. The bank focused on monetary matters, the Ministry on budgetary matters. Weekly lunches and consultations between the leaders of the two institutions were pivotal in harmonising the work of the institutions top-down. A great continuity and also one of the driving forces behind the growing authority of the DNB, was Marius Wilhelm Holtrop, who was its leader during nearly the whole postwar period (1946-1967). Holtrop favoured a strict monetary approach, in which price stability was the most important goal. Every year he dedicated a large section in the DNB's annual to explaining monetary issues and the

¹³⁰ Kossmann 1986, p. 207-210, 230-282; Vanthoor 2004, p. 164-243.

policies the bank pursued. These monetary reflections even found their way abroad, where people called Holtrop's approach 'Dutch monetarism'. The approach is very comparable to the the monetary approach that would subsequently become popular under influence of Friedman, but not many were to follow Holtrop's lead then. A very notable exception is Otmar Emminger, the later president of the German Bundesbank. Emminger, together with Holtrop, countered the Keynesian ideas propagated by particularly the British and the Scandinavian central banks.¹³¹

Whereas there was a lot of continuity in the monetary policies of the DNB, the policies of the Dutch government clearly changed over the years. Although it was more of a continuing trend that resulted in different situations rather than a clear trend break, one could approach the sixties as a markedly different decade than the prior postwar years. After years of economic tailwinds, the Netherlands had become a prospering nation with significantly higher standard of life. The main goal of life was not simply surviving anymore, but rather had become 'being happy', which changed the nature of both politics and policies. In the beginning of the sixties there was not much left of the dirigistic policy of keeping wages low. From the European country with one of the lowest wages, it had become one of the countries with the highest wages. International trade soared, and the Dutch profited greatly with its huge harbour in Rotterdam, for example. Social security had continuingly been expanding to the point that the Netherlands was not just a 'welfare state', but it was called a '*verzorgingsstaat*', which could freely be translate to a 'state that takes care'¹³². In addition, attempts were pursued to spread democracy in other areas than just politics, and to extend it to others than just the elite. For example, works councils and student councils were created. However, society and thereby politics became less harmonious. More and more chasms started to appear, possibly exactly because of the new abundance. What to do with all the superfluous wealth? In addition, many technological changes can explain phenomena of the changins society. TV became near-

¹³¹ Kossmann 1986, p. 207-210, 230-282; Vanthoor 2004, p. 164-243; M.M.G. Fase, 'HOLTROP, Marius Wilhelm (1902-1988)', *Biografisch woordenboek van Nederland* 2013, accessible via resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn4/holtrop (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹³² Both '*welvaartsstaat*' and '*verzorgingsstaat*' are translated to 'welfare state' by the *Van Dale* dictionary, but in Dutch literature there is a clear distinction between the two. The former is related to prosperity, the latter to well-being.

omnipresent and allowed for peaks into the other pillars, plus they made it easier to follow what the elites decided upon. Cars became affordable and made it a lot easier to travel to get in touch with other people. Even the invention of *the* pill brought about changes, and is considered one of the driving forces behind the sexual revolution. All in all, society was in motion. Authorities were kicked against and protest movements arose.¹³³

Coinciding with the changing society, Dutch politics changed as well. Citizens did not feel obliged to vote within their own pillar anymore, and party balances became fluid. The KVP gradually lost its voter share. The ARP and CHU did so as well, but in a significantly slower pace. In 1967 the confessional parties even lost their majority. Moreover, only a year before that a new, fairly influential progressive social-democratic party was created that aimed for radical democratic changes: *Democraten '66* or D'66¹³⁴. At the same time, a similar movement quickly won influence in the PvdA: *Nieuw Links* (New Left). Another noticeable change in Dutch politics is the succession of some political icons. Around 1960 the party leaders that coloured politics in the preceding decades, left the political scene, such as Drees (PvdA), Romme (KVP), Schouten (ARP) and Oud (VVD). In the sixties no real iconic figures replaced the void they left behind, although there were obviously new influential political figures that took the stage. Despite all the growing differences among the different parties, most government coalitions cooperated well, probably because the then issues became ever more complex.¹³⁵

In terms of foreign policy, after the Second World War the Netherlands dropped its apparently failed policy of staying neutral. Instead, it took sides with other Western-European nations and joined atlantic structures such as the NATO. It was also to become a founding member of several intergovernmental organisations in Europe, most eye-catching and relevant of which are the predecessors of the current European Union. West-Germany, as discusse above, followed the same path and therefore the Netherlands and West-Germany became very close allies. As a sidenote, the internal/foreign politics of the Netherlands after the Second World War were rather preoccupied with the process of

¹³³ Kossmann 1986, p. 300-330; Vanthoor 2004, p. 187-201.

¹³⁴ The party dropped the apostrophe in 1985, see 'Democraten 66 (D66)', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrouwy0/democraten_66_d66 (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹³⁵ Kossmann 1986, p. 300-330.

decolonisation. Particularly the violent transition in current-day Indonesia, to use a euphemism, took centre stage for a few years.¹³⁶

§IV.2 Teldersstichting

The history of political liberalism in the Netherlands does not reveal a straight line. Although liberal politicians often formed a majority in the Dutch parliament, the first liberal political party was only created in 1885, the '*Liberale Unie*'. Subsequently many split-offs, fusions and name changes occurred. Finally, in January 1948 the VVD was founded in Amsterdam, although its charter was only laid down two years later. The party was a fusion of the '*Partij van de Vrijheid*' and the '*Comité-Oud*'. With the fusion not all Dutch liberals had been united, as other parties also encompassed liberal wings or components. The VVD mostly attracted the more conservative liberals. The *Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie* did not include 'liberalism' in its name, however, as the term was still associated with the economic malaise of the 1930's.¹³⁷

Also stimulated by the electoral successes of the party, its members wanted to strengthen their position by erecting organisations that had to promote the liberal cause. Observing that their political competitors all had a scientific bureau, the VVD decided it could not stay behind. In 1953 it founded the '*Prof. mr. B.M. Teldersstichting*', named after the late party chairman of one of the pre-war predecessors of the VVD. The

¹³⁶ Kossmann 1986, p. 207-210, 230-282.

¹³⁷ H.J.P.G. Kaajan & G. Voerman, 'Inventaris van het archief van de Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) en voorgangers, 1889-1976 (1999)', *Nationaal Archief* 1997, p. 9-19; 'VVD Partijgeschiedenis', *Documentatiecentrum Nederlandse politieke partijen* 2012, accessible via dnpp.ub.rug.nl/dnpp/pp/vvd/geschied (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'De Stichting', *Teldersstichting* n.d., accessible via teldersstichting.nl/stichting.html (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Comité-Oud', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vjcyk8tudiod/comite_oud (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Partij van de Vrijheid (PVDV)', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrpfxtt/partij_van_de_vrijheid_pvdv (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrwxy/volkspartij_voor_vrijheid_en_democratie (last accessed 12 December 2016).

Teldersstichting had the goal to conduct political-scientific research from a liberal perspective. In liberal fashion, the scientific bureau was created as an independent foundation. The succinct¹³⁸ VVD annuals even mention the scientific bureau only twice, both in its capacity as author of a report. Unfortunately, little material about or from the *Teldersstichting* has been archived during the postwar period. The only documents are available, are the minutes from the 'Commission for the studying of the developments concerning the business organisations pertaining to public law' and a file that contains 'Part 1 of the announcements from the board of governors in 1964'. Unfortunately, these are not very relevant for this research. Chronicles of the history of the VVD also barely mention the *Teldersstichting*. The lack of archival material from the *Teldersstichting* and Dutch liberalism in general during the postwar period and before, even prompted liberals to question what its causes could be. Several answers have been proposed, such as a believed limited group feeling among liberals. Liberals would treasure their freedom and individualism more than others, which would explain the lack of incentive to put time and effort into archiving a group's history. As a solution to the lack of archive material, digging into personal archives has been proposed. The result was that indeed liberals tended to have big personal archives, however these consisted primarily of material that was publicly available anyway, namely official publications.¹³⁹

§IV.2.1 Publications of the Teldersstichting¹⁴⁰

The *Teldersstichting* produced two sorts of scientific publications in the postwar period. First, it produced 19 reports. These reports can be seen as elaborate scientific articles, all centred around one theme or question, with some of them about an economic issue. Second, it published shorter scientific articles in the '*Liberaal Reveil*'. The *Liberaal*

¹³⁸ Combining all annuals of the VVD from 1948 to 1970 would result in a 178 page document. In contrast, the smallest single ARP annual was 172 pages long. Besides, most were even well over 300 pages long.

¹³⁹ Jaarverslag VVD 1958, p. 3; Jaarverslag VVD 1955, p. 5; G. Voerman, 'Een vergeten hoofdstuk? Over de geschiedschrijving van het liberalisme', *Liberaal Reveil* 1988, vol. 3, p. 96-99; H.J.P.G. Kaajan & G. Voerman, 'Inventaris van het archief van de Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) en voorgangers, 1889-1976 (1999)', *Nationaal Archief* 1997, p. 1-202; Van Schie & Voerman 2007, p. 1-211.

¹⁴⁰ Most of the facts presented in this section are the result of personally going through the archive of the *Liberaal Reveil*. The dataset was a result of this as well. Part of the dataset can also be deducted from Appendix C, which was also created by the author.

Reveil was a scientific journal which was originally published solely under responsibility of the *Stichting Liberaal Reveil*, another independent foundation erected by the VVD, in 1955. The goal of the *Liberaal Reveil*, meaning ‘liberal revival’, was deepening and spreading liberal principles and the application of these principles on political, societal, economical and cultural matters. The journal should not be the mouthpiece of the VVD, but give room for an open liberal discussion. In the *Reveil* the *Teldersstichting* saw the perfect partner for publishing its scientific articles that were too short to publish as a separate report, something which the *Stichting* and the editors of the *Reveil* immediately acknowledged in the opening words of their very first edition in 1956. The cooperation between the two foundations was excellent from the start, and could be seen throughout the first years of the *Reveil*. Not only did the *Teldersstichting* actually get the space to publish their smaller articles, the editors of the *Reveil* also regularly dedicated attention

Year	Numbers	Articles	Pages
1956	4	13	96
1957	4	23	98
1958	4	18	90
1959	4	15	90
1960-61	4	14	71
1962-63	8	68	264
1963-64	8	78	258
1964-65	8	78	257
1966	6	41	194
1966-67	6	46	192
1967-69	6	38	174
1969-70	6	33	210
1970-71	6	36	184
Total	74	501	2178
Average	5,69	38,54	167,54

Table IV.2.1 Metadata Liberaal Reveil.

to the occasional reports produced by the *Teldersstichting*. After several years of satisfaction from both sides, in 1962 the *Stichting* and the *Teldersstichting* decided to publish the *Reveil* together from then onwards.¹⁴¹

As can be seen in table IV.2.1 above, the quantity of numbers, articles and pages that the *Reveil* produced, differed quite greatly in a relative short time. It went from 4 numbers a year to 8, and back to 6 again. The coupled number of articles and pages show the same movement. The reason behind these movements is simple: money. The liberal *Reveil* did not have a large, loyal segment of society that provided a steady flow of funding. Moreover, the VVD was permanently short on funds, and did not support the independent *Reveil*. The *Reveil* had to rely on its own funding, which was provided by the revenues from the publication. As a result, the *Reveil* was relatively expensive. During the years in which it produced 4 numbers, which amounted to fewer than 100 pages, subscribers had to pay f5,50, which corresponds to approximately €18,- in 2016, corrected for inflation. With the doubling in numbers, the price nearly tripled to f15,-, or €42,-. Indeed, this happened in 1962, the year when the *Teldersstichting* and the *Stichting Liberaal Reveil* started to publish the scientific journal together. With this profound cooperation, also the decision was taken to greatly expand the number of people that were involved with the publication. A concrete example of this decision is the creation of a 'council of editors' of around 40 people, where previously only an editors staff existed of around 12 people. A few years later, 8 numbers a year for the said price appeared not to be sustainable. The *Reveil* therefore decided to lower its production to 6, in order to not have to raise the subscription fee any further. Much information about the number of subscribers is not available, although what is known is that it was 3686 in publishing year 1966-67.¹⁴²

The *Liberaal Reveil* started off as a scientific journal in which nearly all the space was dedicated to scientific articles only. Only incidentally book reviews appeared, and if

¹⁴¹ H.J.P.G. Kaajan & G. Voerman, 'Inventaris van het archief van de Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) en voorgangers, 1889-1976 (1999)', *Nationaal Archief* 1997, p. 18-19; De Redactieraad, 'Ten geleide', *Liberaal Reveil* 1956, vol.1, p. 1-3.

¹⁴² Appendix C; Nearly every year of the *Liberaal Reveil* includes numbers that urge readers to look for extra subscribers, because the journal is lacking funds. See the first numbers of the *Liberaal Reveil* in 1956, 1962, 1966 and 1966-67, for example; 'De waarde van de gulden/euro', *Internationaal instituut voor sociale geschiedenis* n.d., accessible via iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php (last accessed 12 December 2016).

they did in total they would not use more than 2 pages. The only real uncommon addition to the journal was the inclusion of 1 to 3 quotes of famous liberals in particular. Interestingly, Erhard and Röpke made it into the quote section too. Röpke's quote was one against collectivism.¹⁴³ Erhard, who was granted the full page, was one promoting prosperity for all through competition, promoting democracy and the free market economy over dictatorship and a dirigist economy.¹⁴⁴ Also remarkable was the inclusion of a quote by the Swiss protestant theologist Karl Barth, the only author to have written a full German article in the scientific journal linked to the ARP. The quote was a religious quote in which is explained that objects have to serve man, not the other way round.¹⁴⁵ More religious and social quotes were included in the first years of the publication. For example, a quote from one of the editors of the *Reveil*, N. van Esveld, that argues that the social question revolves around living the life as God meant it.¹⁴⁶ Even John Maynard Keynes made it into the journal. Other than these quotes and the occasional book reviews, only scientific articles were published in the *Liberaal Reveil*. There were no political chronicles, neither internal or external. In 1962 the *Reveil* received a makeover. From then on political chronicles were regularly included, although they only focused on Dutch politics. Moreover, book reviews were included more often. During all these years, no foreign books have been reviewed, so no ordoliberal books either. From 1962 onwards all editions would also include a concise cv/biography of the different authors in that number. In addition, images, comical excerpts from political conversations and other jokes were included to liven up the journal. All in all, the *Reveil* was still very clearly a

¹⁴³ 'Eine Wirtschaft au bon plaisir du prince - das ist das wirkliche Antlitz des Kollektivismus.'

¹⁴⁴ "'Wohlstand für alle" und "Wohlstand durch Wettbewerb" gehören untrennbar zusammen; das erste Postulat bezeichnet das Ziel, das zweite den Weg, der zu diesem Ziel führt. Demokratie und freie Wirtschaft gehören logisch ebenso zusammen, wie Diktatur und Staatswirtschaft. Wir können an einer weiteren glücklichen und gedeihlichen Entwicklung der Welt nur teilhaben, wenn wir den Mut zum Konsum aufbringen.'

¹⁴⁵ 'Nachdem Gott selbst Mensch geworden ist, ist der Mensch das Masz aller Dinge. Der Mensch hat nicht den Sachen, sondern die Sachen haben dem Menschen zu dienen.'

¹⁴⁶ 'Bij het sociale vraagstuk gaat het om meer zaken dan sociale zekerheid en plezier in het werk en vreugde in ons leven. Het gaat om de eigen werkzaamheid en om het sociaal verantwoordelijk leven. Het gaat om de actie en om de vreugde in goede arbeid en goed leven. Het gaat uiteindelijk alleen om het leven naar Gods bedoeling.'

scientific journal, with the large majority of the pages being dedicated to scientific articles.¹⁴⁷

Author	Articles	Active*
Dr. E. Nordlohne	34	1956 till 1967-69
H. Vrind	24	1962-63 till 1970-71
H.F. Heijmans	9	1964-65 till 1970-71
Hans Wiegel	9	1964-65 till 1970-71
Th. H. Joeke	8	1962-63 till 1969-70
Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	7	1966-67 till 1970-71
Mr. P.O. Numans	7	1969-70 till 1970-71
Prof. mr. P.J. Oud	7	1956 till 1966
Mr. H. van Riel	7	1956 till 1970-71
Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	6	1957 till 1959

*Table IV.3.2 The most productive authors of the *Liberaal Reveil* in the postwar period.*

**Active as an individual author. Most on this list were part of the editorial staff before they wrote an article individually.*

In table IV.3.2 above, the most productive authors of the *Liberaal Reveil* in the postwar period are listed. Together they wrote nearly a quarter of the total number of articles. If one excludes the articles that represented the views of the whole editorial staff, which numbered 94, the percentage would draw close to 30%. However, if one takes into account that nearly all¹⁴⁸ of the authors on the productive list have been on the editorial staff, which means that their opinions were included in the editorial pieces, one can readily argue that the table above includes the most quantitatively influential authors of the *Reveil*. In sheer numbers Nordlohne and Vrind stick out. The former was part of the editorial staff from the very beginning and stayed there for nearly the whole researched period. From 66 to 68 he was even editor-in-chief. Subsequently he took a step back, although he continued writing. Nordlohne wrote on wide-ranging topics, although often

¹⁴⁷ *Liberaal Reveil* 1957, vol. 4, p. 98; *Liberaal Reveil* 1958, vol. 2, p. 50; *Liberaal Reveil* 1960-61, vol 3, p.56; *Liberaal Reveil* 1960-61, vol. 4, p. 71.

¹⁴⁸ The only person that had been a member of the editorial staff, H. van Riel, had however been part of the council of editors.

from a somewhat bigger scale, looking at ideologies (mostly liberalism), movements within those ideologies, relations of topical issues with freedom, et cetera. Vrind also wrote on a wide range of topics, although he focused more on economic themes. His topics were most often not so ideological, but a lot more concrete, such as 'pier prices'. Vrind was a part-time teacher, part-time journalist. Nordlohne, who was born in Warsaw and studied economics in St. Gallen and Rotterdam, was a public servant. As Nordlohne, Fockema Andreae was part of the original editorial staff. Until 1950 he had several positions in the public service and he was even briefly State Secretary of War. From 1951 onwards he was a banker, with in addition scores of positions in supervisory boards. Numans was the parliamentary editor at the *NRC*, a major national newspaper. Joeke too worked as a journalist at the *NRC* and also the British *BBC*, although not in conjunction with his work for the *Reveil*. From 1962 to 1965, plus a brief period in 1969, he was the editor-in-chief of the scientific journal. In total he worked at the Teldersstichting from 1960 to 1968. During a number of years, he combined his liberal scientific work with his political career. He became a member of parliament in 1963 and kept this position until 1989. Heijmans had a somewhat similar career. He combined his work for the *Reveil* with his work at the *Algemeen Dagblad*, another big national newspaper. Subsequently he spent many years as a parliamentarian. Kappeyne van de Coppello too made the step to national politics after having been active for the *Reveil*. Before becoming a member of parliament in 1971, she had already spent a few years in local politics. Van Riel also had a history of local politics. His writing for the *Reveil* coincided with him taking up an enduring parliamentary position. Van Riel's protégé, Hans Wiegel, wrote for the *Reveil* and combined that with his career at the *JOVD*, the youth department of the VVD. Within a few years he became the political leader of the VVD. Another heavyweight was the aforementioned Oud. Oud wrote the first article in the *Reveil* in 1956, and had been the political leader of both the VVD and two of its predecessors, for example. He had also written the party's first manifesto of principles.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ Appendix C; *Liberaal Reveil* 1956, vol. 1, p. 1-7; *Liberaal Reveil* 1962-63, vol. 2, p. 33; *Liberaal Reveil* 1962-63, vol. 3, p. 40; *Liberaal Reveil* 1963-64, vol. 5, p. 153; *Liberaal Reveil* 1969-70, vol. 1, p. 23; Van Schie & Voerman 2007, p. 139-140; 'Mr. W.H. (Wim) Fockema Andreae, *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09llio1gvm/w_h_wim_fockema_andrae (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Drs. Th. H. (Theo) Joeke', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll204ezf/th_h_theo_

All in all, several interesting observations can be made. First, there had been VVD politicians who were given plenty of space to write in the independent *Reveil*. Second, quite some writers used to be journalists, or combined that work with their work for the scientific journal. Third, and most interestingly, many prolific writers subsequently joined the national politics. Although one could imagine several plausible theories that would explain these observations, the observation as such is already relevant. If flows of ideas are hard to establish from person to person, with the movement of persons they take their ideas with them, at least initially. In addition to the observations that can be derived from the preceding section, some more observations can be made. First, the great majority of the editorial staff are based in the provinces of North-Holland and South-Holland. For example, in 1956 literally all 11 members came from those regions. From those, 6 were from Amsterdam. The second observation is that nearly all of the productive authors listed in table IV.3.2, were either nondenominational or lost their faith in the early sixties.¹⁵⁰

With regards to content several global comments can be made. First of all, especially during the first few years of its publishment, the *Reveil* had many articles that revolved around ideologies, most in particular liberalism of course. Articles often argued what they saw as liberalism, and for example how it related to other ideologies. Although the share of these kind of articles slowly declined, in absolute numbers it did not. This changed near the end of the sixties, when they suddenly barely appeared anymore. Do not be mistaken, ideologies were still pervasive throughout the journal, but not as a topic itself. So where topics used to revolve around ideologies and concrete policies were given as examples, subsequently topics revolved around concrete policy proposals and

joekes (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Mr. A. (Annelien) Kappeyne van de Coppello', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09lles9mxe/a_annelien_kappeyne_van_de_coppello (last accessed 12 December 2012); 'H.F. (Han) Heijmans', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09llnan3zu/h_f_han_heijmans (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Mr. H. (Harm) van Riel', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll5tr9yv/h_harm_van_riel (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'H. (Hans) Wiegel', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09llcz55yq/h_hans_wiegel (last accessed 12 December 2016); Mr. P.J. (Pieter) Oud, *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll3yhtz9/p_j_pieter_oud (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹⁵⁰ See the inside page of any *Liberaal Reveil*.

ideologies or their (implicit) premises were used as support. Or to put it even differently and also a little overstated: the journal grossly developed from a narrow selection of broad topics to a broad selection of narrow topics. The other general observations fit perfectly in this picture. Throughout the years, the number of topics about the VVD and about political manoeuvring increased. Editions fully dedicated to one theme, for example the upcoming elections, markedly increased over time as well. The same goes for articles that covered a foreign topic, particularly in the late sixties. During the first ten years of its existence, the *Reveil* thought that the modern liberal direction should also be attractive to humanists, catholics, protestants and jews alike, because there are no inherent ideological inconsistencies. Moreover, there were no problems with socialism, which was even seen as a branch of liberalism, albeit more radical and to the left with their plans for socialisation and a planned economy. Around halfway the sixties an extended internal dialogue erupted, that revolved around the question whether the VVD should still refer to the christian origins of the Dutch society. The argument was not settled with a clear winner; both sides received plenty support. The discussion can be marked as beginning as the shift away from ideological discussions in the *Reveil*. In addition, it was an interesting illustration of the changing society itself.

Especially the first years of the *Liberaal Reveil* contained a lot of reflections on what liberalism is, where it came from and where it should be heading. From these pieces, it immediately becomes obvious that liberals do not only see the good points, but also several points for improvement with regards to prior liberal policies. Immaterial liberal policies in particular have been very successful, according to these pieces. These included all sorts of civil liberties, such as the freedom of thought and equality rights. Material liberal ideas were looked at with more criticism. In general property rights and the like have been very important, but it also led to unwanted excesses. Referring to great former liberals, such as the 19th century Thorbecke, the authors in the *Reveil* argued that even old liberals were concerned with this matter and warned for these excesses. Therefore, it was beyond doubt that 'modern liberalism' had to tackle these issue. 'Modern liberalism' was a term that was often used in the *Reveil*. The sheer use of the word 'modern', a pronoun with a positive connotation, put beyond doubt that liberalism was or should be doing things differently than their non-modern predecessors.

Modern liberalism had been described by several authors, all in their own way. Although different words had been used, it is quite straightforward to distil its main points. To start, there is the price mechanism, which should spread power throughout society. For a fully functioning price mechanism three points were seen as important. Income should be spent freely as much as possible; entrepreneurs should compete with each other to gain the highest profits; differentiation in the rewards for labour. There were still plenty of tasks for the government. All its citizens needed to have purchasing power, so sometimes it was urgent to redistribute the national income. To have a fully functioning production apparatus, the state had to fight power concentrations. Imbalances in economic cycles had to be compensated. Good and accessible education had to provide a capable work force. Also measures like income taxes, wealth taxes and social security measures had to be taken. Even heavy inheritance and donation taxes were supported, and the same goes for expansive monetary policies. Overall it sounds closer to ordoliberalism than to paleoliberalism of course, because of all the social goals and state tasks. However, the ideas in the *Reveil* were clearly closest to keynesianism. Particularly the repeated references to the need of anti-cyclical policies were striking. In sharp contrast to the German ordoliberals, it was even accepted among the authors, that it was stated that with regards to the necessity of these anti-cyclical policies, there was no difference between socialists and liberals. What the liberals did note, however, was that countries should be aware that the state should not creepingly take over ever-larger shares of the national income. Therefore, once a recession was over, the state should be attentive to shrinking itself again. Although the 'modern liberals' definitely saw some similar tasks for the state as the ordoliberals did, the overall theoretical approach was somewhat different too. The modern liberals saw state and the growing bureaucracy as a necessary result of liberal policies. If one wants to achieve liberal goals, state agencies simply have to be created. Once the agencies grow too large and thereby become too formalistic, the state ironically has to create another state agency that has to correct the formalistic behaviour of the other agencies. In the late sixties the build-up of the arguments in the *Reveil* began to change noticeably. The now more narrow concrete topics that were discussed, were often not backed by the whole load of modern liberal ideas. The attention clearly shifted towards the workings of the price mechanism. This is not to say that the *Reveil* grew into a paleoliberal journal, for it did not start arguing that less

government is the solution to everything. The quite sudden shift in focus to the 'private side' of the liberal argument is remarkable, though.

It is important to underscore that the *Reveil* only published from 1956 onwards. In the preceding postwar years there were no liberal, VVD-affiliated scientific journals. According to articles in the *Reveil* itself, liberalism had several developments during that period. Directly after the war, the liberals mainly fought against socialism and socialisation. They favoured lower taxes, more manoeuvring space for businesses, a reduction of the state budget and government tasks, and thought a monetary balance was pivotal. Subsequently, as seen above, the liberals advocated a more positive approach. Instead of focusing on what the government cannot do, liberals started to point out what it can do. Also, they developed more 'modern' approaches with regards to economic policy. In addition, social feelings clearly increased. Unfortunately, no exact dates of the emergence of the described developments had been pinpointed. Otherwise it would be interesting to link these developments with the publications of the *Reveil* and the work of the *Teldersstichting*.¹⁵¹

About foreign relations not that many comments can be made. The authors in the *Reveil* did not give that much attention to foreign developments, except in the late sixties. This is not to say that the authors of the *Reveil* promoted nationalism, because occasionally a plea for an open mind with regards to foreign developments did appear. According to an article that separated an ideological and an economic foreign politics approach, the Dutch liberal approach had always been dominated by the economic one. This approach is more opportunistic and most often favours peace and free trade. If an ideologic stance would be bad for business, the economic one always prevails. This also explains the liberals' stance against decolonisation. The FDP had also been analysed in the *Reveil*. The German party was not considered too favourably, because the author thought it was not a proper liberal party. He argued that due to the federal structure of the party, too many opportunist, nationalists and pragmatics had joined the party. This resulted in a blurry political colour. Although this view is not too favourable, then FDP leader Erich Mende received the space to post an article of his in the *Reveil*, which was translated into Dutch. Mende pleaded for far-reaching European integration, including on a political level.

¹⁵¹ A. Szász, 'De ontwikkeling van het economisch denken in de V.V.D.', *Liberaal Reveil* 1959, vol. 4, p. 79-88; A. Szász, 'De ontwikkeling van het liberalisme na de oorlog', *Liberaal Reveil* 1966, vol 2, p. 39-43.

By far the most interesting article is a piece by the prolific Nordlohne in 1960. In this article, he points at Röpke and Erhard and tries to convince the reader that the Netherlands should go in exactly the direction promoted by them. Although Nordlohne only incidentally referred to them again, apparently the most prolific writer of the *Reveil* was indeed convinced by ordoliberal ideas, or so he was at the time of writing the article. By the way, Nordlohne did not call the ideas promoted by Röpke and Erhard ordoliberalism, but ‘economic humanism’. Throughout the years numerous references to humanism have been made in the *Reveil*, also sometimes in relation to economic subjects, but references to ‘economic humanism’ as such have not been found again.¹⁵²

With regards to the reports produced by the *Teldersstichting*, not that much additional information to the narrative above can be added. The 19 different reports in the postwar period all had a different set of authors. Sometimes it was only one author, other times a commission of a near dozen men was created that were responsible for putting the report together. Often the authors were part of either the board of governors of the *Teldersstichting*, or appeared (occasionally) in the *Reveil*. There were ‘external’ contributors as well. What all reports have in common, is that the board of governors of the *Teldersstichting* fully backed them. The reports were therefore published with the *Teldersstichting* as the writing authority, and one had to look for its human contributors in the foreword of the report. Interesting to mention is that the first chairman of the board of governors was a keynesian oriented economist, Hendrikus Johannes Witteveen. Witteveen was invited by the famous Tinbergen to work at the then just created CPB in 1945. Witteveen promoted cum laude with Tinbergen and two years later, at the age of 27, he became a professor of political economy, economic cycles and economic politics. Within a few years he would also make it to parliament, Minister of Finance and leader of the IMF. Before that, however, he often contributed to the reports of the *Teldersstichting*.¹⁵³

¹⁵² H.J. Noortman, ‘De Freie Demokratische Partij een liberale partij?’, *Liberaal Reveil* 1956, vol. 4, p. 92-95; E. Nordlohne, ‘Liberale accentverschuivingen’, *Liberaal Reveil* 1960-61, vol. 3, p. 39-46; E. Mende, ‘De eenheid van Europa als taak en hunkering’, *Liberaal Reveil* 1963-64, vol. 5, p. 121-123.

¹⁵³ H.J.P.G. Kaajan & G. Voerman, ‘Inventaris van het archief van de Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD) en voorgangers, 1889-1976 (1999)’, *Nationaal Archief* 1997, p. 7-8; Vanthoor 2004, p. 190, 212-213;

The reports varied greatly in size and also in topics and themes. The smallest was one about economic cycles with only 15 pages, of which only 9 pages of actual text. There were also several reports that were a lot larger, such as the one about open entrepreneurship with over 400 pages. As a result, the prices varied widely too. Some were less than a Dutch guilder, others more than 10, but most in between 2 and 5 guilders. Most reports were about concrete topics, which resulted in a set of advices based on scientific research. The topics were very diverse, from divorce to education, from plant breeder rights to rent legislation. Not surprisingly the approach in the reports varied a lot too. Some were very empiric, with mostly references to the source of the numbers. Others were a lot more theoretical, with mostly references to authorities, such as the CPB or to parliament with all its acts and laid down proceedings. References to literature varied from nil to several dozen. In most reports the literature references were nearly exclusively to Dutch sources. A remarkable observation was that often references to authors or institutions of a different political colour were made, from christian labour unions to the scientific bureau of the social-democratic PvdA. In some reports, quite a few Anglosaxon sources were used as well, such as Keynes, Schumpeter (in English) and Galbraith. Only one ordoliberal was referred to. A quote of Böhm was used as an implicit argument why no one can rationally oppose co-determination of employees.¹⁵⁴

The development of the economic arguments in the reports of the *Telderstichting* are very similar to those in the *Reveil*. In 1962 the tasks of the government was still formulated as follows. First, the government had to prevent unemployment on the one hand and inflation on the other, by combining anti-cyclical policies with a powerful and balanced economic growth. Second, it had to protect the economically weaker by means of social provisions. Thirdly, it had to ensure a reasonable amount of competition by combating cartels and other economic power concentrations. Fourthly, it had to improve infrastructure. The price function had a coordinating function. Extra government tasks were not a problem at all. This all sounds rather keynesian. Actually, in 1959 a report was published about what policies to use in economic cycles, with a total of one reference, namely to none other than John Maynard Keynes himself. In 1965 a report appeared that

'Dr. H.J. (Johan) Witteveen', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09lld3f4za/h_j_johan_witteveen (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹⁵⁴ For Böhm's quote, see *Open Ondernemerschap*, the ninth report of the Teldersstichting, p. 99-100.

already sounded markedly different. It warns for something which had ‘often been quoted abusively’, namely ‘sliding down the slide to collectivism’ by laying down the economic development. This sounds a lot like both Hayek and ordoliberalism. It continues by stating that the strengthening of the price mechanism has two pillars, namely improving the supply of information to market parties, and government policy should be in harmony with the economy. Examples of this would be appropriate economic cycle politics, aiming for a certain market order, competition policies, improving sectors that staid behind such as agriculture. According to the report, correcting acts by the government could not simply be dismissed if one has modern thoughts, including liberal. After this short summary, the report spent pages upon pages on warning that the government should be very careful extending its powers, just because of the fear of collectivism. Although the contents of the points described above sound like ordoliberalism, the tone sounds more like Hayek or even Friedman. The emphasis really is not on what the government can do, but rather on why it should be extremely careful with everything it does. In 1970 a report was published that is typical for many articles that had been written since the end of the sixties. This subtitle of this report about how to improve traffic says it all, really: ‘more roads and a more efficient usage of the roads by using price mechanics for driving and parking’. The whole report is imbued with solving problems by introducing the market mechanism. Literally all the traffic and parking problems could be solved by the market mechanism. It sounds just as religious as Friedman and the paleoliberals that wanted the government to pull out of the economy to leave room for the market. Surprisingly however, if one looks at the concrete policy proposals, the government is to act, not to pull back. For example, the government should classify cars for different tax payments, the government should tax car drivers based on how many kilometres they drive, the government should break taxi cartels and the government should make use of differential parking prices for different parking zones and different parking places. So the rhetorics of this report definitely moved closer to the paleoliberals, but the concrete policy proposals could easily be defended by ordoliberal theory.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ See the following reports of the Teldersstichting: *De publiekrechtelijke bedrijfsorganisatie in Nederland* (1958), *Conjunctuurpolitiek* (1959), *De rijksuitgaven* (1960), *De rijksuitgaven II* (1962), *Open ondernemerschap* (1962), *Het economisch beleid op middellange termijn* (1965) and *Ruim Baan* (1970).

§IV.3 Doctor Abraham Kuiperstichting

The ARP was the first political party in the Netherlands. It was founded in 1879 by Abraham Kuiper, the namegiver of the scientific bureau. Under the umbrella of the ARP, Kuiper united most antirevolutionary forces in the Netherlands. These forces were calvinistic reformed protestants, who were strongly opposed to the ideas of the French Revolution that stated that the authority of government stems from the people, not from the biblical god. God's word as written in the bible should be the guide and guideline of real world practices and policies, including those of the government. The party was one of the most influential parties before the Second World War, which they largely accomplished by Kuiper's political philosophy of the 'antithesis'. Kuiper managed to revolve politics around the axis of confessionals versus non-confessionals, as opposed to historically more common axes such as conservatism versus progressivism, or socialism versus liberalism. This way Kuiper and his ARP were part of the religious coalition, who were to be the majority for most of the pre-war periods. The antithesis also made it possible for the ARP to attract all sorts of reformed protestant voters, from progressive to conservative. The party was known for attracting voters from all social ranks, but especially those from the mid to lower social classes.¹⁵⁶

Already before the Second World War the ARP decided to create a scientific bureau, the *Doctor Abraham Kuiperstichting* (1921). Under the nazi regime, during which relatively many ARP members were actively involved in the resistance, the scientific work was halted. Immediately after the war, the ARP regrouped and also the *Kuiperstichting* got things going again. Actually, these two happened simultaneously. Although the *Kuiperstichting* had quite a large degree of independence from the ARP, the two organisations were still intertwined. Without going into too much detail, several organs of the ARP could all elect several controlling board members of the scientific bureau. These board members then chose the daily management from within their ranks. The intertwinement ensured the *Kuiperstichting* would remain faithful to the goals the ARP set out when founding the scientific bureau. To paraphrase, the goal of the *Kuiperstichting*

¹⁵⁶ 'Anti-Revolutionaire Partij (ARP) (ARP)', *Parlement & Politiek* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrogvuw/anti_revolutionaire_partij_arp (last accessed 12 December 2016).

was to improve and spread the ideology on which the ARP was based. It had to do so by further enhancing the knowledge of the 'eternal fundamentals of God's word', and to research how these could be applied to politics and society in general. The grounding charter identified four different means of achieving this. First, a library plus reading room had to be created, which would enable people to increase their knowledge about the ideology on which the ARP is based and about the task of the ARP itself. Second, scientists needed to be recruited, who would devote themselves to increasing the described knowledge. Thirdly, writings had to be dispersed. Fourthly, all other legal means to reach the aforementioned goal, could be used.¹⁵⁷

To start with the fourth means, in the archives no such other legal means can be found that are worth mentioning. The first means, the library, are not to be neglected. The grounding charter includes much detailed information about the workings of such a library. Most relevant is that books were sent all around the country, just for the cost of the stamp on the package; there were no borrowing fees. In the especially the annuals from 1956 and onwards, rather detailed information about the library were included. To start, the exact number of lent out packages, which averaged in between 4 and 5 books, were registered. This way it can be observed that the number of lent out packages grew from 895 in 1947 to its maximum of 1784 in 1957. Throughout the years this steadily declined to only 378 in 1969. This decline even prompted the scientific bureau to switch to counting in absolute number of books only, instead of packages. Part of the decline can be explained by the fact that the acquisition of a copy machine brought about the possibility of lending out photo copies of specific pages, which were not registered in the statistics. In addition to the simple quantity statistics, the packages were furthermore classified in 40 to 50 different themes. The observation can be made that throughout the years, 'Anti-Revolutionary direction', 'general political issues', 'administrative law' and 'affairs of church and religion' all made it to the top 6 in nearly all years on record. No other incidentally high ranking topics on the list remained there for a longer period, and could have simply been topical issues during that year. Some examples of these include 'biographies (many about Calvin)', 'breakthrough P.v.d.A.' and 'war issues'. The themes

¹⁵⁷ ARP Jaarverslag 1948, p. 21-25.

most relevant for our research would be ‘economic issues’, ‘liberal direction’¹⁵⁸ and arguably ‘socialist direction’. To start with the latter two, these were mostly rather marginal topics of interests. In most years the amount of sent out packages of these themes did not get into the double digits, with some clear exceptions around 1960. In 1958 the ‘social direction’ reached its peak of 48 out of 1741 packages, a year later the ‘liberal direction’ peaked with 31 out of 1604. There have not been any years on record in which the interest for the ‘liberal direction’ outperformed the ‘socialist direction’. The interest in ‘economic issues’¹⁵⁹ fluctuated quite a bit throughout the years. In 1954 it was not a popular theme yet, with only 18 out of 1321 packages. The interest grew in the next few years, reaching 43 in 1955, 64 in 1956 and 79 in 1957. Despite the declining total number of lent out packages, ‘economic issues’ remained popular and even reached 84 in 1959 and 1963. That is quite a significant amount, making it respectively the fifth and fourth most popular themes in those years. In 1964 the interest suddenly dropped to 18, around which level it had remained since. What all these statistics combined show, is that the target group of the *Kuyperstichting* was not neglecting economic issues, but it was not their main concern either. There were clearly other issues that grasped their interest a lot more, such as questions about antirevolutionary principles or churchly matters. However, throughout the years the *Kuyperstichting* could have definitely influenced some in their economic thinking by lending out their still substantial number of economic themed packages.¹⁶⁰

Back to the different means of the scientific bureau for reaching its goals. The library needed qualified people to operate it, and to make use of it for furthering the antirevolutionary knowledge. In the annuals the exact employees of the *Kuyperstichting* can be found. The daily management and the other board members actually were not really involved with the daily practices of the scientific bureau, but served more as checks

¹⁵⁸ The names of the themes changed throughout the years, but remain identifiable in nearly all cases. ‘Liberalism and related groups’ should equal ‘liberal direction’, for example.

¹⁵⁹ In some years the account made distinctions between the themes ‘economic issues’, ‘economics (general)’ and ‘economic state’.

¹⁶⁰ ARP Jaarverslagen: 1948, p. 21-25; 1950, p. 18-20; 1955, p. 17-20; 1957, p. 124-146; 1958, p. 244-259; 1959, p. 198-213; 1960-61, p. 288-317; 1962, p. 209-224; 1963, p. 243-258; 1964, p. 207-222; 1965, p. 229-249; 1966, p. 207-226; 1967, p. 155-168; 1968, p. 185-212; 1969, p. 179-205; 1970, p. 131-144; 1971, p. 110-129.

in the ARP system. Therefore these people were not even included as personnel in the administration of the bureau itself. Most years it had 3-5 academic employees, plus 6-10 supporting staff. Throughout the years it only increased slowly. One of the employees was always the director. The first one after the Second World War was K. Groen, who stayed in this position until 1957. J.H. Prins, who had been the scientific assistant until then, took over from him and finally W.C.D. Hoogendijk took charge in 1968. In 1956 the position of economic assistant was created, which G. Hoogerwerf had briefly filled for two years. His successor, Bob Goudzwaard, held out much longer and fully stopped in 1967. The *Kuyperstichting* had trouble filling the subsequent vacancy; the position remained empty for at least until 1972. Unmentioned so far have been the librarian and the judicial assistant. The influence of the latter two on the economic contents of the small academic team was probably marginal.¹⁶¹

Before the scientific journal of the *Kuyperstichting* is discussed, it is interesting to look at the financing of the bureau. In the original founding years in the beginning of the twenties, the scientific bureau knew to raise around a million of Dutch guilders, which was a very substantial sum of money around that time. Because a large share was robbed during the Second World War, a new 'million plan' was initiated in 1946. Ultimately the *Kuyperstichting* could only scrap together around than a tenth of the wished amount. This meant the scientific bureau could not cover all its costs. Actually it had always had funding problems according to the *Kuyperstichting* itself, also because they always wanted to do more than they financially could afford. To make ends meet, the scientific bureau partly relied on direct ARP party funding in most of its years. From 1947 to 1968 the party mostly contributed in between 16 thousand and 25 thousand Dutch guilders. In absolute numbers no real trend is visible, so in relative terms this meant that the party's contribution decreased. If one takes into account that the scientific bureau increasingly spent more money throughout the years, that meant that the bureau became ever more financially independent. Whereas the 22 thousand Dutch guilders were more than 20% of the budget of the *Kuyperstichting* in 1958, the 25 thousand Dutch guilders in 1968 were approximately 10% of the budget in 1968. The continued party 'subsidies' at some point were accounted as 'compensation'. That most likely had to do with the fact that the

¹⁶¹ See footnote 160.

scientific bureau thought they put way too much energy into fulfilling the task of secretariat for nearly all the party commissions, all officially for free.¹⁶²

Having discussed the ARP party contribution to the scientific bureau, where did the rest of the funding come from? Interestingly, during the whole postwar period, the largest share of income came from investments. The *Kuyperstichting* still had some pre-war assets left, and those combined with the immediate postwar funding were used for investing. The investing was restricted to some rules, which defined what the maximum percentage could be that was spent on a certain investment. Although these percentages and rules changed over time, the four groups that made up the largest share were the following. Showcasing the example of 1955, first a maximum of 40% could be invested in lending money that would be used for building christian schools. Second, 30% could be used for providing mortgages to churches and their religious institutes. Thirdly, another 30% could be used for other loans to churches and religious institutes. Lastly, also a maximum of 30% could be used for solid stocks and bonds. In the year accounts the results of these investments were shown. Occasionally even the newly bought stocks were specified. Throughout the years the budget of the *Kuyperstichting* continuously grew from 71 thousand Dutch guilders in 1956¹⁶³ to 319 thousand in 1970. Approximately two thirds of the spending had always gone to costs of personnel.¹⁶⁴

§IV.3.1 Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde

The *Kuyperstichting* published a scientific journal as well: the '*Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde*'. Its editorial staff mostly consisted of externals though. Even the two chairmen, J. Schouten (1946-1962) and W.P. Berghuis (1962-1977), had never been part of the personnel of the scientific bureau. By virtue of its office, the director of the *Kuyperstichting* was the secretary of the *Staatskunde*'s editors, though. The scientific journal targeted the party elite, which included councillors, board members of electors' associations and other antirevolutionaries in leading positions. Therefore the number of subscribers was not spectacularly high. It ranged from 1500 to 1950, although after an

¹⁶² See footnote 160.

¹⁶³ In the annuals before 1956 the yearly budgets were not accounted for in numbers. The scientific bureau only spoke about finances in general terms.

¹⁶⁴ See footnote 160.

enduring slow decline it dropped below 1500 in 1969, including student subscriptions. The price of a subscription did not increase that much over time, with only f4,75 a year in 1947 and f9,75 near the end of the postwar period in 1969. In contemporary terms that equals €22,45 and €19,80 a year. It was not as cheap as the ARP's 'propaganda magazine' though, the '*Nederlandsche Gedachten*'. Appearing 20 times for only f3,- a year, that magazine explicitly tried to sell itself as being the 'cheapest magazine in the country', thereby aiming for the non-elite antirevolutionaries.¹⁶⁵

The focus is on the copies of the *Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde* though, as this was the only publication under the responsibility of the *Kuyperstichting*. As shown above, it was one of the main means for achieving the goals of the scientific bureau, which boiled down to furthering, expanding and spreading the antirevolutionary ideology based on God's word. As is implied in table IV.3.1 below, the journal basically appeared once a month. However, most years included one or two editions that were double numbers. The first edition appeared in April 1947, and all other years started counting in January. The average number of pages was 375, and appeared to be a little lower near the end of the sixties than during the first years after its postwar reappearance. The number of articles became notably higher though. This meant the average number of pages per article decreased throughout time, which becomes obvious when studying the material and appeared to be a conscious decision of the editorial staff, after readers complained they would like to read somewhat smaller articles. Articles of 20 pages or more were anything but an exception, and a few times even articles that were nearly 50 pages were included. Although it differed greatly, scientific articles took up around two thirds of the journal's space. The remaining third was mostly either used for the book reviews section, or for the 'advice section'. Sometimes both sections were included, and sometimes one of the two even took up half of the edition.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ 'De waarde van de gulden/euro', *Internationaal instituut voor sociale geschiedenis* n.d., accessible via iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Historic inflation The Netherlands - CPI inflation', *inflation.eu*, accessible via inflation.eu/inflation-rates/the-netherlands/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-the-netherlands.aspx (last accessed 12 December 2016); See footnote 160.

¹⁶⁶ Appendix D; ARP Jaarverslag 1957, p. 167-168.

Year	Editions*	Articles	Pages
1947	8	16	288
1948	10	23	384
1949	10	23	448
1950	11	21	448
1951	10	21	420
1952	11	26	384
1953	10	30	388
1954	11	26	352
1955	11	32	384
1956	11	28	394
1957	11	37	390
1958	11	30	340
1959	11	31	372
1960	10	40	360
1961	10	36	364
1962	10	31	368
1963	10	35	381
1964	10	34	332
1965	10	26	312
1966	10	27	332
1967	10	30	339
1968	10	23	328
1969	11	37	376
1970	11	30	524
Total	248	693	9008
Average	10,33	28,88	375,33

Table IV.3.1 Metadata Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde.

The book reviews are discussed first, as the ARP including the *Kuyperstichting* considered the library function one of their most important tasks, which somehow makes sense for a party that wants to reduce all their ideas to a book: the Bible. During many years, the *Staatskunde* even included more book reviews than articles, for example in 1948, 1952 and 1957. However, during some other years the priority seemed to have been elsewhere. From 1960 to 1968 the number fluctuated around a total of 10, before more than doubling again in 1969. There are several things that are noticeable when studying

the book reviews. First, the reviewers overlap with the authors of ordinary articles in the journal; there were no dedicated reviewers. Second, a large share of the authors of the reviewed books also overlapped with those authors of ordinary authors. A third, related observation is that the topics of the reviewed books overlap a lot with the topics in the ordinary articles. Most reviewed books that had not written an article in the *Staatkunde*, still clearly fitted into matters that were of importance to antirevolutionaries. A great load of books had religious themes, or were looking at a societal issue from a religious perspective. During the end of the postwar period a somewhat broader range of books had been reviewed. That three observations still hold true though, albeit in a somewhat lesser extent for that period. Another example of the rather closed circle of authors and topics, is the incredibly low number of reviews of foreign books, which is fewer than 10 in the near-quarter of a century. No ordoliberal works have been reviewed, and only one economic foreign book, namely Galbraith's *The Affluent Society*. Considering the tone in most of the *Staatkunde*'s pieces, the reviewer was surprisingly positive about this work.¹⁶⁷

The advices segment of the *Staatkunde* was of a comparatively large size as the book review sections, perhaps even bigger. The format was that of a question and answer session. Readers could send their questions to the *Kuyperstichting*, and the *Staatkunde* would publish both the question plus the answer. It is not entirely clear who was responsible for the answers, because hardly any advices included the author. Most probably the personnel of the *Kuyperstichting* were responsible though, for two reasons. First, the few advices that included initials at the end, coincided with initials of personnel of the *Kuyperstichting*, not with members of the *Staatkunde*'s editors staff. Second, the *Kuyperstichting* reported in their annuals about written advices and placed them within themes that exactly coincided with the classifications used in the *Staatkunde*. The questions ranged from rather individual or small-scale problems to questions about the internal coherence of the party ideology. Examples of the former include the question of what the proper stance of an antirevolutionary should be if the local municipality allowed some citizens to play football on a Sunday, to whether a true antirevolutionary should allow mixed swimming and sunbathing. In general, most questions had to do with municipal or provincial politics, and concrete questions were asked about a specific

¹⁶⁷ Appendix D; *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1959, vol. 9, p. 299-303.

problem. The answers were often several pages long and included lots of strict normative rhetoric, leaving no room for discussion. Nearly all, if not all answers were linked to either the ARP's official program, but even more so to the Bible. The sparse economic questions were approached similarly as in the ordinary articles, and are therefore together discussed below. The number of written advices decreased throughout the year and the advice section completely disappeared after 1964. This had not to do with the declining number of questions, but the switch from letters to contact in person and by telephone. Because the ARP and the *Kuyperstichting* wanted to keep up with the increasing scale of 'everything', in 1966 there was a clear change of focus from local matters to national matters. The scientific bureau started spending a lot more time on supporting ARP national committees with their advices, and even more so the number of advices to members of parliament increased. One year later the latter tie with parliamentarians was further strengthened, mostly due to financial subsidies from the government for this kind of work. One of the two members that got sucked up into the parliamentary work, was the irreplaceable economist of the *Kuyperstichting*, Bob Goudzwaard.¹⁶⁸

The contents of the articles in the *Staatkunde* neatly fit into the narrative above. Whatever the topic was, it always had to be directly related to God's word as written into the Bible. It really did not matter whether it was about watching television, building houses or whether it was simply a biography, everything had to be traced back to God or linked to it. For the non-strictly religious calvinist, this often makes the trail of thought somewhat hard to understand, particularly when several authors disagreed with each other. The question at hand was always clearly stated, and even the conclusions can be followed. What happened in the middle though, was often just pages long of religious and ethical thoughts, often with references to specific Bible texts. Of course different authors had different styles, and there were also many very accessible articles, but those were still always related to either religious thoughts or to principles of antirevolutionary thought. Throughout the years, the strict religious reasoning loosened somewhat, although most pieces still had at least some references to religion. This development coincided with loosening the mostly normative form of reasoning. Instead of 'a proper antirevolutionary should' or 'a true christian has no choice but', the contemporary more usual tone of

¹⁶⁸ ARP Jaarverslag 1967, p. 155-158; ARP Jaarverslag 1962, p. 209-211; ARP Jaarverslag 1956-1966, see footnote 160; The indexes of the *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* for 1947-1955, 1968-1970.

cautious reasoning slowly took hold. Besides, authors started becoming less decisive at what the solution to a problem should be. Ultimately during the second half of the sixties, more technical, specialised articles started to be published, where strong religious foundations appeared not to matter anymore. Coinciding with this trend, also more pieces about foreign events were published. Foreign events also appeared to trickle into national discussions. For example, antirevolutionaries considered the CDU a potential role model for merging with the other confessional parties during the sixties. Otherwise Germany did not take up a special interest in the *Staatkunde*, among the other nations. Do not be mistaken, although the described increasing openness is easily noticeable, even in 1970 the focus of the *Staatkunde* was still clearly on national policies, and religion remained central. The *Kuyperstichting* noticed parts of the described developments as well. Because the scientific bureau perceived some backlashes from its apparently more conservative readership, it felt the need to defend these developments by pointing to its inevitability due to the scaling-up in all spheres.¹⁶⁹

The above development also coincides with changing ideas about economic issues and the role of government in general. Directly after the Second World War the *Staatkunde* was clearly against any other role for government other than keeping law and order, which included maintaining a capable army. Any other government interferences were called ‘subsidies’, which were all terrible, except for funding of denominational schools. Improper government intervention was only allowed if a negligent or impotent society brought about public injustices. Once such a dire problem was fixed, the government should retreat again. These principles should not lead to an ever-expanding government, for where catholics and socialists thought that the ‘government had a task, except...’, antirevolutionaries thought that ‘government did not have a task, except...’. Although this may sound somewhat like the ordoliberal or older liberal theories, who wanted to leave space for the market, the ideas were clearly different and definitely were not taken from the liberals. Free competition was seen as the source of social injustices and possessions by the devil, all of which the rise of economic liberalism and individualism were to blame for. During the later fifties some more progressive sounds

¹⁶⁹ ARP Jaarverslag 1965, p. 229- 234; Most of the facts presented in this section are the result of personally going through the archive of the *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde*. The dataset was a result of this as well. Part of the dataset can also be deducted from Appendix D, which was also created by the author.

started to find their way to the journal. According to them, several forms of social security were in line with the Bible. Other authors suppressed these ideas, although slowly but gradually more of these sounds could be heard. Economic policy ideas were still in line with the idea of a reserved government. Supporting small and medium enterprises could be helped, but only by subsidising entrepreneurial trainings, which sounds exactly like Röpke could have said it. A closer look quickly reveals this is not the case, as the main way of helping these enterprises would be inducing cartel formation. The way forward for antirevolutionary economics and christian economics in general was still considered to be 'no other way but that of carrying crosses behind Christ, on a road that goes right against the compromising, pragmatic current zeitgeist'. Approximately halfway the sixties, the reality that the government meddled with more affairs than in the preceding decades, finally started to creep in. Instead of mostly opposing the expanded government as such, the less religiously strict texts tried to steer the government to more acceptable forms of interference. The ideas of liberalism that competition and search for profit would lead to spontaneous harmony, had failed by leading to ethical and societal injustices. Christian politics should step in by contributing to long-term economic and social planning. Economic statistics and econometrics were to help in this endeavour. Throughout all the years, direct links to ordoliberal ideas have not been found in the *Staatkunde*. Similarities in policy ideas were mostly upset by dissimilarities, and the antirevolutionary mostly strict religious trail of thinking differed greatly from the ordoliberal path to economic ideas.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ 'Vraag en antwoord. Verplicht geneeskundig onderzoek van T.B.C.-patienten', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1949, vol. 2, p. 52-57; 'Vraag en antwoord. Subsidiepolitiek', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1949, vol. 3-4, p. 116-118; J. Severijn, 'Vrije concurrentie in ethisch licht', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1950, p. 423-441; See also 'Meer "open" opzet van A.R.S.', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1960, p. 217; For pieces where conservatives complain about the more progressive course, see *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1964, p. 157-211; F.L. van Muiswinkel, 'Middenstandspolitiek', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1954, p. 209-219; B. Goudzwaard, 'Economische politiek als beginsel-politiek III', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1962, p. 329-347; W. Albeda, 'De plannen voor economische en sociale programmatie', *Antirevolutionaire Staatkunde* 1965, vol. 4, p. 101-110.

Author	Articles	Active
Algra, H.	49	1950 - 1970
Diemer, E.	30	1952 - 1963
Scholten, L.W.G.	29	1955 - 1960
Diepenhorst, I.A.	20	1956 - 1970
Kuypers, G.	17	1950 - 1966
Verplanke, C.J.	16	1953 - 1970
Albeda, W.	13	1958 - 1969
Schakel, M.W.	13	1958 - 1964
Zuidema, S.U.	13	1947 - 1964
Berghuis, W.P.	12	1949 - 1963
Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	12	1949 - 1967
Goudzwaard, B.	11	1959 - 1967
Groen, K.	10	1951 - 1968
Mekkes, J.P.A.	10	1947 - 1961

Table IV.3.2 The most productive authors of the *Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde* in the postwar period.

As can be seen in table IV.3.2 above, the *Staatskunde* had quite a few productive authors. Together the top 14 most productive writers wrote more than a third of all the articles. Hendrik Algra stands out most, both due the total amount and the long period during which he was active. The large number is a little misleading, as a large share of Algra's works were the 'summaries of the interior', which were brief summaries of mostly political events in the Netherlands, for which he was mainly responsible together with Evert Diemer. Algra wrote pieces about education too, a popular topic among antirevolutionaries. Important to note is that Algra was a member of the Dutch Senate ('*Eerste Kamer*') from 1946 until 1969. More authors on the list were political figures for the ARP. Wiert Berghuis was even the party chairman from 1956 to 1968, among many other political positions. The aforementioned economist Bob Goudzwaard also made his way into politics, after his work at the *Kuyperstichting* and for the *Staatskunde*. Most others (subsequently) were in political positions as well, such as Wil Albeda, Isaäc Diepenhorst and L.W.G. Scholten. The lattermost, the third on the most productive list, was mainly responsible for the 'summaries of the exterior'. All in all, the authors of the *Staatskunde*

were firmly embedded in the ARP and its antirevolutionary family, just like the *Kuyperstichting*.¹⁷¹

§IV.4 KVP & Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming

The story of the scientific bureau of the *Katholieke Volkspartij* (KVP) starts with the creation of the KVP itself. Shortly after the Second World War, there was a lot of criticism on the KVP's predecessor, the '*Roomsch-Katholieke Staatspartij*' (Roman-Catholic State Party), mostly because of its notable absence during the reign of the nazi's. Also as a clear sign for outsiders that things changed, the old party disbanded in December 1945 and was immediately followed by the KVP. Not just the name changed, however. The most important changes with regards to the direction the new party was taking, were on the one hand the distinctly more progressive course, and on the other hand the opening-up of the party to non-catholics. Both these changes also have to do with the realised decreasing influence of the bishops in the party, and definitely cannot be separated from the wish to break with the past. With these changes, the KVP hoped to become a real people's party and gain support from all layers of the catholic society, plus becoming a viable alternative for the non-catholic electorate.¹⁷²

Interestingly, the scientific bureau of the KVP was created before the KVP itself, namely in August 1945, so still under the auspices of its predecessor. One of the two

¹⁷¹ 'H. (Hendrik) Algra', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09lkxcsz8/h_hendrik_algra (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Dr. W.P. (Wiert) Berghuis', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09lkxvzlx/w_p_wiert_berghuis (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Dr. B. (Bob) Goudzwaard', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09llhkksy4/b_bob_goudzwaard (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Dr. W. (Wil) Albeda', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09lkxbdsz4/w_wil_albeda (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Dr. L.W.G. Scholten', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll7taozs/l_w_g_scholten (last accessed 12 December 2016); *Politiek & Parlement*; 'Dr. I.A. (Isaäc) Diepenhorst', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09lkzs12d1/i_a_isaac_diepenhorst (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹⁷² Kossmann 1986, p. 239; J.G. Stokman, 'Het Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming en de Partij', *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* 1949-50, vol. 1, p. 412-416.

driving forces behind the creation of the scientific bureau, was also influential in the invigorating of the catholic party, namely father Siegfried Stokman. The other driving force was Carl Romme, who about half a year later would emerge as the political leader of the KVP, which he remained until 1961. Although the latter prompted Romme to leave the scientific bureau, he and Stokman designed the shape the '*Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming*' (Centre for Political Education) would have until its disbandment.¹⁷³

The *Centrum* basically was an institute that produced many in-depth reports on a wide array of topical political issues. It did so by selecting experts for committees that would work on a certain issue or question. Once a committee finished a concept report, it was sent around to all the different approximately 25 regional departments of the institute. In all those different departments, the local socially concerned people could check the report and propose amendments, before sending it back to the original group of experts. Taking all the proposed amendments into account, this expert committee would then submit their final product for publishment to the *Centrum's* administration. To be clear, the original and local committees could differ greatly from topic to topic. Within five years of its existence, already more than a thousand different people have contributed in the different (local) committees. The people who contributed, ranged mostly from professors and other academics, to magistrates, leaders of societal organisations and high-ranking officials. What they had in common, is that had an affiliation with the topic at hand, and that nearly all of them were catholic.¹⁷⁴

During the first few years of its existence, there was some discussion within the party ranks about the practical use of such a Centre. However, this discussion completely faded quickly, for even political foes observed the high impact of the rapports of the *Centrum*. The advises in the reports were often adopted as the official KVP party line, and

¹⁷³ 'Bij het vijftienjarig bestaan van het Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming', *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* 1960, vol. 9, p. 305-308; 'Stokman, J.G.', *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* n.d., accessible via ru.nl/kdc/over_het_kdc/archief/over_de_archieven/politiek/archieven_van_0/politiek-personen/stokman_j_g/ (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Dr. C.P.M. (Carl) Romme', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll5y18z6/c_p_m_carl_romme (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹⁷⁴ J.G. Stokman, 'Het Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming en de Partij', *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* 1949-50, vol. 1, p. 412-416; J. van Aarden, 'Tien jaar Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming', *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* 1956-67, vol. 8, p. 325-326; 'Bij het vijftienjarig bestaan van het Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming', *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* 1960-61, vol. 9, p. 305-308.

with these reports in hand the KVP standpoint was a lot harder to dismiss as simply a political opinion. The latter was even exacerbated by the fact that the KVP sometimes instead chose another party line than what report of the *Centrum* advised, which largely reduced the credibility of arguments of political opponents that targeted the bias of the *Centrum's* reports. The fact that the party sometimes¹⁷⁵ took another position than the *Centrum*, was also cause for another, more prolonged discussion about the scientific bureau. Namely, some KVP members feared that the *Centrum* would form a sort of party within the party itself and thereby undermine the authority of the KVP's politicians. According to them, the *Centrum* had to be a research bureau, not a political think tank. Their fears were arguably overstated, because in practice the leaders of the *Centrum* were very willing to listen to the needs of their party's wishes when it came to selecting the issues to research. Besides, because both the KVP and the scientific bureau consisted of nearly only catholics, the end-results of the reports nearly always fitted the party's narrative. Moreover, for this discussion it is important to mention that, despite the fact that the *Centrum* was claimed to be fully independent in its functioning, it was also fully financed by the KVP.¹⁷⁶

Other than the described production of political reports, the *Centrum* was not engaged in any other relevant activities. Although its name may suspect otherwise, the 'Centre for Political Education' did not organise courses, seminars or information gatherings to spread the official party line. These propaganda activities were the party's responsibility, until the '*Vormingsinstituut der Katholieke Volkspartij*' (Educational Institute of the Catholic People's Party) took over in September 1950. Actually, until September 1971 the scientific bureau was not even responsible for the publishment of the KVP-related scientific journal. Until then this was officially the responsibility of the party bureau. However, just like the *Centre's* leadership, the editorial office claimed full

¹⁷⁵ To be clear, the KVP mostly did not disregard the *Centrum's* reports and took the reports as the starting point to base their official party line on.

¹⁷⁶ See footnote 174.

autonomy and independence from the party leadership. In their support, there are no claims or other indications that the party leadership interfered unwantedly.¹⁷⁷

§IV.4.1 Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift & Politiek¹⁷⁸

Although the KVP's scientific journal was not yet the responsibility of its scientific bureau in our researched postwar years, an analysis of its work is still included. Because it largely fulfilled the same role as the other political parties' scientific journals, adding this information is useful. It sheds a clear light on the sort of economic ideas that were spread in the scientific journal of the KVP, thereby also facilitating better comparisons. KVP's scientific journal was first published under the name of '*Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift*' (Catholic Political Monthly) in March 1947. As the name suggests, in principle the journal was published once a month. In practice, most years only ten or eleven editions were printed, with one or two being a double number. In Table IV.1.1 below, most years the KVP's monthly was able to provide its 12 numbers. The amount of published articles in most years ranged from the lower 40's to the lower 60's with the average a little more than 50. The amount of pages varied from around 300 to 500, with an average of more than 400.

In all these numbers a clear upward or downward trend cannot be spotted, also not if one looks at before and after the bold demarcation line in between 1963-64 and 1964-65, which represents the journal's change of name to *Politiek*. The change of name did not bring about any real changes. In fact, the editorial staff was unchanged and the front of the very first edition under the new name simply stated you were looking at an edition from the 18th year of the journal. So, why the name change, then? The editors thought the old name was both misleading and not covering the contents of the journal. Misleading, because the standpoints taken by the authors did not directly come from

¹⁷⁷ L.A.H. Albering, 'Kader en Kadervorming', *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift* 1949-50, vol. 2, p. 465-468; W.M.A. Peters, Politieke scholing en kadervorming, *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift* 1957-58, vol. 2, p.67.

¹⁷⁸ Most of the facts presented in this section are the result of personally going through the archive of the *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandblad* and the *Politiek*. The dataset was a result of this as well. Part of the dataset can also be deducted from Appendix E, which was also created by the author.

Year	Numbers	Articles	Pages
1947-48	12	49	412
1948-49	11	49	399
1949-50	12	64	469
1950-51	11	48	398
1951-52	12	47	440
1952-53*	12	51	376
1953-54	12	49	424
1954-55	12	43	419
1955-56	12	52	460
1956-57	12	58	508
1957-58	12	62	452
1958-59	11	51	408
1959-60	12	77	532
1960-61	12	61	436
1961-62	12	62	466
1962-63	12	62	460
1963-64	12	51	400
1964-65	12	47	427
1965-66	12	45	376
1966-67	10	38	308
1967-68	12	45	385
1968-69	12	47	422
1969-70	12	46	352
1970-71	3	23	131
Total	274	1227	9860
Average	11,42	51,12	410,83

Table IV.4.1 Metadata Katholiek Staatskundig Maandblad & Politiek.

**The 3 extra editions in 1952-53 were excluded from this dataset, as they were atypical publications that consisted of one report each.*

catholicism; catholics can differ from opinion as well. Not covering the contents, because they thought 'Staatskundig' (Political) in Dutch implies a strictly theoretical approach, as

opposed to *'Politiek'* (Politics), which covers more practical issues as well, such as very specific policies.¹⁷⁹

If one browses through the several years and editions, most published numbers included 2 to 5 in-depth scientific articles that covered a topical issue of the time. These scientific articles always accounted for the lion's share of an edition. Moreover, most often a short account of a political (parliamentary) battle was included. In addition, many editions included one or more brief book reviews. Still looking at the format of the journal, it furthermore remarkable that the reports of the *Centrum* quite often found their way into it. First, the *Centrum* was the author of 13 different journal articles (see Table IV.4.2), which were often extensive excerpts or summaries of recently published reports. Second, the authors of the scientific journal itself often discussed the reports or referred to it. This mostly happened in 'normal articles', but sometimes the reports were also reviewed in the book review section. Thirdly, the journal often promoted the *Centrum's* reports by reserving a page for the list of available *Centrum* reports.

It cannot be considered strange that the *Maandschrift* and the *Politiek* both promoted the *Centrum's* reports, for they were both affiliated with the KVP. Indeed, both were even fully financed by the party. The revenue from selling the journals and reports also went straight into the party fund. In 1947 the yearly fee for the *Maandschrift* was f7,50, which corresponds to approximately €35,- in 2016, corrected for inflation. In 1970, the *Politiek* costed exactly double the amount in Dutch guilders, which is comparable to around €30,- in 2016. Students had to pay less. The pricetag on reports was the same for everyone, but differed greatly from report to report. In the first year, the reports had prices such as f0,15 and f0,30 cents. 20 years and nearly 150 reports later, prices hovered in between f1,- and f6,50. The circulation is unknown.¹⁸⁰

Looking at the editorial staff, it obviously changed throughout time. Most striking is the editorial staff of the first editions. Out of the 7 named staff members, 2 are familiar,

¹⁷⁹ Redactie, 'Voorwoord', *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift* 1947-48, vol. 1, p. 1-2; Redactie, 'Ten geleide', *Politiek* 1964-65, vol. 1, p. 1-2.

¹⁸⁰ 'De waarde van de gulden/euro', *Internationaal instituut voor sociale geschiedenis* n.d., accessible via iisg.nl/hpw/calculate-nl.php (last accessed 12 December 2016); <http://www.inflation.eu/inflation-rates/the-netherlands/historic-inflation/cpi-inflation-the-netherlands.aspx>; *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift* 1947-48, vol. 1, p. 1; *Politiek* 1968, vol. 2, p. 60; *Politiek* 1970-71, inside page.

namely Stokman and Romme. The fact that the two driving forces behind the creation of the *Centrum* are staff members of the scientific journal as well, further explains the aforementioned link between the two KVP institutes. Indeed, Stokman was the editor-in-chief from 1947 up until 1958. Another interesting name of the first hour is Leo Albering, who was part of the editorial staff for nearly twenty years and who could share the title of most productive author in the KVP's journal (see Table IV.4.2)¹⁸¹. Albering at the same

Author	Articles	Active*
[empty]	208	1949-50 till 1970-71
Albering, L.A.H.	33	1947-48 till 1967-68
De Kort, W.L.P.M.	33	1947-48 till 1963-64
Hahn, K.J.	27	1952-53 till 1968-69
Stokman, J.G.	25	1947-48 till 1966-67
Schuyt, W.J.	23	1947-48 till 1969-70
Cornelissens, J.A.M.	22	1959-60 till 1969-70
Vlekke, B.H.M.	19	1949-50 till 1957-58
Bornewasser, E.H.G.	16	1948-49 till 1961-62
Romme, C.P.M.	16	1950-51 till 1959-60
Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	16	1962-63 till 1969-70
Quaadvlieg, A.W.H.J.	14	1952-53 till 1962-63
Van Amelsvoort, M.	14	1960-61 till 1968-69
Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	14	1947-48 till 1961-62
Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming	13	1947-48 till 1957-58
Gielen, Jos	12	1949-50 till 1964-65
Schmelzer, W.K.N.	12	1953-54 till 1967-68
Andriessen, W.J.	11	1947-48 till 1968-69
Blaisse, P.A.	11	1953-54 till 1964-65

Table IV.4.2 The most productive authors of the Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift and the Politiek in the postwar period.

**As information from 1971-72 and later is not included in the analysis, the second named publishing year does not have to equal the last year the author published in the journal.*

¹⁸¹ As a small sidenote, Albering's articles were mostly reports about political (parliamentary) debates, not in-depth scientific articles.

time was secretary of the KVP, from 1946 up to 1969, and director of the *parteau bureau* from 1947 to 1957. These examples show how intertwined the KVP and its institutes were, and that it is hard to argue a clear one way ideological street existed from scientific journal to party ideology.¹⁸²

Further looking at the list of most productive authors in the KVP journal, one can see there were quite a few articles that did not have an author. Most of these were rather factual descriptions about either Dutch politics or important events abroad, where perhaps the editors or the authors thought adding their name to the piece did not add anything of worth. Not counting [empty] and the *Centrum* as an author, in total there were 416 different authors that together wrote 1006 articles in the postwar period. Around a third of those, 318, had been written by the 18 productive writers above. Without going into too much detail, all these authors were once part of the editorial staff, (prominent) members of the KVP or otherwise simply catholic. Direct links with ordoliberals have not been found. Only indirect links based on speculation could be provided, such as that Norbert Schmelzer's parents were both German. Schmelzer, a productive author and an important political leader of the KVP in the postwar period, would have been in the position to achieve closer ties with the ordoliberals/CDU, or was more likely to digest (ordoliberal) German literature.¹⁸³

Leaving aside this speculation, instead the contents of the *Centrum's* reports and the scientific journals are looked at more closely. An interesting development in this

¹⁸² 'Stokman, J.G.', *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* n.d., accessible via ru.nl/kdc/over_het_kdc/archief/over_de_archieven/politiek/archieven_van_0/politiek-personen/stokman_j_g/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

¹⁸³ 'Kort, W.L.P.M. de', *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* n.d., accessible via ru.nl/kdc/over_het_kdc/archief/over_de_archieven/politiek/archieven_van_0/politiek-personen/kort_w_l_p_m_de/ (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Drs. W.K.N. Norbert Schmelzer', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll7p0pzm/w_k_n_norbert_schmelzer (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Andriessen, F.H.J.J.', *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* n.d., accessible via ru.nl/kdc/over_het_kdc/archief/over_de_archieven/politiek/archieven_van_0/politiek-personen/andriessen/ (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Dr. W.J. (Wim) Schuijt', *Politiek & Parlement* n.d., accessible via parlement.com/id/vg09ll89fjve/w_j_wim_schuijt (last accessed 12 December 2016); 'Albering, L.A.H.', *Katholiek Documentatie Centrum* n.d., accessible via ru.nl/kdc/@818881/pagina/ (last accessed 12 December 2016).

respect, is a gradual change from a clear catholic perspective to a christian-democratic perspective. Especially in the first five years, many topics were viewed from a clear catholic perspective, such as the question whether the catholics are politically united, the relation of catholicism and democracy, or simply catholic politics. As a catholic party, that is not so strange of course, especially if one considers that in those beginning years the amount of authors that had a clerical background was quite noticeable.¹⁸⁴ If one compares these years with later years, one can see a clear tendency towards to christian-democratic perspective. Starting in 1954 with a piece by W.J. Schuyt about the goal of christian-democrats in Europe, the christian-democratic perspective become more commonplace, before nearly fully ousting catholic topics in the sixties. Concrete issues that were covered, mostly corresponded with the topical issues of the time, such as the relation of the European part of the Netherlands with its (former) colonies. Quite typical were the rather frequent publications about everything that revolves around family life, and even more so about education. Both, but especially the latter, remained a central topic throughout the whole postwar period.¹⁸⁵

In all the different articles, no direct reference to ordoliberalism or to one of the ordoliberals had been found. However, that does not mean the contents of articles have nothing in common with ordoliberal ideas. For example, it is interesting to observe that the *Maandschrift* included about a dozen articles, in which the authors clearly worried about the interests of small farmers, such as Röpke did. Moreover, already in 1947 the journal published articles about restraining the power of capitalism by introducing co-determination, just like Müller-Armack and Rüstow suggested. The sort of reasoning is also similar to Röpke, relying his argument a lot on ethics and old philosophers. Pieces that argued for introducing a market economy cannot be found. In most articles, the market was already considered a given, and the author would just place a sidenote on how to improve the situation. There were definitely pieces that wanted to help the market, for example by increasing the financing options by the state. There were also calls for businesses to let go of private agreements, for only if there would be more competition

¹⁸⁴ The fraternities whose members wrote in the KVP's scientific journal, include the *Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, *Societatis Jesu*, *Societatis Verbi Divini* and the *Congregationis Sacerdotum a Sacro Corde Jesu*.

¹⁸⁵ W.J. Schuyt, 'Het streven van de Christen-Democraten in Europa', *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift* 1954-55, p. 392-405.

the prices of goods would drop. In contrast, there were also articles that pointed at some problems with the market. For example, in 1960 the *Maandschrift* published an article in which it spoke about cartel legislation as blocking useful agreements and inducing excessive competition. That is of course in sharp contrast with ordoliberal theories, and especially with Böhm. All in all, one can say the KVP's view on the market economy was rather ambivalent, but definitely accepted it as a starting point. Compared with ordoliberalism, there were more pieces that wanted interventions or social checks on market forces. As no pieces could be found that wanted to abolish the market economy, but neither any pieces that advocated the introduction of it, it is safe to say the catholics did not consider it an important topic. They focused on the 'social' part of the social market economy, as it were. In this, the positions were often comparable to the ordoliberals, although the former were slightly more concerned with social matters, which was mostly based on ethic and/or religious consideration.

As a last interesting observation, the KVP's publications were rather focused on Germany. Before it has been said that most editions of the scientific journal included a section that described foreign developments. In the earlier years of its publication, the range of foreign nations that were observed was quite limited, with mostly Western nations, Russia and the colonies. This quickly grew, to also encompass everything up to exotic 'nations' such as Mozambique and South-West-Africa. Although pieces on Belgium, France, the UK and also the US were significant, pieces on Germany were by far the greatest. These were not only about political developments such as elections, but also about more in-depth issues, such as the way industrial organisations are organised there. From around 1956 the frequency of articles about Germany increased significantly, with also lots of 'simple' updates about the CDU. In contrast, developments in other nations were barely ever mentioned if they had no obvious inherent news value. It is interesting to note that the extra upped German reporting frequency coincided with the clear rise of articles from a christian-democratic perspective. Lastly, at some point the books that were reviewed in the scientific journal, were more often in German than in Dutch, English and French combined. Although this was not the case throughout the whole postwar period, there was definitely an opportunity for works from ordoliberals to make it into the KVP's journal. Interestingly, none of the ordoliberal champions actually did though. Perhaps this has something to do with the fact that most of their books were published before the

postwar period. That they did not make it into the book review section, does not mean ordoliberal books have not been reviewed. The authors of the reviewed books could have been influenced heavily by the ordoliberal champions, for example. Another important reason for the absence of ordoliberal books, is that they mostly covered topics that were closely related to the social market economy, and as discussed above, topics about the market economy itself were rather neglected by the *Maandschrift* and the *Politiek*.

V Comparison & Discussion

The detailed descriptions of the five scientific bureaus and their publications allows for many interesting observations and conclusions. The most important conclusion is that the ideas that the German scientific bureaus expressed, were clearly ordoliberal. In addition, in the Netherlands only significant ordoliberal traces have been found at the Teldersstichting.

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung was perhaps the easiest scientific bureau for drawing conclusions about the extent of ordoliberalism of their publications, because it so clearly was. Although its publications barely referred to the term 'liberalism', the ordoliberal ideas were minutely reproduced. If all the different scientific institutes are considered, the KAS clearly had the most direct links with the ordoliberals. Under Müller-Armack's leadership the popular economic seminar was created, Böhm was the second most productive author of *Die Politische Meinung*, and several other ordoliberals wrote in the *Meinung* as well, including those considered less influential. Thereby the most obvious ordoliberal inputs of the KAS have been established, although some others are discussed below. When one wants to determine the role this specific scientific bureau had in the transposition of ordoliberal ideas to policy, one must not forget that the first predecessor of the KAS only started being used in December 1956. That is more than 8 years after Erhard became the director of the bizonal Economics Administration in early 1948, and 7 after he became Germany's first postwar Minister of Economics in 1949. Therefore, the straightforward conclusion is that the KAS did not have any role whatsoever in the transposition from theory to policy. It is likely that it was Erhard's success that kept a constant stream of ordoliberal policies going. His verbal skills, the organisation behind him and particularly the *Wirtschaftswunder* caused people to trust these policies. Most important among these people were the CDU politicians, who supported him, despite his ideas being in contrast with much of what the constituent predecessor parties of the CDU advocated. With the closely intertwined relation of the CDU with the KAS, it comes as no surprise that the KAS too stuck to Erhard's ordoliberal policies. Some leaders of the scientific bureau even admitted that Erhard and Adenauer were their idols, and that these two defined what christian democracy is. Perhaps these are exponents of a time when

respect for authority was the norm, but either way it is a strong explanation of how ordoliberal ideas made their way into the KAS.

With Erhard providing the CDU and the KAS a constant stream of ordoliberal ideas during his time at the helm of German (economic) politics, one comes to wonder how the ordoliberal ideas reached him. Although it not clear what or who has been most influential, many factors can be pointed out. His teachers, Wilhelm Riegel and Franz Oppenheimer, must have increased Erhard's enthusiasm for the subsequent plans for the social market economy by Müller-Armack. Müller-Armack on his turn referred to many other ordoliberals. These are important factors of influence on Erhard's ideas before he came into a position of power. During his reign, the ordoliberals were also in a position of power to steer Erhard in the ordoliberal direction. Röpke was one of his personal advisors, and among other ordoliberals, Eucken, Böhm and Müller-Armack were in the academic advisory board of his Ministry.

What about the role of the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung then? This scientific bureau had been more progressive than the party with which it was affiliated. The FDP was partly dependent on sponsors from the industry, a problem which the CDU only had during its first few years of existence. This dependence caused some inconsistencies or insecurities when it came to the policy stances of the party. Especially anti-cartel and anti-monopoly measures were troublesome, for the industry did not back these. The FNS did not have these problems, because it was fully independent from the FDP. Therefore, it could express all the ideas that it saw fit to its liberal colour. Perhaps the diverse composition of the organisation of the scientific bureau also played an important role in keeping it on a progressive, non-laissez faire track. Either way, during the first 10, independent years of its existence its ideas were clearly ordoliberal. Even the scientific bureaus itself deemed it so. It repeatedly claimed that the social market economy and the other policies pursued by Erhard, stemmed directly from liberal legacy. If one considers that none of the nearly 140 authors in *ORDO* contributed to *liberal* and barely any other personal links with ordoliberals have been found, one is inclined to believe that the FNS embraced ordoliberal ideas because of ideological reasons. With respect to the role of the FNS between ideas and policies, it is unlikely that the ordoliberal ideas of the FNS had much direct influence on the policies of the FDP in the postwar period. Factor that probably played a role are the fact that the CDU claimed Erhard's policies, that the FDP

relied on money from the industry, and that the FDP found the FNS too moderate during its independence.

Did all the efforts of both the KAS and the FNS then have no effect on policymaking? On the contrary, they must have. In the researched period, both scientific bureaus were clearly ordoliberal. The greater part of the participants of their activities were students. In addition, the KAS had moulded CDU party members for a long time, an example which the FNS followed in the late sixties. Therefore, it is well plausible that the new generation of leaders had been influenced by the ideas of the scientific bureaus. Moreover, teachers, journalists and other public opinion makers were targeted as well. Furthermore, there is also a good example of a more direct link between ideas and policy. Once the FNS and the FDP sealed their new close relationship, within a year the protracted internal fighting over the cartel legislation was suddenly over. In 1971 the FDP adopted the '*Freiburger Thesen*', a political manifesto that closely resembled ordoliberal thought as a whole. The manifesto was written by the Karl-Hermann Flach, one of the most productive authors of the *liberal*. In this, it is shown that the scientific bureaus had short-term national success in pushing ordoliberal thought. As both scientific bureaus have been in contact with many local politicians as well, it would be interesting for future research to investigate the effects these bureaus have had on local policies.

In the Netherland the term 'ordoliberalism' has not been used. In Germany the expression was not common in the postwar period. In both countries the term 'neoliberalism' appeared occasionally, but definitely quite frequently at both liberal scientific bureaus, the FNS and the Teldersstichting. Both also referred to 'modern liberalism', although this term was more common at the latter. 'Neoliberalism' or 'modern liberalism' was nearly always contrasted with the excesses of the prewar liberalism, and most often the comparison was actually explicitly with the 19th century. At the FNS instead of calling it liberalism, sometimes the derogatory term 'manchesterism' was used as well. At both the fight against collectivism also repeatedly came to the fore. In fact, both the constructions of their arguments and the conclusions that they drew, closely resembled each other. As such, both scientific bureaus belonged to the international neoliberal current, at least until the late sixties. However, some differences have to be noted. Whereas the FNS is clearly ordoliberal, the Teldersstichting sometimes draws some conclusion that deviate from it. The most eye-catching is that the Teldersstichting

favoured government interference by means of anti-cyclical policies. This is a showcase of the influence of keynesianism. In contrast, the FNS was strictly opposed to these policies. Perhaps the differences on this crucial point can be explained by the limited links between the Teldersstichting and German scientific bureaus or Germany in general. Indeed, the most productive writer of the *Liberaal Reveil* in the postwar period did plead for the implementation of the policies furthered by Röpke and Erhard, but he barely referred to it again. Other authors barely even mentioned anything that could be considered as going in this direction. Looking at the literature reviews, the one discussed ordoliberal work can be considered insignificant. In other words, the stream of thoughts from Germany to the Netherlands was very limited in this respect. A language barrier should not have been the cause of it, for why would the Kuypersstichting publish a full-length article in German at the time? Besides, in large parts of the country German was the second language, a fact that was subsequently strengthened by the availability of two German TV channels in addition to the single Dutch one.

Where the cross-border flow of ideas seemed limited by the lack of evidence, the following observations offer circumstantial support for this as well. Namely, at the end of the sixties the Teldersstichting changes its direction somewhat. Indeed, both the FNS and the Teldersstichting changed their rhetorics, but this fits the general trend of deideologification around that time. Big ideas and ideologies were discussed less and less, instead concrete topics took centre stage. However, where the FNS remained clearly ordoliberal, a notable Friedman trend crept in the works of the Teldersstichting. The emphasis in these new pieces was on all the dangers of basically everything the government does, and on the importance of introducing more markets. However, the paleoliberals of Friedman and the likes had not constantly been referred to. Perhaps the relatively short period of only a few years is too short to make any decisive statements on this matter. Therefore it would be an interesting idea for future research to extend the researched period for some more years to see what the influence of the paleoliberals had really been. Moreover, for a scientific bureau that lists Mises, Hayek and Friedman among the most influential liberals but excludes ordoliberals, one would say that at some point the influence of the paleoliberals started to weigh more than the more moderate stream of neoliberals that used to prevail. Furthermore, contemporary VVD politics arguably showcase this shift too, with its constant pleads for more market, austerity and

privatisations. Fully at odds with these considerations, are the numerous reference in to the '*sociale markteconomie*' in numerous official VVD party documents in the eighties and nineties. Indeed, the corresponding ideas sound very familiar. Then when and how did the ideas of the social market economy make its breakthrough? This research cannot answer that question, but one with an extended timeslot to be studied, may.¹⁸⁶

Although the postwar economic situations in Germany and Netherlands were very similar, the political situations were not. Due the occupation and some radical changes, the formation of new parties started later than in the Netherlands, with the exception of the continued SPD. The two other main parties, the FDP and the CDU, were a mixed lot that still needed to find their own identity. In the creation of the their scientific bureaus, both parties saw a means of achieving that. The KAS ultimately received widespread support for its foundation from within the different groups of the CDU, whereas the founder of the FNS did not even consult them. Unsurprisingly, the KAS was successful in reaching the CDU members with its message of a common christian-democratic identity, whereas the FNS furthered the sounds of one specific wing of the FDP and had troubles reaching the others. In the Netherlands radical reforms were not deemed necessary, and society fell back on prewar societal institutions. Largely the same political parties dominated the scenes. The KVP was easily the most dominant and had been in government during the whole postwar period. Moreover, the scientific journals and the scientific bureau itself, though they claimed functional independence, fell directly under the KVP. Both could explain the tendency of the *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* and the *Politiek* to be rather pragmatic in their approach. The scientific journals did not question the existence of the market, but also did not explicitly support it. Rather they focused on making it more social. Some of their ideas can be considered similar to ordoliberal ideas, but it is not the result of ordoliberal reasoning or ordoliberal thought. No references to ordoliberals or ordoliberalism have been found. The approach of the Kuypersstichting can be juxtaposed to that of the catholic scientific journals. It was rigid and ideological. No ordoliberal influences in the Kuypersstichting have been found. In the end of the sixties, it gradually lost some of its strict, normative feathers. During this time, some sporadic references to the CDU had been made in the context of forming something

¹⁸⁶ 'Liberale denkers', *Teldersstichting* n.d.m accessible via teldersstichting.nl/liberalisme/liberale_denkers.html (last accessed 12 December 2016); Van Schie & Voerman 2008, p. 155-160.

similar in the Netherlands. Its catholic counterpart can even be considered a little obsessed with this issue. The CDU acquired a special place in its reporting, and the German party was always viewed favourably. It would be interesting to see whether the ultimate fusion into the Dutch CDA was driven by changing ideas in the scientific journals. It would be even more interesting to see how the economic policies were shaped. It is known that the scientific bureaus of the KVP, ARP and CHU started to meet regularly from 1971 onwards, but were their roles precisely? Did they look at their big ordoliberal sister, the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung? Did they try to create a confession transcending sound by looking at christian values, and if so, did they too result in ordoliberal ideas? Or is it also tricky to find links with ordoliberalism in the seventies? If so, did Friedman's economic theories find their way to the christian democrats, but were these theories weakened by christian morals? If future research could find answers to these questions, that would also help.¹⁸⁷

Other than the named reasons for extending the timeslot in future research, it would be interesting to find out the role of scientific bureaus in the gradual change towards a society with more anglosaxon economic influences. Especially the steps away from the social market economy in Germany would be interesting in this respect. Extending the research to also cover non-scientific party journals could also prove to be interesting. This way the knowledge about the influence of the ordoliberals, before the scientific bureaus were founded, can be deepened. For example, it is known that directly after the war, the FDP republished several articles of Röpke in its '*Informationsdienst*' that were originally published in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. What was the role of these non-scientific party journals and to what extent were its messages ordoliberal? Another interesting research would fit in the tradition to link religion to economics. It was interesting to see that practically all members of the Teldersstichting came from the Western parts of the Netherlands, and that the VVD could only get a real foothold in the catholic south during the sixties. For a long time, the party was also dominated by (moderate) protestants. That is very interesting, because the ordoliberal heavyweights were (moderate) protestants too. Does ordoliberalism stem from (moderate) protestantism? If so, that would have important implications for the differences of

¹⁸⁷ ARP Jaarverslag 1971, p. 111.

economic thought in Germany and the Netherlands, compared with countries that are dominated by catholicism. Researching the influence of ordoliberalism in the mostly catholic Austria, could be a good approach for this. The last suggested possibility for future research would be to include the scientific bureaus of the SPD and the PvdA in the analysis. Of the three major currents, this one probably made the most radical shift. Nowadays it is hard to spot a social-democrat that talks about socialisation and centrally planned economies. However, no one is surprised to hear that social-democrat Jeroen Dijsselbloem wants to be assured that investments of the EIB do not crowd out parties from the private market. Where did the ideological shift occur? What was the role of the social-democratic scientific bureaus? To which extent did ordoliberalism find its way there?

An observation that has not been discussed is the role of money in the scientific bureaus. As one may suspect, it does matter. First, it is interesting to see that the scientific bureaus that are economically dependent on their affiliated party, stick closer to the party line. The KAS used to be fully dependent on the CDU, although subsequently this greatly declined; the Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming and the catholic scientific journals were fully dependant on the KVP; even the Kuypersstichting had always had to rely on extra funding by the ARP, despite the former's income from investments. These three scientific bureaus stuck relatively close to the party line. In contrast, the two liberal parties did so much less. The Teldersstichting did not receive funding from the VVD, and neither did the FNS. The policy approaches of these two scientific bureaus can be considered more idealistic. Once the FNS got in real money trouble, the FDP stepped in with financial help in exchange for increased party links. Subsequently, the FNS published more FDP-related material. The second observation is more obvious, but not any less important. Of the researched five scientific bureaus, the KAS was by far the largest. The FNS is significantly smaller, but still a giant when compared to the Dutch scientific bureaus. This is not the result of the popularity of the respective institutes, but simply due to resources. From the moment the German government started funding scientific bureaus of political parties, they started growing rapidly both in scale and scope. It is not too daring to state that all the extra seminars, scholarships, publications and expansions abroad, caused the German bureaus to be more influential than their Dutch counterparts.

No research is without its shortcomings, and this is not an exception. One shortcoming is that not all available material could have been studied, because the quantity is just so large. Another shortcoming is that most information was new for the author, the first time he studied the material. As a result of both shortcomings, some relevant facts could have been missed. However, due to the method of research, it is likely that the potential misses are limited to interesting interlinkages among the several institutes. It is unlikely that the core of the research, the extent of ordoliberal thought, can be stained. By first sharpening what ordoliberalism is and researching the people who were involved with that ideology, plus embedding this narrative in international developments, this coherent information could be used as a framework to look at the scientific bureaus individually. If time would permit going over all the material once more, the conclusion about the extent of ordoliberalism would remain exactly the same. Only some interesting interlinkages could be missed, for example if a footnote in material of the scientific bureau that was studied first, contains information about an important person of the fifth studied bureau. However, by making selections of the most relevant material to study, before actually doing so, the extent of ordoliberalism in the five scientific bureaus has been determined with great care.

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APPENDICES

Die Politische Meinung

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liberal

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ORDO

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A. Die Politische Meinung

A.1 Publications of *Die Politische Meinung* in chronological order, 1956-1970

Year	Number	Author	Title
1956	1 -- Juni	Karl Willy Beer	Neue Politik?
1956	1 -- Juni	Richard Tüngel	Unternehmen Korea
1956	1 -- Juni		Die Flucht zurück
1956	1 -- Juni		Alarm aus München
1956	1 -- Juni	Hans Furler	Gibt es noch Wege zu Europa?
1956	1 -- Juni	Otto Lenz	Jetzt Pakte mit Moskau?
1956	1 -- Juni	Michael Freund	Eine neue Form des Regierens - Struktur und Bild der Koalition Adenauer
1956	1 -- Juni	Hasso v. Manteuffel	Die Wehrpflicht unmodern?
1956	1 -- Juni	Volkmar Muthesius	Der ideale Finanzminister
1956	1 -- Juni	Dokumente und Notizen	Die deutsche Schulmisere
1956	1 -- Juni	Hans-Joachim von Merkat	Kein Zurück zum Nationalismus
1956	1 -- Juni	Eine Umfrage	Vierzigstunden-Woche: Ja oder nein?
1956	1 -- Juni	Rolf Handtke	Parteien in der Wandlung
1956	1 -- Juni	Else Schlüter	Eine kleine Währungsreform
1956	1 -- Juni	Waldemar Lentz	Barometer der Europäischen Mühseligkeiten - Kohle, Atome und Staaten
1956	1 -- Juni	Ernest J. Salter	Die Satelliten ohne Stalin
1956	1 -- Juni	Maxim Gargen	Die Herrschaft Ulbrichts dauert an
1956	1 -- Juni	Egon Heymann	Kein Krieg, aber auch kein Friede
1956	1 -- Juni	Armin Werther	Mit den Engländern?
1956	1 -- Juni	Raymond Cartier	Warum sind die Amerikaner so unbeliebt?
1956	1 -- Juni	DPM	Der politische Film
1956	1 -- Juni	Christian E. Lewalter †	Der rote Scharlatan
1956	1 -- Juni		In eigener Sache
1956	2 -- Juli	Karl Willy Beer	Ist die Freiheit tot?
1956	2 -- Juli	Hans E. Habefeld	„Frieden führen“
1956	2 -- Juli	H. W.	Parlamentarismus der leeren Bänke
1956	2 -- Juli	Richard Tüngel	Noch einmal: Unternehmen Korea
1956	2 -- Juli		Der Hamburger Putschversuch
1956	2 -- Juli	Kurt Georg Kiesinger	Wandelt sich der Kommunismus?
1956	2 -- Juli	Werner Schütz	Deutsche Kulturpolitik heute
1956	2 -- Juli	Michael Freund	Die Schatten der Vergangenheit
1956	2 -- Juli	Rudolf Krämer-Badoni	Geliebter schlechter Westen
1956	2 -- Juli	Otto Lenz	Die soziale Wirklichkeit
1956	2 -- Juli	André Guérin	Frankreich: fünf Minuten vor zwölf
1956	2 -- Juli	Paul Scheffer	Hilfe ins Ungewisse
1956	2 -- Juli	Carl Wehner	Ohne klingendes Spiel
1956	2 -- Juli	Egon Heymann	Schepilows Rundreise

1956	2 -- Juli	Maxim Gargen	Mit Ost-Berlin verhandeln?
1956	2 -- Juli	Ernest J. Salter	Die zweite Partei hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang
1956	2 -- Juli	Waldemar Lentz	Druck, Angst, Einsicht
1956	2 -- Juli	Karl Ringfer	Wenn die Russen abziehen
1956	2 -- Juli	Rolf Handtke	Als ob schon morgen gewählt werde müßte
1956	2 -- Juli	Armin Werther	Forderungen der Verbände
1956	2 -- Juli	Else Schlüter	Die alten Tage
1956	2 -- Juli	Heinz Kersten	Auf der volkseigenen Leinwand
1956	2 -- Juli	"-g."	Panzer, die es nicht gab
1956	2 -- Juli		Der neue Opportunismus
1956	2 -- Juli		Revolution unmöglich
1956	3 -- August	Karl Willy Beer	Ein Plan!
1956	3 -- August	Waldemar Lentz	Bundestagswahl mit „Europa-Liste“?
1956	3 -- August	Oz.	Falsche Akzente
1956	3 -- August	Wk.	Wieder Zünglein?
1956	3 -- August	* * *	Verpaßte Gelegenheiten?
1956	3 -- August	Rudolf Fischer	Zwischen den Blöcken
1956	3 -- August	F.R. Allemann	Bonn's neue Demokratie
1956	3 -- August	Hermann Schäfer	Problem Mittelstand
1956	3 -- August	Franz Meyers	Überwuchert die Bürokratie den Staat?
1956	3 -- August	A. Werner Uhlig	Atom - Angst und Wirklichkeit
1956	3 -- August	Adalbert Worliczek	Das Pfund und die Rubel-Offensive
1956	3 -- August	Ergebnisse einer Enquête in Frankreich	Deutschland : noch immer der Erbfeind?
1956	3 -- August	Paul Scheffer	Eisenhowers Konkurrenten
1956	3 -- August	Egon Heymann	Fragezeichen in Island
1956	3 -- August	Ernest J. Salter	Moskaus liebstes Kind
1956	3 -- August	Else Schlüter	Ohne Arbeitslose
1956	3 -- August	Karl Willy Beer	Zu früh?
1956	3 -- August		Fürchtet Rußland China?
1956	3 -- August	Die deutsche Einheit in italienischer Sicht	Gibt es keinen Weg mehr?
1956	4 -- September	Rudolf Fischer	Der Zeitgemäße
1956	4 -- September	Richard Tüngel	Der Trieb zur Selbstvernichtung
1956	4 -- September	Adalbert Worliczek	Siegt die Vernunft?
1956	4 -- September	* * *	Das Herkömmliche und das Neue
1956	4 -- September	Max Schnetzer	Neutralität und Neutralismus
1956	4 -- September	Eva Gräfin Finckenstein	Um die Oder-Neiße-Linie - Tatsachen, Entwicklungen und Wirkungen
1956	4 -- September	Otto Häcker	Ein Zentralrat für die Wissenschaft
1956	4 -- September	Reinhold Schairer	Umrüstung - anders gesehen
1956	4 -- September	Johannes Jacobi	Politik auf und hinter der Bühne
1956	4 -- September	Philippe Ben	Was wird aus Polen? - Ein großer Reisebericht
1956	4 -- September	Ernest J. Salter	Rebellion in Ungarn?
1956	4 -- September	Maxim Gargen	Puschkin - nicht Sorin

1956	4 -- September	Waldemar Lentz	Suez und Marcinelle
1956	4 -- September	A. Werner Uhlig	New Look der NATO?
1956	4 -- September	Rudolf Handtke	Die Großen und die Kleinen
1956	4 -- September	Else Schlüter	Von 52 zu 40 Stunden
1956	4 -- September	Eberhard Schulz	Religion auf der Straße
1956	4 -- September	Die Schweizer Armee im Atomzeitalter	Ein kleines Land denkt nach
1956	4 -- September	Armin Werther	Konkurrenz
1956	5 -- Oktober	Karl Willy Beer	Wähler von morgen
1956	5 -- Oktober	Carl Maria Faber	Safety first
1956	5 -- Oktober	Wk.	Die Saar-Wahrheit
1956	5 -- Oktober	Be.	Die unzeitgemäße Uniform
1956	5 -- Oktober	Karl C. Thalheim	Die „sozialen Errungenschaften“ der „Zone“
1956	5 -- Oktober	Adalbert Worliczek	Rapallo: Drohung und Wirklichkeit
1956	5 -- Oktober	Edo Osterloh	Brauchen wir ein Bundeskultusministerium?
1956	5 -- Oktober	Rudolf Fischer	Der Mensch und der Verkehr
1956	5 -- Oktober	Georges Hourdin	Gibt es Lösungen für Algerien?
1956	5 -- Oktober	Hans Naumann	Die Klassen werden altmodisch - Ein Bericht vom Weltkongreß der Soziologen
1956	5 -- Oktober	Egon Heymann	Das finnische Rezept
1956	5 -- Oktober	Maxim Gargen	Mikojans Mission
1956	5 -- Oktober	Ullrich Sieck	Das Kanal-Drama
1956	5 -- Oktober	Waldemar Lentz	Konfusion um Kohle
1956	5 -- Oktober	Rolf Handtke	Das Jahr vor der Wahl
1956	5 -- Oktober	K.H. Helfer	Eine republikanische Armee
1956	5 -- Oktober	Hans E. Habefeld	Die Kirchen und die Politik
1956	5 -- Oktober	Waldemar Lentz	Europa abschreiben?
1956	5 -- Oktober	Armin Werther	Opposition - so oder so
1956	6 -- November	Karl Willy Beer	Adenauers drittes Kabinett
1956	6 -- November	Ernest J. Salter	Die Revolution wider Moskau
1956	6 -- November	Richard Tüngel	Sinn und Unsinn der Ost-Kontakte
1956	6 -- November	Walther W. Rostow	Was Amerika von Europa erwartet
1956	6 -- November	Hans-Joachim von Merkatz	Was Europa tun muß
1956	6 -- November	Adalbert Worliczek	An Deutschlands Grenzen
1956	6 -- November	Franz Meyers	Was kann man überhaupt reformieren?
1956	6 -- November	J.F. Volrad Deneke	Freie Berufe - wohin?
1956	6 -- November	Volkmar Muthesius	Bleibt das deutsche Geld gesund?
1956	6 -- November	Egon Heymann	Ist der Norden Europas bedroht?
1956	6 -- November	Gunnar Berggren	Schwedische Wandlung
1956	6 -- November	Waldemar Lentz	Mit England? - Europa-Parlamente mit neuer Initiative
1956	6 -- November	Maxim Gargen	Was wird aus Ulbricht?
1956	6 -- November	Rolf Handtke	Preise und Parteien
1956	6 -- November	Else Schlüter	Gibt es gerechte Einkommen?

1956	6 -- November	Franz Harrach	Wenn Offizielle reisen...
1956	6 -- November	Johannes Jacobi	Remarque 1929 und 1956
1956	6 -- November	Rü.	Die politische Briefmarke
1956	7 -- Dezember	Rudolf Fischer	Der Blick in den Abgrund
1956	7 -- Dezember	Richard Tüngel	Gibt es politische Moral?
1956	7 -- Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Deutsche Illusionisten
1956	7 -- Dezember	* * *	Die Große Koalition - Absage an eine Gefahr
1956	7 -- Dezember	E.	Meinungen über Eden
1956	7 -- Dezember	Wolfgang Höpker	Europäisches Niemandsland - Neutralisierungsoffensive vom Nordkap bis Kreta
1956	7 -- Dezember	Adalbert Worliczek	Warschau, Budapest, Moskau - Der Nationalkommunismus und Moskaus Führungsanspruch
1956	7 -- Dezember	Ulrich Scheuner	Hat der Föderalismus versagt?
1956	7 -- Dezember	Kurt Pentzlin	Müssen Preise immer steigen?
1956	7 -- Dezember	F.R. Allemann	Wehrminister Strauß
1956	7 -- Dezember	E. H.	Wochen, die die Welt erschütterten
1956	7 -- Dezember	Bertrand Girod de l'Ain	Kann in der „Zone“ etwas passieren?
1956	7 -- Dezember	Paul Scheffer	Der neue Eisenhower
1956	7 -- Dezember	Waldemar Lentz	Ein deutscher Präsident in den Europa- Parlamenten
1956	7 -- Dezember	Helmut Stein	Die NATO politisieren!
1956	7 -- Dezember	H. L.	Das Dilemma des M. Sartre
1956	7 -- Dezember	Johannes Jacobi	Spektakel und Publikum
1956	7 -- Dezember	Be.	Ein Einzelgänger
1956	7 -- Dezember	Armin Werther	Die politische Vernunft - Seni 1956
1956	7 -- Dezember	"-r."	Die Berufe - frei?
1956	7 -- Dezember	Hilmar Schlüter	Briefe: Revolution in Rußland möglich?
1957	8 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Götze Lebensstandard?
1957	8 -- Januar	Robert Ingrim	Die zweite Weltmacht
1957	8 -- Januar	Rudolf Fischer	Peking, Moskau, Budapest
1957	8 -- Januar	Rudolf Vogel	Spiel mit Milliarden
1957	8 -- Januar	E. H.	Eine un-„zeit“-gemäße Betrachtung
1957	8 -- Januar	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Gibt es Sicherheit für Europa?
1957	8 -- Januar	Otto Lenz	UNO oder NATO?
1957	8 -- Januar	Wolfgang Höpker	Weshalb schweigen die Anderen?
1957	8 -- Januar	Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf	Hier wird Geschichte umgeschrieben
1957	8 -- Januar	Franz Meyers	Forderung: Weniger Beamte
1957	8 -- Januar	Carl Maria Faber	Ein europäisches Exempel: Die Saar
1957	8 -- Januar	Philippe Ben	Gomulka: Patriot oder Generalsekretär?
1957	8 -- Januar	Egon Heymann	Der kleine Diktator Nasser
1957	8 -- Januar	Waldemar Lentz	Prognosen für Europa
1957	8 -- Januar	Carl Wehner	Das große Umdenken
1957	8 -- Januar	Rolf Handtke	Die 5-Prozent-Hürde
1957	8 -- Januar	Heinz Kersten	Die latente Opposition

1957	8 -- Januar	Johannes Jacobi	Der Anti-Brecht
1957	8 -- Januar	Armin Werther	Eine Grundwahrheit
1957	8 -- Januar	von Blücher	Rapallo-Politik anders
1957	9 -- Februar	Robert Ingram	Verdünnte Zonen
1957	9 -- Februar	Alfred Rapp	Die in Bonn...
1957	9 -- Februar	Paul Leverkuehn	Schüsse auf Washington
1957	9 -- Februar	R. I.	Die Generäle
1957	9 -- Februar	Be.	Mut ohne Abenteuer
1957	9 -- Februar	Johannes Jacobi	Quo vadis, Hilpert?
1957	9 -- Februar	Rushton Coulborn	Der europäisch-russische Gegensatz
1957	9 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Die Bürgerlichen
1957	9 -- Februar	Waldemar Lentz	Eurafrika - Fata Morgana oder Ernst?
1957	9 -- Februar	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Schlagwort „Kolonialismus“
1957	9 -- Februar	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Die Waffen des Nahen Ostens
1957	9 -- Februar	Adalbert Worliczek	Kann der Westen helfen?
1957	9 -- Februar	Max Rossbach	Wenn und warum gestreikt wird
1957	9 -- Februar	Else Schlüter	Das Abenteuer der Rentenreform
1957	9 -- Februar	Rolf Handtke	Künftiger Zweikampf
1957	9 -- Februar	Egon Heymann	Die umstrittene Nahost-Doktrin
1957	9 -- Februar	Paul Leverkuehn	Wenn das Öl ausfällt
1957	9 -- Februar	Waldemar Lentz	Europa und seine Minister
1957	9 -- Februar	Ernest J. Salter	Die 90 Tage des Janos Kadar
1957	9 -- Februar	Luigi Barzini	Kann Süd-Italien je geholfen werden?
1957	9 -- Februar	Werner Wegefald	Die abtrünnigen Kinder
1957	9 -- Februar		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1957	10 -- März	Karl Willy Beer	Wenn einer eine Reise tut
1957	10 -- März	Richard Tüngel	Die neue Stärke
1957	10 -- März	Robert Ingram	Mißtraut den Deutschen
1957	10 -- März	R. H.	Schmolzen die Blöcke?
1957	10 -- März	I.	Pech gehabt
1957	10 -- März	M.	„Bundesdeutsch“
1957	10 -- März	Walther Hofer	Von der „Befreiung zum Freiheitskampf
1957	10 -- März	Franz Borkenau	Nationalkommunismen und Moskau
1957	10 -- März	Volkmar Muthesius	Wenn die SPD gewinnt...
1957	10 -- März	Kurt Joachim Fischer	Die Krise des deutschen Films
1957	10 -- März	Ullrich Rühmland	An Oder und Neiße entlang
1957	10 -- März	Adalbert Worliczek	Der englische Anti-Amerikanismus
1957	10 -- März	Egon Heymann	Der König aus dem Morgenland
1957	10 -- März	Waldemar Lentz	Die letzten Hürden
1957	10 -- März	Gunnar Berggren	Stille Weltecke mit Dynamit
1957	10 -- März	Hans Lehmann	Die Sage von der kollektiven Sicherheit
1957	10 -- März	Heinz Kersten	Bücher unter Staatskontrolle
1957	10 -- März	Johannes Jacobi	Dramatische Falschmünzer
1957	10 -- März	Be.	Da Bonn nicht Weimar ist...

1957	11 -- April	Anton Böhm	Sture Politik?
1957	11 -- April	Richard Tüngel	Der Faktor Zeit
1957	11 -- April	Robert Ingram	Amerika sucht Bundesgenossen
1957	11 -- April	Karl Willy Beer	Kirchen im Kampf
1957	11 -- April	Gracian	Kein Homunkulus
1957	11 -- April	Hans Furler	Parlamente über den Nationen
1957	11 -- April	Ernst Deuerlein	Wer hat Deutschland geteilt?
1957	11 -- April	H. E. Haberfeld & Wilhelm Jung	Mindestens neun Volksschuljahre - Dokumente und Informationen
1957	11 -- April	Michael Freund	Die Fabel vom Trojanischen Pferd
1957	11 -- April	Ergebnisse einer Umfrage	Die Parteien und ihre Wähler
1957	11 -- April	Hellmut Meier	Läßt sich Planwirtschaft liberalisieren?
1957	11 -- April	* * *	Tagebuch aus Moskau
1957	11 -- April	Egon Heymann	David Ben Gurion u. das Schicksal Israels
1957	11 -- April	Waldemar Lentz	Der Fall Speidel
1957	11 -- April	Rolf Handtke	Klar zum 15. September
1957	11 -- April	Else Schlüter	Die kranken Arbeiter
1957	11 -- April	Johannes Jacobi	In der Schweiz unmöglich
1957	11 -- April	Be.	Untertanen und andere
1957	11 -- April		„An DIE POLITISCHE MEINUNG“
1957	12 -- Mai	Karl Willy Beer	„Volkspartei“?
1957	12 -- Mai	Karl Pottmann	Verdammte dieser Erde?
1957	12 -- Mai	Waldemar Lentz	Was zu tun wäre
1957	12 -- Mai	Robert Ingram	Gaitskells Plan
1957	12 -- Mai	Albert Komma	Geschäfte mit der Angst
1957	12 -- Mai	Otto Lenz †	Europäische Reise in Afrika
1957	12 -- Mai	Paul Leverkuehn	Politik um Entwicklungsländer
1957	12 -- Mai	Rudolf Fischer	Ja, die Deutschen...
1957	12 -- Mai	Wolfgang Höpker	Mehr Freizeit - aber wozu?
1957	12 -- Mai	Gabriele Bremme	Frauen in der Politik - ja oder nein?
1957	12 -- Mai	Dokumente und Berichte	Die große Atom-Diskussion
1957	12 -- Mai	Anthony Nutting	Der Angriff auf die NATO
1957	12 -- Mai	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Die Atom-Divisionen von morgen
1957	12 -- Mai	Gunnar Berggren	Ängste im Norden
1957	12 -- Mai	Robert Guillain	Neuer Wind über Peking
1957	12 -- Mai	* * *	Was sich in der Sowjetunion wandelt
1957	12 -- Mai	Heinz Kersten	Die unruhige Alma Mater
1957	13 -- Juni	Karl Willy Beer	Ein neuer 17. Juni....
1957	13 -- Juni	Robert Ingram	Auf- oder Abrüstung
1957	13 -- Juni	A. Werner Uhlig	In Übereinstimmung
1957	13 -- Juni	Rudolf Vogel	Die Steuergelder
1957	13 -- Juni	Ernst Deuerlein	Moskaus deutsche Einheit
1957	13 -- Juni	* * *	Die neuen Journalisten

1957	13 -- Juni	Alfred Frankenfeld	Hat der deutsche Journalismus eine soziale Existenz?
1957	13 -- Juni	Carl Maria Faber	Sieht England einen neuen Weg?
1957	13 -- Juni	Ein Bericht	Das Minus der europäischen Verteidigung
1957	13 -- Juni	Hans Joachim Kausch	Neue NATO-Perspektiven
1957	13 -- Juni	Egon Heymann	Erfahrungen mit der Neutralität
1957	13 -- Juni	Hans Lindemann	Im Armenhaus Europas
1957	13 -- Juni	* * *	Familie Adrianow rechnet
1957	13 -- Juni	Ernest J. Salter	Echte Wahlen?
1957	13 -- Juni	Rolf Handtke	Die Wahlverwandtschaft
1957	13 -- Juni	Rosemarie Winter	Unternehmerinnen
1957	13 -- Juni	Adalbert Worliczek	Emigranten und ihre Pläne
1957	13 -- Juni	Christian Bock	„1984“ - schon Gegenwart?
1957	14 -- Juli	Rudolf Fischer	Das Ziel der Atompanik
1957	14 -- Juli	Robert Ingram	Die neue Koexistenz
1957	14 -- Juli	Karl Willy Beer	Christliches
1957	14 -- Juli	Alfred Rapp	Besser als der zweite?
1957	14 -- Juli	Winfried Eichen	Das rote Militär
1957	14 -- Juli	Peter von Zahn	USA-Erfahrungen mit Automation
1957	14 -- Juli	Adalbert Worliczek	Veto für Europa?
1957	14 -- Juli	Hans Otto Wesemann	Ein Volk von Kapitalisten
1957	14 -- Juli	August Most	Freie Preise und Stabilität
1957	14 -- Juli	Johannes Jacobi	Festspielerei
1957	14 -- Juli	Karl Willy Beer	Berlin als ob...
1957	14 -- Juli	Ernest J. Salter	Sowjetischer denn je
1957	14 -- Juli	Rolf Handtke	Die noch unentschieden sind
1957	14 -- Juli	Else Schlüter	Wenn die Wirtschaft gedeiht
1957	14 -- Juli	Egon Heymann	Warum Pakte nicht genügen
1957	14 -- Juli	Waldemar Lentz	Am Experimentierplatz
1957	14 -- Juli	* * *	In Sachen Dudinzev
1957	14 -- Juli	rim.	Noch einmal Starlinger
1957	14 -- Juli	Armin Werther	Entzauberte Neutralität
1957	14 -- Juli	Waldemar Lentz	Streng geheim
1957	14 -- Juli		„An die Politische Meinung“
1957	15 -- August	Karl Willy Beer	Weitermachen?
1957	15 -- August	Richard Tünger	Konventioneller Bürgerkrieg
1957	15 -- August	Robert Ingram	Osteuropas Chance
1957	15 -- August	Be.	Wenn Ulbricht stürzte...
1957	15 -- August	Rolf Handtke	Das Wort vom „Untergang“
1957	15 -- August	Rudolf Fischer	Wer der Kreml wirklich ist
1957	15 -- August	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Der Atomkrieg wird nicht kommen
1957	15 -- August	Karl Marx	Die neue Toleranz in Deutschland
1957	15 -- August	Karl-Dietrich Bracher	Weimar: Erfahrung und Gefahr
1957	15 -- August	Heinrich Krieger	Gibt es viele Europa-Wege?

1957	15 -- August	Wolfgang Höpker	Das Phänomen Tito
1957	15 -- August	***	Wie man Atheist wird
1957	15 -- August	Ernest J. Salter	Chruschtschows Stalinismus
1957	15 -- August	Franz von Murlin	Europas Sozialisten
1957	15 -- August	Waldemar Lentz	Friede auf dem Rhein?
1957	15 -- August	Richard Dietrich	Die heiklen Punkte
1957	15 -- August	Raymond Aron	Die algerische Tragödie
1957	15 -- August	Vercors	Intellektuellen-Gespräche in Moskau
1957	15 -- August	Ernst Deuerlein	Ist dies des Deutschen Vaterland?
1957	15 -- August	Johannes Jacobi	„Sozialer Klimbim“
1957	16 -- September	Karl Willy Beer	Nach der Wahl
1957	16 -- September	Robert Ingram	Alliierte des Kanzlers
1957	16 -- September	Hans Otto Wesemann	Ärgernis Deutschland
1957	16 -- September	Richard Tüngel	Zuviel Freiheit
1957	16 -- September	Chester Bowles	Die „Politik der Stärke“
1957	16 -- September	Franz Etzel	Atom-Europa von morgen
1957	16 -- September	Günter Schmolders	Ermutung zum privaten Eigentum
1957	16 -- September	Adalbert Worliczek	Wege und Gefahren im Osthandel
1957	16 -- September	Der Bericht der UN-Kommission	Die Anklage gegen die Sowjetunion
1957	16 -- September	Egon Heymann	Wenn die Vereinten Nationen tagen
1957	16 -- September	Wolfgang Höpker	Der rote Drang zum Mittelmeer
1957	16 -- September	Waldemar Lentz	Wer wird Europas Hauptstadt?
1957	16 -- September	***	In Rußland wohnen...
1957	16 -- September	K.P. Werder	Tausend Worte Sowjet-Deutsch
1957	16 -- September	Ernest J. Salter	Der Fall Džilas
1957	16 -- September	Friedrich Luft	Postkarten-Ansichten
1957	16 -- September	Rolf Gruner	Parteien unter der Lupe
1957	16 -- September	E. S.	Das soziale Gefälle
1957	16 -- September	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Lust und Last der Könige
1957	17 -- Oktober	Karl Willy Beer	Die nächsten vier Jahre
1957	17 -- Oktober	Robert Ingram	Kraftmeiertum oder Stärke?
1957	17 -- Oktober	Richard Tüngel	Die Oder-Neiße-Linie
1957	17 -- Oktober	Hans Köhler	Vierzig Jahre - und nun?
1957	17 -- Oktober	Heinz Kersten	Das Tauwetter ist vorbei
1957	17 -- Oktober	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	NATO - im Aufbau oder Abbau?
1957	17 -- Oktober	Erich Peter Neumann & Elisabeth Noelle	Hintergrund einer Wahlprognose
1957	17 -- Oktober	Karl Loewy	Israel zwischen Krieg und Frieden
1957	17 -- Oktober	Ernest J. Salter	Schukow, Molotow und die „Richtungen“
1957	17 -- Oktober	***	Parasiten
1957	17 -- Oktober	Risa Worsley	Die Macht der Funktionäre
1957	17 -- Oktober	Waldemar Lentz	Vom deutschen Stil und Takt
1957	17 -- Oktober		Ein Idyll
1957	17 -- Oktober	R. H.	Der Große Angriff auf Bonn

1957	17 -- Oktober	Johannes Jacobi	Juden heute auf der Bühne
1957	18 -- November	Karl Willy Beer	Regieren...
1957	18 -- November	Robert Ingram	Die Angst vor dem Sonderfrieden
1957	18 -- November	Richard Tüngel	Aktivierung der Ostpolitik
1957	18 -- November	Fiscalius	Von Schäffer zu Etzel
1957	18 -- November	Rolf Handtke	Die neuen Lobbyisten
1957	18 -- November	Anton Böhm	Wer heute in Deutschland regiert
1957	18 -- November	Franz Rupp	Eine Währung, die keine ist
1957	18 -- November	Paul Scheffer	Alarmzeichen Little Rock
1957	18 -- November	Ernst Deuerlein	Deutschland und die Weltrevolution
1957	18 -- November	Wolfgang Höpker	Die Ostsee - ein rotes Binnenmeer?
1957	18 -- November	* * *	Der Sputnik und General Blow
1957	18 -- November	Carl Wehner	Ohne die Bombe?
1957	18 -- November	Franz von Murlin	Erstaunliches Beispiel Wien
1957	18 -- November	Waldemar Lentz	Lohnt sich Straßburg noch?
1957	18 -- November	Else Schlüter	Zwei Sozialpreisträger
1957	18 -- November	Elisabeth Noelle & Erich Peter Neumann	Die Meinungsforscher und die Politik
1957	18 -- November	Friedrich Torberg	Adenauer und die Intellektuellen
1957	18 -- November	Be.	Politik lehrbar?
1957	19 -- Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Korruption
1957	19 -- Dezember	Robert Ingram	Um Sein oder Nichtsein
1957	19 -- Dezember	Richard Tüngel	Der Fall Frankreich
1957	19 -- Dezember	Rolf Handtke	Arme schwankende SPD...
1957	19 -- Dezember	H. N.	Todesstrafe?
1957	19 -- Dezember	Rudolf Fischer	Die deutsche Chance
1957	19 -- Dezember	Wilhelm Grewe	Wird abgerüstet werden?
1957	19 -- Dezember	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Von der Überschätzung der Waffen
1957	19 -- Dezember	Theo Friedenau	Die Grenzen der freien Meinung
1957	19 -- Dezember	Bericht über eine Konferenz	Fragen an die Kapitalisten
1957	19 -- Dezember	Ernest J. Salter	Nach dem Moskauer Konzil
1957	19 -- Dezember	* * *	Der Minister und das Gewissen
1957	19 -- Dezember	Waldemar Lentz	Wird etwas aus der NATO?
1957	19 -- Dezember	Hans Gathmann	Prozesse für die Demokratie
1957	19 -- Dezember	-k'	Präsident und Kanzler
1958	20 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Ein anderer Adenauer?
1958	20 -- Januar	Robert Ingram	Der Fall Kennan
1958	20 -- Januar	Richard Tüngel	Die farbige Front
1958	20 -- Januar	R. I.	Der Rat der Türken
1958	20 -- Januar	Franz Harrach	Die große Mauser
1958	20 -- Januar	Ernst Deuerlein	1945-1957: Was war und schon verging
1958	20 -- Januar	Günther Scholz	Große Geschenke schaden der Freundschaft
1958	20 -- Januar	Egon Heymann	Die vier Rückzüge der Sowjetunion
1958	20 -- Januar	Franz Rupp	Ausbeutung und Sozialisierung

1958	20 -- Januar	Frido von Senger und Etterlin	NATO - was nun?
1958	20 -- Januar	Ein Bericht aus Frankreich	Ein Plan für die Sahara
1958	20 -- Januar	Werner von Lojewski	Erfahrungen mit dem „Gemeinsamen Markt“
1958	20 -- Januar	Waldemar Lentz	Funktions-Fehler der Allianz
1958	20 -- Januar	Ullrich Rühmland	Stationen einer Bedrohung
1958	20 -- Januar	* * *	Die Bornierten und die Funktionäre
1958	20 -- Januar	Heinz Kersten	Fernseh-Propaganda in Rot
1958	20 -- Januar	Rolf Gruner	Die schwarzen zwölf Jahre
1958	21 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Ohnmacht der Mehrheit
1958	21 -- Februar	Robert Ingram	„Mein Plan“
1958	21 -- Februar	Wk.	Pakte gegen Pakte
1958	21 -- Februar	Rolf Handtke	Klein - aber fein
1958	21 -- Februar	Martin Rabe	Angeklagter Heuss
1958	21 -- Februar	Anton Böhm	Zurück zu Potsdam?
1958	21 -- Februar	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Ausweg aus der Atomparalyse
1958	21 -- Februar	Waldemar Lentz	Kennt sich der Westen?
1958	21 -- Februar	Michael Freund	Das Geheimnis von Pearl Harbour
1958	21 -- Februar	Ernst Steinbach	Aushängeschild Christentum?
1958	21 -- Februar	Jean Amrouche	Das Frankreich der Legende
1958	21 -- Februar	Witilo von Griesheim	Überwindet Moskau den Islam?
1958	21 -- Februar	Wolfgang Höpker	Vergessene Völker?
1958	21 -- Februar	E. D.	Gespräche ins Leere
1958	21 -- Februar	Fritz Zweistern	Wenn Klatsch gefährlich wird
1958	21 -- Februar	Leopold Labedz	Der Fall John Reed
1958	21 -- Februar		Haben die deutschen Diplomaten versagt?
1958	22 -- März	Karl Willy Beer	Die orthodoxe Freiheit
1958	22 -- März	Robert Ingram	Räumung und Rüstung
1958	22 -- März	Rolf Handtke	Die Achillesferse
1958	22 -- März	Fiscalius	Es wird hohe Zeit
1958	22 -- März	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Wenn es zur atomfreien Zone kommt...
1958	22 -- März	Adalbert Worliczek†	Warum Mißtrauen gegen die Sowjetunion?
1958	22 -- März	Rolf Italiaander	Sünden an Afrika
1958	22 -- März	Stefan Yowev	Wie tot ist Karl Marx?
1958	22 -- März	Johannes Jacobi	Der Staat und das deutsche Theater
1958	22 -- März	Robert Guillaín	In einem geteilten Land
1958	22 -- März	Egon Heymann	Arabische Abenteuer
1958	22 -- März	Heinz Kersten	Ohne „Demokratische Erneuerung“
1958	22 -- März	Maxim Gargen	Ist Ulbricht der letzte?
1958	22 -- März	Ein Zitat	Contra Adenauer...
1958	22 -- März	Gracian	Nadelstiche
1958	23 -- April	Karl Willy Beer	Attacke gegen die Demokratie
1958	23 -- April	Robert Ingram	Ist Abrüstung möglich?
1958	23 -- April	Alfred Rapp	Feinde und Freunde

1958	23 -- April	Rudolf Fischer	Wie wird man Europäer?
1958	23 -- April	Wolfgang Wagner	Die Spaltung Deutschlands war anders
1958	23 -- April	Anton Böhm	Wie die Volkspartei aussehen sollte
1958	23 -- April	Ernst Deuerlein	Müssen die Intellektuellen so sein?
1958	23 -- April	Volkmar Muthesius	Konjunktur-Ketzereien
1958	23 -- April	Karl Weidner	Sozialreform zu weit -- und nicht weit genug
1958	23 -- April	Bericht aus Frankreich	Die Meinungszeitungen
1958	23 -- April	Waldemar Lentz	Europäisches Parlament?
1958	23 -- April	Armin Werther	Diskussion um die Pläne
1958	23 -- April	* * *	Der böse „Stern“
1958	23 -- April	Ullrich Rühmland	Moskau baut an der Ostsee
1958	23 -- April	Franz Rupp	Ein Münchener entdeckt ein falsches Berlin
1958	23 -- April		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1958	24 -- Mai	A. B.	Atomwahlen
1958	24 -- Mai	Robert Ingram	Groß und klein
1958	24 -- Mai	Fiscalius	Sand in der Regierungsmaschine
1958	24 -- Mai	Helmut Ahrens	Streik unzeitgemäß
1958	24 -- Mai	N. M.	Ergebnislos?
1958	24 -- Mai	Egon Heymann	Treuherzige Heuchler
1958	24 -- Mai	Hans Köhler	Der Weg zu Sowjet-Europa
1958	24 -- Mai	Horst Diemel	Stichworte zum Konformismus
1958	24 -- Mai	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Was der Westen zuerst tun sollte
1958	24 -- Mai	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Wenn Frankreich ausfiele
1958	24 -- Mai	Karl Loewy	Es gibt eine Nahost-Lösung
1958	24 -- Mai	Bericht aus Frankreich	Zwischen „Le Monde“ und „Paris-Journal“
1958	24 -- Mai	Waldemar Lentz	Am Rande eine Militärkonferenz
1958	24 -- Mai	Armin Werther	Britisches Vertrauen zu Bonn
1958	24 -- Mai	Ullrich Rühmland	Ulbrichts Bürgerfalle
1958	24 -- Mai	* * *	Was aus Bulganin wurde
1958	24 -- Mai	Rolf Handtke	Vor dem Parteitag der SPD
1958	24 -- Mai	Heinz Kersten	Schulung vor den Kulissen
1958	24 -- Mai	Gracian	Nadelstiche
1958	24 -- Mai	Else Schlüter	Zwei Seelen
1958	24 -- Mai		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1958	25 -- Juni	Karl Willy Beer	Rechts oder links?
1958	25 -- Juni	Alfred Rapp	Das parlamentarische Gehalt
1958	25 -- Juni	Robert Ingram	Die gaullistische Legende
1958	25 -- Juni	Armin Werther	Wenn Gaitskell „dran“ wäre
1958	25 -- Juni	Michael Freund	Kann sich heute 1933 wiederholen?
1958	25 -- Juni	Volkmar von Zühlsdorff	Volksbefragung 1935 und - 1958
1958	25 -- Juni	Walter Künneth	Die Atomfrage in christlicher Sicht
1958	25 -- Juni	Franz Meyers	Gegen die Unlust am Staat
1958	25 -- Juni	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Zwischen konventionellen und modernen Waffen
1958	25 -- Juni	Oscar Gass	Amerika und die ärmsten Völker

1958	25 -- Juni	Egon Heymann	Der Westen muß handeln
1958	25 -- Juni	Waldemar Lentz	Die NATO und die Gipfel-Konferenz
1958	25 -- Juni	Ernest J. Salter	Chruschtschow oder die Dialektik
1958	25 -- Juni	* * *	Planmacher und Jägerlatein
1958	25 -- Juni	Rolf Handtke	Von der Liederhalle nach Pankow
1958	25 -- Juni	Ernst Deuerlein	Freiheit, Presse, Demokratie
1958	25 -- Juni	Robert Ingram	Wer Böhmen hat...
1958	26 -- Juli	Karl Willy Beer	Um die Gefühle
1958	26 -- Juli	Anton Böhm	Wer bedroht die Freiheit?
1958	26 -- Juli	Rolf Handtke	Deist und der DGB
1958	26 -- Juli	Robert Ingram	De Gaulle und die Armee
1958	26 -- Juli	Günther Krauss	Atomrüstung und Völkerrecht
1958	26 -- Juli	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Last und Sinn des Algerienkrieges
1958	26 -- Juli	Günter Triesch	Schleichende Sozialisierung
1958	26 -- Juli	Franz Rupp	Eigentum im Osten
1958	26 -- Juli	Wolfgang Höpker	Moskaus Trojanisches Pferd im Süden
1958	26 -- Juli	Alfred Lang	Was aus Frankreich wird
1958	26 -- Juli	Waldemar Lentz	Der schwarze Peter von Straßburg
1958	26 -- Juli	Peter Eichen	Tito, Peking und der Kreml
1958	26 -- Juli	Egon Heymann	Spanischer Bürgerkrieg im Libanon
1958	26 -- Juli	* * *	Treinhaushähnchen und Halbwuchspolizei
1958	26 -- Juli	Heinz Kersten	Um rote Lehrer und Katheder
1958	26 -- Juli	Armin Werther	Kritik an einem Pavillon
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	27 -- August	?	?
1958	28 -- September	Karl Willy Beer	Nitribitt
1958	28 -- September	Robert Ingram	Die Sieger im Orient
1958	28 -- September	Rolf Handtke	Vom Urlaub zurück
1958	28 -- September	Hans Bausch	Politik im Rundfunk

1958	28 -- September	Anton Böhm	Problematisches Parlament
1958	28 -- September	Günter Triesch	Die Finanzierung der SPD
1958	28 -- September	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Abgestufte Abschreckung
1958	28 -- September	Egon Heymann	Atempause in Nahost
1958	28 -- September	Wolfgang Höpker	Neuling an der Ostsee
1958	28 -- September	Karl Lahm	Österreich zwischen West und Ost
1958	28 -- September	Ullrich Rühmland	Großangriff auf den Mittelstand
1958	28 -- September	Anton Böhm	Was keine Partei vermochte
1958	28 -- September	Heinz Kersten	Rote Schaubühne
1958	28 -- September	Gracian	Nadelstiche
1958	29 -- Oktober	Anton Böhm	De Gaulle und Europa
1958	29 -- Oktober	Günter Triesch	Ideologie und Aktion
1958	29 -- Oktober	Ilse Bab	Der Schrei nach der Todesstrafe
1958	29 -- Oktober	Wilfrid Schreiber	Eine Sozialpolitik für Europa
1958	29 -- Oktober	Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	Das deutsch-polnische Problem
1958	29 -- Oktober	Anton Böhm	Parteien im Kreuzverhör
1958	29 -- Oktober	Gerhard Baumann	Immaterielle Verteidigung
1958	29 -- Oktober	Robert Ingram	Verpfuschte Chinapolitik
1958	29 -- Oktober	Egon Heymann	Enttäuschte Hoffnungen
1958	29 -- Oktober	Karl von Schoenau	Integrations-Armee statt Koalitions-Armee
1958	29 -- Oktober	Rolf Handtke	Die CDU takelte um
1958	29 -- Oktober	Ullrich Rühmland	... mit Atomtrieb
1958	29 -- Oktober	Klaus Roemer	Nicht vergessen
1958	29 -- Oktober		Szylła und Charybdis
1958	29 -- Oktober	Gracian	Nadelstiche
1958	30 -- November	Karl Willy Beer	Ist es zu schaffen?
1958	30 -- November	Wolfgang Höpker	Der nächste Bundespräsident
1958	30 -- November	Robert Ingram	Der militärpolitische Status
1958	30 -- November	Rudolf Vogel	Wirtschaftshilfe - ohne Garantie?
1958	30 -- November	Arno Seidel	Umgruppierungen in der Welt
1958	30 -- November	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Rache für Tsushima?
1958	30 -- November	Friedrich O. Ruge	Haben kleine Flotten noch einen Sinn?
1958	30 -- November	Rainer Barzel	Wohlfahrtsstaat gegen Versorgungsstaat
1958	30 -- November	Wolfgang Wagner	Wann begann Deutschlands Teilung?
1958	30 -- November	Stefan Yowev	Propaganda im Weltkonflikt
1958	30 -- November	Gustav René Hocke	Weltkirche am Kreuzweg
1958	30 -- November	Egon Heymann	Neue Perspektiven im Nahen Osten
1958	30 -- November	Ullrich Rühmland	Ulbrichts neue Einheitswahl
1958	30 -- November	Rolf Handtke	Gegeneinander - miteinander
1958	30 -- November	Risa Worsley	Stimmungsumschwung in Großbritannien
1958	30 -- November	Imogen Seger	Ist der Wähler überfordert?
1958	30 -- November	Hans Doerr	War Stalingrad ein Opfergang?
1958	30 -- November		Unruhiges Zypern

1958	31 -- Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Berlin - gestern und morgen
1958	31 -- Dezember	Anton Böhm	Adenauerpartei?
1958	31 -- Dezember	Günter Triesch	Kassel, Konzerne und Demokraten
1958	31 -- Dezember	Ernst Deuerlein	Berlin und die Sowjetunion
1958	31 -- Dezember	Johannes Binkowski	Privatsphäre und Öffentlichkeit
1958	31 -- Dezember	Robert Smith	England und die Freihandelszone
1958	31 -- Dezember	Werner von Lojewski	Am „crucial point“
1958	31 -- Dezember	Theodor von Mutius	Die gefährdete Ostsee-Küste
1958	31 -- Dezember	Gerhard Baumann	Wer brach das Potsdamer Abkommen>
1958	31 -- Dezember	Hans Otto Wesemann	Wenn Erhard eine Reise tut
1958	31 -- Dezember	Egon Heymann	Die Perser sind nicht so
1958	31 -- Dezember	Wolfgang Höpker	Drehscheibe Griechenland
1958	31 -- Dezember	Robert Ingram	Britisches - Allzubritisches
1958	31 -- Dezember	Rolf Handtke	Bewölkter Himmel
1958	31 -- Dezember		Kissinger warnt
1958	31 -- Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Der „Dr. Schiwago“ unter uns
1958	31 -- Dezember	Hans Doerr	Das Gespenst der Überalterung
1959	32 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Vergleiche
1959	32 -- Januar	Anton Böhm	Friede, Freiheit, Raumrakete
1959	32 -- Januar	Robert Ingram	Wozu Friedensvertrag?
1959	32 -- Januar	Günter Triesch	Enthüllt und entlassen
1959	32 -- Januar	Fiscalius	Wird Etzel fest bleiben?
1959	32 -- Januar	Wilhelm Röpke	Europa - Einheit in der Vielheit
1959	32 -- Januar	Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	Disengagement und Deutschlandfrage
1959	32 -- Januar	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Großbritannien - cavalier seul?
1959	32 -- Januar	Hans-Joachim von Merkatz	Das Parteiwesen in Deutschland
1959	32 -- Januar	August Dresbach	Presse ist nicht gleich Presse
1959	32 -- Januar	Ernst Deuerlein	Vom Schicksal „Freier Städte“
1959	32 -- Januar	Waldemar Lentz	Lose Enden
1959	32 -- Januar	Alfred Frisch	Europas Währungsreform
1959	32 -- Januar	Wolfgang Höpker	Die gefährdeten Meerengen
1959	32 -- Januar	Egon Heymann	Unvollendete Revolution
1959	32 -- Januar	Rudolf Vogel	Können wir helfen?
1959	32 -- Januar	Heinz Kersten	Die sowjetische „Tauwetter“-Literatur
1959	32 -- Januar		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1959	33 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Vergangenheit
1959	33 -- Februar	Robert Ingram	„Sowjet und Sicherheit“
1959	33 -- Februar	Anton Böhm	Episoden - Symptome
1959	33 -- Februar	Karl C. Thalheim	Die Sowjetunion in sieben Jahren
1959	33 -- Februar	Hans Otto Wesemann	Konzentration der Macht
1959	33 -- Februar	Günter Triesch	Die Macht der Gewerkschaften
1959	33 -- Februar	Hans Bausch	Besseres Fernsehen möglich?
1959	33 -- Februar	Hermann Raschhofer	Der Teilungs- und Interventionsvertrag

1959	33 -- Februar	Hans Guhr	Wer, wie, was bei SHAPE
1959	33 -- Februar	Gustav René Hocke	Italiens hintergründige Krise
1959	33 -- Februar	Egon Heymann	Unfruchtbarer Halbmond
1959	33 -- Februar	Rolf Handtke	Der harte Kampf
1959	33 -- Februar	Altiero Spinelli	Macht und Elend des europäischen Sozialismus
1959	33 -- Februar	Wolfgang Wagner	Der vergessene Schumacher
1959	33 -- Februar	Johannes Jacobi	Unzeitgemäße „Zeitstücke“
1959	33 -- Februar		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1959	34 -- März	Hans Drossel	An Berlin vorbeileben
1959	34 -- März	Robert Ingram	Der leere Stuhl
1959	34 -- März	Anton Böhm	Jungtürken contra Europa
1959	34 -- März	Arno Seidel	Zwischenweltler
1959	34 -- März	Theodor Litt	Der Westen hat eine Idee
1959	34 -- März	Walter Künneth	Ein Dokument der Verwirrung
1959	34 -- März	Winfried Martini	Einheit oder Freiheit?
1959	34 -- März	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Wie stark Amerika wirklich ist
1959	34 -- März	Hans Gathmann	Der latente Antisemitismus
1959	34 -- März	Rolf Handtke	Kaninchen vor dem Fuchsbau
1959	34 -- März	Egon Heymann	Das Pendel schwingt zurück
1959	34 -- März	Hans Doerr	Fortsetzung der Politik?
1959	34 -- März	P. M.	Im Sumpf
1959	34 -- März	Gracian	Die Freiheit kostet
1959	34 -- März	Heinz Kersten	Kunst in der Zwangsjacke
1959	34 -- März		Der rote Rauschgifthandel
1959	34 -- März		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1959	35 -- April	Karl Willy Beer	„Mit ihnen sprechen“
1959	35 -- April	Robert Ingram	Gipfelkonferenz für die Linke
1959	35 -- April	Alfred Rapp	Auf der Präsidatensuche
1959	35 -- April	P. M.	Dem Andenken Dehlers
1959	35 -- April	Gracian	Der Liebling der Freien
1959	35 -- April	Ernst Deuerlein	Der Angriff auf Europa
1959	35 -- April	Georg Markt	Integration in der Krise
1959	35 -- April	Gustav E. Kafka	Notstand und Staatssicherheit
1959	35 -- April	Bruno Heck	Unabhängigkeit im Rundfunk
1959	35 -- April	Waldemar Lentz	Panorama einer Allianz
1959	35 -- April	Rudolf Vogel	Mehr verdient als erarbeitet
1959	35 -- April	Josef A. Tzöbl	Um das Konkordat mit Österreich
1959	35 -- April	Egon Heymann	Der Negus, Nasser und der Nationalismus
1959	35 -- April	Rolf Handtke	SPD auf Wehner-Kurs
1959	35 -- April		Ein gelöstes Problem
1959	35 -- April		Briefe an „Die politische Meinung“
1959	36 -- Mai	Karl Willy Beer	Diplomaten
1959	36 -- Mai	Robert Ingram	Blickpunkt Genf
1959	36 -- Mai	Hans Drossel	Ein Lamm beim Wolf

1959	36 -- Mai	***	Mögliche Gedanken eines CDU-Abgeordneten zur Adenauer-Nachfolge
1959	36 -- Mai	Margot Kalinke	Sozialpolitik an der Grenze
1959	36 -- Mai	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Die rote Militärmaschine
1959	36 -- Mai	Otto B. Roegele	Die Spaltung der Sprache
1959	36 -- Mai	Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	Das kaudinische Joch
1959	36 -- Mai	Karl Lahm	Otto von Habsburg - aktuell?
1959	36 -- Mai	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Vor neuen Machkämpfen im Kreml
1959	36 -- Mai	Guido Elli	Im Hintergrund: Pietro Nenni
1959	36 -- Mai	Egon Heymann	Zypern und Israel
1959	36 -- Mai		Briefe an die Redaktion
1959	37 -- Juni	Karl Willy Beer	Die Berlin-Gefahr
1959	37 -- Juni	Robert Ingram	Ein guter Plan
1959	37 -- Juni	Guido Elli	Raketen in Italien
1959	37 -- Juni	Franz Josef Strauß	Die neuen Waffen des Westens
1959	37 -- Juni	Anton Böhm	Parteien an der Leine?
1959	37 -- Juni	Rudolf Vogel	Am Rande des Defizits
1959	37 -- Juni	Ernest J. Salter	Porträt eines Satrapen
1959	37 -- Juni	Wolfgang Höpker	Deutsche Kulturpolitik ohne Kompaß
1959	37 -- Juni	Arno Seidel	Der Draht Bonn-London
1959	37 -- Juni	Hans Lindemann	Rotes Olympia in Wien
1959	37 -- Juni	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Chruschtschows Kronprinz
1959	37 -- Juni	Egon Heymann	Kampfplatz Mittlerer Osten
1959	37 -- Juni	Stefan Yowev	Chinas düstere Utopie
1959	37 -- Juni	Riccardo Forte	Ein Wort über Südtirol
1959	37 -- Juni	Ernst Deuerlein	Vierzig Jahre nach Versailles
1959	37 -- Juni	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Die neue Oberklasse
1959	37 -- Juni		Die Spaltung der Sprache
1959	38 -- Juli	Karl Willy Beer	Der zweite Präsident
1959	38 -- Juli	Anton Böhm	Neues über die Demokratie
1959	38 -- Juli	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	NATO ohne Schminke
1959	38 -- Juli	Robert Ingram	Gromyko hatte es eilig
1959	38 -- Juli	Hermann Raschhofer	Was ist „Deutschland“?
1959	38 -- Juli	Theodor Blank	Sozialpolitik im Wohlstand
1959	38 -- Juli	Goetz Briefs	Ist der Aufschwung des Westens am Ende?
1959	38 -- Juli	Fritz Schatten	Modell Grotewohl
1959	38 -- Juli	Wolfgang Wagner	Die These der Nicht-Anerkennung
1959	38 -- Juli	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Chruschtschows Marschälle
1959	38 -- Juli	Hans Lindemann	Titos Reisen
1959	38 -- Juli	Alfred Frisch	De Gaulle denkt an Algier
1959	38 -- Juli	Günter Triesch	Links von links
1959	38 -- Juli		Politik im Buch
1959	39 -- August	Karl Willy Beer	Der „korrupte Staat“
1959	39 -- August	Arno Seidel	Antideutsche Komplexe

1959	39 -- August	Anton Böhm	SPD auf Umwegen
1959	39 -- August	William S. Schlamm	Entwurf einer deutsch-amerikanischen Politik
1959	39 -- August	Henry A. Kissinger	Stabilität - Ziel des Westens
1959	39 -- August	Wilhelm Röpke	Umgang mit Bolschewisten
1959	39 -- August	Otto Stolz	Die Illusion vom „Dritten Weg“
1959	39 -- August	Robert Ingrim	Ein Hufeisen fehlt
1959	39 -- August	Robert Smith	Die Kleine Freihandelszone
1959	39 -- August	Alfred Frisch	Communauté oder Konföderation
1959	39 -- August	Karl Lahm	Was heißt „Kamitz-Kurs“?
1959	39 -- August	Johannes Maass	Gomulka vor dem gordischen Knoten
1959	39 -- August	Egon Heymann	Gespaltene arabische Welt
1959	39 -- August	Robert Guillain	Formosa: Festung und Musterprovinz
1959	39 -- August	Günter Triesch	Bewegung in den Gewerkschaften
1959	39 -- August	Rudolf Vogel	Deutsche Hilfeleistung für Entwicklungsländer
1959	39 -- August	Ernst Deuerlein	Der Hitler-Stalin-Pakt
1959	39 -- August		Politik im Buch
1959	40 -- September	Robert Ingrim	Ein schwerer Gang
1959	40 -- September	Hans Drossel	Warschau - ein Warnsignal
1959	40 -- September	Gracian	Lethargie
1959	40 -- September	Arno Seidel	Zweifelhafte Gipfelstrategie
1959	40 -- September	Henry A. Kissinger	Disengagement und Verteidigung
1959	40 -- September	Alfred Kantorowicz	Das Dilemma eines Intellektuellen
1959	40 -- September	Anton Böhm	Volksgesundheit als politische Aufgabe
1959	40 -- September	Jürgen Bachmann	Ereignis oder Routine?
1959	40 -- September	Guido Elli	Im Kampf um Einheit
1959	40 -- September	Egon Heymann	Gespräche über Mittelost
1959	40 -- September	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Die Partisanen an Chinas Grenze
1959	40 -- September	Ernst Deuerlein	Zwischen Washington und Moskau
1959	40 -- September		Briefe an die Redaktion
1959	40 -- September		Politik im Buch
1959	41 -- Oktober	Gregor Uhlhorn	Der Zeuge aus dem Kreml
1959	41 -- Oktober	Robert Ingrim	Die Scheu vor China
1959	41 -- Oktober	Karl Willy Beer	Der Unstaat
1959	41 -- Oktober	Rudolf Vogel	Herbstliche Finanzsorgen
1959	41 -- Oktober	Anton Böhm	CDU-Reform: Grenzen und Ziele
1959	41 -- Oktober	Hermann Raschhofer	Gewaltverzichts-Abkommen mit Polen?
1959	41 -- Oktober	Goetz Briefs	Das Soziale und die Gemeinschaft
1959	41 -- Oktober	Rainer Barzel	Gesellschaftspolitik im „Atomzeitalter“
1959	41 -- Oktober	J.O. Zöller	Heimatlose Kritik
1959	41 -- Oktober	Waldemar Lentz	Im Abrüstungs-Labyrinth
1959	41 -- Oktober	Alfred Frisch	Frankreichs Außenpolitik
1959	41 -- Oktober	Fritz Schatten	Renaissance der Tschecha
1959	41 -- Oktober	Hans Lindemann	Störtruppen des Klassenkampfes
1959	41 -- Oktober	Günter Triesch	Zwischen Tabus und Reform

1959	41 -- Oktober	Imogen Seger	Prestige in USA
1959	41 -- Oktober	Hans Doerr	Nachwort zu einem Prozeß
1959	41 -- Oktober	P. M.	Das Bundesverdienstkreuz
1959	41 -- Oktober	N.	Fortschritt
1959	41 -- Oktober	Richard Jaeger	Standfeste NATO
1959	42 -- November	P. M.	Holt nieder!
1959	42 -- November	E. B.	Keine Geschmacksfrage
1959	42 -- November	Karl Willy Beer	Der streitbare Bischof
1959	42 -- November	Gregor Uhlhorn	Fusion überflüssig
1959	42 -- November	Alfred Rapp	Der „Bonn-Komplex“
1959	42 -- November	Wolfgang Wagner	Viel zu konservativ
1959	42 -- November	Leopold Sedar Senghor	Mit den Augen Afrikas
1959	42 -- November	Kurt Birrenbach	Der dritte Partner
1959	42 -- November	Ferdinand A. Hermens	Das Wahlrecht und die politische Stabilität
1959	42 -- November	Hans Otto Wesemann	Grenzen der Marktwirtschaft?
1959	42 -- November	Imogen Seger	Magnet Hochschule
1959	42 -- November	Otto B. Roegele	Spanische Zwischenbilanz
1959	42 -- November	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Umbesetzung in Peking
1959	42 -- November	Robert Ingrim	Zwischenspiel
1959	42 -- November	Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	Die Pseudo-Alternative
1959	42 -- November	Charles W. Thayer	Amerikanische Diplomaten
1959	42 -- November	Anton Böhm	Wilhelm Röpke
1959	43 -- Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Vom kleinen Gipfel
1959	43 -- Dezember	Robert Ingrim	Chruschtschows Enkel
1959	43 -- Dezember	Anton Böhm	Irrwege, Abwege
1959	43 -- Dezember	Günter Triesch	Sehnsucht nach Macht
1959	43 -- Dezember	Alfred Rapp	Unterhaus am Rhein?
1959	43 -- Dezember	Pietro Quaroni	Gibt es noch ein Abendland?
1959	43 -- Dezember	Franz Herre	Das Parlament der großen Illusion
1959	43 -- Dezember	Wolfgang Wagner	Die Kunst, warten zu können
1959	43 -- Dezember	Alois Schardt	Flucht aus der Kompetenz
1959	43 -- Dezember	Walter Künneth	Obrigkeit und Widerstand
1959	43 -- Dezember	R. F.	Nehru in der Zange
1959	43 -- Dezember	Georg Kliesing	Gefahren am Kongo
1959	43 -- Dezember	Guido Elli	Nach Florenz
1959	43 -- Dezember	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Der Kreml und die Juden
1959	43 -- Dezember	Jens Hacker	Titos zweite Orthodoxie
1959	43 -- Dezember		Politik im Buch
1960	44 -- Januar	Erich Peter Neumann	Der Schandfleck - Härte gegenüber Antisemiten
1960	44 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Die Krankheit des Jahres - Gefährliche Ruhe für Deutschland
1960	44 -- Januar	Alfred Rapp	Aufgaben für den Kanzler - Großes Programm für 1960

1960	44 -- Januar	Bruno Heck	Überlebter Rundfunkstreit - Es ist Zeit zu einem Kompromiß
1960	44 -- Januar	Stefan Sermage	Kleinaktionäre ausgebootet - Unzeitgemäße Konzentration
1960	44 -- Januar	Otto B. Roegele	Reichstag in Paris - Die Gratwanderung zum Gipfel
1960	44 -- Januar	Johannes Maass	Die Gomulka-Legende - Polen geht keinen eigenen Weg
1960	44 -- Januar	Rudolf Vogel	Der Bundestag muß jetzt sparen - Bemerkung zum neuen Bundeshaushalt
1960	44 -- Januar	Klaus Roemer	Eine Gemeinsame Universität? - Kritik an einem Europa-Projekt
1960	44 -- Januar	Karl Lahm	Entzauberte Diplomatie - Botschafter machen kein Geschichte mehr
1960	44 -- Januar	Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf	Legierung der Geschichtsbilder - Material für den deutsch-italienischen Geschichtsunterricht
1960	44 -- Januar	Franz Greiner	Mission heute - Kirche und Entwicklungshilfe
1960	44 -- Januar	Egon Heymann	Wechselfälle - Aktionen Moskaus in Nahost
1960	44 -- Januar	Wolfgang Höpker	Komparserie - Satelliten spielen Außenpolitik
1960	44 -- Januar		Politik im Buch
1960	45 -- Februar	Erich Peter Neumann	Das fünfzehnte Jahr - Im Schatten der Vergangenheit
1960	45 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Kein Zurück - Volle Freiheit für Berlin
1960	45 -- Februar	Richard Tüngel	Der Lohnkonflikt - Politische Assoziationen
1960	45 -- Februar	Stefan Sermage	Getriebene Treibstoffe - Die Macht der weißen Säulen
1960	45 -- Februar	Franz Meyers	Kontakt mit der Geschichte - Anmerkungen zur deutschen Gegenwart
1960	45 -- Februar	Fritz Burgbacher	Projekt Volkskapitalismus - Eigentumsbildung in Personenhand
1960	45 -- Februar	Theodor Bersin	Das Gift in der Luft - Probleme der öffentlichen Wohnfahrt
1960	45 -- Februar	Franz Herre	Salut in Jaunde - Ein Entwicklungsland übernimmt sein Schicksal
1960	45 -- Februar	Goetz Briefs	Wege und Umwege - Ein deutscher Gelehrter zieht Bilanz
1960	45 -- Februar	Rudolf Vogel	Notizen eines Delegierten - Beobachtungen in den Vereinigten Staaten
1960	45 -- Februar	Imogen Seger	Professoren unter Anklage - Universität und Ideologie in USA
1960	45 -- Februar	R. F.	Disput ohne Ende - Kalter Krieg auf Konferenzen
1960	45 -- Februar	Hermann Raschhofer	Der neue Kennan - Revidierter Optimismus
1960	45 -- Februar	Alfred Frisch	Wie hart ist de Gaulle? - Frankreichs Regime im Engpaß
1960	45 -- Februar	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Die große Unbekannte - Chinas militärisches Potential
1960	45 -- Februar	William Lange	Japan tritt wieder auf - Perspektiven der neuen Ära
1960	45 -- Februar	Günter Triesch	Die farbigen Arbeiter - Wem werden sie folgen?
1960	45 -- Februar		Politik im Buch
1960	45 -- Februar		Unsere Autoren
1960	46 -- März	Anton Böhm	Unbequemes -- Unangenehmes - In Bonn stimmt nicht alles

1960	46 -- März	Karl Willy Beer	Not mit dem Notstand - Diktatur des Bundeskanzlers?
1960	46 -- März	Hans Drossel	Trübe Quellen - Ost-Parolen sickern ein
1960	46 -- März	Günter Triesch	Dialektik statt Kanonen - Die Illusionen der SPD
1960	46 -- März	Hans Lindemann	Von Braun zu Rot - Faschisten in Ulbrichts Staat
1960	46 -- März	Stefan Sermage	Sozialer Anachronismus - Monopol Arbeitsvermittlung
1960	46 -- März	Ernst Deuerlein	Der Vizepräsident - Richard M. Nixon vor den Wahlen
1960	46 -- März	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Das gefährliche Jahr - Der Westen muß militärisch aufrüsten
1960	46 -- März	Hans Herzfeld	Ein ungelöstes Problem - Der Antisemitismus - eine deutsche Schicksalsfrage
1960	46 -- März	Karl Pagel	Rostock 1959 - Blick auf eine deutsche Stadt hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang
1960	46 -- März	Robert Ingram	Entlastung in Asien - Japan hat wieder eine Armee
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1961	67 -- Dezember	Paolo Patrizi	Giovanni Gronchi
1961	67 -- Dezember	Carl-Otto Lenz	In der Bewährung
1961	67 -- Dezember	Hans Frick	Atomwaffen für die Schweiz
1961	67 -- Dezember	Heinz Pächter	Amerikas „neuer“ Neger
1961	67 -- Dezember	Rudolf Vogel	Hilfe und Selbsthilfe
1961	67 -- Dezember	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Kommunismus in China
1961	67 -- Dezember	Hansjürgen Schierbaum	Das Deutschland-Problem
1962	68 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Deutschland hat sich entschieden
1962	68 -- Januar	Anton Böhm	Zuviel Theorie
1962	68 -- Januar	Günter Triesch	Linkstendenzen - Prinzipiengespräch im DGB

1962	68 -- Januar	Rudolf Krämer-Badoni	Ein Fehlurteil
1962	68 -- Januar	Ernest J. Salter	Literatur mit Kostümszwang
1962	68 -- Januar	Pierre M. Gallois	Erprobung durch Berlin
1962	68 -- Januar	Rudolf Vogel	Explodiert das Budget? - Schwieriger Start im Bundestag
1962	68 -- Januar	Walter Wagner	Staatsschutz und Demokratie
1962	68 -- Januar	Otto Schiller	Östliche Entwicklungshilfe
1962	68 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Gewitter auf dem Capitol
1962	68 -- Januar	Guido Elli	Der Kampf um die Öffnung nach links
1962	68 -- Januar	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Rüstungsdilemma
1962	68 -- Januar	Hermann Mathias Görgen	Von Quadros zu Goulart
1962	68 -- Januar	Heinrich L. Kaster	Sozialismus am Nil
1962	68 -- Januar	Eduar J. Solich	Hunger und Handel
1962	68 -- Januar	Rolf Bracher	Rote Weihnachtskugeln
1962	68 -- Januar	Ernst Deuerlein	Das war Weimar
1962	68 -- Januar	Otto Stenzl	Die Sudetenkrise
1962	69 -- Februar	Anton Böhm	Sozialpolitik ins Blaue - Die Wirtschaftsreform muß einen Plan haben
1962	69 -- Februar	Bernhard Beger	Landtagswahlen
1962	69 -- Februar	Stefan Sermage	Mut zur Zukunft - Die Bauern müssen umdenken
1962	69 -- Februar	Klaus Kamphöven	Moral und Recht
1962	69 -- Februar	Rudolf Krämer-Badoni	Selbstvernichtung
1962	69 -- Februar	Ludwig Bergschneider	Kolportage des Leerlaufs
1962	69 -- Februar	Erwin Wilkens	Grenzen des Gehorsams
1962	69 -- Februar	Lorenz Stucki	Hat Kennedy versagt?
1962	69 -- Februar	Otto Stolz	Umstrittene Wirtschaftsdemokratie - Gegen ein Parlament der Verbände
1962	69 -- Februar	Klaus Roemer	Zuviel für den Straßenbau - Problem der Volksgesundheit V
1962	69 -- Februar	Franz Herre	In europäischer Mission
1962	69 -- Februar	Lorenz Rieger	Klimaschwankung
1962	69 -- Februar	Alfred Frisch	Warten auf Algerien
1962	69 -- Februar	Rudolf Stickelberger	Trojanisches Öl
1962	69 -- Februar	William Lange	Nippons Sonne geht wieder auf
1962	69 -- Februar	Wolfgang Wagner	Rückblende auf Moskau
1962	69 -- Februar	Ernst Deuerlein	Intime Diplomatie
1962	69 -- Februar	Stefan Graf zu Schlippenbach	Analyse des Kapitalismus
1962	70 -- März	Karl Willy Beer	Zweifelhafte Koalitionssitten
1962	70 -- März	* * *	Unternehmen Dufhues
1962	70 -- März	Lutz Köllner	Rente im Konsumtrend - Erwägungen zum Preisproblem
1962	70 -- März	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Ulbrichts Kerker
1962	70 -- März	Walter Sorge	Prediger im Niemandsland
1962	70 -- März	Otto B. Roegele	Großmacht Europa
1962	70 -- März	Ludwig Losacker	Wirtschaftswahrheit - Wende in der Lohnpolitik

1962	70 -- März	Raymond Battegay	Das Gift in der Pille - Probleme der Volksgesundheit VI
1962	70 -- März	Werner Ross	Guthaben und Hypotheken
1962	70 -- März	Janko von Musulin	Rebellen in White Hall
1962	70 -- März	Guido Elli	Aldo Moro
1962	70 -- März	Karl Hauswirth	Österreichs Sorgen
1962	70 -- März	Siegfried Löffler	Finnland hat gewählt
1962	70 -- März	Hans Seligo	Portugal ohne Freunde
1962	70 -- März	Egon Heymann	Israel verstehen
1962	71 -- April	Karl Willy Beer	Disput über die Wahrheit
1962	71 -- April	Franz Herre	Nach vierzig Jahren
1962	71 -- April	Günter Triesch	Parteimüdigkeit
1962	71 -- April	Stefan Sermage	Die Steuergelder - Wer bezahlt den Staat?
1962	71 -- April	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Wehrpflicht für Heloten
1962	71 -- April	Walter Fredericia	Politische Duelle
1962	71 -- April	Hermann Karl August Weinkauff	Naturrecht und Justiz
1962	71 -- April	Anton Böhm	Gesellschaft ohne Monopole - Zur Ordnungsfunktion der Interessenverbände
1962	71 -- April	Pierre M. Gallois	Abschreckung oder Niederlage
1962	71 -- April	Michel Ayih	Rote Strategie im Schwarzen Afrika
1962	71 -- April	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Die gute alte Presse
1962	71 -- April	Rudolf Vogel	Spanische Wirtschaftsprobleme
1962	71 -- April	Carl-Otto Lenz	Partner Israel
1962	71 -- April	Peet Venter	Apartheid auf der Waage
1962	71 -- April	Rudolf Stickelberger	Tells fauler Apfel
1962	71 -- April	Otto Stenzl	Das Dritte Reich
1962	72 -- Mai	Karl Willy Beer	Gefährdetes Einvernehmen
1962	72 -- Mai	Otto Stolz	Streit um den Kurs
1962	72 -- Mai	Günter Triesch	Expertokratie - Grenzen der Fachkunde
1962	72 -- Mai	Stefan Sermage	Presse und Börse - Gebremste Spekulation
1962	72 -- Mai	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Separatismus
1962	72 -- Mai	Jürgen Wahl	Der kollektive Organisator
1962	72 -- Mai	Josef Hermann Dufhues	Koalition oder Union?
1962	72 -- Mai	Fritz Schatten	Moskau, Peking und die „Dritte Welt“
1962	72 -- Mai	Imogen Seger	Außenseiter in Amerika
1962	72 -- Mai	Karl Klapdohr	Unsinn der Ballungszentren - Probleme der öffentliche Wohlfahrt VII
1962	72 -- Mai	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Die gute alte Presse
1962	72 -- Mai	Wolfgang Bretholz	Emotion statt Vernunft
1962	72 -- Mai	Egon Heymann	Arabisches Zwischenspiel
1962	72 -- Mai	Walter Fredericia	Milovan Djilas
1962	72 -- Mai	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Chruschtschows Hazard
1962	72 -- Mai	Rudolf Stickelberger	Schwabenkrieg 1962
1962	72 -- Mai	Franz Herre	Von Gandhi bis Nehru

1962	72 -- Mai	Günter Scholz	Die Rechtsradikalen
1962	73 -- Juni	Anton Böhm	Die Versuchung der Parteien
1962	73 -- Juni	Günter Triesch	Staat ohne Symbole
1962	73 -- Juni	Stefan Sermage	Käuferberatung - Wespennest Warentest?
1962	73 -- Juni	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Justitia ohne Waage
1962	73 -- Juni	Wilhelm Röpke	Die Enzyklika Mater et Magistra - Eine Würdigung in marktwirtschaftlicher Sicht
1962	73 -- Juni	Alfred Frisch	Frankreich in Umbau
1962	73 -- Juni	Heinz Karst	Soldat und Technik
1962	73 -- Juni	Etienne Grandjean	Widersacher Lärm - Probleme der öffentlichen Wohlfahrt VIII
1962	73 -- Juni	Janko von Musulin	Abschied vom Empire
1962	73 -- Juni	Wolfgang Bretholz	Persiens letzte Chance
1962	73 -- Juni	Werner Scharndorff	Risse im Weltkommunismus
1962	74 -- Juli	Günter Krauss	Doktrin der Revolution
1962	74 -- Juli	Karl Willy Beer	Zu zweit und zu viert
1962	74 -- Juli	Waldemar Besson	Rechtsradikalismus
1962	74 -- Juli	Karl Kanka	Vor-Urteil
1962	74 -- Juli	Lutz Köllner	Konjunktursorgen - Die Politik entscheidet
1962	74 -- Juli	Klaus Hoff	Flucht in die Unverbindlichkeit
1962	74 -- Juli	Günter Triesch	Struktur der Landtage
1962	74 -- Juli	Volkmar Muthesius	Der scheintote Liberalismus
1962	74 -- Juli	Fritz W. Meyer	Das falsche Rezept - Enttäuschende Erfahrungen mit der Entwicklungshilfe
1962	74 -- Juli	Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn	Allheilmittel Demokratie?
1962	74 -- Juli	Robert Peter	Reiches Land ganz arm
1962	74 -- Juli	Heinz Peter Körfgen	Im gleichen Boot
1962	74 -- Juli	Werner Scharndorff	Krach im Comecon
1962	74 -- Juli	Otto Stenzl	Der Zweite Weltkrieg
1962	74 -- Juli	Winfried B. Scharlau	Geisel Berlin
1962	75 -- August	Karl Willy Beer	Keine Klagemauer
1962	75 -- August	Arnold Hartmann	Den Staat schützen
1962	75 -- August	Stefan Sermage	Selbsthilfe - Das Konzentrationsgespenst
1962	75 -- August	Walter Bittermann	Weil mir so fad is'
1962	75 -- August	Anton Böhm	Kapituliert der Staat? - Verbandsmacht und Politik
1962	75 -- August	Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	Das Konzept des Westens
1962	75 -- August	Erich Peter Neumann	Wie krank sind wir? - Probleme der öffentlichen Wohlfahrt IX
1962	75 -- August	Wilfrid Schreiber	Die Legitimation der Sozialversicherung - Dargestellt am Beispiel des Kindergelds
1962	75 -- August	Klaus Hoff	Tibets Tragödie
1962	75 -- August	Paolo Patrizi	Geschäfte mit den Sowjets
1962	75 -- August	Heinz Pächter	Wie Kennedy regiert
1962	75 -- August	Wolfgang Bretholz	Zukunft des Maghreb
1962	75 -- August	Rudolf Stickelberger	Kultursalat

1962	75 -- August	Wolfgang Wagner	Stalins makabre Tischrunde
1962	75 -- August	Jens Hacker	Der Notstand
1962	76 -- September	Karl Willy Beer	Der Dialog der Großen
1962	76 -- September	Günter Triesch	Streik und Ordnung - Das Monopolstreben des DGB
1962	76 -- September	Stefan Sermage	Bankrotte - Die Angst um die Liquidität
1962	76 -- September	Rudolf Krämer-Badoni	Die Fortgebildeten
1962	76 -- September	Johannes Binkowski	Mit verteilten Rollen
1962	76 -- September	Janko von Musulin	Akkumulation der Macht
1962	76 -- September	Wolfgang Wagner	Der neue Mann im Außenamt
1962	76 -- September	Hans Otto Wesemann	Hilfe oder Privileg - Grenzen der Subventionierung
1962	76 -- September	Gerhard Baumann	Kriegspropaganda unter Anklage
1962	76 -- September	Franz Herre	China im Exil
1962	76 -- September	Hildegard von Kotze	Hitler wollte den Krieg
1962	76 -- September	Siegfried Löffler	Theaterskandal in Helsinki
1962	76 -- September	Jürgen Karzel	Test in Warschau
1962	76 -- September	Wolfgang Bretholz	Volk ohne Vaterland
1962	76 -- September	Egon Heymann	Sozialismus am Nil
1962	76 -- September	Günter Krauss	Staatsschutz
1962	77 -- Oktober	Karl Willy Beer	Regie mit der Angst
1962	77 -- Oktober	Rudolf Vogel	Dämme bauen - Haushalt auf neuer Basis
1962	77 -- Oktober	Stefan Sermage	Modediktat - Wer gibt die Befehle?
1962	77 -- Oktober	Rosemarie Winter	Ungenützte Arbeitskräfte - Die Diskussion um die Teilzeitarbeit
1962	77 -- Oktober	Erich Peter Neumann	Der dritte Bundespräsident
1962	77 -- Oktober	Otto B. Roegele	Das Konzil und die Welt
1962	77 -- Oktober	Hermann Raschhofer	Chruschtschows Friedensvertrag
1962	77 -- Oktober	Günter Triesch	Der politische Streik - Abschied von einem Mythos
1962	77 -- Oktober	Joachim Bodamer	Alter und Technik - Ein Spannungsverhältnis
1962	77 -- Oktober	Josef Othmar Zöllner	Frischer Wind in Spaniens Segel
1962	77 -- Oktober	Imogen Seger	Korruptiert das Fernsehen die Jugend?
1962	77 -- Oktober	Hans Lindemann	Wirtschaftsdebakel
1962	77 -- Oktober	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Umkämpfte Grenze
1962	77 -- Oktober	Otto Stenzl	Der Hitler-Putsch
1962	77 -- Oktober	Jens Hacker	Programm der KPdSU
1962	78 -- November	Günter Triesch	Vertagte Reform - Der Kongreß des Gewerkschaftsbundes
1962	78 -- November	Klaus Kamphöven	Justiz im Zwiespalt
1962	78 -- November	Stefan Sermage	Selbstfinanzierung - Ein Plaidoyer
1962	78 -- November	Franz M. Alt	Unproduktiv
1962	78 -- November		Der Dialog um Kuba
1962	78 -- November	Michael Freund	Selbstbehauptung im Absurden
1962	78 -- November	Otto Stenzl	Bilanz der Strategien
1962	78 -- November	Wilhelm Röpke	Menschen im Betrieb - Die unsichtbaren Faktoren der Produktion

1962	78 -- November	Klaus Hoff	Unter Erhards Führung - Der Weg zur Sozialen Marktwirtschaft
1962	78 -- November	Alfred Frisch	Frankreichs Verfassungskonflikt
1962	78 -- November	Leonard Beaton	England und die EWG
1962	78 -- November	Luigi Barzini	Ohne Toga
1962	78 -- November	Wolfgang Bretholz	Ein Kuba in Afrika
1962	78 -- November	Rudolf Stickelberger	Ohne Rendite suspekt
1962	78 -- November	Rainer Waterkamp	Kommunisten und das Völkerrecht
1962	79 -- Dezember	Klaus Kamphöven	Landtagswahlen ohne Schema
1962	79 -- Dezember	Stefan Sermage	Postdefizit - Investitionen mit Schlagseite
1962	79 -- Dezember	Klaus Roemer	Kulturkongreß
1962	79 -- Dezember	Klaus Hoff	Gespaltene Literatur
1962	79 -- Dezember	Carl Hauptmann	Wettbewerb ohne Früchte
1962	79 -- Dezember	Heinz Pächter	Polarisierung der Weltpolitik
1962	79 -- Dezember	Max Güde	Politische Verantwortung und öffentliche Meinung
1962	79 -- Dezember	Hermann Meyer-Lindenberg	Deutschlands Grenzen
1962	79 -- Dezember	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Ulbrichts großes Tamtam
1962	79 -- Dezember	Anton Böhm	Falsches Leben - Probleme der Daseinsgestaltung I
1962	79 -- Dezember	Ludwig Bergschneider	Die ewige Koalition
1962	79 -- Dezember	Tibor Meray	Roter Geiser
1962	79 -- Dezember	Wolfgang Bretholz	Krieg in Arabien
1962	79 -- Dezember	Otto Schiller	Bauernhof oder Kolchos
1962	79 -- Dezember	Franz Herre	Von der Ratio zur Emotion
1963	80 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Warten auf Provokationen
1963	80 -- Januar	Günter Triesch	Konjunktursorgen - Bergab, aber bequem
1963	80 -- Januar	Stefan Sermage	Soziale Utopie - Konzepte für Europa
1963	80 -- Januar	Christian Berndt	Jugend im Widerstand
1963	80 -- Januar	Wilhelm Röpke	Belastungen der Marktwirtschaft - Im Abweichen von Prinzipien liegt die Gefahr
1963	80 -- Januar	Thomas Ruf	Das Sozialpaket - Bericht über ein umfassendes Gesetzeswerk
1963	80 -- Januar	Klaus Hoff	Deutschland, Europa und die Welt
1963	80 -- Januar	Johannes Maass	Ideologische Goldgräber
1963	80 -- Januar	Paolo Patrizi	Der Streit um die Regionen
1963	80 -- Januar	Rudolf Stickelberger	Funk-Föderalismus
1963	80 -- Januar	Heinrich L. Kaster	Politischer Islam
1963	80 -- Januar	Wolfgang Schmahl	Zankapfel Borneo
1963	80 -- Januar	Joachim Georg Görlich	Freund ohne Freundschaft
1963	80 -- Januar	Werner Scharndorff	Der Riß im Ostblock
1963	80 -- Januar	Klaus Roemer	Schutz im Atomkrieg
1963	81 -- Februar	Helmut Artzinger	Planung und Freiheit - Erhards Disput mit der EWG-Kommission
1963	81 -- Februar	Stefan Sermage	Intelligenz-Gebühr - Poet und Umsatzsteuer
1963	81 -- Februar	Rosemarie Winter	„Sozialer Klimbim" - Leistungen der Industrie

1963	81 -- Februar	Carl Hauptmann	Musik nach Rezept
1963	81 -- Februar	Janko von Musulin	Europäische Gigantomanie
1963	81 -- Februar	Bernhard Beger	Was bringt die Mehrheitswahl?
1963	81 -- Februar	Friedrich O. Ruge	Moderne Seerüstung
1963	81 -- Februar	Helmuth Rogge	Affairen im Kaiserreich
1963	81 -- Februar	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Bedrängtes Großbritannien
1963	81 -- Februar	Wolfgang Schmahl	Indiens Versuchung
1963	81 -- Februar	Peter Jakovlević	Illusion der Einheit
1963	81 -- Februar	Winfried Scharlau	Eine brutale Freundschaft
1963	82 -- März	P. M.	Hypothesen
1963	82 -- März	Anton Böhm	Der Oberbefehlshaber
1963	82 -- März	Stefan Sermage	Handelsketten - Der Wettbewerb bleibt frei
1963	82 -- März	Hans-Joachim Kraemer	Der Notstand im Rechtsstaat
1963	82 -- März	Günther Gillissen	Wohin treibt Macmillan?
1963	82 -- März	Waldemar Besson	Das politische Bewußtsein der Deutschen
1963	82 -- März	Wilfrid Schreiber	Reform der Rentenreform - Abkehr von der Staatsfinanzierung
1963	82 -- März	Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn	Kommunismus in Übersee
1963	82 -- März	Helmut Schoeck	Geist und Macht im Weißen Haus
1963	82 -- März	Robert Peter	Chaos in Argentinien
1963	82 -- März	Wolfgang Bretholz	Ungarn an der Longe
1963	82 -- März	Franz Herre	Auftakt in Spanien
1963	83 -- April	P. M.	Der unbekannte Nachfolger
1963	83 -- April	Klaus Kamphöven	Der Fall Jahn
1963	83 -- April	Bernhard Beger	Halbzeit in Bonn
1963	83 -- April	Stefan Graf zu Schlippenbach	Unternehmensmakler - Eine wichtige Funktion
1963	83 -- April	Klaus Hoff	Marxismus im Schulranzen
1963	83 -- April	Gerhard Jungmann	Gesundheitspolitik - für wen? - Nicht das Kollektiv, der einzelne ist das Ziel
1963	83 -- April	Günter Triesch	Metamorphosen der Sozialdemokratie
1963	83 -- April	Alfred Ernst	Miliz im Atomzeitalter
1963	83 -- April	Otto B. Roegele	Moskau und der Papst
1963	83 -- April	Horst Hohendorf	Apertura auf dem Prüfstand
1963	83 -- April	Wolfgang Bretholz	Gewitter in Nahost
1963	83 -- April	Rudolf Vogel	Heiße Gegensätze
1963	83 -- April	William Lange	Ikeda hat Erfolg
1963	83 -- April	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Chinas Grenzen
1963	84 -- Mai	Alfred Rapp	Bundestag der leeren Bänke
1963	84 -- Mai	Anton Böhm	Vor der Ablösung
1963	84 -- Mai	Renate Kaemmerer	Problem Frauenarbeit - Die Familie geht vor
1963	84 -- Mai	Carl Hauptmann	Sozialistischer Realismus im Film
1963	84 -- Mai	Lutz Köllner	Grenzen der Wiedergutmachung
1963	84 -- Mai	Boris Meissner	Bilanz der Entstalinisierung

1963	84 -- Mai	Dieter Schäfer	Wie regiert man die Wirtschaft? - Mittel und Methoden einer freiheitlichen Ordnung
1963	84 -- Mai	Rüdiger Corsten	Menschen nach der Arbeit? - Zur Sozialgeschichte der Freizeit
1963	84 -- Mai	Winfried B. Scharlau	Das Zwielflichtige an Mr Wilson
1963	84 -- Mai	Hans Benedikter	Chancen der Einigung
1963	84 -- Mai	Rudolf Stickelberger	Beispiel Zermatt - Fehlende Gesundheitspolitik
1963	84 -- Mai	Joachim Georg Görlich	Machtkämpfe in Polen
1963	84 -- Mai		Umfragen
1963	84 -- Mai		Politik im Buch
1963	85 -- Juni	Franz Herre	Kennedy in Deutschland
1963	85 -- Juni	Günter Triesch	CDU vor der Reform
1963	85 -- Juni	Stefan Sermage	Mäzene gesucht - Ein Ruf ohne Echo
1963	85 -- Juni	Karl Willy Beer	Tag der Freiheit
1963	85 -- Juni	Wilfrid Schreiber	Ist Streik noch zeitgemäß? - Ein neues Selbstverständnis der Tarifpartner reift heran
1963	85 -- Juni	Wolfgang Höpker	Herausforderung auf vier Ozeanen
1963	85 -- Juni	Felix Krahmer	Integration in der Krise
1963	85 -- Juni	Joachim Bodamer	Der Mensch und die Zeit - Erinnerungen, Hoffnungen, Gegenwart
1963	85 -- Juni	Friedrich Abendroth	Verschenkter Sieg
1963	85 -- Juni	Heinz Pächter	Amerikas Republikaner
1963	85 -- Juni	Hermann Mathias Görgen	Brasilien wird nicht rot
1963	85 -- Juni	Heinz Kabermann	Welthandel an der Kette
1963	85 -- Juni		Umfragen: Streik und öffentliche Meinung
1963	85 -- Juni		Politik im Buch
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Dieter Schäfer	Der Wirtschaftsminister als Bundeskanzler
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Felix Krahmer	Problem Getreidepreis - Gefahr für die EWG
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Günter Triesch	Steine gegen Metall - Gewerkschaftsdiskussionen
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Franz Herre	Hamlet FDP
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Carl Hauptmann	Soldaten unter Parteikontrolle
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	Amerika: Vormund oder Partner
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Wolfgang Bretholz	Klarheit zwischen Deutschland und Israel
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Anton Böhm	Krise des Staatsbewußtseins
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Heinz Pächter	Rassenstreit als Verfassungskampf
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Cornelius Christiaan van den Heuvel	Strategie des psychologischen Kriegs
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Hildegard von Kotze	Hitlers Sicherheitsdienst im Ausland
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Horst Hohendorf	Fanfanis fatales Erbe
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Rudolf Vogel	Aufbau in Spanien
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Friedrich Abendroth	Die Republik der Kameraden
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Egon Heymann	Evolution auf vulkanischem Boden
1963	86 -- Juli/August	Hussein Mullick	Hilfe für Pakistan
1963	86 -- Juli/August		Umfragen: SPD und öffentliche Meinung
1963	86 -- Juli/August		Politik im Buch

1963	87 -- September	Hans Hellwig	Weltpolitik der falschen Mittel
1963	87 -- September	Lutz Köllner	Europa-Währung
1963	87 -- September	Bernhard Beger	Der unsympathische Notstand
1963	87 -- September	Günter Triesch	Stabilität nach Adenauer?
1963	87 -- September	Klaus Hoff	Politik auf dem Bildschirm
1963	87 -- September	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Elastische Strategie
1963	87 -- September	Helmuth Rogge	Die Entlassung eines Kanzlers
1963	87 -- September	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Die Tories sind müde
1963	87 -- September	Alfred Frisch	Visionär der Zukunft
1963	87 -- September	Peter Jakovlević	Titos Rückkehr
1963	87 -- September	Wolfgang Bretholz	Zwischen Diktatur und Chaos
1963	87 -- September		Umfragen: Das Staatsbewußtsein der Deutschen
1963	87 -- September		Briefe: Grenzen der Wiedergutmachung
1963	88 -- Oktober	Franz Herre	Formelhafte Gemeinsamkeit
1963	88 -- Oktober	Wolfgang Höpker	Die Sanduhr rinnt
1963	88 -- Oktober	Günter Triesch	Staat der Verbände - Drang zur totalen Organisation
1963	88 -- Oktober	Hanns Küffner	Selbstgerechtigkeit
1963	88 -- Oktober	Albert Komma	Telefon-Geheimnisse
1963	88 -- Oktober	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Volkswahlen ohne Alternative
1963	88 -- Oktober	André François-Poncet	Adenauer als historische Gestalt
1963	88 -- Oktober	Karl Willy Beer	Entspannung: Chance und Gefahr
1963	88 -- Oktober	Fritz Burgbacher	Gesellschaftspolitik der Harmonie - Das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Freiheit und Ordnung
1963	88 -- Oktober	Dietrich Schwarzkopf	Die Überwindung des Nationalstaats
1963	88 -- Oktober	Gerd Ruge	Kulturpolitik ohne Frühling
1963	88 -- Oktober	Martin Gilbert	Appeasement in Grossbritannien
1963	88 -- Oktober	Felix Krahmer	Neutralität verpflichtet
1963	88 -- Oktober	Wilfried Koschorreck	Krise am East River
1963	88 -- Oktober	Wolfgang Schmahl	Die Wacht am Amur
1963	88 -- Oktober		Umfragen: Überwindung des Nationalismus?
1963	88 -- Oktober		Briefe: Die deutsch-israelischen Beziehungen
1963	89 -- November	Anton Böhm	Besuch bei den Partnern
1963	89 -- November	Karl Willy Beer	Der große Kleinkrieg
1963	89 -- November	Heinrich Schreiner	Um den Kurs - Die Wirtschaftspolitik der SPD
1963	89 -- November	Franz Herre	Chance für Moskau
1963	89 -- November	Kurt Birrenbach	Was will Kennedy?
1963	89 -- November	Wolfgang Wagner	Walter Hallstein
1963	89 -- November	Ferdinand Deml	Der Weg zum Staatsbewußtsein
1963	89 -- November	Rüdiger Corsten	Der Kitsch oder die verweigerte Wirklichkeit
1963	89 -- November	Karl Bringmann	Presse und Fernsehen
1963	89 -- November	Winfried Scharlau	England im Schatten der Wahl
1963	89 -- November	Ferdinand Otto Miksche	Kuba als Zäsur
1963	89 -- November	Helmut Schoeck	Wechselwirkungen einer Freundschaft

1963	89 -- November	Horst Brünig	Aufstand der Kurden
1963	89 -- November		Umfragen: Wünscht an das neue Kabinett
1963	89 -- November		Politik im Buch
1963	90 -- Dezember	Kurt Birrenbach	Kennedy und Johnson
1963	90 -- Dezember	Anton Böhm	Tradition als Ballast
1963	90 -- Dezember	Günter Triesch	Auf altem Kurs - Georg Leber dringt nicht durch
1963	90 -- Dezember	Rudolf Coupette	Chance der Kohle - Der Bergbau stellt sich um
1963	90 -- Dezember	Herbert Kremp	Unsicherheit in der westlichen Allianz
1963	90 -- Dezember	Dietrich Schwarzkopf	Wünsche schaffen Legenden
1963	90 -- Dezember	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Opposition gegen Ulbricht
1963	90 -- Dezember	Franz Herre	Atatürk und seine Erben
1963	90 -- Dezember	Felix Krahmer	Die Schlüsselstellung der Agrarpolitik
1963	90 -- Dezember	Johannes Gaitanides	Bewegung in Athen
1963	90 -- Dezember	Charles Stephenson	Unruhiger Kongo
1963	90 -- Dezember		Umfragen: Interesse für Politik?
1963	91 -- Januar		Politik im Buch
1964	91 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Die Entscheidungsschlacht
1964	91 -- Januar	Anton Böhm	Erhards Probleme
1964	91 -- Januar	Stefan Sermage	Anti-GATT - Prüfstein für den Westen
1964	91 -- Januar	Wolfgang Höpker	Ungeplante Städte - Bonn platzt aus den Nähten
1964	91 -- Januar	Erich Peter Neumann	Öffentlichkeit und Wiedervereinigung
1964	91 -- Januar	Otto Stenzl	Europas steiniger Weg
1964	91 -- Januar	Wolfgang Bretholz	Zwischen Dogma und Wirklichkeit
1964	91 -- Januar	Ludwig Pesch	Die CDU und die Intellektuellen
1964	91 -- Januar	Anatol Johansen	Wettrennen zum Mond
1964	91 -- Januar	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Englands Hochschulen
1964	91 -- Januar	Heinz Kabermann	Streitobjekt Mongolei
1964	91 -- Januar		Politik im Buch
1964	91 -- Januar		Briefe an die Redaktion
1964	92 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Pankow ist nicht Peking
1964	92 -- Februar	Lutz Köllner	Die Kennedy-Runde - Atlantische Handelsgeschäfte
1964	92 -- Februar	Max Schulze-Vorberg	Freie Wahl am Bildschirm
1964	92 -- Februar	Kurt Joachim Fischer	Aufwertung des Geistes
1964	92 -- Februar	Franz Herre	Nationaltheater Europa
1964	92 -- Februar	Günter Triesch	Aufmarsch zur Wahlschlacht
1964	92 -- Februar	Michael Freund	Hitler und sein Eckermann
1964	92 -- Februar	Joachim Bodamer	Zwischen Beruf und Familie
1964	92 -- Februar	Ernst Deuerlein	Teilung einer Stadt
1964	92 -- Februar	Heinz Pächter	Verhandeln ohne Illusion
1964	92 -- Februar	Johannes Gaitanides	Vulkan Zypern
1964	92 -- Februar	Werner Scharndorff	Gespaltener Weltkommunismus
1964	92 -- Februar		Politik im Buch
1964	93 -- März	Karl Willy Beer	Zwei Parteitage

1964	93 -- März	Wolfgang Höpker	Freunde Gewinnen
1964	93 -- März	Stefan Sermage	Jedem sein Auto - Die drohende Verkehrsmisere
1964	93 -- März	Ingo Hochbaum	Studieren in Deutschland
1964	93 -- März	Anton Böhm	Vorwärts-Strategie für die CDU
1964	93 -- März	Fritz Schatten	Afrika in Aufruhr
1964	93 -- März	Klaus Hoff	Demokratie und Autorität
1964	93 -- März	Ferdinand Deml	Überwindung der deutschen Romantik
1964	93 -- März	Alfred Frisch	De Gaulles weltpolitisches Spiel
1964	93 -- März	Wolfgang Schmahl	Ring um Südostasien
1964	93 -- März		Umfragen: Die Deutschen und ihre Zeit
1964	93 -- März	Peter Schultze-Kraft	Kontinent in der Krise
1964	93 -- März	Jens Hacker	Schlechter Ratgeber
1964	93 -- März		Briefe an die Redaktion
1964	94 -- April	Günter Triesch	Die Verantwortung der Kleinen
1964	94 -- April	Hans Dichgans	Präsenz im Plenum
1964	94 -- April	Lutz Köllner	Rat der Weisen - Das neue Gutachter-Gremium
1964	94 -- April	Günter Kieslich	Stiefkind der Tagespresse
1964	94 -- April	Franz Herre	Dynamik für die NATO
1964	94 -- April	Thomas Ruf	Leidensweg einer Reform - Der Streit um das Sozialpaket
1964	94 -- April	Helmut Ibach	Soldat und Bildung
1964	94 -- April	Joachim Bodamer	Die große Angst
1964	94 -- April	Ernst Deuerlein	Deutschland wird nicht geteilt
1964	94 -- April	Felix Krahmer	Motor der Integration
1964	94 -- April	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Verbündete gesucht
1964	94 -- April	Kurt Marko	Ideologische Umrüstung
1964	94 -- April	Joachim Georg Görlich	Arbeiter murren
1964	94 -- April	Stefan Sermage	Grenzen der Planifikation - Zwischen Zwang und Freiheit
1964	94 -- April	Jens Hacker	Der moderne Staat
1964	95 -- Mai	Karl Willy Beer	Die richtige Außenpolitik
1964	95 -- Mai	Anton Böhm	Doch keine Testwahl
1964	95 -- Mai	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Intellektuelle in der Zone
1964	95 -- Mai	McGeorge Bundy	Präsidentschaft und Frieden
1964	95 -- Mai	Theo M. Loch	Zölle in Bewegung? - Chancen und Gefahren der Kennedy-Runde
1964	95 -- Mai	Wolfgang Höpker	Über Skandinavien streicht Ostwind
1964	95 -- Mai	Otto B. Roegele	Hippokrates als Funktionär
1964	95 -- Mai		Strauß über sich selbst
1964	95 -- Mai	Friedrich Abendroth	Generationswechsel in Wien
1964	95 -- Mai	Horst Hohendorf	Italiens Dilemma
1964	95 -- Mai	Hermann Raschhofer	Völkerrecht im Zwielficht
1964	95 -- Mai	Wolfgang Schmahl	„Modellfall" Laos
1964	96 -- Juni	Anton Böhm	Notbankier der Nato
1964	96 -- Juni	Rudolf Krämer-Badoni	Eine Stern-Stunde

1964	96 -- Juni	Hans Dichgans	Gewissenskonflikte
1964	96 -- Juni	Lutz Köllner	Der graue Wohnungsmarkt - Aspekte des Lücke-Plans
1964	96 -- Juni	Josef Hermann Dufhues	Christen in der Demokratie
1964	96 -- Juni	Klaus Emmerich	Machtlos gegen die Inflation? - Deutschlands Kampf gegen die Preise
1964	96 -- Juni	André Fontaine	Die Blöcke schmelzen
1964	96 -- Juni	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Ein Schmock
1964	96 -- Juni	Alfred Frisch	Planification im Wandel - Frankreich paßt sich der EWG an
1964	96 -- Juni	Hermann Mathias Görgen	Ein anderes Brasilien
1964	96 -- Juni	Franz Theodor Zölch	Lockvogel Koexistenz
1964	96 -- Juni	Wilfried Koschorreck	Vormarsch der dritten Welt
1964	96 -- Juni	Anatol Johansen	Um die Anti-Satelliten
1964	96 -- Juni	Franz Herre	Nehru ohne Aureole
1964	96 -- Juni		Politik im Buch
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Karl Willy Beer	Scheinkampf
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Anton Böhm	„Volkskanzler“
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Günter Triesch	An der Lohnfront - Neue Formen der Tarifpolitik
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Irrwege des Journalismus
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Heinz Pächter	Johnsons Dilemma
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Heinz Brahm	Liquidieren und rehabilitieren
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Rudolf Vogel	Block der Geberländer - Trübes Fazit nach der Welthandelskonferenz
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Armin Mohler	Die institutionalisierte Linke
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Gustav Stein	Partnerschaft als Ordnungselement - Über die Ethik in der Wirtschaft
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Michael Freund	1914 ist nicht 1939
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Werner von Lojewski	Bonn - Paris - Washington
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Alfred Frisch	Frankreichs Elite
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Wolfgang Bretholz	Labor des Ostblocks
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Anatol Johansen	Warum zum Mond?
1964	97 -- Juli/August	Jens Hacker	Dialektik im Selbstbestimmungsrecht
1964	98 -- September	Karl Willy Beer	...reitet für Deutschland?
1964	98 -- September	Lutz Köllner	Bosse im Zwielicht - Übernehmen sich die Unternehmer?
1964	98 -- September	Jens Hacker	Fünfzehn Jahre - und kein Staat
1964	98 -- September	Walther W. Rostow	Leinen los für Europa
1964	98 -- September	Hans-Joachim von Merkatz	Verantwortungsbewußte Entspannungspolitik
1964	98 -- September	Michael Freund	Das Deutschland von morgen
1964	98 -- September	Klaus Obermayer	Reform überfällig
1964	98 -- September	Philipp Herder-Dorneich	Magnet Eigentum - Umschichtung der Machtverhältnisse
1964	98 -- September	Jürgen Baumann	Wozu noch Auschwitz-Prozesse?
1964	98 -- September	Janko von Musulin	Die Tories hoffen wieder
1964	98 -- September	Wolfgang Bretholz	Kein Satellit mehr

1964	98 -- September	Hans-Jürgen Eitner	Kronprinzen
1964	98 -- September	Wolfgang Schmahl	Maos Doppelspiel
1964	98 -- September	Otto Stenzl	Nachbar Polen
1964	98 -- September	Ferdinand Deml	Bilder der Freiheit
1964	99 -- Oktober	Anton Böhm	Wozu noch Antikommunismus?
1964	99 -- Oktober	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Falsches Rezept für gesamtdeutsche Initiative
1964	99 -- Oktober	Wolfgang Baumann	Die Wirtschaft führt - Neue Funktion der Banken
1964	99 -- Oktober	Walter Althammer	Fehlgeleitete Entwicklungshilfe - Beobachtungen eines Parlamentariers
1964	99 -- Oktober	Walter Adolf Jöhr	In hundert Jahren - Wirtschaftliche Zukunftsperspektiven
1964	99 -- Oktober	Dietrich Schwarzkopf	Amerikas Potential erstarrt
1964	99 -- Oktober	Wilfrid Schreiber	Wille zum Vermögen - Streuung von Eigentum tut not
1964	99 -- Oktober	Josef Othmar Zöllner	Julius Kardinal Döpfner
1964	99 -- Oktober	Winfried Martini	Der Mythos vom Generalstreik
1964	99 -- Oktober	Franz Herre	Weltbühne Washington
1964	99 -- Oktober	J.H. Huizinga	Modell Ostafrika
1964	99 -- Oktober	Hermann Achminow	Federball Albanien
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Tücken des Trends
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Günter Triesch	Anstoß vermeiden
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Otto B. Roegele	Die Autorität des Papstes
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Konrad Adenauer	Schaut auf Deutschland
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Klaus Bloemer	Durch Europa zur Wiedervereinigung
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Erich Feldmann	Die Massenmedien in der Zukunft
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Friedrich Karrenberg	Annäherung der Konfessionen
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Ferdinand Deml	Selbstentfremdung der Deutschen
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Joachim Bodamer	Wege zu einem neuen Ich
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Wolfgang Höpker	Europas gefährdete Südflanke
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Janko von Musulin	Wilsons Experimente
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Karl Munkel	Vorbild Schweden?
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Charles Stephenson	Des weißen Mannes Schuldkomplex
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Klaus Hoff	Geschichte als Gruselkabinett
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Jens Hacker	Ostpolitik ohne Illusionen
1964	100 -- November/ Dezember	Heinz Brahm	Der geprellte Revolutionär
1965	101 -- Januar	Anton Böhm	Nicht im Zentrum

1965	101 -- Januar	Lutz Köllner	Von West nach Ost - Wenn der rote Handel lockt
1965	101 -- Januar	Gerhard Aichinger	Schatten über Berlin
1965	101 -- Januar	Wolfram von Raven	Das Multilaterale Mißverständnis
1965	101 -- Januar	Dietmar Stutzer	Deutsche Bauern ohne Zukunft? - Ungerechtfertigter Agrarpessimismus
1965	101 -- Januar	Gerhart Schlott	Schwerer Weg nach Europa
1965	101 -- Januar	Wolf Heribert Flemming	Die Affaire Herterich
1965	101 -- Januar	Alfred Frisch	Frankreichs Wahljahr
1965	101 -- Januar	Alain Roy	Ein Kuba für Europa?
1965	101 -- Januar	Charles Stephenson	Exempel Kongo
1965	101 -- Januar	Peter Schultze-Kraft	Land ohne Leute - Leute ohne Land
1965	101 -- Januar	Wolfgang Bretholz	Prag blickt wieder nach Westen
1965	101 -- Januar	Wilfried Koschorreck	Vereinte Nationen im Wandel
1965	101 -- Januar	Jens Hacker	Lehre vom Staat
1965	101 -- Januar	Klaus Hoff	Schutz der Republik
1965	102 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Keine Angst vor dem 8. Mai
1965	102 -- Februar	Jens Hacker	Zonen-Diplomatie
1965	102 -- Februar	Anton Böhm	Arme Polizisten
1965	102 -- Februar	Klaus Hoff	Wahlkampf auf eigene Faust
1965	102 -- Februar	Helmut Thielicke	Verjährung - ja oder nein
1965	102 -- Februar	Hans-Joachim von Merkatz	Gedanken um Bismarck
1965	102 -- Februar	Siegfried Müller-Markus	Die unbequemen Sowjet-Physiker
1965	102 -- Februar	Ernst Deuerlein	„Mit den Polen sprechen...“
1965	102 -- Februar	Horst Hohendorf	Nach der Zerreißprobe
1965	102 -- Februar	Werner Scharndorff	Die neuen Herren
1965	102 -- Februar	Hans Peter Rullmann	Achse Bukarest-Warschau
1965	102 -- Februar	Wolfgang Höpker	Schlüsselland Guinea
1965	102 -- Februar	Charles Stephenson	Tauziehen in Tansania
1965	102 -- Februar	Heinz Pächter	Von Roosevelt bis Kennedy
1965	103 -- März	Anton Böhm	Die Chancen der CDU
1965	103 -- März	Karl Willy Beer	Reise-Erfahrungen
1965	103 -- März	Theo M. Loch	Hallstein-Doktrin im Fegefeuer
1965	103 -- März	Wolfgang Reineke	Wille zur Abwehr?
1965	103 -- März	Klaus Kamphöven	Eine neue Klasse
1965	103 -- März	Ernst Deuerlein	Nach zwanzig Jahren
1965	103 -- März	Albert Woopen	In Opposition zur Gesellschaft
1965	103 -- März	Hanns Meenzen	Europa - ein Versorgungsstaat? - Gefahren und Chancen der Sozialangleichung
1965	103 -- März	Franz Herre	Das andere Amerika
1965	103 -- März	Erwin Erasmus Koch	Der rote Mandarin
1965	103 -- März	Dietrich Schwarzkopf	Nicht mehr blockfrei
1965	103 -- März	Klaus Hoff	Marokko 1965
1965	103 -- März	Alfred Frisch	Revolte der Manager

1965	103 -- März	Joachim Georg Görlich	„Pax“ in Polen
1965	103 -- März	Wolfram von Raven	Reichswehr und Politik
1965	103 -- März	Jens Hacker	Politisierte Geschichte
1965	104 -- April	Karl Willy Beer	Ungeliebte Deutsche
1965	104 -- April	Günter Triesch	Parteien in Bewegung
1965	104 -- April	Ernst Müller-Hermann	Generationswechsel
1965	104 -- April	Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode	Sorge um unsere Sicherheit
1965	104 -- April	Gottfried Leder	Politik für morgen
1965	104 -- April	Berthold Martin	Stiefkind Bildungswesen
1965	104 -- April	Wolfram von Raven	Zweite Front gegen die NATO?
1965	104 -- April	Thomas Ruf	Mindestrenten überflüssig - Härtefälle sind ohne Systembruch zu beheben
1965	104 -- April	Friedrich Abendroth	Österreichs Doppeljubiläum
1965	104 -- April	Alfred Frisch	Über Afrika hinaus
1965	104 -- April	Hans Peter Rullmann	Neue Ära in Rumänien
1965	104 -- April	Anatol Johansen	Kampf um den Mond
1965	104 -- April	Franz Herre	Heimweh nach Marx
1965	104 -- April	Klaus Hoff	Adenauer im Kreuzfeuer
1965	105 -- Mai	Karl Willy Beer	Die große Ernüchterung
1965	105 -- Mai	Lutz Köllner	Wahlschlager? - Erhards neuer Plan
1965	105 -- Mai	Dieter Rotter	Studentisches
1965	105 -- Mai	Jens Hacker	Antisemitismus östlich der Elbe
1965	105 -- Mai	Ernst Deuerlein	Pläne für Deutschland
1965	105 -- Mai	Herwig Gückelhorn	Auf Kosten des Steuerzahlers - Soziale Forderungen mit sozialistischen Folgen
1965	105 -- Mai	Hans Otto Wesemann	Mißverständene Entwicklungshilfe - Gezielte Förderung statt Gießkannenprinzip
1965	105 -- Mai	Matthias Vereno	Drei europäische Kernländer
1965	105 -- Mai	Klaus Bloemer	Kontakte zu Osteuropa
1965	105 -- Mai	Peter Hermes	Ein Versuch mit den Sowjets
1965	105 -- Mai	Wilfried Koschorreck	Dauerkrise
1965	105 -- Mai	Peter Schultze-Kraft	Alarm am La Plata
1965	105 -- Mai	Heinrich L. Kaster	Nassers Weg nach Moskau
1965	105 -- Mai	Heinz Brahm	Tote ohne Begräbnis
1965	105 -- Mai		Briefe an die Redaktion
1965	106 -- Juni	Anton Böhm	Am Zügel des DGB
1965	106 -- Juni	Karl Willy Beer	Wahlkrampf
1965	106 -- Juni	Klaus Hoff	„Ideologie-Presse“
1965	106 -- Juni	Erich Peter Neumann	Die Unentschiedenen
1965	106 -- Juni	Ernst Deuerlein	Zehn Jahre Deutschlandpläne
1965	106 -- Juni	Wolfram von Raven	Wie stark ist der Ostblock?
1965	106 -- Juni	Dietrich Schwarzkopf	Die Strategie der „Verdünnung“
1965	106 -- Juni	Ernst Müller-Hermann	Straßenverkehr morgen - Aufgaben für den nächsten Bundestag
1965	106 -- Juni	Hans Hermann Walz	Deutschland als geistige Aufgabe

1965	106 -- Juni	Wolfgang Bretholz	Rumäniens eigener Weg
1965	106 -- Juni	Theo M. Loch	Außenpolitik ohne Experimente
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Blick nach vorn
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Die Zukunft gestalten
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Was soll aus Deutschland werden?
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Ein neuer Lebensstil - Arbeit, Wohnung, Freizeit
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Wandel durch Raumordnung
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Gesünder leben - Reinere Luft - besseres Wasser - weniger Lärm
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Bewältigung des Verkehrs - Die herkömmlichen Methoden sind unzulänglich
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Perspektiven der Technik - Auswirkungen auf unsere Gesellschaft
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Fürsorge von morgen - Aufgaben des Staats, Verantwortung des einzelnen
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Das Gebot der Kulturpolitik
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Der Mensch in Familie und Betrieb - Fundamente der neuen Gesellschaftsordnung
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Grenzen der Sozialpolitik - Was noch zu tun ist
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Landwirtschaft ohne Zukunft? - Ein revolutionärer Umwandlungsprozeß
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Neue Aspekte der Wirtschaft - Die Fortentwicklung der Sozialen Marktwirtschaft
1965	107 -- Juli/August	?	Der Bürger und sein Staat
1965	108 -- September	Anton Böhm	Nicht um jeden Preis
1965	108 -- September	Fritz Burgbacher	Lohnt sich das Sparen? - Eine einfache Rechnung
1965	108 -- September	Karl Willy Beer	Grass und die Folgen
1965	108 -- September	Konrad Adenauer	Möglichkeiten einer Koalition
1965	108 -- September	Heinrich Krone	Was verlangt unsere Sicherheit?
1965	108 -- September	Erich Peter Neumann	Probleme unseres Frankreich-Bildes
1965	108 -- September	Wolfgang Baumann	Planung in der Wirtschaft - Aufgaben für den Unternehmer
1965	108 -- September	Heinz Kabermann	Die Agrar-Misere in der Sowjetunion
1965	108 -- September	Jens Hacker	Legenden um Potsdam
1965	108 -- September	Edgar Stern-Rubarth	Baut England auf oder ab?
1965	108 -- September	Helmut Schoeck	Amerikas Weg in die Krankenversicherung
1965	108 -- September	Alfred Frisch	Vor der Präsidentenwahl
1965	108 -- September	Joachim Georg Görlich	Polens „Volksarmee“
1965	108 -- September	Hans Peter Rullmann	Aufmarsch des Weltkommunismus
1965	108 -- September	Wolfram von Raven	Moskaus strategische Doktrin
1965	109 -- Oktober	Karl Willy Beer	Erhards zweite Regierung
1965	109 -- Oktober	Anton Böhm	Geist und Macht
1965	109 -- Oktober	Klaus Hoff	Der Fall Peter Weiss
1965	109 -- Oktober	Dietrich Schwarzkopf	Friedensvertrag - wozu?
1965	109 -- Oktober	Helmut Dahm	Die chinesische Militärdoktrin
1965	109 -- Oktober	Gerhart Schlott	Johnsons „Große Gesellschaft“
1965	109 -- Oktober	Gerhard Jungmann	Eine neue Gesundheitspolitik - Plaidoyer für einen „Deutschen Gesundheitsrat“

1965	109 -- Oktober	Bernhard Beger	Wahl-Analyse 1965
1965	109 -- Oktober	Alfred Frisch	De Gaulles NATO-Pläne
1965	109 -- Oktober	Wilfried Koschorreck	Zwanzig Krisenjahre
1965	109 -- Oktober	Heinrich L. Kaster	Wandel in Nahost
1965	109 -- Oktober	Karl Wilhelm Fricke	Besatzungs-Sozialismus
1965	109 -- Oktober	P. M.	„Was soll aus Deutschland werden?“
1965	109 -- Oktober		Zitate
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Karl Willy Beer	Kirche und Politik
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Herwig Gückelhorn	Finanz-Notstand - Maßhalten gilt für alle
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Stefan Sermage	Intelligenzsteuer -Adenauers Ärger
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Martin Bauer	Kein „Staat im Staat“
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Klaus Hoff	Neuer Nationalismus?
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Heinrich Krone	33 Jahre nach Brüning
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Alphons Horten	Mehr Mitbestimmung? - Deutschlands sozialpolitisches Beispiel
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Günther Willms	Staatsschutz und Freiheit
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Anton Böhm	Von der Idee zur Ideologie
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Hans-Joachim Kraemer	Grundgesetz unter der Lupe
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Otto B. Roegele	Die informierte Gesellschaft
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Franz Herre	Portugals Afrika-Politik
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Hans Peter Rullmann	Westkapital in Osteuropa
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Klaus Kamphöven	Ein neuer Parlamentarismus
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Pedro Arrupe SJ	Rom öffnet sich allen Kulturen
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Jens Hacker	Die Wandlungen im Weltkommunismus
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Joachim Georg Görlich	Kirche in Polen
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Lutz Köllner	„Sozialwissenschaft“ - Ordnungsversuch ohne Ziel
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember	Peter Schultze-Kraft	Alte Sombreros
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember		Briefe an die Redaktion
1965	110 -- November/ Dezember		Zitate
1966	111 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Das Engagement der Deutschen
1966	111 -- Januar	Herwig Gückelhorn	Nur 40 Stunden? - Wohlstand braucht Leistung
1966	111 -- Januar	Karl Willy Beer	Ein Trauerspiel
1966	111 -- Januar	Werner von Lojewski	Adenauer und seine Kritiker

1966	111 -- Januar	Anton Böhm	Beispiel Österreich?
1966	111 -- Januar	Waldemar Hoepfner	Ein Ausweg aus der EWG-Krise
1966	111 -- Januar	Lutz Köllner	Wiedervereinigung - wirtschaftlich gesehen - Perspektiven für eine Übergangszeit
1966	111 -- Januar	Otto B. Roegele	Der schwierige Dialog
1966	111 -- Januar	Hans Kaufmann	Poeten als Lakaien
1966	111 -- Januar	Vladimir Stedry	Irrwege eines Senders
1966	111 -- Januar	Joachim Georg Görlich	„Völkerfreundschaft“
1966	111 -- Januar	Alfred Frisch	Ein neuer de Gaulle?
1966	111 -- Januar	Heinrich L. Kaster	Schlüsselland Persien
1966	111 -- Januar		Zitate
1966	112 -- Februar	P. M.	Die nächste Jahre
1966	112 -- Februar	Karl Willy Beer	Protestieren
1966	112 -- Februar	Klaus Hoff	Kabarettisten
1966	112 -- Februar	Otto B. Roegele	Das Konzil und die Folgen
1966	112 -- Februar	Wilhelm Müller- Grooten	Die nationale Schizophrenie
1966	112 -- Februar	Gotthold Rhode	Brief an Bischof Lilje
1966	112 -- Februar	Fritz Berg	Gefahr aus den Kosten - Die Wirtschaft braucht ein gesundes Wachstum
1966	112 -- Februar	Heinz Pächter	Johnsons zwei Kriege
1966	112 -- Februar	Harold P. Romberg	Die Richter Ihrer Majestät
1966	112 -- Februar	Horst Hohendorf	Bomben-Lektion
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Baron Manteuffel-Szoege	1
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<i>Bericht aus Frankreich</i>	2
<i>Bericht über eine Konferenz</i>	1
Bernard Bassermann	1
Bernhard Beger	11
Bernhard Daehler	1
Bernhard Vogel	1
Berthold Martin	7
Bertrand Girod de l'Ain	1
Boris Meissner	2
Bruno Heck	6
C. von Braunmühl	1
Carl Hauptmann	4
Carl Maria Faber	3
Carl Wehner	3
Carl-Otto Lenz	3
Charles Stephenson	4
Charles W. Thayer	1
Charles Wassermann	1
Chester Bowles	1
Christian Berndt	1
Christian Bock	1
Christian E. Lewalter	1
Claude Delmas	1
Conrad Wilhelm Dietsch	1
Cornelius Christiaan van den Heuvel	1
Curt Gasteyger	1
<i>Der Bericht der UN-Kommission</i>	1
<i>Die deutsche Einheit in italienischer Sicht</i>	1
<i>Die Schweizer Armee im Atomzeitalter</i>	1
Dieter Brosowski	1
Dieter Cycon	1
Dieter Kraeter	2
Dieter Rotter	1
Dieter Schäfer	2
Dietmar Stutzer	3
Dietrich Schwarzkopf	7

<i>Dokumente und Berichte</i>	1
<i>Dokumente und Notizen</i>	1
<i>DPM</i>	1
E.	1
E. B.	1
E. D.	1
E. H.	2
E. J. S.	1
E. S.	1
E. V. Rostow	1
Eberhard Schulz	1
Edgar Salin	1
Edgar Stern-Rubarth	13
Edmund Forschbach	1
Edo Osterloh	1
Eduar J. Solich	2
Egon Heymann	42
<i>Ein Bericht</i>	1
<i>Ein Bericht aus Frankreich</i>	1
<i>Ein Zitat</i>	1
<i>Eine Dokumentation</i>	1
<i>Eine Umfrage</i>	1
Elisabeth Noelle & Erich Peter Neumann	2
Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann	1
Else Schlüter	10
Emil Dovifat	1
<i>Ergebnisse einer Enquête in Frankreich</i>	1
<i>Ergebnisse einer Umfrage</i>	1
Erich Feldmann	1
Erich Peter Neumann	19
Erich Röper	1
Erich Streißler	1
Erik Blumenfeld	2
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn	4
Ernest J. Salter	15
Ernst Banda	1
Ernst Deuerlein	35
Ernst Kux	1
Ernst Lemmer	1
Ernst Majonica	2
Ernst Müller-Hermann	6
Ernst Steinbach	1

Ernst Wolf	1
Erwin Erasmus Koch	1
Erwin Gaber	1
Erwin Wilkens	1
Etienne Grandjean	1
Eva Gräfin Finckenstein	1
F.R. Allemann	2
Felix Hirsch	2
Felix Krahmer	5
Ferdinand A. Hermens	3
Ferdinand Deml	4
Ferdinand Otto Miksche	25
Fiscalius	4
Franz Borkenau	1
Franz Etzel	1
Franz Greiner	1
Franz Harrach	3
Franz Herre	31
Franz Josef Strauß	2
Franz M. Alt	1
Franz Meyers	8
Franz Nuscheler & Winfried Steffani	1
Franz Rupp	5
Franz Theodor Zölch	2
Franz von Murlin	2
Frederik Tiller	1
Frido von Senger und Etterlin	1
Friedrich Abendroth	4
Friedrich Ernst	1
Friedrich Faust	2
Friedrich Graf von Westphalen	3
Friedrich H. Tenbruck	1
Friedrich Karrenberg	1
Friedrich Luft	1
Friedrich O. Ruge	2
Friedrich Torberg	1
Fritz Berg	1
Fritz Burgbacher	7
Fritz Kopp	1
Fritz Schatten	9
Fritz van Briessen	1
Fritz W. Meyer	1
Fritz Zweistern	1

Gabriele Bremme	1
Georg Kliesing	1
Georg Markt	1
Georges Hourdin	1
Gerd Ruge	1
Gerhard Aichinger	1
Gerhard Baumann	3
Gerhard Jungmann	2
Gerhard Reddemann	2
Gerhard Schlott	2
Gerhard Schröder	1
Gerhard Zwilling	1
Gerhart Schlott	3
Gert Freyland	1
Giulio Andreotti	1
Goetz Briefs	8
Gottfried Leder	1
Gotthold Rhode	1
Gottlieb Duttweiler	1
Gracian	8
Gregor Uhlhorn	3
Grigori Tunkin	1
Guido Andreotti	1
Guido Elli	11
Gunnar Berggren	3
Günter Kieslich	1
Günter Krauss	2
Günter Schmolders	1
Günter Scholz	1
Günter Triesch	45
Günther Gillesen	1
Günther Krauss	2
Günther Scholz	1
Günther Willms	5
Gustav E. Kafka	1
Gustav René Hocke	2
Gustav Stein	1
H. E. Haberfeld & Wilhelm Jung	1
H. L.	1
H. N.	1
H. W.	1
H.O. Schreivog	1
Hannah Petor	1
Hanns Küffner	1

Hanns Meenzen	1
Hans Apel	1
Hans Bausch	2
Hans Benedikter	1
Hans Brog	1
Hans Dahs	1
Hans Dichgans	2
Hans Doerr	4
Hans Drossel	4
Hans E. Habefeld	2
Hans Frick	2
Hans Furler	2
Hans Gathmann	2
Hans Guhr	1
Hans Hellwig	1
Hans Hermann Walz	1
Hans Herzfeld	1
Hans J. Richarz	2
Hans Joachim Kausch	1
Hans Kaufmann	1
Hans Köhler	2
Hans Kohn	2
Hans Lehmann	1
Hans Lindemann	7
Hans Lüttger	1
Hans Maier	1
Hans Maier & Ulrich Matz	1
Hans Naumann	1
Hans Otto Wesemann	8
Hans Peter Rullmann	6
Hans Schwab-Felisch	1
Hans Seligo	5
Hans Steinitz	1
Hans-Dietrich Sander	2
Hans-Joachim Kraemer	3
Hans-Joachim Schoeps	2
Hans-Joachim von Merkat	5
Hans-Jürgen Eitner	20
Hansjürgen Schierbaum	1
Harold P. Romberg	1
Hartmut Wasser	1
Hasso v. Manteuffel	1
Heinrich Krieger	1
Heinrich Krone	3

Heinrich L. Kaster	10
Heinrich Schreiner	1
Heinz Brahm	4
Heinz Kabermann	6
Heinz Karst	2
Heinz Kersten	12
Heinz Pächter	14
Heinz Peter Körfgn	1
Helen von Ssachno	1
Hellmut Meier	1
Helmut Ahrens	1
Helmut Artzinger	1
Helmut Dahm	1
Helmut Ibach	2
Helmut Kohl	1
Helmut Lemke	1
Helmut Meier	1
Helmut Schoeck	7
Helmut Stein	1
Helmut Thielicke	1
Helmut Unkelback	1
Helmuth Rogge	2
Hemen Ray	1
Henry A. Kissinger	2
Herbert Kremp	1
Hermann Achminow	1
Hermann J. Abs	1
Hermann Karl August Weinkauff	1
Hermann Mathias Görgen	8
Hermann Meyer-Lindenberg	1
Hermann Raschhofer	10
Hermann Schäfer	1
Herwig Gückelhorn	6
Hildegard von Kotze	2
Hilmar Schlüter	1
Horst Brüinig	1
Horst Diemel	2
Horst Hohendorf	8
Hussein Mullick	1
I.	1
Ilse Bab	1
Imogen Seger	9
Ingo Hochbaum	1

Irving Kristol	1
J.E. Palmon	1
J.F. Volrad Deneke	1
J.H. Huizinga	1
J.O. Zöller	3
Janko von Musulin	8
Jans Peter Rullmann	1
Jay Metcalf	1
Jean Amrouche	1
Jens Hacker	24
Joachim Bodamer	8
Joachim Georg Görlich	9
Joachim Wiesner	2
Johann Baptist Gradl	1
Johann Walling	1
Johannes Binkowski	3
Johannes Gaitanides	2
Johannes Gross	1
Johannes Jacobi	12
Johannes Maass	7
Josef A. Tzöbl	1
Josef Hermann Dufhues	2
Josef Othmar Zöller	3
Joseph Höffner	1
Juliusz Mieroszewski	1
Jürgen Baumann	1
Jürgen Karzel	1
Jürgen Wahl	4
Jürgen Bachmann	1
-k	1
K.H. Helfer	1
K.P. Werder	1
Kai-Uwe von Hassel	1
Karl Anton Prinz Rohan	1
Karl Bringmann	1
Karl C. Thalheim	3
Karl F. Koenig	1
Karl Friedrich	1
Karl Hauswirth	3
Karl Kanka	1
Karl Klapdohr	1
Karl Lahm	6
Karl Loewy	2
Karl Marx	1

Karl Münkkel	1
Karl Pagel	2
Karl Pottmann	1
Karl Ringfer	1
Karl Theodor Freiherr zu Guttenberg	9
Karl von Schoenau	1
Karl Weidner	1
Karl Wilhelm Fricke	15
Karl Willy Beer	105
Karl-Dietrich Bracher	1
Klaus Bloemer	2
Klaus Emmerich	1
Klaus Hoff	20
Klaus Hornung	3
Klaus Kamphöven	10
Klaus Nikkel	1
Klaus Obermayer	1
Klaus Roemer	7
Klaus Seemann	1
Klaus von der Groeben	1
Konrad Adenauer	4
Kurt Birrenbach	6
Kurt Georg Kiesinger	1
Kurt H. Biedenkopf	1
Kurt Joachim Fischer	3
Kurt Marko	3
Kurt Pentzlin	1
Leonard Beaton	1
Leopold Labedz	1
Leopold Sedar Senghor	1
Lorenz Rieger	1
Lorenz Stucki	1
Ludwig Bergschneider	2
Ludwig Losacker	1
Ludwig Pesch	2
Luigi Barzini	2
Lutz Köllner	15
M.	1
Manfred Abelein	1
Manfred Hättich	1
Manfred Wörner	1
Margot Kalinke	1
Martin Bauer	1

Martin Gilbert	1
Martin Rabe	1
Matthias Vereno	1
Matthias Walden	1
Max Beer	1
Max Güde	1
Max Rossbach	1
Max Schnetzer	1
Max Schulze-Vorberg	1
Maxim Gargen	6
McGeorge Bundy	1
Michael Freund	10
Michel Ayih	1
N.	1
N. M.	1
Norbert Gehrig	1
Olaf von Wrangel	1
Oscar Gass	1
Otto B. Roegele	25
Otto Barbarino	1
Otto Häcker	1
Otto Lenz	4
Otto Schiller	3
Otto Schulmeister	1
Otto Stenzl	8
Otto Stolz	6
Otto von Sethe	2
Otto-Ernst Schüddekopf	3
Oz.	1
P. M.	9
Paolo Patrizi	3
Pater Schultze-Kraft	1
Paul Bellinghausen	4
Paul Leverkuehn	3
Paul Mikat	1
Paul Scheffer	4
Paulus Gordan	1
Pedro Arrupe SJ	1
Peet Venter	1
Peter Eichen	1
Peter Gilg	2
Peter Hermes	1
Peter Jakovlević	2
Peter Scholl-Latour	1

Peter Schultze-Kraft	4
Peter von Zahn	1
Philipp Herder-Dorneich	2
Philippe Ben	2
Pierre M. Gallois	2
Pietro Quaroni	1
R. F.	3
R. H.	2
R. I.	2
Rainer Barzel	4
Rainer Waterkamp	1
Raymond Aron	1
Raymond Battegay	1
Raymond Cartier	1
Reinhold Schairer	1
Renate Kaemmerer	1
René Fatzer	1
René Marcic	1
Riccardo Forte	1
Richard A. Wagner	1
Richard Dietrich	1
Richard F. Sparks	1
Richard Jaeger	4
Richard Tüngel	16
rim.	1
Risa Worsley	2
Robert Adam	2
Robert C. Buist	1
Robert Gerwin	1
Robert Guillain	3
Robert Ingram	38
Robert Peter	4
Robert Smith	2
Rolf Bracher	1
Rolf Gruner	2
Rolf Handtke	24
Rolf Italiaander	1
Rosemarie Winter	3
Rü.	1
Rüdiger Altmann	1
Rüdiger Corsten	2
Rudolf Coupette	1
Rudolf Fischer	10
Rudolf Handtke	1

Rudolf Heizler	1
Rudolf Krämer-Badoni	9
Rudolf Stickelberger	8
Rudolf Vogel	22
Rushton Coulborn	3
S.-F.	1
Siegfried Löffler	2
Siegfried Müller-Markus	2
Siegmar Schelling	1
Stefan Graf zu Schlippenbach	3
Stefan Sermage	39
Stefan Yowev	3
Suzanne Labin	2
Theo Friedenau	1
Theo M. Loch	4
Theodor Bersin	1
Theodor Blank	1
Theodor Litt	1
Theodor Sonnemann	2
Theodor von Mutius	1
Thomas Ruf	3
Tibor Meray	1
Ullrich Rühmland	7
Ullrich Sieck	1
Ulrich Hagelberg	1
Ulrich Müller	1
Ulrich Scheuner	3
Utta Plessow	1
Valentin Kratoschin	1
Vercors	1
Vinzenz Schriever	1
Vladimir Stedry	1
Volkmar Muthesius	8
Volkmar von Zühlsdorff	1
von Blücher	1
W. H.	1
Waldemar Besson	2
Waldemar Hoepfner	1
Waldemar Lentz	30
Walter Adolf Jöhr	1
Walter Althammer	2
Walter Bittermann	3
Walter Fredericia	3
Walter Künneth	4

Walter Sorge	1
Walter Wagner	5
Walther Hofer	1
Walther Kumpf	1
Walther W. Rostow	2
Werner Brüssau	2
Werner Erfurt	1
Werner Kaltefleiter	1
Werner Osel	1
Werner Riek	1
Werner Ross	1
Werner Scharndorff	9
Werner Schütz	2
Werner von Lojewski	5
Werner Wegefeld	1
Wilfrid Schreiber	5
Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode	1
Wilfried Koschorreck	6
Wilhelm Classen	2
Wilhelm Grewe	1
Wilhelm Henrichs	1
Wilhelm Mogge	1
Wilhelm Müller-Grooten	1
Wilhelm Röpke	5
Willi Schickling	2
William Lange	6
William S. Schlamm	1
Winfried B. Scharlau	2
Winfried Eichen	1
Winfried Martini	3
Winfried Scharlau	2
Winfried Steffani	1
Witilo von Griesheim	1
Wk.	3
Wolf Heribert Flemming	1
Wolf Oschlies	3
Wolfgang Baumann	2
Wolfgang Bretholz	17
Wolfgang Höpker	24

Wolfgang Krüger	1
Wolfgang Reineke	1
Wolfgang Schmahl	8
Wolfgang Wagner	17
Wolfram von Raven	12
[empty]	127
Total	2127

A.3 Article numbers and page numbers of the publications of
Die Politische Meinung, 1956-1970

Year	Number	Articles	Pages
1956	1 -- Juni	23	96
	2 -- Juli	25	96
	3 -- August	19	96
	4 -- September	19	96
	5 -- Oktober	19	96
	6 -- November	18	96
	7 -- Dezember	21	96
1957	8 -- Januar	20	96
	9 -- Februar	22	96
	10 -- März	19	96
	11 -- April	19	96
	12 -- Mai	17	96
	13 -- Juni	18	96
	14 -- Juli	21	96
	15 -- August	20	96
	16 -- September	19	96
	17 -- Oktober	15	96
	18 -- November	18	96
	19 -- Dezember	15	96
1958	20 -- Januar	17	96
	21 -- Februar	17	96
	22 -- März	15	96
	23 -- April	16	96
	24 -- Mai	21	96
	25 -- Juni	17	96
	26 -- Juli	16	92
	27 -- August	?	92
	28 -- September	14	92
	29 -- Oktober	15	94
	30 -- November	18	94
	31 -- Dezember	17	94
1959	32 -- Januar	18	96
	33 -- Februar	16	96
	34 -- März	17	96
	35 -- April	16	96
	36 -- Mai	13	96
	37 -- Juni	17	96
	38 -- Juli	14	96
	39 -- August	18	96

	40 -- September	14	96
	41 -- Oktober	19	96
	42 -- November	17	96
	43 -- Dezember	16	96
1960	44 -- Januar	15	96
	45 -- Februar	19	94
	46 -- März	18	96
	47 -- April	17	96
	48 -- Mai	18	96
	49 -- Juni	16	96
	50 -- Juli	16	96
	51 -- August	16	96
	52 -- September	17	96
	53 -- Oktober	14	96
	54 -- November	16	96
	55 -- Dezember	18	96
1961	56 -- Januar	19	96
	57 -- Februar	17	96
	58 -- März	16	96
	59 -- April	17	96
	60 -- Mai	14	96
	61 -- Juni	16	96
	62 -- Juli	17	96
	63 -- August	17	96
	64 -- September	16	96
	65 -- Oktober	15	96
	66 -- November	13	96
	67 -- Dezember	15	96
1962	68 -- Januar	18	96
	69 -- Februar	18	96
	70 -- März	15	96
	71 -- April	16	96
	72 -- Mai	18	96
	73 -- Juni	11	96
	74 -- Juli	15	96
	75 -- August	15	96
	76 -- September	16	96
	77 -- Oktober	15	96
	78 -- November	15	96
	79 -- Dezember	15	96

1963	80 -- Januar	15	96
	81 -- Februar	12	96
	82 -- März	12	96
	83 -- April	14	96
	84 -- Mai	14	96
	85 -- Juni	14	96
	86 -- Juli/August	18	112
	87 -- September	13	96
	88 -- Oktober	17	96
	89 -- November	15	96
	90 -- Dezember	12	96
1964	91 -- Januar	14	96
	92 -- Februar	13	96
	93 -- März	14	96
	94 -- April	15	96
	95 -- Mai	12	96
	96 -- Juni	15	96
	97 -- Juli/August	15	96
	98 -- September	15	96
	99 -- Oktober	12	96
	100 -- November/ Dezember	16	108
1965	101 -- Januar	15	96
	102 -- Februar	14	96
	103 -- März	16	96
	104 -- April	14	96
	105 -- Mai	15	96
	106 -- Juni	11	96
	107 -- Juli/August	15	192
	108 -- September	15	96

	109 -- Oktober	14	96
	110 -- November/ Dezember	21	112
1966	111 -- Januar	14	96
	112 -- Februar	12	96
	113 -- März/April	18	112
	114 -- Mai	16	96
	115 -- Juni	15	96
	116 -- Juli/August	15	112
	117 -- September/ Oktober	15	112
	118 -- November/ Dezember	15	108
1967	119 -- I	18	144
	120 -- II/III	14	128
	121 -- IV	15	126
1968	122 -- I	17	120
	123 -- II	16	128
	124 -- III	15	132
	125 -- IV	14	118
1969	126 -- I	15	120
	127 -- II	18	120
	128 -- III	14	120
	129 -- IV	17	120
1970	130 -- I	15	120
	131 -- II	17	120
	132 -- III	16	120
	133 -- IV	15	108
	Total	2127	13352

B. liberal

B.1 Publications of *liberal* in chronological order, 1958-1970

Number	Author	Title
1958(**)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Aufgaben, Chancen und Gefahren für die liberale Partei
1959(1)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Grundsatzbesinnung und Neubeginn
1959(1)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Der Freiheitsbegriff in der Welt der Technik
1959(1)	Gerhard Daub	Liberal – heute?
1960(1)	Werner Stephan	Naumann in unserer Zeit
1960(1)	Klaus Scholder	Christentum und Liberalismus
1960(1)	Hildegard Brücher	Möglichkeiten und Gefahren der liberalen Partei
1960(2)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Kirche und Politik
1960(2)	Friedrich Henning	Liberalismus und Nationalismus
1960(2)	Hellmuth Jaekel	Parteien und Persönlichkeiten
1960(3)	Erich Mende	Staatsauffassungen im politischen Liberalismus
1960(3)	Barthold C. Witte	Eigentum in der Massengesellschaft
1960(3)	Gerhard Daub	Die Nashörner – eine notwendige Betrachtung
1960(3)	Eduard Kern	Auswirkungen des Konkordatsurteils
1960(4)	Hans Lenz	Liberalismus – Kritik einer Fehlinterpretation
1960(4)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Das junge Amerika
1960(4)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Funktions-Eliten in einer offenen Gesellschaft
1961(1)	Wolfgang Natonek	Liberalismus und Totalitarismus
1961(1)	Karl-Hermann Hummel	Demokratie ohne Demokraten
1961(1)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Politische Sprachlenkung
1961(2)	Giovanni Malagodi	Verteidigung der Freiheit
1961(2)	Klaus Scholder	Der Geist des Staates als Aufgabe der Kulturpolitik
1961(2)	Eduard Leuze	Das Problem der Freiheit in der Wirtschaftsordnung
1961(2)	Bernhard Leverenz	Die Bewältigung der Vergangenheit
1961(3)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Liberalismus im Angriff
1961(3)	Barthold C. Witte	Gewerkschaften in der liberalen Demokratie
1961(3)	Dietrich Wiegand	Wesenselemente des sozialen Rechtsstaates
1961(4)	Werner Stephan	Lujo Brentano – Kündler eines sozialen Liberalismus
1961(4)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Wohlstandsnation oder Kulturnation
1961(4)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Die Bedeutung des Wahlkampfes für die Demokratie
1961(4)	Claus-Peter Gerber	Gedanken zur Parteienkonzentration
1961(*)	Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol	Sündenbock Staat? – Kündler eines sozialen Liberalismus
1962(1)	Klaus Dehler	Die Erhaltung der geistigen Freiheit
1962(1)	Albrecht Menke	Was ist des Liberalen Vaterland
1962(1)	Hans-Joachim Ordemann	Die Versorgungswirtschaft – Prüfstein einer Freiheitlichen Wirtschaftsordnung
1962(2)	Hildegard Brücher	Über Schwächen und Mängel unserer Parlamente
1962(2)	Barthold C. Witte	Freiheit, Einheit – und kein Ende?
1962(2)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Nationaler Kitsch

1962(3)	Karl Hoffmann	Politische Zwischenbilanz
1962(3)	Rolf Schreiber	Leistung und Probleme der neo-liberalen Wirtschaftsordnung
1962(3)	Friedrich W. Schreiber	„Planen in Freiheit“
1962(3)	Izhak Artzi	Situation und Aufgaben der Liberalen in Westeuropa
1962(4)	Gerhard Daub	Die Affäre – die Wende?
1962(4)	Ralf Dahrendorf	Die Expansion des deutschen Bildungswesens
1962(4)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Junge Generation und politische Bildung
1962(4)	Claus-Peter Gerber	Sozialreform – Prüfstein des politischen Liberalismus
1962(*)	Hans Reif	Europa ohne Dogma
1963(1)	Klaus Scholder	Zwanzig Jahre danach
1963(1)	Barthold C. Witte	Junge Generation aus altem Volk
1963(2)	Josef M. Gerwald	Überlegungen zur atlantischen Partnerschaft
1963(2)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Liberalismus ohne Tränen
1963(3)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Parteienstaat, Verbändestaat – oder was sonst?
1963(3)	Wolfgang Schollwer	Amerikas Deutschlandpolitik
1963(3)	Joachim Bretschneider	Aktive Eigentumspolitik – eine liberale Aufgabe
1963(3)	Friedhelm Fabers	Europas Chance
1963(4)	Wolfgang Mischnick	Die Liberalen und die Gewerkschaften
1963(4)	Barthold C. Witte	Rückschritt oder Wende
1963(4)	Alfred Christmann	Gewerkschaftsbewegung und Liberalismus
1963(4)	Günter Apel	... neue Freunde gewinnen
1963(4)	Friedrich Henning	Der liberale Anteil an der Gewerkschaftsentwicklung
1963(3*)	Klaus Scholder	Christentum und Liberalismus
1963(3*)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Kirche und Politik
1963(3*)	Hans Lenz	Liberalismus – Kritik einer Fehlinterpretation
1964(1)	Hans Reif	Theodor Heuss' demokratische Berufung
1964(1)	Bernhard Leverenz	Liberale Politik für den modernen Staat
1964(1)	Richard Moore	Direkte und parlamentarische Demokratie
1964(2)	Ewald Bucher	Justiz und Pressefreiheit
1964(2)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Die Massenmedien in der Demokratie
1964(2)	Klaus Bölling	Politisches Fernsehen – Gefahr und Auftrag
1964(3)	Günther Eichwede	Das berufliche Bildungswesen in der Bundesrepublik
1964(3)	Wilhelm Fielmann	Aufgaben der Schule bei der beruflichen Bildung
1964(3)	Eduard Leuze	Harmonisierung der Berufsausbildung in der EWG
1964(3)	Wolfgang Imle	Die gesetzliche Reform der Berufsausbildung
1964(3)	Hans Lenz	Forschungsförderung als nationale Aufgabe
1964(4)	Klaus Scholder	Gedanken zur deutschen Einheit
1964(4)	J.F. Volrad Deneke	1945-1964, ein Weg zur Demokratie
1964(4)	Albrecht Menke	Theodor Heuss und die deutsche Geschichte
1964(5)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Das Ausmaß des Bildungsgefälles
1964(5)	Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol	Amerika im Übergang
1964(5)	Giovanni Malagodi	Wahlaussichten der Liberalen Partei Italiens
1964(6)	Karl Heinz Tietzsch	Ziele und Maßstäbe der Raumordnung
1964(6)	J. Bruno Fischer	Entwicklungshilfe – wie und wozu

1964(6)	Barthold C. Witte	Liberalismus in Latein-Amerika
1964(4*)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Liberaler Bildungspolitik
1964(4*)	Hans Lenz	Forschungsförderung durch Stiftungen
1964(4*)	Walter Erbe	Bemerkungen zur Hochschulreform
1964(4*)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Der Intellektuelle und die Politik
1964(5*)	Thomas Dehler	Das liberale Leitbild
1964(5*)	Walter Erbe	Liberalismus heute
1964(5*)	Georg Letz	Für eine freie Gesellschaft
1964(5*)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Die Freiheit in der Welt der Technik
1965(?)	Hans Reif	Integration und Wiedervereinigung
1965(?)	Bodo Zeuner	Die sozialistischen Parteien in Europa
1965(?)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Rede zur Verleihung des Theodor-Heuss-Preises
1965(?)	Ludwig Raiser	Über den rechten Gebrauch der Freiheit
1965(?)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Der zweite Schritt
1965(?)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Deutsche Anti-Politik
1965(?)	Thomas Dehler	Die Schranke des Rechtes
1965(?)	Mario Moessinger	Quo vadis Italia
1965(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Literarisches Engagement in der entgrenzten Welt
1965(?)	Werner Helwig	Singapur, Malaysia
1965(?)	Albrecht Fabri	Sprach-Pranger
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Optimistische Betrachtungen der andere Seite (I)
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Rechtssicherheit, Gerechtigkeit
1965(?)	Wolf Jobst Siedler	Preußens Auszug aus der Geschichte
1965(?)	Heinz Kuby	Das Europa de Gaulles
1965(?)	Johannes Groß	Probleme als Schutzwall
1965(?)	Albrecht Fabri	Sprach-Pranger
1965(?)	Kunrat von Hammerstein	Leipzig 1958
1965(?)	Erich Kock	Leipzig 1965
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Ein liberaler Parteitag, idealtypisch beurteilt
1965(?)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Der 8. Mai
1965(?)	Kunrat von Hammerstein	Quer durch Deutschland (I)
1965(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Zum Beispiel französischer Kommunismus (I)
1965(?)	Horst Müller	Theater und Nation
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Die Schulpolitik der SED im Wandel
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Machen Wahlen unwählbar
1965(?)	Hans Haferland	Zum Konkordat in Niedersachsen
1965(?)	Erich Kitzmüller	Parlamente ohne Politik
1965(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Zum Beispiel französischer Kommunismus (II)
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Kleine Schritte und kleine Tritte
1965(?)	Hans Lenz	17. Juni – notwendiges Nachwort
1965(?)	Klaus Koch	Erschlaffte Strategie
1965(?)	Kunrat von Hammerstein	Quer durch Deutschland (II)
1965(?)	Siegfried Hoffmann	Zur Zielsetzung der Eigentumspolitik
1965(?)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Offener Brief

1965(?)	Barthold C. Witte	Herberge des liberalen Geistes
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Der gesplittete 20. Juni
1965(?)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Das Deutsche läuft uns nach
1965(?)	Theodor W. Adorno	Was ist Deutsch?
1965(?)	Rüdiger Altmann	Was ist Deutsch?
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Was ist Deutsch?
1965(?)	Hermann Ebeling	Deutschland wiederbesucht
1965(?)	Alfons Otto Schorb	Walter Ulbricht entdeckt die Kunst des Managements
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Anatomie einer Scheinkrise
1965(?)	Klaus Scholder	Die störende Partei
1965(?)	Theodor Heuss	Unsere deutsche Mission
1965(?)	Thomas Dehler	Das Risiko der Freiheit
1965(?)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Offene Karten
1965(?)	Bernhard Leverenz	Mut zur Ostpolitik
1965(?)	Bodo Scheurig	Nachbar Polen
1965(?)	Heinrich J. Maurer	Öffentliche Meinung und FDP
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Volksvertreter und Konzernknechte
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Was steht zur Wahl?
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Bitterer Lorbeer
1965(?)	Werner Helwig	Schöner wohnen
1965(?)	Thilo von Werthern- Beichlingen	Souveränität als Dilemma
1965(?)	Renate Rombach	Brüder und Schwestern
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Zum Tod von Johannes Bobrowski
1965(?)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Bonner Chinoiserien
1965(?)	Barthold C. Witte	Eigentumspolitik – gefährliche Illusion?
1965(?)	Hermann Ebeling	Die vollendete und die unvollendete Revolution
1965(?)	Edward V. Sittler	Das schwarze Blut Amerikas
1965(?)	Wolfgang Luder	Israels liberale Parteien nach der Spaltung
1965(?)	Axel Kammholz	Prag
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Stoßrichtung Weltmarkt
1965(?)	Klaus Scholder	Die Denkschrift
1965(?)	Rolf Schroers	Die Grenzen von 1937
1965(?)	Heinrich J. Maurer	„Formierte Gesellschaft“
1965(?)	Volker Stoltz	Machen Meinungsforscher Meinung?
1965(?)	Horst Müller	Auschwitz auf dem Theater
1965(?)	Erich Kock	Pius XII. und das Dritte Reich
1965(?)	Wolfgang Promies	Deutsche Arbeiterdichtung
1965(?)	Manfred Rexin	Walter Ulbricht entdeckt die Kunst des Managements
1966(?)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Editorial
1966(?)	Adolf Portmann	Die Sprache des Naturforschers
1966(?)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Bildungsreise durch Skandinavien
1966(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Depression und Hoffnung
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Anlässlich Vietnam

1966(?)	Jesco von Puttkammer	Unter den Teppich gekehrt
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Treibjagd auf Literaten
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Status Quo
1966(?)	Erich Kock	Angst und Liberalität
1966(?)	Rüdiger Altmann	Pietistischer Stil
1966(?)	Mario Moessinger	Italien zwischen Krise und Planung
1966(?)	Herbert Willner	Wir, die Bombe und der wissenschaftliche Fortschritt
1966(?)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Ideologieverdacht in Sachen Bildungspolitik
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	„Nicht Männer, Massen machen die Geschichte!“
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Auf die lange Bank
1966(?)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Modern, kämpferisch und glaubwürdig
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Positive Indiskretion
1966(?)	William Borm	Unsere liberale Verpflichtung für Gesamtdeutschland
1966(?)	Günter Hartkopf	Zur deutschen Frage
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Zensur und freie Meinung
1966(?)	Jürgen Petersen	Kurzfilm-Festival in Oberhausen
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Eine Generation tritt ab
1966(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Die Welt als amerikanisches Problem
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Personen und Sache
1966(?)	Edward V. Sittler	Amerika – Iberoamerika
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Lateinamerikanischer Kolonialismus
1966(?)	Barthold C. Witte	„Christliche Demokratie“ in Lateinamerika
1966(?)	Carlos M. Rama	Ist Lateinamerika katholisch?
1966(?)	James D. Theberge	Verleumdung und Revolution im Nordosten Brasiliens
1966(?)	Gerhard Daub	A propos Erbrecht
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	NATO
1966(?)	Hans Georg Baare-Schmidt	Deutsche Souveränität
1966(?)	Ernst Eggers	Die Marktwirtschaft im Sog der Sozialdemagogie
1966(?)	Axel Kammholz	Liberale Wirtschaftspolitik
1966(?)	Margret Boveri	Was war nun falsch?
1966(?)	Karl Ihmels	Sport und Politik in Deutschland
1966(?)	Hermann Marx	Von gesamtdeutschen Gesprächen
1966(?)	Hans Haferland	Zum deutsch-israelischen Verhältnis
1966(?)	Jürgen Petersen	Ein akademischer Fall
1966(?)	Klaus Scholder	Notstand und Legalität
1966(?)	Hermann Busse	Vom Notstandsrecht
1966(?)	Gerhard Knoke	Notstandsrecht zur Stunde
1966(?)	Theo Schiller	Notstand und Parlament
1966(?)	Hermann Ebeling	Ordnungshüter im Wandel der Ordnung
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Die Notstandsgesetzgebung der DDR
1966(?)	Günter Apel	Angestellte in der Leistungsgesellschaft
1966(?)	Hannes Steinmetz	Jugendweihe und Sonstiges
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Über die Freiheit

1966(?)	Willi Weyer	Politischer Liberalismus und evangelische Kirche
1966(?)	Hans Max v. Aufsess	Kann man mit Ideologen diskutieren?
1966(?)	Hans Friderichs	Kraftfelder moderner Politik
1966(?)	Peter Härtling	Gruß an den weißen Wal
1966(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Vortrag eines französischen Widerständlers vor jungen Deutschen
1966(?)	Kunrat von Hammerstein	Aufzeichnungen einer preußischen Familie
1966(?)	Erich Kitzmüller	Die Unzuständigen und die Krise der europäischen Einigung
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Ein neuer Ismus – der Tourismus
1966(?)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Koalitionspolitik
1966(?)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Die Kriese der Parteiendemokratie
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Potemkinsche Demokratie
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Führungsdilemma
1966(?)	Joachim Kaiser	„Fünfundvierzigerei“
1966(?)	Gerhard Nebel	Was ist konservativ?
1966(?)	Barthold C. Witte	Leitbild oder Utopie?
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Reform der Planwirtschaft
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Konstellationen
1966(?)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Vertane Chance
1966(?)	Ewald Bucher	Gesetz, Exekutive, gute Sitten
1966(?)	Iring Fetscher	Von deutscher Sauberkeit
1966(?)	Hans Paul Bahrdt	Bürger und Raumordnung
1966(?)	Herbert Willner	Entwicklungshilfe oder Entwicklungspolitik
1966(?)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Memorandum zur Bildungspolitik
1966(?)	Reimar Lenz	BILD – die Geschichtsquelle
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Kirche und Staat
1966(?)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Ender der Nachkriegszeit
1966(?)	Reinhold Maier	Notiz zum 6. September 1946
1966(?)	Hans-Dietrich Genscher	Deutsche Ost-, Sicherheits- und Wiedervereinigungspolitik
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Staatskrankheit
1966(?)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Planziel Frieden
1966(?)	Erich Kock	Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil (I), Papst Johannes
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Die Krise der Autorität im Film
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Stunde der Wahrheit
1966(?)	Thilo von Werthern-Beichlingen	Am Ende der NATO
1966(?)	Bernhard Girmes	Krise und Wende
1966(?)	Klaus Müller-Ibold	Raumordnung – ein Vorgang kein Zustand
1966(?)	Walter Bökel	Wirtschaftsnationalismus
1966(?)	Erich Kock	Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil (II), Papst Paul
1966(?)	Rolf Schroers	Die Antworten Herbert Wehners
1966(?)	Jürgen Petersen	Marschmusik
1966(?)	Klaus Sauer	Büchnerpreis für Wolfgang Hildesheimer
1966(?)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Opposition!

1966(?)	Werner Stephan	Ein Gedenktag ohne Jubiläumsfeier
1966(?)	Karin Wicke	Vom Sterben der Demokratie
1966(?)	Walter Schmiele	Zur Geschichte der Utopie
1966(?)	Volker Stoltz	Führungskrisen als Strukturproblem
1966(?)	Willy Oelsen	Die Elemente der akademischen Freiheit
1966(?)	Ernest Jouhy	Anforderungen der modernen Gesellschaft an das Bildungswesen
1966(?)	Manfred Rexin	Politik der Härte
1967(1)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Von deutscher Demokratie
1967(1)	Edmond Tondeur	Die junge Generation und die Gegenwartsaufgaben
1967(1)	Reimar Lenz	Reines Honigschlecken
1967(1)	Ansgar Skriver	CSU-Widerstandsbewegung
1967(1)	Rolf Breitenstein	England – vom Empire nach Europa
1967(1)	E.A. Finderorff	China und die deutsche Ostpolitik
1967(1)	Hans-Heinrich Nolte	Über die Information des Sowjetbürgers
1967(1)	Ingrid Häußner	Polnische Impressionen
1967(1)	Ansgar Skriver	Die DDR und die UNO
1967(2)	Rolf Schroers	Öffnung nach links
1967(2)	Ernest Jouhy	Demokratische Aktion
1967(2)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Friedensplanung in Deutschland
1967(2)	Rolf Schroers	Neue Basis der Deutschlandpolitik
1967(2)	Erwin K. Scheuch	Politische Macht und Sozialstruktur
1967(2)	Helmut Ridder	Bürgerrecht, politisches Strafrecht, Notstandsgesetzgebung
1967(2)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Freie Meinung und Information
1967(2)	Georg Picht	Grundlagen eines neuen deutschen Nationalbewußtseins
1967(2)	Ansgar Skriver	Was kostet Gewissen?
1967(2)	Manfred Rexin	Vom Sinn einer gesamtdeutschen Kommission
1967(2)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Die Stunde der Wahrheit
1967(3)	Rolf Schroers	Thesen zur Lage
1967(3)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Offene Diskussion
1967(3)	Reinhold Kreitmeyer	Territorialverteidigung
1967(3)	Wolfgang Mischnick	Kollektivismus ist unmodern
1967(3)	Volger Hummel	Die Politik der Unternehmensverbände
1967(3)	Emil Baader	Zur Begriffsbestimmung von Ideologie
1967(3)	Hermann Ebeling	Lyndon B. Johnsons Dilemma
1967(3)	Manfred Rexin	Zwei Staaten – zwei Nationen
1967(4)	Rolf Schroers	Neun Monate Zeit
1967(4)	Günter Hartkopf	Zur Lage der Deutschlandpolitik
1967(4)	Rolf Breitenstein	Das Dilemma der englischen Liberalen
1967(4)	Heinz Kuby	Europa – erst nach de Gaulle?
1967(4)	Karl-Heinz Neunreither	Die EWG, Deutschlands Wiedervereinigung und Osteuropa
1967(4)	E.A. Finderorff	Die USA im Fernen Osten
1967(4)	Franz Kettner	»Brain Drain«
1967(4)	Reimar Lenz	Eskalation der Eskalation

1967(5)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Prämiierte Macht
1967(5)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Deutsche Grundlagenforschung
1967(5)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Doktrin und Recht
1967(5)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Chancengleichheit
1967(5)	Klaus Allerbeck	Lücke-Entwurf einer Notstandverfassung
1967(5)	Klaus Scholder	Ulbrichts zwei Zungen
1967(5)	Arnulf Baring	Nachruf
1967(5)	Reimar Lenz	Deutsch-Deutsches Lexikon
1967(5)	Manfred Rexin	Der VII. Parteitag der SED
1967(6)	Rolf Schroers	Kiesinger und keine Alternative
1967(6)	Wolfgang Heinz	Vom unprivilegierten zum mündigen Bürger
1967(6)	Hans-Werner Prahl	Liberalen für die Freiheit
1967(6)	Bodo Scheurig	Preußen und Preußenrenaissance
1967(6)	Hellmuth Karaseck	Sprachverfall
1967(6)	Günter Ograbek	Tod in Schnoddrigen
1967(6)	Walter Schmiele	Dada als Literatur und Politik
1967(6)	Rainer H. Jung	We Want a Revolution
1967(7)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Unruhe der Demokratie
1967(7)	Erich Mende	Deutschlandpolitik und UdSSR
1967(7)	Ansgar Sriver	Minister für Frieden
1967(7)	Kai von Drigalski	Verständigungsschwierigkeiten mit einer beschädigten Generation
1967(7)	Richard Landsberg	2. Juni 1967: Voraussetzungen und Folgerungen
1967(7)	Kunrat von Hammerstein	Verstecke in Köln
1967(7)	Bodo Scheurig	Der deutsche Widerstand im Widerstreit
1967(7)	Horst Müller	Die Wirklichkeit der Kollektive, die Aspekte des DDR-Dramas
1967(8)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Nachruf auf Thomas Dehler
1967(8)	Thomas Dehler	Radikale Liberalität
1967(8)	Walter Scheel	Opposition als Auftrag
1967(8)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Warum überhaupt Wiedervereinigung?
1967(8)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Zur Erziehung von Demokraten
1967(8)	Ernest Jouhy	Politische Praxis und Vorstellung
1967(8)	Peter Schütt	Zur Politik der Erziehung
1967(8)	Manfred Rexin	Eine Regierung von Kybernetikern
1967(9)	Rolf Schroers	«liberal» ist nicht käuflich
1967(9)	Conrad Ahlers	Kündigung
1967(9)	Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg	Zur deutschen Wehrreform
1967(9)	Thilo von Werthern-Beichlingen	Das Verteidigungsdilemma
1967(9)	J.F. Volrad Deneke	Politik der Alterssicherung
1967(9)	Klaus Scholder	Kabinettsreform
1967(9)	Hans-Herbert Gaebel	»Black Power«
1967(9)	Bodo Scheurig	Vergebliche Reise 1938

1967(9)	Hans-Werner Prah	Erforscht und geplant: Frieden
1967(10)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Menetekel Berlin!
1967(10)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Pfleiderers Vermächtnis
1967(10)	Dieter Haack	Gesamtdeutsche Politik und DDR-Forschung
1967(10)	Eugen Grittmann	Können »Linksliberale« recht haben?
1967(10)	Jean Améry	Mystifikator und Mystifikand
1967(10)	Hellmuth Karaseck	Lebensstil
1967(10)	Dietrich Urbach	Fernstudium, Bildungsnotstand und Demokratie
1967(10)	Wolfram Dorn	Notstand, Notstand über alles?
1967(10)	Rolf Zundel	FDP im Außenspiegel
1967(11)	Rolf Schroers	Ein Jahr wird eingeklagt
1967(11)	Walter Scheel	Opposition: Kritik und Kontrolle
1967(11)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Opposition: Herausfordernde Alternative
1967(11)	Hans-Dietrich Genscher	Opposition: Funktion der parlamentarischen Demokratie
1967(11)	Ansgar Skriver	Ernst Bloch zur Feier
1967(11)	Wolfgang Heinz	Hochschulreform: Differenzierung und Integration
1967(11)	Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg	Keil Öl – kein Krieg
1967(11)	Klaus Allerbeck	Wartburgfeier
1967(11)	Peter Bender	DDR – Herbst 1967
1967(11)	Richard Landsberg	Axel Springers junge Prosa
1967(11)	Reimar Lenz	Mit Tränen int Ooje, Berlin
1967(11)	Rolf Zundel	FDP im Außenspiegel
1967(11)	Rolf Schroers	Schriftsteller-Boykott
1967(11)	Hans Schwab-Felisch	Theater als Widerpart
1967(12)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Ende der Nachkriegszeit
1967(12)	Karl Moersch	Sehnsucht nach der Regierungskirche
1967(12)	Wolfgang von Malsen	Berlinanalyse
1967(12)	Ulrich Sonnemann	Der institutionalisierte Gesinnungskauf
1967(12)	Herbert Willner	Potemkins Panzer
1967(12)	Ansgar Skriver	Zur Information über Griechenland
1967(12)	Wolfgang Heinz	Ingenieurschulen sind Hochschulen
1967(12)	Volker Stoltz	Die Richtung Stimmt nicht
1967(12)	Rudolf Höfinger	Die Grabrede für Thomas Dehler
1967(12)	Rolf Zundel	FDP im Außenspiegel
1968(1)	Ralf Dahrendorf	Geist und Macht – rationale Politik
1968(1)	Rolf Schroers	Die verbriefte Oligarchie
1968(1)	Gerhart Baum	Radikaldemokratische Opposition
1968(1)	Manfred Rexin	»... waren, sind und bleiben deutsch«
1968(1)	Heinz Kuby	Europäische Integration und deutsche Wiedervereinigung
1968(1)	Wolfgang Werth	Brandt & Brand
1968(1)	Rolf Schroers	„liberal“-Preis ausschreiben
1968(1)	Erwin K. Scheuch	Demokratie als geschlossene Gesellschaft
1968(1)	Conrad Ahlers	»Die demokratische Funktionsfähigkeit der Großen Koalition«

1968(1)	Hans Schwab-Felisch	Notwendige Anmerkungen (Conrad Ahlers)
1968(1)	Axel Kammholz	Liberaler Wirtschaftspolitik
1968(1)	Rolf Zundel	FDP im Außenspiegel
1968(2)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Die liberale Reformation
1968(2)	Ralf Dahrendorf	Stagnation und offene Gesellschaft
1968(2)	Hans Schuster	Die »gerechte« Koalition
1968(2)	Rolf Breitenstein	»Die demokratische Funktionsfähigkeit der Großen Koalition«
1968(2)	Ernst Richtert	Die SPD und die Große Koalition
1968(2)	Edmond Tondeur	Die Gewerkschaften und ihre Mitwelt
1968(2)	Hans Lenz	Der Bund in der Wissenschaftspolitik
1968(2)	Rolf Zundel	FDP im Außenspiegel
1968(3)	Rolf Schroers	Unruhige Jugend
1968(3)	Peter Moos	Zur Demokratisierung der Verwaltung
1968(3)	Manfred Rexin	Zurück nach Potsdam?
1968(3)	Claus Menzel	Die große Kapitulation
1968(3)	Siegfried Geiger	Pyrrhus; Wohin die Reise geht mit der Großen Koalition
1968(3)	Wolfgang Heyn	Konsequenzen der Großen Koalition
1968(3)	Leo Geyr von Schweppenbourg	Strategischer Fragebogen
1968(3)	Hans Schäfer	Wahlrechts-Staatsstreich
1968(3)	Conrad Taler	Die NPD, ein Alibi
1968(3)	Gerhard Reyl	Prima-Kinder
1968(3)	Hans Schuster	FDP im Außenspiegel
1968(4)	Rolf Schroers	Zwischenbilanz
1968(4)	Heinz Baerthold	Wilhelm Külz – Das Scheitern einer Alternative; zum 20. Todestag des LPD-Vorsitzenden
1968(4)	Peter Bender	Unteilbares Deutschland
1968(4)	Theo Schiller	Studenten – liberale Studenten
1968(4)	Ernest Jouhy	Moral als politisches, Politik als Moralische Problem heute
1968(4)	Walter Huppert	Pluralismus und Liberalismus
1968(4)	Erwin K. Scheuch	Wissenschaftsplanung
1968(4)	Dietrich Urbach	Eine deutsche Schulkonferenz
1968(5)	Hans Lenz	Ein verpflichtender Sieg
1968(5)	Hermann Ebeling	Martin Luther King
1968(5)	Walter Scheel	Deutschland in Europa
1968(5)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Der illusionäre Status quo
1968(5)	Vilém Fuchs	Die europäischen Aspekte der tschechoslowakischen Entwicklung
1968(5)	Claus Menzel	Thesen der direkten Demokratie
1968(5)	Manfred Rexin	Augenzeugenbericht, Ostern 1968
1968(6)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Wem die Stunde schlägt
1968(6)	Rolf Schroers	Notstand
1968(6)	Theo Schiller	Ein magischer Liberalismus
1968(6)	Claus Menzel	Frankreichs Wehen

1968(6)	Edmond Tondeur	Familienpolitik in ausgetretenen Pfaden?
1968(6)	Karl-Ernst Bungenstab	Rechtsradikalismus in der Vereinigten Staaten
1968(6)	Heinz Risse	Zur Verschleißfestigkeit der Kunst
1968(6)	Jürgen Petersen	Christen und Marxisten
1968(6)	Tilman Schroers	Lidice
1968(6)	Heinrich Fuhr	FDP im Außenspiegel
1968(7)	Rolf Schroers	Bewährungsproben
1968(7)	Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker	Über die Kunst der Prognose
1968(7)	Günter Apel	Demokratie – Gesellschaft – Bildung
1968(7)	Hans Friderichs	»Wachstum nach Maß«
1968(7)	Peter Bender	Anerkennung der »Anerkennung«
1968(7)	Dieter Kühn	NPD im Seelensumpf
1968(7)	Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg	Vom Weg der deutschen Wehrmacht zum 20. Juli
1968(7)	Heinrich Kupffer	Was heißt Demokratisierung der Schule?
1968(8)	Rolf Schroers	Von der Unfähigkeit, Frieden zu schließen
1968(8)	Ernest Jouhy	»Gespenstisches« Frankreich
1968(8)	Rolf Schroers	Neue Kriterien zur Ostpolitik
1968(8)	Hanno Beth	Zum Problem der Gewalt
1968(8)	Friedrich Rohde	Thesen zur Agrarpolitik
1968(8)	Michael Bollinger	Liberalismus und ländliche Gesellschaft
1968(8)	Erwin K. Scheuch	Unzufriedenheit mit den Städten
1968(8)	Wolfgang Heinz	Das Evers-Modell zur Bildungsreform
1968(9)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Sowjetunion am Scheideweg
1968(9)	Hans-Dietrich Genscher	Staatsreform/Verfassungsreform
1968(9)	Christian Graf von Krockow	Wahlrecht als Verfassungsgarantie
1968(9)	Ulrich Klug	Zuchthaus für Friedensverrat
1968(9)	Ansgar Skriver	Notstand und Kriegsdienst
1968(9)	Leonhard Froese	Der Einmarsch in Prag
1968(9)	Manfred Rixin	Die Intervention, Völkerrecht und Verfassung
1968(9)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Die große Verweigerung
1968(9)	Manfred Rixin	Wetterleuchten in Sofia
1968(9)	Rolf Breitenstein	US-Kandidaten für kleine Fische
1968(9)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Politik im Theater
1968(10)	Rolf Schroers	Paulskirche 1968
1968(10)	Vlastimil Sokol	Die 50 Jahre der CSSR
1968(10)	Dieter Hasselblatt	Prager Belehrung
1968(10)	Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg	Marschall Gretchkows Pranke
1968(10)	Robert Margulies	Europa-Praxis
1968(10)	Barthold C. Witte	Dritte Welt
1968(10)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Katholikentag
1968(10)	Manfred Rixin	DDR-Gewerkschaft

1968(10)	Rolf Schroers	Realismus oder Anpassung
1968(10)	Ralf Dahrendorf	Position und Begriffe
1968(10)	Dieter Omeis	LSD: Strategie und Taktik
1968(11)	Rolf Schroers	Pluralismus und Parteilosigkeit
1968(11)	J.F. Volrad Deneke	Mittverantwortung und Mitbestimmung
1968(11)	Theo Schiller	Eigentum in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft
1968(11)	Friedhelm Baukloh	ÖTV und die Gewerkschaften
1968(11)	Rainer H. Jung	Die Rentenanleihe als Alternative
1968(11)	Klaus Allerbeck	Britanniens Liberale
1968(11)	Peter Bender	Meditationen in der DDR
1968(11)	Barbara Skriver	Die deutsche Welle dokumentiert
1968(11)	Hans Schäfer	Der »Kreßbronner Kreis«
1968(12)	Wolfgang von Malsen	Vom Siechtum Berlins
1968(12)	Klaus Bloemer	Europäisches Deutschland
1968(12)	Wolfgang Schollwer	Die Berlin-Politik der Bundestagsparteien
1968(12)	Peter Range	Ein Amerikaner sieht Berlin
1968(12)	Marianne Regensburger	Berlin ist seiner Presse wert
1968(12)	Wolfgang Lüder	NPD und links davon
1968(12)	Gerhard Emig	Berliner Universität
1968(12)	Dieter Ruckhaberle	Kulturpolitik in West-Berlin
1968(12)	Hans Schäfer	Wahlalter 18
1968(12)	Ingo Hermann	»atomzeitalter«
1969(1)	Erich Müller-Gangloff	Berlin steht auf dem Spiel
1969(1)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Wahljahr 1969
1969(1)	Hans Dieter Jaene	Politik für Berlin
1969(1)	Günter Apel	Demokratische Betriebs- und Unternehmensverfassung
1969(1)	Herbert Fortschritt	Über die Reform des deutschen Auswärtigen Dienstes
1969(1)	Hans Joachim Sell	Der Kanzler in Madrid
1969(1)	Francis Rosenstiel	»Supranationalität«, eine Politik des Unpolitischen
1969(1)	Gerhard W. Wittkämper	Planungsideologien in der Politik
1969(1)	Werner Stephan	Fehlstart einer liberalen Partei
1969(2)	Hildegard Hamm-Brücher	Schule zwischen Establishment und APO
1969(2)	Hans Schäfer	Der Verfassungsauftrag des Bundespräsidenten
1969(2)	Manfred Rexin	Berlin und der Bund
1969(2)	Erich Kellner	Dialog um eine bessere Welt
1969(2)	Kay F. Schade	Regionalplanung – Kommunalpolitik der Zukunft
1969(2)	Richard Wurbs	Kalamität im Wohnungsbau
1969(2)	Claus Menzel	La Gloire du Franc
1969(2)	Reimar Lenz	Matthias Walden gewidmet
1969(3)	Rolf Schroers	Der 5. März
1969(3)	Arnold Künzli	Karl Jaspers †
1969(3)	Ernest Jouhy	Jugend und Konsumgesellschaft
1969(3)	Alexander Schwan	Plurale Gesellschaft und katholische Kirche
1969(3)	Hanno Beth	Minorität und Majorität

1969(3)	Francis Rosenstiel	Politische Integration
1969(3)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Wallraff und die Große Koalition
1969(3)	Claus-Peter Gerber	Preußische Altersgrenze
1969(4)	Rolf Schroers	Schriftsteller und Politiker
1969(4)	Hans Schäfer	Richtlinien und Legitimationen
1969(4)	Edmond Tondeur	Arbeitswelt und Bildung
1969(4)	Henning Storek	Massenmedien – Instrumente der Entwicklung
1969(4)	Bodo Scheurig	Bilanz einer Israel-Reise
1969(4)	Dieter Kühn	Leitbild für Frauen?
1969(4)	Manfred Steinkühler	Ein Italiener analysiert Deutschland
1969(5)	Hans-Dietrich Genscher	Die Position der F.D.P.
1969(5)	Christian Graf von Krockow	Der Bürger und seine Verfassung
1969(5)	Ulrich Klug	Rationalisiertes Strafrecht
1969(5)	Barthold C. Witte	Wider die behagliche Stagnation
1969(5)	Claus Menzel	Après de Gaulle
1969(5)	Hans Schwab-Felisch	Amnestie
1969(5)	Heinz Risse	Die Welt als Revolution und Resignation
1969(5)	Dieter Kühn	Abakababa
1969(6)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Politische Zuverlässigkeit
1969(6)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Plattform für eine Friedenspolitik
1969(6)	Wolfgang Lüder	Politik des zweiten Anfangs
1969(6)	Friedhelm Baukloh	DGB: Wider die Einheitsneurose
1969(6)	Hans Friderichs	Der verhängnisvolle Weg der CDU/CSU
1969(6)	Wolfgang Schäfer	Kybernetik des Unternehmens und die Mittbestimmung
1969(6)	Alexander Flechtner	Regionalentwicklung – Kommunalpolitik der Zukunft
1969(6)	Regula Renschler	Biafra im Jahr 3
1969(6)	F. Ursel Leue	Liberales Kanada
1969(6)	Dieter Wolfgang Jakob	Die Rebellion der Schüler
1969(7)	Rolf Schroers	Die Freien Demokraten nach dem Parteitag
1969(7)	Bodo Scheurig	Claus Graf Schenk von Stauffenberg
1969(7)	Karl Dietrich Bracher	Gesellschaft und Staatsbewußtsein
1969(7)	Wilfried Freiherr von Bredow	Gesinnung bei der Bundeswehr
1969(7)	Ansgar Heimansberg	Gesinnung bei der Bundeswehr
1969(7)	Klaus Bloemer	Deutsche Vorbereitung zu einer europäischen Sicherheitskonferenz
1969(7)	Helmut Ridder	Deutsche Reichsbundesbahn
1969(7)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Friedensstrategien
1969(7)	Claus Menzel	Sieben magere Jahre
1969(7)	F. Ursel Leue	Pierre Elliot Trudeau
1969(8-9)	Rolf Schroers	Kiesinger und keine Alternative?
1969(8-9)	Ralf Dahrendorf	Bildung und Gesellschaft
1969(8-9)	Eberhard Günther	Pressekonzentration in der Bundesrepublik

1969(8-9)	Hans Friderichs	Politik für eine freie Gesellschaft
1969(8-9)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Außenpolitik für den Frieden
1969(8-9)	André Beuivre	Die europäische Sicherheit
1969(8-9)	Zdenko Rajh	Probleme einer neuen deutschen Ostpolitik
1969(8-9)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Sonntagsschule der Nation
1969(8-9)	Ulrich Klug	Die schiefe Sicht von Recht und Ordnung
1969(8-9)	Hans Schäfer	Das erste Experiment einer Über-Koalition
1969(8-9)	Ernest Jouhy	Die graue Zone des Sachzwangs
1969(8-9)	Rolf Breitenstein	Die große Schizophrenie
1969(8-9)	Felix von Cube	Autorität, Manipulation und Demokratie
1969(8-9)	Dirk Hartung	Forderungen an ein progressives Bildungssystem
1969(8-9)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Die F.D.P. zur Wahl
1969(8-9)	Johannes Groß	Strategie der F.D.P.
1969(8-9)	Ryszard Drecki	Aus polnischer Sicht
1969(8-9)	Hans Gerlach	Vorzeichen Gustav Heinemann
1969(8-9)	Werner Stephan	Friedrich Neumann in neuer Sicht
1969(8-9)	Claus Menzel	Tocquevilles Menetecel
1969(8-9)	Herbert Heimendahl	Warnung von Herbert Hillringhaus
1969(10)	Rolf Schroers	Vier harte Jahre
1969(10)	Manfred Rexin	20 Jahre Außenpolitik der DDR
1969(10)	Klaus Bloemer	Die westliche Modelle europäischer Integration
1969(10)	Heinz Risse	Wer denkt heute noch an Verdun?
1969(10)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Leipzig – Herbst 1969
1969(10)	Henning Storek	Israel – im 5730. Jahr
1969(11)	Walter Scheel	Besinnung und Auftrag
1969(11)	William Borm	Auftakt
1969(11)	Rüdiger Altmann	Soziologie des Regierungswechsels
1969(11)	Horst Wetterling	Offener Brief
1969(11)	Ansgar Skriver	»So habe ich das nicht gesagt...«
1969(11)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Eine Wirtschaftspolitik liberaler Reformen
1969(11)	Gisela Hammers	Global gesteuert – am Ziel vorbei?
1969(11)	Rolf Schroers	Fatales Soldatenlos
1969(11)	Peter Menke-Gluckert	Forschung und Bildung
1969(11)	Horst-Ludwig Riemer	Parlamentsreform, Wunsch und Wirklichkeit
1969(11)	Eckart Pankoke	»Realpolitik« und »Sozialwissenschaft«
1969(11)	Reinhard Roericht	Kulturpolitische Bilanz der F.D.P.
1969(12)	Rolf Schroers	Sphinxereien
1969(12)	Godehard Graf Hoensbroech	Zur Notwendigkeit eines neuen Denkansatzes in der Mitbestimmungsdiskussion
1969(12)	Robert Margulies	Freiheit und Risiko
1969(12)	Alexander Flechtner	Praktische Arbeitsmarktanalysen
1969(12)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Gewerkschaftliche Ost-West-Politik
1969(12)	F. Ursel Leue	50 Jahre Frauenstimmrecht
1969(12)	Jochen Vogt	Germanistik und Germanisten

1969(12)	Ingo von Münch	Studentische Gruppen
1970(1)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Liberalität
1970(1)	Walter Scheel	Die Freie Demokraten
1970(1)	Willi Weyer	Zur Reform der öffentlichen Verwaltung
1970(1)	J.F. Volrad Deneke	Das progressive Programm
1970(1)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Rheinische CDU probt die Gegenreformation
1970(1)	Jan G. Nedoma	Die Moskauer Konferenz und die deutsche Ostpolitik
1970(1)	Rolf Breitenstein	Amerikanische Rollen und deutsche Strukturen
1970(1)	Hanno Beth	Abschied von einer Mär
1970(1)	F. Ursel Leue	Offener Brief an Horst Wetterling
1970(1)	Gerhart Baum	Offener Brief an Horst Wetterling
1970(2)	Rolf Schroers	Außenpolitik, Nation und der Friede
1970(2)	Ralf Dahrendorf	Erklärung „Zur Lage der Nation“
1970(2)	Günter Hartkopf	Zum Ost-West-Verhältnis
1970(2)	Gerd Schmückle	Militärische Sicherheit
1970(2)	Thilo von Werthern-Beichlingen	Das Deutsche Volk – den Völkern Europas
1970(2)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Nun eine nordrhein-westfälische CSU?
1970(2)	Ansgar Sriver	Die Dritte Dimension der NATO
1970(2)	Vassili Mavridis	Recht und Justiz der griechischen Militärjunta
1970(2)	Sphinx	Bernd Munck – ein Ausgestoßener
1970(2)	Georg Walther Heyer	Welche Chancen hat die F.D.P.?
1970(3)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Die Preise – der Nerv der Koalition
1970(3)	Edmond Tondeur	Der Staat und seine Bürger
1970(3)	Jean Améry	Martin Heidegger: Der Magus aus Blut und Boden
1970(3)	Eckart Pankoke	Universitätsreform am Scheidewege
1970(3)	Hans-Georg Fernis	Zensur beim Schulbuch
1970(3)	Ansgar Sriver	Wertfreie Informationssprache
1970(3)	Ernest Jouhy	Rhetorik der Revolution I
1970(3)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Kultur – Alltag oder Repräsentation?
1970(3)	Heinrich J. Maurer	Evangelische Kirche und der Frieden
1970(3)	Manfred Steinkühler	Italien: Demokratie im Konflikt
1970(3)	Peter Bender	Zuspruch aus Vilshofen
1970(4)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Die Einheit der Deutschen
1970(4)	Rolf Schroers	Erfurt und die Beckmesser
1970(4)	Klaus Scholder	Die Zukunft des Liberalismus
1970(4)	Helmut Schnorr	Management und Politik
1970(4)	Hans Georg Steltzer	Zur Auswärtigen Kulturpolitik
1970(4)	Jean Améry	Dämmerlicht über Frankreich
1970(4)	Ernest Jouhy	Rhetorik der Revolution II
1970(4)	Peter Laneus	»Die deutsche Unruhe« und Wilhelm Hennis
1970(5)	Rolf Schroers	Das unauslöslche Gedächtnis
1970(5)	Gerhard Kienbaum	Datentechnik – eine Chance für Unternehmen und Wirtschaftspolitik

1970(5)	Henrik Laschke	Liberale Selbstverwaltung
1970(5)	Herbert Neu	Die deutsche Landwirtschaft – Zustand und Chancen!
1970(5)	Wolfgang Heinz	Bildungsreform in Etappen
1970(5)	Wolfgang Schollwer	Fixiert auf Grenzen und Kooperation, Eindrücke einer Polenreise im Frühjahr 1970
1970(5)	Wilfried Freiherr von Bredow	Baudissin und die Bundeswehr
1970(5)	Peter Juling	Scharfmacher Strauß
1970(5)	Friedhelm Baukloh	CDU putzt ihr C blank
1970(5)	Friedrich Weigend-Abendroth	Festreden
1970(5)	Rolf Schroers	Ein fades Plädoyer... – Anmerkungen zum MONAT, März 1970
1970(6)	Walter Scheel	Die Aufgabe Demokratie (Verleihung der Wolfgang-Döring-Medaille an Hans Wolfgang Rubin)
1970(6)	Willi Weyer	Geleitwort (Verleihung der Wolfgang-Döring-Medaille an Hans Wolfgang Rubin)
1970(6)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Thesen für eine liberale Gesellschaftspolitik (Verleihung der Wolfgang-Döring-Medaille an Hans Wolfgang Rubin)
1970(6)	Helmut Lindemann	Liberalismus und F.D.P.
1970(6)	Karl Dietrich Bracher	Diskussion zum Thema »Liberalismus und F.D.P.«
1970(6)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Diskussion zum Thema »Liberalismus und F.D.P.«
1970(6)	Werner Hill	Diskussion zum Thema »Liberalismus und F.D.P.«
1970(6)	Helmut Lindemann	Diskussion zum Thema »Liberalismus und F.D.P.«
1970(6)	Wolfgang Lüder	Diskussion zum Thema »Liberalismus und F.D.P.«
1970(6)	Peter Juling	SPD zwischen Vernunft und Akrobatik
1970(6)	Conrad Taler	Va banque mit Strauß?
1970(6)	Gert Hensel	CSSR – eine offene Rechnung
1970(7)	Rolf Schroers	Das imperative Mandat
1970(7)	Anneliese Knoop	Studenten gegen Hitler
1970(7)	William Shawcross	Der Traum ist zu Ende
1970(7)	Manfred Rexin	Schutzmacht Amerika
1970(7)	Hanno Beth	Schwarze Emanzipation in den USA
1970(7)	Peter Menke-Glückert	Erziehung ohne Schule?
1970(8-9)	Karl-Hermann Flach	Durchbruch zur Mündigkeit
1970(8-9)	Rolf Breitenstein	Die Bonner Papiergewichte
1970(8-9)	Werner Smoydzin	Eine neue Deutschland-Politik
1970(8-9)	Rolf Schroers	Anmerkungen zur deutschen Völkerrechtslage
1970(8-9)	Theodor Ebert	Von aggressiver Drohung zu defensiver Warnung
1970(8-9)	Otto Wolff v. Amerongen	Verschiedene Wirtschaftssysteme im Welthandel
1970(8-9)	Günter Apel	Beim Wort genommen
1970(8-9)	Eckart Otter	Mitbestimmung – ein sozialer Fehlstart?
1970(8-9)	Axel Kammholz	Gesetz gegen Wettbewerbsbeschränkungen
1970(8-9)	Rainer H. Jung	Renaissance der Zwangsanleihe
1970(8-9)	Friedrich Rohde	Parlamentarischer Einfluß auf die mittelfristige Finanzplanung
1970(8-9)	Armin Hegelheimer	Berufsausbildung – Stiefkind der Bildungspolitik

1970(8-9)	Eduard Haueis	Volkstümliche Tücken
1970(8-9)	Claudia von Braunmühl	Zur Sprache der Konservativen
1970(8-9)	Karl Holl	Wilhelm Heile
1970(10)	Rolf Schroers	Generalprobe
1970(10)	Gunter Wolf	Das gebrochene Verhältnis der Deutschen zu ihrer Geschichte
1970(10)	Rolf Düspohl	Kultur und Kulturpolitik
1970(10)	Wilfried Freiherr von Bredow	Irlands anachronistischer Revolutionsnarzißmus
1970(10)	Rolf Schroers	Griechenland – eine Herausforderung Europas
1970(10)	Friedhelm Baukloh	Die Gemeinde des Herrn Maier
1970(10)	Wolfgang Heinz	Demokratisierung der Schule (I. Teil)
1970(10)	Sibylle Kesper	Emanzipation der Frau
1970(11)	Rolf Schroers	Durchbruch nach vorn
1970(11)	Walter Scheel	Der Moskauer Vertrag
1970(11)	Francis Rosenstiel	Die Souveränität – Fetisch und Paradox
1970(11)	Günter Liebig	Annäherung an den Sozialismus?
1970(11)	Michael Graf Westarp	Anarchismus und Neue Linke
1970(11)	Ursula Scheffer	Gesellschaftliche Implikationen der Vorschulpädagogik (I. Teil)
1970(11)	Wolfgang Heinz	Demokratisierung der Schule (II. Teil)
1970(11)	Peter Juling	Frustrierte CDU-Protestanten
1970(12)	Hans Wolfgang Rubin	Sichtwechsel auf 1973
1970(12)	Rolf Schroers	Kommunismus als Herrschaftsideologie
1970(12)	Werner Stephan	Theodor Heuss über Konrad Adenauer
1970(12)	F. Ursel Leue	Kanada und die »Befreiungsfront von Quebeck« (FLQ)
1970(12)	Rolf Schroers	Vom Ansehen des Parlaments
1970(12)	Claus-Peter Gerber	Am Kreuzweg der Vermögensbildung
1970(12)	Ursula Scheffer	Gesellschaftliche Implikationen der Vorschulpädagogik (II. Teil)
1970(12)	Andreas Mytze	Anna Seghers oder gewaltsame Zweiteilung einer Kommunistin

B.2 Authors of *liberal* and their productivity
in alphabetic order, 1958-1970

Author	Articles
Theodor W. Adorno	1
Conrad Ahlers	2
Klaus Allerbeck	3
Rüdiger Altmann	3
Jean Améry	3
Günter Apel	5
Izhak Artzi	1
Hans Max v. Aufsess	1
Emil Baader	1
Hans Georg Baare-Schmidt	1
Heinz Baerthold	1
Hans Paul Bahrtdt	1
Arnulf Baring	1
Friedhelm Baukloh	13
Gerhart Baum	2
André Beauire	1
Peter Bender	5
Hanno Beth	4
Klaus Bloemer	3
Walter Bökel	1
Klaus Bölling	1
Michael Bollinger	1
William Borm	2
Margret Boveri	1
Karl Dietrich Bracher	2
Claudia von Braunmühl	1
Wilfried Freiherr von Bredow	3
Rolf Breitenstein	7
Joachim Bretschneider	1
Ewald Bucher	2
Karl-Ernst Bungenstab	1
Hermann Busse	1
Alfred Christmann	1
Felix von Cube	1
Ralf Dahrendorf	6
Gerhard Daub	4
Klaus Dehler	1
Thomas Dehler	4
Wolfram Dorn	1

Ryszard Drecki	1
Kai von Drigalski	1
Rolf Düspohl	1
Hermann Ebeling	5
Theodor Ebert	1
Ernst Eggers	1
Günther Eichwede	1
Gerhard Emig	1
Walter Erbe	2
Friedhelm Fabers	1
Albrecht Fabri	2
Hans-Georg Fernis	1
Iring Fetscher	1
Wilhelm Fielmann	1
E.A. Finderorff	2
J. Bruno Fischer	1
Karl-Hermann Flach	23
Alexander Flechtner	2
Herbert Fortschritt	1
Hans Friderichs	4
Leonhard Froese	1
Vilém Fuchs	1
Heinrich Fuhr	1
Hans-Herbert Gaebel	1
Siegfried Geiger	1
Hans-Dietrich Genscher	4
Claus-Peter Gerber	4
Hans Gerlach	1
Josef M. Gerwald	1
Leo Geyr von Schweppenburg	5
Bernhard Girmes	1
Eugen Grittmann	1
Johannes Groß	2
Eberhard Günther	1
Dieter Haack	1
Hans Haferland	2
Hildegard Hamm-Brücher[1]	12
Gisela Hammers	1
Kunrat v. Hammerstein	5
Günter Hartkopf	3
Peter Härtling	1

Dirk Hartung	1
Dieter Hasselblatt	1
Eduard Hauéis	1
Ingrid Häußer	1
Armin Hegelheimer	1
Ansgar Heimansberg	1
Herbert Heimendahl	1
Wolfgang Heinz	7
Werner Helwig	2
Friedrich Henning	2
Gert Hensel	1
Ingo Hermann	1
Theodor Heuss	1
Georg Walther Heyer	1
Wolfgang Heyn	1
Werner Hill	1
Godehard Graf Hoensbroech	1
Karl Hoffmann	1
Siegfried Hoffmann	1
Rudolf Höfinger	1
Karl Holl	1
Karl Hermann Hummel	1
Volger Hummel	1
Walter Huppert	1
Karl Ihmels	1
Wolfgang Imle	1
Hellmuth Jaekel	1
Hans Dieter Jaene	1
Dieter Wolfgang Jakob	1
Ernest Jouhy	15
Peter Juling	3
Rainer H. Jung	3
Joachim Kaiser	1
Axel Kammholz	4
Hellmuth Karaseck	2
Erich Kellner	1
Eduard Kern	1
Sibylle Kesper	1
Franz Kettny	1
Gerhard Kienbaum	1
Erich Kitzmüller	2
Ulrich Klug	3
Gerhard Knoke	1
Anneliese Knoop	1

Klaus Koch	1
Erich Kock	5
Reinhold Kreitmeyer	1
Christian Graf von Krockow	2
Heinz Kuby	3
Dieter Kühn	3
Arnold Künzli	1
Heinrich Kupffer	1
Richard Landsberg	2
Peter Laneus	1
Henrik Laschke	1
Hans Lenz	7
Reimar Lenz	6
Georg Letz	1
Bernhard Leverenz	3
F. Ursel Leue	5
Eduard Leuze	2
Günter Liebig	1
Helmut Lindemann	2
Wolfgang Lüder	4
Reinhold Maier	1
Giovanni Malagodi	2
Wolfgang von Malsen	2
Robert Margulies	2
Hermann Marx	1
Heinrich J. Maurer	3
Vassili Mavridis	1
Erich Mende	2
Albrecht Menke	2
Peter Menke-Glückert	22
Claus Menzel	7
Wolfgang Mischnick	2
Karl Moersch	1
Mario Moessinger	2
Richard Moore	1
Peter Moos	1
Horst Müller	3
Erich Müller-Gangloff	1
Klaus Müller-Ibold	1
Ingo von Münch	1
Andreas Mytze	1
Wolfgang Natonek	1
Gerhard Nebel	1
Jan G. Nedoma	1

Herbert Neu	1
Karl-Heinz Neunreither	1
Hans-Heinrich Nolte	1
Willy Oelsen	1
Günter Ograbek	1
Dieter Omeis	1
Hans-Joachim Ordemann	1
Eckart Otter	1
Eckart Pankoke	2
Jürgen Petersen	4
Georg Picht	1
Adolf Portmann	1
Hans-Werner Prah	2
Wolfgang Promies	1
Jesco von Puttkammer	1
Ludwig Raiser	1
Zdenko Rajh	1
Carlos M. Rama	1
Peter Range	1
Marianne Regensburger	1
Hans Reif	3
Regula Renschler	1
Manfred Rexin	30
Gerhard Reyl	1
Ernst Richtert	1
Helmut Ridder	2
Horst-Ludwig Riemer	1
Heinz Risse	3
Reinhard Roericht	1
Friedrich Rohde	2
Renate Rombach	1
Francis Rosenstiel	3
Hans Wolfgang Rubin	23
Dieter Ruckhaberle	1
Klaus Sauer	1
Kay F. Schade	1
Hans Schäfer	6
Wolfgang Schäfer	1
Walter Scheel	7
Ursula Scheffer	2
Erwin K. Scheuch	4
Bodo Scheurig	6
Theo Schiller	4
Walter Schmiele	2

Gerd Schmückle	1
Helmut Schnorr	1
Klaus Scholder	11
Wolfgang Schollwer	3
Alfons Otto Schorb	1
Rolf Schreiber	1
Friedrich W. Schreiber	1
Rolf Schroers	60
Tilman Schroers	1
Hans Schuster	2
Peter Schütt	1
Hans Schwab-Felisch	3
Alexander Schwan	1
Hans Joachim Sell	1
William Shawcross	1
Wolf Jobst Siedler	1
Edward V. Sittler	2
Ansgar Skriver	10
Barbara Skriver	1
Werner Smoydzin	1
Vlastimil Sokol	1
Ulrich Sonnemann	1
Gustav Adolf Sonnenhol	2
Sphinx	1
Manfred Steinkühler	2
Hannes Steinmetz	1
Hans Georg Steltzer	1
Werner Stephan	6
Volker Stoltz	3
Henning Storek	2
Conrad Taler	2
James D. Theberge	1
Karl Heinz Tietzsch	1
Edmond Tondeur	5
Dietrich Urbach	2
Jochen Vogt	1
J.F. Volrad Deneke	4
Friedrich Weigend-Abendroth	1
Carl-Friedrich von Weizsäcker	1
Wolfgang Werth	1
Thilo Werthern-Beichlingen	4
Michael Graf Westarp	1
Horst Wetterling	1
Willi Weyer	3

Karin Wicke	1
Dietrich Wiegand	1
Herbert Willner	3
Barthold C. Witte	12
Gerhard W. Wittkämper	1
Gunter Wolf	1
Otto Wolff v. Amerongen	1
Richard Wurbs	1
Bodo Zeuner	1
Rolf Zundel	5
Total	699

C. Liberaal Reveil

C.1 Publications of *Liberaal Reveil* in chronological order, 1956 – 1970-71

Number	Author	Title
1956(1)	Mr. P.J. Oud	Liberaal Reveil
1956(1)	W. Altink	Bureaucratie en Democratie
1956(1)	Dr. B.W. Kranenburg	De harde kern van ons liberalisme
1956(1)	R.H. Neuberg ec. drs.	Financiële hulp aan de onderontwikkelde gebieden
1956(2)	Dr. A.P.J. van der Burg	Sociale zekerheid en persoonlijke vrijheid tijdens ziekte
1956(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Humanisme als grondslag voor de liberale keuze
1956(2)	Mr. L.J.F. Wijsenbeek	Subsidiëring in de cultuurpolitiek
1956(3)	Mr. H. van Riel	Jacques Mallet du Pan
1956(3)	Dr. H.J. Roethof	Hulpverlening aan minder geprivilegieerde gebieden
1956(3)	P.C. Boevé	Hernieuwde Schoolstrijd
1956(4)	A. Szász	Drie Europa's
1956(4)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	De anti-revolutionaire richting en wij
1956(4)	H.J. Noortman	De Freie Demokratische Partij een liberale partij?
1957(1)	Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	Kroniek
1957(1)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Kabinetscrisis en staatsinrichting
1957(1)	Dr. H.Th. Fischer	Vrijheid, dwang en zelfbeschikking
1957(1)	L.D. Oosterveld	Ons antwoord – een recht op antwoord
1957(1)	Dr. K. van Dijk	De functie van de radio-omroep in het proces der cultuuroverdracht
1957(2)	Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	Kroniek
1957(2)	Dr. K. van Dijk	Gemeente en cultuur
1957(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Geestelijke vrijheid
1957(2)	L.S. Godefroi	Balans van 12 jaar huurpolitiek
1957(2)	Mr. W. Koops	Federalisme in Canada
1957(3)	Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	Kroniek
1957(3)	Prof. dr. C. Goedhart	Liberale versus socialistische belastingpolitiek
1957(3)	P. Mèndes-France	Relance libérale
1957(3)	Prof. mr. C.W. de Vries	P. M. F.
1957(3)	Mr. dr. C. Berkhouwer	De voetbalpool
1957(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Weg met de voetbalpool
1957(4)	Mr. P. J. Oud	Lijst of persoon?
1957(4)	Mr. H.F. van Leeuwen	Liberale belastingpolitiek
1957(4)	Prof. dr. C. Goedhart	Naschrift
1957(4)	Mr. G.J. Timmermans	Het Euromarkt-verdrag
1957(4)	L.E. Groosman	De zelfstandige verantwoordelijkheid van de ministers aan de staten-generaal
1957(4)	P.C. van Traa	De Publiekrechtelijke Bedrijfsorganisatie in Nederland – Teldersstichting (boekbespreking)

1957(4)	E.H. s'Jacob	Confrontatie A.R.-staatkunde en socialisme, K.V.P.-staatkunde en socialisme, liberalisme en socialisme – Dr. Wiardi Beckman Stichting (boekbespreking)
1958(1)	Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	Kroniek
1958(1)	A.A.C. Reedijk	Geestelijke stromingen en modern liberalisme
1958(1)	Mr. J. van Soest	Inkomstenbelasting van vrijgezellen
1958(2)	Louis D'haeseleer	Een liberale stem uit België
1958(2)	Prof. mr. D. Simons	Algemene aspecten van subsidiëring
1958(2)	Mr. dr. W.K.J.J. van Ommen Kloeke	Politieke propagandatechniek
1958(2)	Mr. G.C. van der Willigen	Enige beschouwingen over het gemeenteprogram van de V.V.D.
1958(2)	S.L.J. van Waardenburg	Prof. mr. B.V.A. Röling over Nieuw-Guinea als wereldprobleem
1958(3)	Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	Kroniek
1958(3)	R. H. Neuberg ec. drs.	De liberale zege
1958(3)	Mr. F.G. van Dijk	Overheidsbijdrage kerkenbouw
1958(3)	Mr. dr. C. Berkhouwer	De maatschappelijke problematiek der kunstmatige inseminatie
1958(4)	Ir. L.G. Oldenbanning	Het landbouwschap
1958(4)	Ir. G.P.J.E.M. van Weezenbeek	Kunstmatige inseminatie
1958(4)	Mr. dr. C. Berkhouwer	Naschrift
1958(4)	Dr. K. Poma	De arbeiders en het liberalisme
1958(4)	F. Stapel	Politieke propagandatechniek
1958(4)	Mr. dr. W.K.J.J. van Ommen Kloeke	Naschrift
1959(1)	A.A.C. Reedijk	Geloof en politiek
1959(1)	P.M. van Nieuwenhuyzen	Liberale middenstandspolitiek
1959(1)	Dr. Remko E/ de Maar	Liberaal en landschap
1959(1)	Ir. L.G. Oldenbanning	Naschrift
1959(2)	Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	Na de verkiezingen
1959(2)	Mr. J. de Wilde	Het huurbeleid
1959(2)	Mr. E.Th. Hack	De Algemene Weduwen- en Wezenwet
1959(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Anti-revolutionaire partijfilosofen over humanistische geestelijke verzorging
1959(2)	Dr. J. Alers	Conjunctuurpolitiek. Het strategische punt voor een liberaal beleid – Teldersstichting (boekbespreking)
1959(3)	Dr. L.D. Oosterveld	Onderwijs
1959(3)	Dr. J.N. van den Ende	De H.B.S.- en de mammoet-wet
1959(3)	Mr. A.G. Lissauer	Liberale zienswijze over het mammoet-ontwerp
1959(4)	Prof. dr. C. Goedhart	De financiering van gemeentelijke investeringen, gemeentelijke autonomie en de liberale beginselen
1959(4)	Mr. F. Doeleman	Het wettelijk recht op subsidie voor de instellingen van maatschappelijk werk
1959(4)	A. Szász	De ontwikkeling van het economisch denken in de V.V.D.

1960-61(1)	Vittorio Bandini Confalonieri	De rol van de West Europese Unie
1960-61(1)	Mr. H. van Riel	Schuld en boete
1960-61(2)	Mr. F.G. van Dijk	Het Europees parlement
1960-61(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	De strijd tegen tandbederf
1960-61(2)	Dr. Ir. A.W.G. Koppejan	Het garantiebeleid voor de landbouw
1960-61(2)	Drs. E. Nypels	Kinderbijslagregelingen in andere landen
1960-61(3)	Prof. dr. C. Goedhart	Een belangwekkend rapport over de Teldersstichting
1960-61(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Liberal accentverschuivingen
1960-61(3)	Dr. B.W. Kranenburg	Echtscheiding
1960-61(3)	Drs. E. Nypels	Kinderbijslag, verantwoordelijkheid en bevolkingsgroei
1960-61(4)	E. N.	Potverteren
1960-61(4)	Mr. A. Spruit	De wettelijke regeling van de werkstaking
1960-61(4)	Ir. L.G. Oldenbanning	Enkele cijfers over de landbouw in de E.E.G.
1960-61(4)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	De strijd tegen tandbederf (II)
1962-63(1)		Een nieuw reveil
1962-63(1)		Toekomstbespiegelingen over de VVD
1962-63(1)		Hoe Den Haag stemde
1962-63(1)	A. S. Z.	Balans van een beleid
1962-63(1)		De VVD onder vuur
1962-63(1)		Mammoet op dunne poten
1962-63(1)	J. van Galen	Drie visies op het vennootschapsrecht
1962-63(1)	M. v. T.	Parlementaire kroniek
1962-63(1)	Civis batavus	Lintjes-regen en nog wat
1962-63(2)		KLM - Drie jaar proefdraaien
1962-63(2)		Spel der vergissingen
1962-63(2)		Burger in de boot
1962-63(2)		Ministersgalerij
1962-63(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Prijsbeheersing van de landbouwgronden
1962-63(2)		Overheveling
1962-63(2)	Prof. mr. C.W. de Vries	Algemene bijstandswet: van gunst tot rechtsplicht
1962-63(2)		Wedloop van twee departementen om een sluitstuk
1962-63(2)		Ziekenfondswetgeving voor de keuze - Minister kiest eigen groepsbelang
1962-63(2)	J. van Galen	Modern Vennootschapsrecht
1962-63(2)	V. V.	Commissies voor het voetlicht
1962-63(3)	L. Aletrino	Anderhalve eeuw onafhankelijkheid
1962-63(3)	F. A.	Betrekkingen met Indonesië - Beschikbaar zijn!
1962-63(3)		Toekomstbespiegelingen over de VVD II
1962-63(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Liberal gedachten
1962-63(3)	G. Dorsman	Liberaal democratisch centrum - Vaste koers noodzakelijk
1962-63(3)	H. van Riel	Kunst en Liberale Politiek
1962-63(3)	Van Ommen Kloeke	Punten voor een Liberaal Beleid - Liberale taken op binnenlandse zaken

1962-63(3)	J. Kymmell	Punten voor een Liberaal Beleid - Buitenlandse Politiek
1962-63(3)	Ir. L.G. Oldenbanning	Landbouw: museumstuk of bedrijfstak?
1962-63(3)	M. v. A.	De TV-zuilen graven zich in
1962-63(4)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Weerbare vrijheid
1962-63(4)	Mr. F. Bordewijk	Meteorologie van 't lintje
1962-63(4)	Prof. dr. C. Goedhart	Punten voor een Liberaal Beleid - Economische politiek
1962-63(4)		Opmars met oogkleppen
1962-63(4)	H. Vrind	Ontstellend tekort
1962-63(4)		Tien vragen - Toekomstbespiegelingen over de VVD III
1962-63(4)	Mr. F.G. van Dijk	De Nederlandse landbouw in de EEG
1962-63(4)	M. v. T.	Een moordend beroep
1962-63(5)		Morgen gaat het beter (vandaag trouwens ook al)
1962-63(5)		DUN
1962-63(5)	H. Vrind	Sparen
1962-63(5)	Dr. P. Gros	Punten voor een Liberaal Beleid - nieuwe kansen voor de omroep
1962-63(5)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Weerbare vrijheid II
1962-63(5)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Subsidiëring van symfonie-orkesten
1962-63(5)	Prof. S. Korteweg	Een Ministerie van Europese samenwerking?
1962-63(6)	H.J.L. Vonhoff	De blik vooruit van de V.V.D.
1962-63(6)		Geloof en politiek
1962-63(6)	Mr. M.J. van Emde Boas	Veronica: piraat of pionier?
1962-63(6)	C.C. Klijnhout	Punten voor een Liberaal Beleid - landbouwpolitiek
1962-63(6)	Corn. M. Hage	Het nut van lintjes
1962-63(6)	Th. H. Joeke	Een strijdbaar man
1962-63(6)	A.P.J. van der Burg	Ziekenfondsen: een anatomische les
1962-63(6)	M. v. T.	Gebrek aan (tele)visie
1962-63(7)		Bal en demasqué der dwergen
1962-63(7)	Ir. F. Wagenmaker	De protestant en het liberalisme
1962-63(7)		Hollandsche Veld
1962-63(7)	H. Vrind	Partij en Minister
1962-63(7)	Ph.C. la Capelle jr.	Aardgas
1962-63(7)	L. Aletrino	Een herdenking: afschaffing van de slavernij in West-Indië (1863-1963)
1962-63(7)	O. L.	Parlementaire kroniek
1962-63(8)		De kabinetsformatie en de VVD - een gesprek met mr. E.H. Toxopeus
1962-63(8)	A. Stempels	Een ochtend bij de ombudsman van Zweden
1962-63(8)		Gesol met de pbo
1962-63(8)		Handzaam Handboek
1962-63(8)	Drs. C. van der Sluys	Is een liberaal landbouwbeleid mogelijk?
1962-63(8)	C.C. Klijnhout	Naschrift
1962-63(8)	B. Delfgaauw	Geloof en politiek - een antwoord!
1962-63(8)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Pamfletten

1963-64(1)	Mr. P.J. Oud	De kabinetsformatie als staatsrechtelijk probleem
1963-64(1)	Th. H. Joeke	Een forse loonsverhoging
1963-64(1)		De top van O.K. & W.
1963-64(1)		AVRO: algemeen of liberaal
1963-64(1)	L.M. de Beer	De katholieke en het liberalisme
1963-64(1)	Drs. E. Nypels	Een liberaal convent
1963-64(1)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Indrukken uit Sankt-Gallen
1963-64(1)	A. Murman	Ons gevangenisregiem
1963-64(1)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Pamflet
1963-64(2)		Staatssecretarissen
1963-64(2)	J. de Vries	De verkeersonveiligheid - geen politiek programmapunt?
1963-64(2)		Telefoongeheim
1963-64(2)		Hofstra's socialisme
1963-64(2)	R.M. Marcuse	Studenten en liberalisme
1963-64(2)		Volkskarakter en staatsinrichting
1963-64(2)	Drs. C. van der Sluys	Geen agrarisch zelfbeklag - wel zelf doen
1963-64(3)		Lonen: gemengde gevoelens
1963-64(3)	J.L. Heldring	Een liberale buitenlandse politiek
1963-64(3)	dr. M. Lietaert Peerbolte	Opvoeding tot democratie
1963-64(3)	W.J. Geertsema	Telefoongeheim of: "Al te goed is buurmans gek"
1963-64(3)	Th. H. Joeke	Snoepgoed
1963-64(3)	Dr. J.N. van den Ende	Financiële hulp aan studenten
1963-64(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	De werknemer en het liberalisme
1963-64(3)	P.D. van Roijen	Begripsverwarring rond "links en rechts"
1963-64(4)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Onze staatssecretarissen
1963-64(4)	J. Sampiemon	Somber resultaat in Brussel
1963-64(4)	J.R. Voûte	Indonesië: Een nieuw begin
1963-64(4)	H. Vrind	Geen subsidie voor dagbladen
1963-64(4)	L. van Leeuwen	Kanttekeningen bij "Studenten en liberalisme"
1963-64(4)		Een hardnekkige legende
1963-64(4)	R.M. Marcuse	Aantekeningen bij de kanttekeningen
1963-64(4)		Televisie als opvoeder
1963-64(4)	Ir. R. van Hasselt	Overheid en geboortenregeling
1963-64(4)	Ir. F. Wagenmaker	"Links en rechts"
1963-64(4)	H.J.L. Vonhoff	Nogmaals: de financiële steun aan de student
1963-64(4)	A. S. Z.	Oosteuropese serie van de "Internationale Spectator"
1963-64(5)	Dr. Erich Mende	De eenheid van Europa als taak en hunkering
1963-64(5)	Mr. J. van Someren	Strijd om het sociaal minimum
1963-64(5)		Met de neus erop
1963-64(5)	Mr. M.J. van Emde Boas	Het TV-"eiland"
1963-64(5)		Machtsconcentratie als kogelvanger
1963-64(5)	N. van Hees S. J.	Politieke middenstanders
1963-64(5)	H. Vrind	Professor Geyl simplificeert
1963-64(5)	St.	Een simpele knot wol

1963-64(5)	E. Boogerman	Alleen op de wereld
1963-64(5)	Dr. J.N. van den Ende	Financiële hulp aan studenten: een dupliek
1963-64(6)	D. Maltha	Jaarvergadering VVD
1963-64(6)	Th. H. Joekes	Het genadeloze oog I
1963-64(6)	Mevrouw H. van Someren-Downer	Het genadeloze oog II
1963-64(6)	Mr. H. van Riel	"Intellectuele" kritiek en de VVD
1963-64(6)		Bedenklijke ontwikkeling bij het onderwijs
1963-64(6)	Dr. K. van Dijk	Wethouders: beroeps, semi-profs of amateurs?
1963-64(6)	Mr. P. Zonderland	Het informatierecht van de concertbezoeker
1963-64(6)		Pamflet: Vitaliteit en perspectief van de liberale gedachte
1963-64(7)	H. Vrind	Woning-, wegen-, waterbouw in één departement?
1963-64(7)	Sidney J. van den Bergh	"Niet alleen laten"
1963-64(7)	John Chamard	Waarom ik regeringen haat
1963-64(7)		REM in het kielzogje van Veronica
1963-64(7)	Mr. C.A. Steketee	Kwijnnend Suriname
1963-64(7)		De zevende huurronde
1963-64(7)	J. van Galen	Een verwerpelijke gedachte
1963-64(7)	Drs. A.A.C. Reedijk	Over de kritiek op de "Intellectuele kritiek"
1963-64(7)	R.M. Marcuse	Mr. H. van Riel en de halbstarke intellectuelen
1963-64(7)	Dr. P.J. Reimer	Drie vragen aan de heer Van Riel
1963-64(7)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Klein grut: Herziening van de PBO
1963-64(7)	Mr. D.G. Postma	Waardevast pensioen
1963-64(7)		Boeken, rapporten, brochures betreffende het liberalisme
1963-64(8)	Th. H. Joekes	De belastingverlaging
1963-64(8)	Jac. Fahrenfort	De begroting 1965
1963-64(8)	Mr. M. Vermeer	De belastingverlichting en het Hoger Personeel
1963-64(8)	Mr. IJ.H.M. Nijgh	Reclassering
1963-64(8)	H. Vrind	Hogere Journalistenschool I
1963-64(8)	Mr. C.A. Steketee	Hogere Journalistenschool II
1963-64(8)		Bezitsvorming nieuwe stijl
1963-64(8)	H. Vrind	Pierprijzen
1963-64(8)	Drs. J.W. van der Dussen	De bankfusies
1963-64(8)	Mr. H. van Riel	Mr. Van Riel antwoordt zijn critici
1963-64(8)	Mr. J.G. Rietkerk	Sociaal minimum
1964-65(1)		Wegenfonds
1964-65(1)	St.	Hoog tijd voor de MLF
1964-65(1)		Vondeling contra Raad van State
1964-65(1)	Mr. D. Sorgdrager	Salaris en Loon
1964-65(1)		Studiegroep bejaardenproblemen - Pensioen -ontslagrecht
1964-65(1)	W. Top	Representativiteit
1964-65(1)		Kunstsubsidieëring
1964-65(1)		FPOe - Onmisdadig socialisme
1964-65(1)	L.D. Oosterveld	Amsterdam

1964-65(1)	R.M. Marcuse	Het bijgeloof van John Chamard
1964-65(1)	R.A. Levisson	De Jood en het Liberalisme
1964-65(1)	Civis batavus	Opening van de Staten-Generaal
1964-65(1)		Huidig en toekomstig kwekersrecht
1964-65(2)		Als de TROS wordt losgesmeten
1964-65(2)	Prof. dr. F. Hartog	Herbezinning op belastingprogressie
1964-65(2)		Partnerkeuze bij de AR
1964-65(2)	Drs. J.W. van der Dussen	Gemeenten in de klem
1964-65(2)	Ir. L.G. Oldenbanning	Kwekersrecht
1964-65(2)	Drs. D.H. Franssens	De landbouw en het industriespreidingsbeleid
1964-65(2)	E. N.	Slechte smaak
1964-65(3)	Prof. mr. P.J. Oud	Staten-Generaal en maatschappelijke structuur
1964-65(3)	Prof. mr. B.M. Teldersstichting	Europa en Amerika
1964-65(3)	J.H. Couzy	Nog lang geen tijd voor MLF
1964-65(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Geheimtaal
1964-65(3)	Dr. B.W. Kranenburg	Pleidooi voor een glimlach naar links
1964-65(3)	H. Vrind	De kleindenger
1964-65(3)	Mr. H.F. van Leeuwen	Vermogensaanwasdeling
1964-65(3)	Een bermtoerist	Het bijna ongeluk
1964-65(4)		Vakman voor Nederlands tuin gevraagd
1964-65(4)	Mr. P.J. Oud	Staten-Generaal en maatschappelijke structuur II
1964-65(4)	Dr. A. Vondeling	Nogmaals de Raad van State
1964-65(4)	Mr. F. Portheine	Verticale Prijsbinding - Enerzijds
1964-65(4)	Dr. J. Groenendaal	Verticale Prijsbinding - Anderzijds
1964-65(4)	Hans Wiegel	Een antwoord aan Dr. Kranenburg
1964-65(4)	H.F. Heijmans	Glimlach en imago
1964-65(4)	W. Top, soc. drs.	Rommelende democratie
1964-65(4)	Ir. F. Wagenmaker	Kerk en politiek
1964-65(4)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Onpolitieke Nederlanders?
1964-65(5)		Beginselvast
1964-65(5)	Mr. P.J. Oud	Staten-Generaal en maatschappelijke structuur III
1964-65(5)	B. de Goede	Ik koester de hoop
1964-65(5)	C.A. Franken	Bent u ook zo demostatisch?
1964-65(5)	F. Dias Santilhano	Over het beginselprogramma der VVD
1964-65(5)	Mr. J.C.J. Stal	Beginsel- en Actieprogramma der Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie
1964-65(5)	K. Schulting	Toch verticale Prijsbinding
1964-65(6)		Regeren is kiezen
1964-65(6)		Oneigenlijke machten
1964-65(6)	W. Top, soc. drs.	Vakbeweging en ongeorganiseerden
1964-65(6)	Mr. D. Sorgdrager	Meer aandacht voor begaafden!
1964-65(6)		Naschrift van de redactie
1964-65(6)	F. Korthals Altes	Glimlach naar het verleden of in de toekomst

1964-65(6)	Hans Wiegel	Beginselen in discussie
1964-65(6)	F. Lauxstermann	Over de VVD
1964-65(6)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Iets over het beginselprogramma
1964-65(7)	H. Vrind	Overhaaste wetgeving
1964-65(7)	Dr. P. Gros	Het VVD-omroepplan: Een reëel alternatief
1964-65(7)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Een ton voor Zuid-Afrika - vóór
1964-65(7)	Th. H. Joekes	Een ton voor Zuid-Afrika - tégen
1964-65(7)	Mr. H.E. Koning	De opkomstverplichting en de Rijnmondverkiezing
1964-65(7)	Dr. B.W. Kranenburg	Grimlachjes
1964-65(7)		Een glimlach naar een glimlach
1964-65(7)		Stemmachines
1964-65(7)	R.M. Marcuse	Gaaf liberalisme
1964-65(7)	W. Top, soc. drs.	Liberalisme als neo-marxisme
1964-65(7)	Een grootvader	Van een Grootvader
1964-65(7)		Versterking van de democratie in Europa
1964-65(7)		De structuur van de onderneming
1964-65(8)	H.J. Witteveen	Mr. H.T. Asser †
1964-65(8)	C.M. Hage	Herinneringen aan Amerika
1964-65(8)	Bote de Boer Lzn.	Vrijmetzelarij en liberalisme
1964-65(8)	H.C. Faas	Waarom ik de VVD verwerp
1964-65(8)	Ir. R. van Hasselt	Een liberaal geluid over het bevolkingsvraagstuk
1964-65(8)	H. Vrind	Het juiste midden
1964-65(8)	Mr. C.A. Steketee	Operatie PVV / vraaggesprek met Omer Vanaudenhove
1964-65(8)		Publikaties van de Teldersstichting
1964-65(8)	Prof. dr. C.J. Oort	Rechtvaardigheid en doelmatigheid in het economisch beleid van de overheid
1964-65(8)	B.W. Kranenburg	Meer deugd, minder talent
1964-65(8)	J. van Galen	Nieuwe budgetnormen / minister Vondeling buigt het financiële beleid om
1966(1)		Tussentijdse balans van het Plan-Joekes
1966(1)		Het liberale kompas, gecontroleerd en bijgesteld
1966(1)	Ir. D.S. Tuynman	Rusland is anders dan ik dacht
1966(1)	D. Jansz	Onderwijs aan begaafden
1966(1)	P.A.L. den Engelse	De eed van trouw
1966(1)	F. Lauxstermann	Herziening van het mandement
1966(1)	Ir. R. van Hasselt	Nogmaals 'het juiste midden'
1966(1)	H. Vrind	Falende subsidiepolitiek
1966(2)	Sidney J. van den Bergh	Pleidooi voor een efficiënte herindeling van gemeenten en provincies
1966(2)	A. Szász	De ontwikkeling van het liberalisme na de oorlog
1966(2)	B. Buddingh'	Waarom ik het liberalisme verwerp
1966(2)	C.G.G. Spaan	Basis voor modern Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs, deel 1
1966(2)	C.M. Hage	Lessen uit de Amerikaanse politiek
1966(2)		Enige bijzonderheden over de Prof. mr. B.M. Teldersstichting

1966(2)	L. Aletrino	De zindelijke burgerheren
1966(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Laat me los, houd me vast
1966(3)		De verkiezingsuitslag
1966(3)		De lauwe monarchisten en de monarchie
1966(3)	P.A.L. den Engelse	Basis voor modern Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs (tweede deel)
1966(3)	H. Jongedijk	Over 'het economisch beleid op de middellange termijn' - Geschrift nr. 13 van de Prof. Mr. B.M. Teldersstichting
1966(3)		Handel en wandel van een politieke postillon d'amour
1966(3)		Liberaal meningen over ruimtelijke ordening
1966(3)	Ir. A. Franke	Ontwikkelingshulp
1966(4)		Gemeenteraden
1966(4)	Mr. P.J. Oud	Kabinetformaties
1966(4)	Prof. mr. A. Kleijn	De gemeente en haar grenzen
1966(4)	Mej. E.J.M.A. Vekemans	Achterstelling van de vrouw in publiek- en privaatrecht
1966(4)	A.J.B. Hubert	Liberalen aller landen....
1966(4)	Ir. A. Franke	Ontwikkelingshulp (tweede deel)
1966(4)	Mr. J.F.G. Schlingemann	Het landbouwbeleid in de EEG
1966(4)	Drs. E. Nypels	Ontwikkelingen in de sociale verzekering
1966(5-6)		Toekomstbespiegelingen over de VVD
1966(5-6)		Beleidsvorming
1966(5-6)		In de vuurlinie
1966(5-6)		Beoordeling van Kamerleden
1966(5-6)	Mr. F. Korthals Altes	Paspoort voor het Binnenhof
1966(5-6)		De niet-leden van de partij
1966(5-6)		Spreekbeurten: hoeveel en hoe?
1966(5-6)	Jhr. mr. W.H.D. Quarles van Ufford	Volkspartij: pretentie en opdracht
1966(5-6)		Beginselverklaring van de JOVD
1966(5-6)		Europa der Vaderlanden of supranationaal Europa
1966-67(1)	M. Visser	Schadeloosstelling bij onteigening
1966-67(1)	Drs. J.W. van der Dussen	Financiële problemen van de gemeenten
1966-67(1)	Mr. E. Veder-Smit	Hoe werkt de Assemblee van de Verenigde Naties?
1966-67(1)	A. Huibers	De Ziektekostenvoorziening voor Rijksambtenaren
1966-67(1)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Econoom Vondeling spreekt
1966-67(1)	H. Vrind	De elite in de maatschappij
1966-67(1)	Mr. W.J. Geertsema	Efficiency en liberalisme
1966-67(2)		Een nieuw kiesstelsel?
1966-67(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Politieke werkelijkheidszin
1966-67(2)	W. Swart	Integratie van het bestuur in de Zaanstreek
1966-67(2)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Hans Wiegel: bedaard jongeling
1966-67(2)	Mr. C.A. Steketee	Vonhoff: onverholen opkomen voor de individuele mens
1966-67(2)	H. Vrind	H.J. de Koster: Omkeer, maar niet zo groot als men wel denkt
1966-67(2)	H. Vrind	Mr. J.G. Rietkerk: Meer evenwicht in de sociale politiek

1966-67(3)		In Memoriam: drs. R.H. Neuberg
1966-67(3)		Jammer, maar niet tragisch
1966-67(3)	D. van Bergeijk	Welke vloot is waar voor ons geld?
1966-67(3)	Th. H. Joeke	Naschrift van de redactie
1966-67(3)	Mej. mr. T. de Heer	Mevrouw E. Veder-Smit: Ervaren bestuurster
1966-67(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	G. Koudijs: man van samenwerking
1966-67(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Mr. H.E. Koning: weerbare fiscus
1966-67(3)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	De burgemeester, kiezen of benoemen?
1966-67(3)	Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	Openheid bij het bestuur
1966-67(3)	Mr. W.M.Th. Adriaansens	De plaats van agglomeratiebesturen, met name van Rijnmond
1966-67(3)	Drs. C. van der Sluys	Den Haag en de landbouw - Keerpunten in het negentiende-eeuwse landbouwbeleid
1966-67(4)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Lachen zonder kiespijn
1966-67(4)	J.M. Polak	De proeve van een nieuwe Grondwet
1966-67(4)	J. G.	Iets over onbehagen
1966-67(4)	L.P. Fluitman	Nut, doel en gebruik van de overheidsplanning, uit liberaal oogpunt
1966-67(4)	J.J. Vis	De burgemeester: kiezen of benoemen?
1966-67(4)	J. van der Burg	Aards gewoel en gekrakeel betreffende een landelijk politiek dilemma
1966-67(4)	L.J. Hijmans van den Bergh	Duur en traag recht?
1966-67(5)	H.J.A. Hofland	Amsterdam en de Nederlandse politiek
1966-67(5)	J. Hoogteijling	Naar een betere spelling
1966-67(5)	J. G.	Iets over duidelijkheid
1966-67(5)	P.A. Carol	Marine in discussie
1966-67(5)	L.J. Hijmans van den Bergh	Duur en traag recht? - 2
1966-67(5)	H. Vrind	Stakingsrecht
1966-67(6)		Breuk op termijn
1966-67(6)	Mevrouw H. van Someren-Downer	De kiezer kiest voor een beleid
1966-67(6)	C.F.Th. von Ziegenweidt	Lachen zonder kiespijn' - Antwoord van de tandarts
1966-67(6)	A. Zimmerman	Persbericht van de PTT Nr. 606/48: Op 1 april 1967 waren bij de Dienst Luister- en Kijkgelden 2.424.228 televisietoestellen aangegeven tegen 2.410.650 op 1 maart 1967
1966-67(6)	Ir. F. Wagenmaker	Van Riel en de partijvorming
1966-67(6)	A.J.B. Hubert	Nederland wordt politiek volwassen
1966-67(6)	J. G.	Iets over duidelijkheid (vervolg)
1966-67(6)	A.A.C. Reedijk	De salarispolitiek van de overheid
1967-69(1)		Voorlichting als politiek vraagstuk
1967-69(1)	Drs. L. van Leeuwen	Om het bestaan van de kwaliteit
1967-69(1)	Dr. E. Nordlohne	Onduidelijkheid en vrijheid
1967-69(1)	Dr. A. Spruit	Het financieel bestel van de waterschappen
1967-69(1)	Prof. dr. F. Hartog	Directe versus indirecte belastingen
1967-69(1)		Schaduwen over de VVD

1967-69(1)	Mr. H. van Riel	Partijkeuze - een antwoord aan ir. F. Wagenmaker
1967-69(1)	J.R. Voûte	Dirty politics (boekbespreking)
1967-69(2)		Rode tranen en zure druiven
1967-69(2)	H.F. Heijmans	Voorlichting: trieste zaak
1967-69(2)	H. Vrind	Gesprek met Staatssecretaris De Koster
1967-69(2)	D.M. Plate	Eigen risico
1967-69(2)	H. Vrind	De Giro en het nut van het mededingen
1967-69(2)	J. Groenendaal	Staatsrechtvernieuwing - een analyse van mogelijkheden
1967-69(3)		Op zijn kop de mist in
1967-69(3)	J. Groenendaal	De taak van de VVD bij de hervorming van de partijstructuur - Scheidslijnen en alternatieven
1967-69(3)	Mr. E. Veder-Smit	Ervaringen van nieuwe Kamerleden (I)
1967-69(3)	Hans Wiegel	Ervaringen van nieuwe Kamerleden (II)
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1967-69(3)	J. Goppel	Herziening van het ondernemingsrecht - medezeggenschap, openbaarheid, verantwoording
1967-69(3)	Dr. K. van Dijk	Plaatselijke radio of regionale omroep?
1967-69(4)	Hans Wiegel	Hoor en wederhoor bij de BVD
1967-69(4)		Commentaar van de redactie
1967-69(4)	S.A. Leeftang	Het ultra-centrifugeprocédé, een monopoliebreker
1967-69(4)	H.J.L. Vonhoff	Ervaringen van nieuwe Kamerleden (III)
1967-69(4)	L.M. Tas	Conformisme en afwijzing tussen de generaties op politiek gebied
1967-69(4)	P.C. Koppert	Eigen risico
1967-69(4)		Een liberaal oordeel over de Proeve van een nieuwe Grondwet
1967-69(5)	R. Zegering Hadders	Oud als fractievoorzitter
1967-69(5)		TD 35 - Een machtig stuk werk
1967-69(5)	H. Vrind	Liberalisme voor een grote taak: Paal en perk stellen aan toenemend etatisme
1967-69(5)		Ervaringen van nieuwe Kamerleden (IV)
1967-69(5)	L. van Leeuwen	‘Orde op ruimte’
1967-69(6)		Vaarwel - Tot spoedig ziens
1967-69(6)	Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	De fractiestaven in de Tweede Kamer
1967-69(6)	W. Maarse Nzn.	De Tsjechoslowaakse economie
1967-69(6)	Mr. E. Veder-Smit	Academische ziekenhuizen naar groter zelfstandigheid
1967-69(6)	H. Vrind	Marktonderzoeken op het politieke veld
1969-70(1)		Van de nieuwe redactie
1969-70(1)	Mr. P.O. Numans	D'66 serieus regeringskandidaat
1969-70(1)	Mieke Hubert-Hage	Groningen: een voldoende
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1969-70(2)	Mr. P.O. Numans	Herleefde belangstelling voor het recht van initiatief
1969-70(2)	H.F. Heijmans	Lieve Haagse afdeling
1969-70(2)	D. Jansz	Groningen: een voldoende. De VVD ook?
1969-70(2)	H.F. Heijmans	Leidse landdag
1969-70(2)	H. Vrind	De opvoeding tot staatsburger door middel van het onderwijs
1969-70(2)	Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	Ontbinding van de Eerste Kamer
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1969-70(3)	H. Vrind	Portret van een politieke reus
1969-70(3)	Hans Wiegel	Parlement en publiciteit
1969-70(3)	Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	Referendum en volksinitiatief
1969-70(3)	Mieke Hubert-Hage	Partijvernieuwing anno 1900
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1969-70(4)	H.F. Heijmans & Mr. P.O. Numans	De bron van het gezag
1969-70(4)	Mr. P.O. Numans	Bedrijfsblindheid
1969-70(4)	Th. H. Joekes	Nieuwe aanwinst: L.M. de Beer
1969-70(4)	H. Koornneef	De liberalen in Zuid-Afrika
1969-70(4)	A.J.B. Hubert	Reactie
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1969-70(4)		VVD-rapport Werkgelegenheid
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1969-70(5)	Mr. Floris Recourt	De Cubaanse comités ter verdediging van de revolutie
1969-70(5)	Hans Wiegel	Cals-Donner: tussenbalans
1969-70(5)	H. Vrind	Frankrijk op de tweesprong: presidentiële of parlementaire democratie
1969-70(5)	Hans Wiegel	Deskundig en begrijpelijk
1969-70(6)	E.D. de Mooij	Zuid-Afrika
1970-71(1)	H.F. Heijmans	Miljoenennota
1970-71(1)	Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	Colleges van B. en W.: program of afspiegeling?
1970-71(1)	Drs. G.M.V. van Aardenne	Ondernemingsrecht
1970-71(1)	L.M. de Beer	Springen in een rijdende tram
1970-71(1)	Mr. J.G. Rietkerk	Enige indrukken uit Joegoslavië
1970-71(1)	Ir. H.J. Louwes	Modernisering van de pachtwetgeving
1970-71(1)	Mieke Hubert-Hage	Politiek is geen witmaker
1970-71(2)	Mr. P.O. Numans	Terugblik op kabinet-De Jong
1970-71(2)		Vrijheid, verantwoordelijkheid, mondigheid
1970-71(2)	Mieke Hubert-Hage	Milieubeheer als kapstok

1970-71(2)		De Freule en het prerogatief
1970-71(2)	L.M. de Beer	Pas op voor het 'Wilson-effect'!
1970-71(2)	D. Jansz	Vermaatschappelijking van het onderwijs
1970-71(3)	P. O. N.	Mr. Geertsema: 'DS '70 bezorgt zichzelf tijdbom'
1970-71(3)	Mieke Hubert-Hage	Liberalen op lange wegen
1970-71(3)	Mr. H.E. Koning & mr. F. Porthoine	Pro en Contra een nieuw Kamergebouw
1970-71(3)	Hans Wiegel	Enkele suggesties tot verbetering van de werkwijze van de Tweede Kamer
1970-71(3)	H.F. Heijmans & Mr. P.O. Numans	Dr. Witteveen: zorg over gemeentefinanciën en bijstandswet
1970-71(3)		Test uw politieke instelling
1970-71(3)	Mej. mr. A. Kappeyne van de Coppello	Hoe breed wordt ons stembiljet?
1970-71(3)	G.Ch.O. Boosman	Verkiezingsonderzoek, ja of nee?
1970-71(4)	L.M. de Beer	Duidelijkheid (of: ra, ra, ra, wie heeft de bal?)
1970-71(4)		Nieuwe gezichten op de kandidatenlijst - Interviews
1970-71(4)	Mr. P.O. Numans	Speurtocht door het doolhof der verkiezingsprogramma's
1970-71(4)	Dr. A.P.J. van der Burg	Het lidmaatschap van het Koninklijk Huis
1970-71(5)	Ir. H. Makkreel	Kandidaatstelling voor de Eerste Kamer in de VVD: een onderonsje?
1970-71(5)	Mr. H. van Riel	Aantekeningen bij het artikel van ir. Makkreel
1970-71(5)	Drs. F.A. Wijsenbeek	Een theoretische benadering van de huidige politieke ontwikkeling in Nederland
1970-71(5)	C.W. van Seventer	Boekbespreking: 'De woonomgeving als speelgelegenheid'
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1970-71(6)	F. Strieleman	De Belgische taalstrijd - Een Vlaamse hartekreet
1970-71(6)	Mr. J. Schuttevâer	Op weg naar gewestvorming
1970-71(6)	Drs. S.C. Derksen	De noodzaak en mogelijkheid van vredesopvoeding

C.2 Authors of *Liberaal Reveil* and their productivity.
alphabetically by first letter of title or first name, 1956 – 1970-71

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Dr. K. Poma	1

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Dr. Remko E/ de Maar	1
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J. de Vries	1
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J. Sampiemon	1
J. van der Burg	1
J. van Galen	4
J.H. Couzy	1
J.J. Vis	1
J.L. Heldring	1
J.M. Polak	1
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Jac. Fahrenfort	1
Jhr. mr. W.H.D. Quarles van Ufford	1
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L.M. Tas	1
L.P. Fluitman	1
L.S. Godefroi	1
Louis D'haeseleer	1
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M. Visser	1
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Mr. A.G. Lissauer	1
Mr. C.A. Steketee	4
Mr. D. Sorgdrager	2
Mr. D.G. Postma	1
Mr. dr. C. Berkhouwer	3
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Mr. E.Th. Hack	1
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Mr. F. Doeleman	1
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Mr. Floris Recourt	1
Mr. G.C. van der Willigen	1
Mr. G.J. Timmermans	1
Mr. H. van Riel	6
Mr. H.E. Koning	2
Mr. H.F. van Leeuwen	2
Mr. IJ.H.M. Nijgh	1
Mr. J. de Wilde	1
<i>Mr. J. Schuttevâer</i>	1
Mr. J. van Soest	1
Mr. J. van Someren	1
Mr. J.C.J. Stal	1
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Mr. W.H. Fockema Andreae	6
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Mr. W.M.Th. Adriaansens	1
N. van Hees S. J.	1
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<i>P. O. N.</i>	1
P.A. Carol	1
P.A. Delvaux	1

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P.C. van Traa	1
P.D. van Roijen	1
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P.M. van Nieuwenhuyzen	1
Ph.C. la Capelle jr.	1
Prof. dr. C. Goedhart	5
Prof. dr. C.J. Oort	1
Prof. dr. F. Hartog	2
Prof. mr. A. Kleijn	1
Prof. mr. B.M. Teldersstichting	1
Prof. mr. C.W. de Vries	2
Prof. mr. D. Simons	1
Prof. mr. P.J. Oud	7
Prof. S. Korteweg	1
R. Zegering Hadders	1
R.A. Levisson	1
R.H. Neuberg ec. drs.	2
R.M. Marcuse	5
S.A. Leeftang	1
S.L.J. van Waardenburg	1
Sidney J. van den Bergh	2
St.	2
Th. H. Joekes	8
V. V.	1
Van Ommen Kloeke	1
Vittorio Bandini Confalonieri	1
W. Altink	1
W. Maarse Nzn.	1
W. Swart	1
W. Top, soc. drs.	4
[Empty]	94
Total	504

D. Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde

D.1 Publications of *Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde* in chronological order, 1948-1970

Year	Author	Title
1947	Hellema, H.J.	Actieve belastingpolitiek
1947	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Groen van Prinsterer in de historie
1947	Mekkes, J.P.A.	De officierseed
1947	Rip, W.	Actieve grondpolitiek
1947	Rutgers, A.A.L.	Economische perspectieven in Indonesië
1947	Rutgers, A.A.L.	Indië's zelfstandigheid en Nederlands verantwoordelijkheid
1947	Schouten, J.	Ter nagedachtenis van Dr H. Colijn
1947	Schouten, J.	Ter inleiding
1947	Smeenk, C.	De programma's van de Partij van den Arbeid
1947	Stapelkamp, A.	Het Rapport Ondernemingsraden
1947	Timmer, A.P.	De noodvoorziening voor de gemeentefinanciën
1947	Verkerk, E.P.	Problemen der gemeentefinanciën
1947	Vonkenberg, E.J.E.G.	Het vorderingsbesluit woonruimte in de praktijk
1947	Warnaar Jzn., A.	Emigratie
1947	Zeegers, A.	De nationalisatie van de Nederlandse Bank
1947	Zuidema, S.U.	Het personalisme van Banning
1948	Aartsen, J. van	Het ontwerp van wet op de Bedrijfsorganisatie
1948	Andel Gz., J. van	Toenemend overheidsbeheer in het wegvervoerbedrijf?
1948	Dirker, F.W.	Doel en methode van de economische planning
1948	Donner, A.M.	De betekenis der Grondwetsherziening van 1848
1948	Hoogh, B. de	Het kleine-boerenprobleem
1948	Hoogh, B. de	Het kleine-boerenprobleem II
1948	Jong Cz., J. de	De regeling van den Radio-omroep na de bevrijding
1948	Jong Cz., J. de	De regeling van den Radio-omroep na de bevrijding II
1948	Kwaadsteniet, A.R. de	Verantwoordingsplicht voor zelfbestuur
1948	Lindeboom, G.A.	De nieuwe Engelse Gezondheidswet
1948	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Antithese heden
1948	Muiswinkel, F.L. van	Middenstand en prijsbeheersing
1948	Nooy, J. de	De betekenis van Oranje voor onze staatkundige ontwikkeling
1948	Okma, N.	Beginnelen van burgerlijke wetgeving
1948	Rutgers, A.A.L.	De antirevolutionairen en Indië onder de regering van Koningin Wilhelmina
1948	Smitskamp, H.	De vrede van Münster in zijn betekenis voor de zelfstandigheid van den Nederlandsen staat
1948	Terpstra, J.	Godsdienst en openbare school
1948	Tuinen, S. van	Actieve cultuurpolitiek?
1948	Tuinen, S. van	Actieve cultuurpolitiek? II
1948	Vellinga, J.M.	Economische contrôle
1948	Wilde, J.A. de	De hoop herleeft
1948	Wilde, J.A. de	De staatkundige geschiedenis sinds 1898

1948	Zuidema, S.U.	De strijd der geesten nú
1949	Berghuis, W.P.	De taak der overheid
1949	Middelberg, L.R.	De Ministerie Malan in de Unie van Zuid-Afrika
1949	Schelven, C.M.E. van	Invloed van het communisme in Indonesië
1949	Zuidema, S.U.	Einde van het Christendom
1949	Stellinga, J.R.	De politie
1949	Zeegers, A.	Socialisatie der mijnen?
1949	Popma, K.J.	Diagnose van onze tijd
1949	Bruins Slot, J.A.H.J.S.	Het federalisme
1949	Versteeg, Th.A.	Enige opmerkingen omtrent ons huwelijksvermogensrecht
1949	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Gerechtigheid en naastenliefde in de samenleving der volken
1949	Moet, J.P.	Val en vorming van een kabinet
1949	Vermeer, W.	De verhouding van Mr G. Groen van Prinsterer en Dr A. Kuyper, beoordeeld naar hun briefwisseling (1864-1876)
1949	Berghuis, W.P.	Het Engelse regeringsstelsel
1949	Gerbrandy, P.S.	Het probleem Duitsland
1949	Stellinga, J.R.	De Indonesische kwestie en het parlementaire stelsel
1949	Gerbrandy, P.S.	Het probleem Duitsland II
1949	Langedijk, D.	De Onderwijswet-Mackay en haar voorgeschiedenis, 1887-1889
1949	Helsdingen, C.C. van	De Indonesische tragedie
1949	Berghuis, W.P.	Het vraagstuk van den gehoorzaamheidsplicht
1949	Mekkes, J.P.A.	De leer der souvereiniteit in eigen kring in de antithese
1949	Stellinga, J.R.	De Indonesische kwestie en het parlementaire stelsel II
1949	Smeenk, C.	Colijn's sociaal-economische werkzaamheid
1949	Gosker, R.	Gezinstarieven
1950	Andel Gz., J. van	Suriname's staatkundige evolutie
1950		Collectieve defensie
1950	Bergsma, P.	Administratieve rechtspraak
1950	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Verzet tegen de buitenlandsen occupator
1950	Algra, H.	Uitgeleverd aan den mens
1950	Dirker, F.W.	Hoe staat ons land ervoor?
1950	Stellinga, J.R.	Beschouwingen over de vrijheid van drukpers
1950	Hellema, H.J.	Beginnelen van belastingheffing
1950	Calvinistische Juristenvereniging	De invloed der Staten-Generaal op het bestuur van de buitenlandse betrekkingen
1950	Stellinga, J.R.	Het rapport van de commissie-Langemeyer inzake het politiekvraagstuk
1950	Bosman, D.J.	Cultuurbevordering door het onderwijs in Indonesië
1950	Terpstra, J.	Overheidssubsidie aan bijzonder onderwijs
1950	Gosker, R.	Fondsvorming of omslagstelsel
1950	Riessen, H. van	Burnham's bewindvoerdersmaatschappij
1950	Stapelkamp, A.	De wet op de ondernemingsraden
1950	Frost, H.	Karl Barth und die Politik
1950	Rip, W.	Het rapport van de regerings-commissie pachtwetgeving
1950	Andel Gz., J. van	Regering en volksvertegenwoordiging

1950	Zeegers, A.	Gelijkheid ook voor de belastingwet
1950	Kuypers, G.	Het Russische gevaar
1950	Severijn, J.	Vrije concurrentie in ethisch licht
1951	Roos, F. de	De betekenis van het sparen voor het economisch leven
1951	Noteboom, J.W.	Bioscoop- en filmtoezicht
1951	De Raad van State	Hagen, A.J.
1951	Dirker, F.W.	Hoe staat het met de Benelux?
1951	Andel Gz., J. van	Antilia politica
1951	Diemer-Lindeboom, F.T.	Oriëntering inzake de wijkgedachte ne enkele ontwikkelingsvormen daarvan
1951	Zuidema, S.U.	Het ontwaken van Azië en onze christelijke verantwoordelijkheid
1951	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Herbewapening van West-Duitsland
1951	Algra, H.	100 jaar Gemeentewet
1951	Zeegers, A.	Socialisatie van het credietwezen
1951	Buter, J.	Richtlijnen voor een christelijke sociaal-economische politiek
1951	Smeenk, C.	Arbeidsproductiviteit
1951	Rip, W.	Europese landbouwvraagstukken
1951	Smit, M.C.	Rooms-Katholicisme en verdraagzaamheid
1951	Groen, K.	Bij de portretten van Mr Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer en van Mevrouw Elisabeth Maria Magdalena Groen van Prinsterer geboren Van der Hoop
1951	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Christelijke Politiek
1951	Kooy, T.P. van der	Maatschappij en cultuur
1951	Hensbergen, H. van	Mysticisme en Politiek
1951	Mark, P. van der	De West-Europese Economische Integratie
1951	Gerssen, P.	Atlantische Defensie
1951	Berghuis, W.P.	De gemeente in de frontlijn
1952	Anema, A.	Ter herinnering aan Mr Th. Heemskerk
1952	Brillenburger Wurth, G.	Het probleem vna de verantwoordelijkheid ten opzichte van den modernen oorlog
1952	Cnossen, T.	Volkskracht en emigratie
1952	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1952	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1952	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1952	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1952	Donner, A.M.	Groen van Prinsterer als staatsman en evangeliebelijder
1952	Dooyeweerd, H.	Een rooms-katholieke visie op de protestants-christelijke denkbeelden inzake bedrijfsorganisatie en de recente discussie over de grenzen van de overheidstaak
1952	Dooyeweerd, H.	Een rooms-katholieke visie op de protestants-christelijke denkbeelden inzake bedrijfsorganisatie en de recente discussie over de grenzen van de overheidstaak II
1952	Goede, M. de	Enkele opmerkingen over Emil Brunner's Gerechtigheit
1952	Goslinga, A.	Groen van Prinsterer als leidinggevende persoonlijkheid
1952	Haar, J. van der	Het vraagstuk der lijkverbranding
1952	Kleinhout, H.	Iets over indexcijfers
1952	Kooy, T.P. van der	De toekomst der maatschappij

1952	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1952	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1952	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1952	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1952	Lindeboom, G.A.	Ordering van de gezondheidszorg
1952	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Verklaringen van mensenrechten
1952	Mekkes, P.M.J.	De "protestatie" van het G.P.V.
1952	Nederbragt, J.A.	Het Midden Oosten (eertijds: Nabije Oosten)
1952	Pot, A.	De bescherming burgerbevolking en burgerlijke verdediging in het kader van de nationale verdediging
1952	Szabó, László Cs.	De "Meistersinger" van de Antichrist
1952	Teylingen, E.G. van	Een daad van nieuw belijden? (Iets over de verhouding van theologie en politiek naar aanleiding van de kwestie-Hardegarijp)
1953	Matze, K.J.	De Partij van de Arbeid en de Pacificatie
1953	Ormel, D.W.	Volledige werkgelegenheid in een vrije samenleving?
1953	Stapelkamp, M.C.P.	Enige problemen rondom de woningvoorziening
1953	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1953	Algra, H.	De weg naar het volk. Enige opmerkingen over het Anti-schoolwetverbond van 1872
1953	Smitskamp, H.	De christelijk-historische kiezersbond "Marnix" (1881-ca.1892)
1953	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1953	Nederbragt, J.A.	Het Franse protestantisme
1953	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1953	Pot, A.	Enige aspecten van de militaire integratie
1953	Dijk, K.	Waarom als protestant christen geen lid van de Partij van de Arbeid
1953	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1953	Bakker, J.A.	De Europese Gemeenschap voor Kolen en Staal
1953	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1953	Berghuis, W.P.	De organisatie der politie in het concept-politiewet der Vereniging van Nederlandse Gemeenten
1953	Groen, K.	Verplichte aansluiting van kerken bij bedrijfsverenigingen
1953	Verplanke, C.J.	Verplichte aansluiting van kerken bij bedrijfsverenigingen
1953	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1953	Schotborgh, L.	De rol, welke Nederland in Indonesië heeft vervuld, meer in het bijzonder voor wat betreft de periode 1940-1949
1953	Diemer, E.	Buitenlands overzicht
1953	Boot, J.J.G.	Burgerzin
1953	Lindeboom, G.A.	Het ontwerp-gezondheidswet
1953	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1953	Kägi, W.	Een en ander over de valse verabsolutering der democratie
1953	Kuypers, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1953	Donner, A.M.	Het plan voor een Europese Politieke Gemeenschap
1953	Kooy, T.P. van der	Diepenhorst en de economie
1953	Hollander, J.	De Verenigde Staten en de Verenigde Naties
1953	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht

1953	Brillenburger, G.	Het probleem van de verantwoordelijkheid ten opzichte van den modernen oorlog
1954	Zuidema, S.U.	Gemene gratie en Pro Rege bij Dr Abraham Kuiper
1954	Götzen, L.	Enige beschouwingen over de betrekking tussen staatshuishouding en volkshuishouding
1954	Kuyper, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1954	Zuidema, S.U.	Gemene gratie en Pro Rege bij Dr Abraham Kuiper II
1954	Götzen, L.	Enige beschouwingen over de betrekking tussen staatshuishouding en volkshuishouding II
1954	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1954	Schouten, J.	De Anti-Revolutionaire Partij 3 april 1879 - 3 april 1954
1954	Algra, H.	Het nationaal karakter van de Antirevolutionaire Partij
1954	Bruins Slot, J.A.H.J.S.	Vier portretten op één schilderij
1954	Ruller, E. van	De Anti-Revolutionaire Partij en het verzet
1954	Jong, J.J. de	Europese partijvorming en de Antirevolutionaire partij
1954	Rutgers, A.A.L.	De toeneming der bevolking in Nederland
1954	Kuyper, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1954	Dooyeweerd, H.	Arbeidsrecht, intern bedrijfsrecht en de juridische grenzen der soevereiniteit in eigen kring
1954	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1954	Muiswinkel, F.L. van	Middenstandspolitiek
1954	Platteel, P.J.	Overheid - Diaconie - Armenzorg
1954	Kuyper, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1954	Algra, H.	Afgebroken debat
1954	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1954	Bavinck, J.H.	Het rassenvraagstuk in Zuid-Afrika
1954	Kuyper, G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1954	Rooijen, J.P. van	Het advies van de sociaal-economische raad inzake de wettelijke ouderdomsverzekering
1954	Aantjes, W.	Het S.E.R.-advies inzake de ouderdomsvoorziening principieel aanvaardbaar?
1954	Hollander, J.	Herziening van het Handvest der Verenigde Naties
1954	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Algra, H.	De christelijke politiek en de neutraliteit
1955	Berghuis, W.P.	Samenwerking van overheid en particulieren
1955	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1955	Diemer, E.	De christelijke dagbladpers
1955	Diemer-Lindeboom, F.T.	De beloning van mannen en vrouwen voor werk van gelijke waarde. Het vraagstuk van de zgn. Equal Pay
1955	Dirker, F.W.	Tien jaar Centraal Planbureau
1955	Dooyeweerd, H.	Een nieuwe Rooms-Katholieke visie op de staat en het recht

1955	Frost, H.	De mogelijkheid en de taak ener christelijke politiek in het huidige Europa
1955	Goslinga, A.	De Rotterdamse schoolkwestie (1866-1868)
1955	Goslinga, A.	De Rotterdamse schoolkwestie (1866-1868) II
1955	Goslinga, A.	De Rotterdamse schoolkwestie (1866-1868) III
1955	Goslinga, A.	De Rotterdamse schoolkwestie (1866-1868) IV
1955	Goslinga, A.	De Rotterdamse schoolkwestie (1866-1868) V
1955	Groen, K.	De gewone burger en de onschendbaarheid des Konings
1955	Hollander, J.	De atoomconferentie van Genève
1955	Karsemeijer, J.	Rapport van de Rijkscommissie inzake lectuurvoorziening
1955	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Onze tijd en onze roeping?
1955	Polet, G.H.	De Staatstaak bij goddelijke ordinantie
1955	Ridderbos, Herman	Christelijke vrijheid en politieke partijkeuze
1955	Roos, F. de	De nationale balans
1955	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1955	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1955	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1955	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1955	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1955	Scholten, L.W.G.	Een negentiende eeuwse Anti-Revolutionair aan de Groningse Universiteit
1955	Zuidema, S.U.	Om de signatuur van de Nederlandse staat
1956	Algra, H.	Oranje en Johan van Oldenbarnevelt
1956	Algra, H.	Oranje en Johan van Oldenbarnevelt
1956	Andel Gz., J. van	Om de toekomst van Nederlands-Nieuw-Guinea
1956	Berghuis, W.P.	Waarom hebben wij verloren? Wat staat ons te doen?
1956	Bruins Slot, J.A.H.J.S.	Samenwerking op de breedst mogelijke basis III
1956	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1956	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1956	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1956	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Het ontwerp der nieuwe hoger-onderwijswet
1956	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Het probleem der samenwerking in Nederland in staatsrechtelijke omlijsting
1956	Donner, A.M.	Samenwerking op de breedst mogelijke basis I
1956	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Het volkenrechtelijk aspect van de eenzijdige opzegging der Nederlands-Indonesische Unie
1956	Jong Cz., J. de	Over het televisiebesluit 1956
1956	Knecht, T.	Waarom hebben wij verloren? Wat staat ons te doen? II
1956	Klusener, P.A.A.	Rondom het Herderlijk Schrijven
1956	Kouwenhoven, A.	Het voorontwerp in-, uit- en doorvoerwet
1956	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Samenwerking op de breedst mogelijke basis II
1956	Moet, J.P.	De ontbinding der Eerste Kamer in 1904. Een episode uit de strijd voor de ontvoogding van vrije universiteiten in Nederland
1956	Poot, J.	Enkele opmerkingen over het vraagstuk van de opvoering der woningproductie
1956	Rutgers, A.A.L.	Prinses Beatrix

1956	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1956	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1956	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1956	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1956	Scholten, H.	Economische toekomstvoorspelling
1956	Waterink, J.	De democratisering van het hoger-onderwijs
1956	Wijngaarden, M.A. van	De democratisering van het hoger-onderwijs en de werkstudent
1956	Zuidema, S.U.	Christendom en neo-socialisme
1957	Barends, J.	Het gezin en de woningvoorziening
1957	Bennekom, J.A. van	Het voortgezet onderwijs, regionaal gezien
1957	Berghuis, W.P.	C.H.-A.R.
1957	Boessenkool, F.	Overheid en maatschappelijk werk
1957	Bouman-Eringa, D.I.	Gezin en school
1957	Brugge, B. ter	Overheid en maatschappelijk werk II
1957	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1957	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1957	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1957	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1957	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1957	Diemer, E.	Binnenlands overzicht
1957	Donner, A.M.	Partij en fractie
1957	Eijsden, H. van	Middenstandspolitiek in deze tijd
1957	Genuit, J.W.	Overheidspersoneel en stakingsrecht
1957	Gerssen, P.	De Nederlandse defensie en het gebruik van atoomwapens
1957	Groen, K.	Ten geleide
1957	Hazenbosch, C.P.	De welvaartsstaat
1957	Hazenbosch, C.P.	De welvaartsstaat II
1957	Klinken, J. van	Het gezin en het bejaardenprobleem
1957	Kooy, T.P. van der	De toekomst van onze cultuur
1957	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	De juridische grondslag van het Nederlandse gezag in Nieuw-Guinea
1957	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	De verdringing van het recht door de politiek
1957	Noteboom, J.W.	Welke taak moet de overheid hebben in de nieuwe vormgeving van het maatschappelijk werk
1957	Platteel, P.J.	De rol van de overheid bij de ontwikkeling van het maatschappelijk werk
1957	Prins, J.H.	Ten geleide
1957	Reinsma, R.	"Ons Program" en het cultuurstelsel
1957	Rip, W.	De nieuwe pachtwet
1957	Schippers, R.	Het vierde gebod en de vijf-dagen-werkweek
1957	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1957	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1957	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1957	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1957	Smit, M.C.	De actualiteit van het recht van verzet
1957	Vermeulen, H.J.	Het gezin en de sociale wetgeving

1957	Verplanke, C.J.	Verontrustende verontrusting
1957	Zuidema, S.U.	Kracht en zwakheid van het communisme en van het christendom
1958	Albeda, W.	Volledige werkgelegenheid en maatschappij
1958	Albeda, W.	De Nederlandse geleide loonpolitiek
1958	Algra, H.	De actualiteit van Groen
1958	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1958	Brink, W.	A.R.-C.H.
1958	Dirker, F.W.	Begrotingspolitiek en nationale welvaart; vroeger en nu
1958	Frost, H.	Reformatorisch denken over de staat en christelijke partijpolitiek. Een onderzoek betreffende de geschiedenis der Duitse partijen
1958	Frost, H.	Reformatorisch denken over de staat en christelijke partijpolitiek. Een onderzoek betreffende de geschiedenis der Duitse partijen II
1958	Frost, H.	Reformatorisch denken over de staat en christelijke partijpolitiek. Een onderzoek betreffende de geschiedenis der Duitse partijen III
1958	Groen, K.	Geen p.b.o.-spookbeeldhouwerij!
1958	Heuvel, Chr. van den	Het vestigingsbeleid in de landbouw
1958	Hoogendijk Jr., W.C.D.	Enkele beschouwingen rondom de Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie
1958	Jonker, H.	Beginselen
1958	Mark, P. van der	De ontsluiting van het platteland
1958	Poot, J.	Grote steden en satellieten
1958	Prins, J.H.	De strijd der partijen
1958	Rietveld, B.	Christelijke goede werken in de twintigste eeuw
1958	Ruiter, A.C. de	Oude en nieuwe denkbeelden over hervorming der Eerste Kamer
1958	Schakel, M.W.	Een getuigenis
1958	Schakel, M.W.	Bij het atoom der democratie
1958	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1958	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1958	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1958	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1958	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1958	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1958	Smeden, B. van	Secularisatie?
1958	Tuinen, S. van	Kunstpolitiek in gewest en gemeente
1958	Velema, W.H.	Kuyper en de overheid
1958	Wilde, J.P.I. van der	De P.B.O. in ontwikkeling
1959	Albeda, W.	Enkele gedachten over de sociale politiek en de welvaartsstaat
1959	Albeda, W.	De vakvereniging in het staatsbestel
1959	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1959	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1959	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1959	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1959	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1959	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1959	Baal, J. van	Verzoening in dienst van het onrecht

1959	Brillenburger Wurth, G.	Rondom het probleem van de atoomoorlog
1959	Cnossen, T.	Amerikaanse problemen
1959	Dirker, F.W.	Vennootschapsrecht, medezeggenschap en ondernemingsgewijze productie
1959	Goudzwaard, B.	De economische politiek en het conjunctuurvraagstuk
1959	Knecht, T.	De loonpolitiek als toessteen
1959	Kuypers, G.	Vruchtbare delta of giftig moeras?
1959	Laan, H. van der	De weg naar één protestants-christelijke politieke partij
1959	Meeder, Ch.G.	Van stedenbouw tot ruimtelijke ordening
1959	Prins, J.H.	De republiek der Zuid-Molukken een mythe?
1959	Ridderbos, S.J.	De dialectische theologie van Abraham Kuyper
1959	Ruiter, A.C. de	Het Beneluxparlement
1959	Schakel, M.W.	De christen en de moderne oorlogvoering
1959	Schakel, M.W.	Gemeente en waterschap
1959	Schakel, M.W.	Gemeente en waterschap
1959	Schakel, M.W.	Gemeente en waterschap
1959	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1959	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1959	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1959	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1959	Verplanke, C.J.	Partij van de Arbeid en subsidie kerkgebouw
1959	Verplanke, C.J.	Souvereiniteit in eigen kring en autonomie
1959	Visser, P.	Nederlandse jongeren en onze partij
1960	Albeda, W.	Vijftien jaar hoogconjunctuur
1960	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1960	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1960	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1960	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1960	Algra, H.	De kerk, de staat en wij
1960	Borst Pzn., A.	Wat hebben wij van Publiekrechtelijke Bedrijfsorganisatie verwacht en wat is er van geworden?
1960	Borst, P.	Kampend met tegenwind, maar actueel
1960	Deugerk, J.D.	Ordening van het maatschappelijk leven
1960	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Een waarschuwend boek
1960	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Misdaad en straf
1960	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Overheid en sport
1960	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Televisie
1960	Dronkert, K.	De Israëlitische wetgeving en wij
1960	Dronkert, K.	De Israëlitische wetgeving en wij
1960	Dronkert, K.	De Israëlitische wetgeving en wij
1960	Elsinga, T.	Arbeidersvakbeweging en Publiekrechtelijke Bedrijfsorganisatie
1960	Gaay Fortman, W.F. de	Overheid?
1960	Goudzwaard, B.	Calvijns ethiek van het sociaal-economische leven
1960	Groen, K.	Van Birkhoven tot Binnenhof 4
1960	Kuypers, G.	De Sowjet-Unie onder Chroesjtsjow

1960		Meer "open" opzet van A.R.S.
1960	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	De rechten van de mens naar Christelijk mensbeeld
1960	Oosterhoff, J.A.	De vrijheid van onderwijs en het wetsontwerp voorgezet onderwijs (Mammoetwet)
1960	Pot, A.	Defensie en efficiëntie
1960	Prins, J.H.	Ten geleide
1960	Renkema, P.	Middenstand en Publiekrechtelijke Bedrijfsorganisatie
1960	Rooyen, J.P. van	Bevolkingsgroei en verantwoordelijkheid
1960	Ruiter, A.C. de	Naar algemene verkiezingen voor een Europees Parlement
1960	Schakel, M.W.	De nationale hefboom in het Europese krachtenveld
1960	Schakel, M.W.	Tussen Scylla en Charybdis
1960	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1960	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1960	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1960	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1960	Scholten, L.W.G.	Buitenlands overzicht
1960	Verplanke, C.J.	Zondag en het vierde gebod
1960	Visser, P.	Overheid en zondag
1960	Visser, R.	Wat hebben wij van Publiekrechtelijke Bedrijfsorganisatie verwacht en wat is er van geworden? II
1960	Wijk, H.D. van	Rechtsbescherming tegen de overheid
1961	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Bij een heengaan in memoriam Jhr. Mr. De Geer
1961	Berghuis, W.P.	De christen-democratische samenwerking in Nederlands en Europees verband
1961	Kret, A.J.	De christen-democratische samenwerking in Nederlands en Europees verband II
1961	Goudzwaard, B.	Prioriteitenschema en parlement
1961	Grosheide, J.H.	Publiekrechtelijke organisatie van het bijzonder onderwijs?
1961	Oosterhoff, J.A.	Publiekrechtelijke organisatie van het bijzonder onderwijs?
1961	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1961	Gosker, R.	De algemene kinderbijslagverzekering
1961	Meeder, Ch.G.	Gevaarlijke subsidiepolitiek
1961	Verplanke, C.J.	Om de vrijheid
1961	Albeda, W.	Heeft het socialisme nog een toekomst in West-Europa?
1961	Goudzwaard, B.	Socialistisch idealisme en opportunisme
1961	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1961	Hoogendijk Jr., W.C.D.	Realia der christelijke politiek
1961	Schakel, M.W.	De landbouw en het platteland in een veranderende samenleving
1961	Algra, H.	De richting van de openbare school
1961	Mekkes, J.P.A.	Heeft "christelijke politiek" een zin?
1961	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1961	Algra, H.	Overheid en Openbaar Onderwijs II
1961	Zuidema, S.U.	In de ban van het kernwapen of het kernwapen in de ban?
1961	Prins, J.H.	Aantekeningen over Suriname's politieke leven
1961	Hommes, H.J.	Het recht tot werkstaking en de vraag of een wettelijke regeling hiervan in ons rechtsbestel wenselijk is

1961	Verplanke, C.J.	V.V.D. en subsidie kerkbouw
1961	Brouwer, B.J.	De goddelijke wet voor het samenleven der volken
1961	Kleffens, E.N. van	Professor Gerbrandy's Londense periode
1961	Algra, H.	Pieter Sjoerds in Friesland
1961	Gaay Fortman, W.F. de	P.S. Gerbrandy als hoogleraar
1961	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Pieter Sjoerds Gerbrandy, de staatsman
1961	Puchinger, G.	Gerbrandy en Colijn
1961	Kooy, T.P. van der	Moderne economische politiek
1961	Rothuizen, G.Th.	Het mes in de buik
1961	Zuidema, S.U.	Antwoord aan Ds. Rothuizen
1961	Verplanke, C.J.	Overheid en samenleving
1961	Algra, H.	Binnenlands politiek overzicht
1961	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Een ex-communist geeft rekenschap
1961	Groen, K.	Kritische aantekeningen betreffende het nieuwe beginsel- en algemeen staatkundig program en de uitlegging daarvan
1962	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1962	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1962	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1962	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1962	Algra, H.	Over kernwapenen, vrede en veiligheid
1962	Berghuis, W.P.	Nieuw-Guinea: Een terugblik
1962	Berghuis, W.P.	Naschrift
1962	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Een nuttige waarschuwing
1962	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Een Engelse politieke televisie-les
1962	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Noodzaak en motief van internationale bijstand
1962	Diepenhorst, I.A.	De openbaarheid van het strafgeding
1962	Feddema, J.P.	Houding van dr. A. Kuyper ten aanzien van de Eerste Wereldoorlog
1962	Feddema, J.P.	Houding van dr. A. Kuyper ten aanzien van de Eerste Wereldoorlog II
1962	Gaay Fortman, W.F. de	De "Atlantic Citizens' convention"
1962	Goossens, G.	Nieuw-Guinea: rekapitulatie en toetsing
1962	Goudzwaard, B.	Economische politiek als beginselpolitiek
1962	Goudzwaard, B.	Economische politiek als beginselpolitiek II
1962	Goudzwaard, B.	Economische politiek als beginselpolitiek III
1962	Groen, K.	Kritische aantekeningen betreffende nieuwe beginsel- en algemeen staatkundig program en de uitlegging daarvan
1962	Groen, K.	Kritische aantekeningen betreffende nieuwe beginsel- en algemeen staatkundig program en de uitlegging daarvan II
1962	Haas, C. de	Britse conservatieven en Europese samenwerking
1962	Kooymans, P.H.	De blokkade van Cuba en het volkenrecht
1962	Kuyperstichting, Dr. A.	Verkiezingsuitslagen 1946-1962. Een onderzoek
1962	Lugtigheid, H.J.	Ingezonden
1962	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Enkele opmerkingen over het zelfbeschikkingsrecht der volken
1962	Oosterhoff, J.A.	De plannen inzake een arbeidsvoorwaardenwet
1962	Schakel, M.W.	Naar een C.D.U. in Nederland?

1962	Schenkeveld, A.	De gerechtelijke ontbinding van het huwelijk
1962	Smid, T.D.	Uit het leven van Theodorus Sanders jr. Medeoprichter der Vrije Universiteit
1962	Verplanke, C.J.	Voorkeurstemmen en kwaliteitszetels
1962	Zuidema, S.U.	Naschrift
1963	Boukema, P.J.	De kiesgerechtigde leeftijd
1963	Reinsma, R.	Julien Wolbers (1819-1889)
1963	Wilde, J.P.I. van der	Commercie en televisie
1963	Schelven, C.M.E. van	De reclametelevisie en het omroepbestel
1963	Diemer, E.	Reclame slechts gedogen?
1963	Kaam, B. van	Regeringsvoorstellen tasten communicatie-vrijheid aan
1963	Oostindie, A.	Poging tot overzicht
1963	Schakel, M.W.	Onvolledige argumentatie
1963	Hoogendijk Jr., W.C.D.	Onvolledige argumentatie?
1963	Verplanke, C.J.	De kleine partijen en de kiesdeler
1963	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1963	Wijk, H.D. van	Territoriale decentralisatie
1963	Drogendijk, A.C.	Is een ziekenfonds een sociale verzekering of een orgaan van zorg voor de volksgezondheid?
1963	Berghuis, W.P.	Openingswoord
1963	Kwant, R.C.	Het christelijk geweten en de bewapeningswedloop
1963	Niftrik, G.C. van	Praktisch-principiële overwegingen met het oog op de verdediging der vrijheid
1963	Ruppert, M.	Het communisme een uitdaging?
1963	Mathon, Th.E.E.H.	Verdediging der vrijheid
1963	Ramshorst, A. van	Rondom de kernbewapening
1963	Lindeboom, G.A.	Het wezen van een ziekenfonds en van de verplichte ziekenfondsverzekering
1963	Viegen, J. van	Is een ziekenfonds een sociale verzekering of een orgaan van zorg voor de volksgezondheid? II
1963	Schakel, M.W.	De grenswacht zij paraat!
1963	Rang, J.F.	Het rechtskarakter van de ziekenfondsverzekering in geding
1963	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1963	Prins, J.H.	In memoriam Dr. J. Schouten
1963	Westenbrugge, J. van	Christelijk politiek leven in Canada begint te komen
1963	Drogendijk, A.C.	Het wezen van een ziekenfonds en van de verplichte ziekenfondsverzekering II
1963	Drogendijk, A.C.	Nogmaals: is een ziekenfonds een sociale verzekering of een orgaan van zorg voor de volksgezondheid?
1963	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Kernwapenen - een ethisch probleem
1963	Goudzwaard, B.	Hoe geven wij "antwoord aan deze tijd"?
1963	Albeda, W.	Het christen zijn in de politiek in de anglo-Amerikaanse literatuur
1963	Verplanke, C.J.	De gereformeerde gezindte en de christelijke organisatie
1963	Diepenhorst, I.A.	John Fitzgeralds Kennedy
1963	Algra, H.	Vijf eeuwen Staten-Generaal
1963	Kooijmans, P.H.	De Staten-Generaal en het bestuur der buitenlandse betrekkingen
1964	Boven, H.D.W.	De grenswacht schiete niet te vlug!

1964	Schut, G.H.A.	Onderschrift bij het artikel van Prof. Dr. G.H.J. van der Molen over "De kernwapenen - een ethisch probleem"
1964	Brouwer, B.J.	De rechtvaardige oorlog
1964	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	De rechtvaardige oorlog II
1964	Drogendijk, A.C.	Het karakter van de ziekenfondsverzekering
1964	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1964	Burg, L.J. van der	Nederland en de ontwikkelingslanden
1964	Rippen, J.J.	Antwoord aan deze tijd en Drs. Goudzwaard
1964	Gosker, R.	Hoe zal de algemene bijstandswet worden uitgevoerd?
1964	Verplanke, C.J.	Het succes der christelijke vakbeweging in Canada
1964	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1964	Goudzwaard, B.	Bijbel en politiek. Voortgezet gesprek rond "Antwoord aan deze tijd"
1964	Hoogendijk Jr., W.C.D.	Cuius regio eius religio
1964	Bruins Slot, J.A.H.J.S.	De crisis in de westerse democratie
1964	Verplanke, C.J.	Artikel 36 op drift
1964	Kolthof, A.	De rechtvaardige oorlog
1964	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Ethisch of juridisch?
1964	Prins, J.H.	Ten geleide
1964	Zijlstra, J.	Is christelijke partijformatie funest voor de democratie?
1964	Schakel, M.W.	Quo vadis?
1964	Verplanke, C.J.	Naar een nieuwe koers?
1964	Zuidema, S.U.	Antirevolutionaire politiek in de welvaartsstaat en de welvaartsstaat in de antirevolutionaire politiek
1964	Kooy, T.P. van der	Christelijk geloof en politiek
1964	Rang, J.F.	Gemoedsbezwaren tegen de pensioenverzekering krachtens de pensioenwet 1922
1964	Bruins Slot, J.A.H.J.S.	Emancipatie en integratie
1964	Cnossen, T.	De Amerikaanse presidentsverkiezingen
1964	Smid, T.D.	Willem Hovy (1840-1915) (I)
1964	Lambooy, J.G.	Politieke en economische problemen in Tunesië
1964	Smid, T.D.	Willem Hovy (1840-1915) (II)
1964	Algra, H.	Een merkwaardige brochure uit 1907
1964	Boukema, P.J.	Veel vragen, geen antwoord?
1964	Rippen, J.J.	De openbaring van gods wil
1964	Goudzwaard, B.	Nabeschouwing
1964	Rippen, J.J.	"Een laatste woord"
1965	Miedema, J.P.	De ruimtelijke ordening als politiek probleem
1965	Bos, P.C.	De A.R. en de ontwikkelingslanden (I)
1965	Kolthof, A.	De heilige oorlog
1965	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Zo niet!
1965	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1965	Diepenhorst, I.A.	In memoriam Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill
1965	Lord Attlee	De man die ik gekend heb
1965	Bos, P.C.	De A.R. en de ontwikkelingslanden (II)

1965	Ruiter, A.C. de	Regering en volksvertegenwoordiging: een vergelijking tussen België en Nederland
1965	Verplanke, C.J.	De opkomstplicht
1965	Albeda, W.	De plannen voor economische en sociale programmatie
1965	Putten, J. van	Europa ontwapend
1965	Kooijmans, P.H.	Europa ontwapend; tot welke prijs?
1965	Gaay Fortman, W.F. de	Notities bij een verklaring over de crisis in de atlantische en Europese samenwerking
1965	Stellinga, J.R.	De welvaartsstaat
1965	Rang, J.F.	Zorgen rondom de volksgezondheid
1965	Kwaadsteniet, A.R. de	Enkele kanttekeningen bij de resultaten van de Rijnmondverkiezingen
1965	Kooy, T.P. van der	Antirevolutionaire vertogen
1965	Lindeboom, G.A.	Steun aan de medische opleidingen in ontwikkelingslanden
1965	Kooijmans, P.H.	De Verenigde Naties en haar moeilijkheden
1965	Algra, H.	Beginnel en causaliteit
1965	Ploeg, J. van der	Één durven zijn met alle christenen
1965	Algra, H.	Binnenlands overzicht
1965	Verhoeff, H.G.	Grondwetsherziening
1965	Putten, J. van	Wereldwijd de Noorse christelijke volkspartij
1965	Tele, Ahti	De Finse christelijke unie
1966	Ruiter, A.C. de	Modernisering van ons twee-kamerstelsel?
1966	Ruiter, A.C. de	Vietnam
1966	Donner, A.M.	Prof. Mr. A. Anema
1966	Diemer-Lindeboom, F.T.	Op de grens van twee werelden. Kunstmatige inseminatie bij de mens
1966	Hoogendijk Jr., W.C.D.	Het Ministeri van cultuur, recreatie en maatschappelijk werk als factor bij de opkomst van de welzijnsstaat
1966	Gaay Fortman, W.F. de	Inflatie en overheidsbeleid
1966	Warnaar Jzn., A.	Vietnam
1966	Kuypers, G.	Politologie: wat houdt dat in?
1966	Rang, J.F.	Zorgen over de volksgezondheidsnota 1966
1966	Mulder, G.E.	Nieuw licht op het probleem van de zin der straf
1966	Matter, H.M.	De theologie van de doodstraf
1966	Ruiter, A.C. de	Ons tweekamerstelsel
1966	Jansen, J.C.	Harmonisatie van de omzetbelastingen in de EEG-landen
1966	Hollander, J.	Landsverdediging en dienstplicht
1966	Idenburg, P.J.A.	Een christelijke partij welk buitenlands beleid?
1966	Ydo, H.J.	Toonbankartikelen en atoomcentrales
1966	Cnossen, T.	t Hervinden van het fundament
1966	Puchinger, G.	Bremmers Bavinck-biografie
1966	Terpstra, G.H.	Vermogensaanwasdeling
1966	Ruller, H. van	De organisatie van het plaatselijk openbaar bestuur in een geïndustrialiseerd en verstedelijkt Nederland
1966	Ruppert, M.	Dr. A.A.L. Rutgers†
1966	Drogendijk, A.C.	Bevolkingspolitiek en wetenschap

1966	Janssens, J.	Bevolkingsdruk als nationaal vraagstuk
1966	Janssens, J.	Abortus provocatus criminalis, een ernstig maatschappelijk euvel
1966	Lammers, G.J.	In memoriam Mr. Jacob Algera
1966	Zuthem, H.J. van	Het eerste christelijk sociaal congres en het sociale vraagstuk van onze tijd
1966	Veerman, A.	Voortgezet onderwijs in beweging
1967	Albeda, W.	Over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1967	Albeda, W.	Oost en west, op de drempel van een nieuw tijdperk?
1967	Algra, H.	De electorale schaar
1967	Algra, H.	De electorale schaar
1967	Algra, H.	Noodzakelijk verweer
1967	Boer, E. de	Over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1967	Bos, A.	Over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1967	Bosch, L.	Over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1967	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Problemen van journalistiek en pers
1967	Faber, S.	Een ombudsman voor Nederland? II
1967	Goudzwaard, B.	Electorale epiloog
1967	Hagen, A.J.	Een ombudsman voor Nederland?
1967	Hagen, A.J.	Onderschrift
1967	Hollander, J.	Amerika; aantekeningen na een studiereis
1967	Hollander, J.	Over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1967	Hollander, J.	Enige opmerkingen over de organisatie van het werkgelegenheids- en arbeidsmarktbeleid
1967	Idenburg, P.J.A.	De A.R.P. en de toekomst van het partijstelsel
1967	Jurriens, R.Th.	Vijftig jaar Sowjet-regiem in eigen ogen
1967	Kooy, T.P. van der	Protestantisme en conservatisme
1967	Kooymans, P.H.	Christendom, pacifisme en kernwapenen
1967	Kouwenhoven, A.	De Kennedy-ronde, brandpunt der atlantische economische samenwerking
1967	Kuijper, F.	Christelijke politiek van A tot Z?
1967	Lafeber, A.F.	Vermogensverschillen
1967	Lafeber, A.F.	Christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1967	Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	Enige opmerkingen betreffende de economische ontwikkeling van de Sowjet-Unie 1917-1967
1967	Romkes, Jac.	Doorlichting
1967	Roon, G. van	Het Duitse verzet tegen Hitler
1967	Ruiter, A.C. de	Een kritische reactie op het stuk van de zes
1967	Scholten, J.J.A.	De taak, werkwijze en bevoegdheden van de commissie voor de verzoekschriften uit de beide Kamers der Staten-Generaal
1967	Schouten, A.	De toekomst van het industriebeleid
1968	Stegeren, J.T. van	Een nieuwe koning in een nieuwe grondwet
1968	Terpstra, G.H.	Naschrift
1968	Troost, A.	Christelijke sociale ethiek in een veranderende wereld
1968	Wilde, J.P.I. van der	Een impasse in de ontwikkeling naar een volwassen samenleving
1968	Winter, J. de	Rusland 1917-1967: permanente revolutie?
1968	Zuthem, H.J. van	Over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming

1968	Albeda, W.	Economische groei in wereldperspectief
1968	Albeda, W.	Naasteliefde en revolutie in een christelijke politiek
1968	Algra, H.	Bijdrage ter discussie
1968	Algra, H.	Bijdrage ter discussie
1968	Algra, H.	Verweerde wegwijzers?
1968	Bosch, L.	Wetenschap en politiek
1968	Doorn, A.	Welvaartsvast pensioen: eis van sociale rechtvaardigheid
1968	Groen, K.	Een injectie voor de p.b.o.?
1968	Herwijnen, P.F. van	Uitspraken Dr. H. Colijn (vraag en antwoord)
1968	Herwijnen, P.F. van	Dr. W.P. Berghuis
1968	Hollander, J.	Nog eens: over christelijke politiek en christelijke partijvorming
1968	Idenburg, P.J.A.	Nederland, Indonesië en de Papua's
1968	Kooi, O.	Een oud probleem: de opleiding van leraren
1968	Kooiman, D.	Gandhi en Nehru over geweldloosheid - een actueel debat?
1968	Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	Twee vragen inzake de politie
1968	Popta, S. van	Rusland's optreden in Tsjecho-Slowakije: een verklaring "van binnen uit"
1968	Prins, J.H.	Demonstratierecht (vraag en antwoord)
1969	Roon, G. van	Duitsland en de koude oorlog
1969	Troost, A.	Inleiding tot een dialoog met Prof. Dr. H.M. Kuitert
1969	Verkuyl, J.	Op weg naar gerechtigheid en vrede tussen de volkeren
1969	Verkuyl, J.	Enkele notities bij het rapport van sectie III
1969	Zuthem, H.J. van	De mens in de samenleving
1969	Zuthem, H.J. van	Gezag en menselijke verantwoordelijkheid horen bij elkaar
1969	Albeda, W.	Amerikaans reisverslag
1969	Baars, John van	Nieuwe Brielse victorie?
1969	Werkgroep van de Centrale Commissie van het College van Advies der A.R.P.	Bestuurlijke Vormgeving
1969	Bloembergen, E.	De financiële verhouding tussen kerk en staat
1969	Boeft, J. den	Enkele kanttekeningen bij de "Nota met betrekking tot de Onderwijsproblematiek"
1969	Brink, E. van den	Het onderwijs op stellen? Den Boeft en de Nota Onderwijsproblematiek
1969	Bruijne, G.A. de	Ontwikkelde versus ontwikkelingslanden
1969	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Prof. Dr. L.W.G. Scholten "In Memoriam"
1969	Diepenhorst, I.A.	De Nota-Posthumus
1969	Donner, A.M.	De geachte afgevaardigde. Over de vertegenwoordigende rol van het parlementslid
1969	Donner, A.M.	Beeldenstorm te Rotterdam
1969	Gosker, R.	Vóór de bocht
1969	Gosker, R.	Verontrusten en spijstemmers
1969	Hagen, A.J.	Rechtsbescherming tegen de lagere overheid
1969	Harms, J.A.	De financiële verhouding tussen kerk en staat II

1969	Hollander, J.	Bewapeningswedloop tussen de V.S. van Amerika en de Sowjet-Unie in hoger tempo? Opmerkingen over de invloed van de opbouw van raketafweerstelsels op de huidige militair-politieke verhoudingen
1969	Kooymans, P.H.	Nieuw-Guinea 1969: Een juridisch of een politiek probleem?
1969	Kuitert, H.M.	Het spreken van de kerk
1969	Lammers, G.J.	De kiezers en hun partijen
1969	Lammers, G.J.	Enkele aantekeningen over de beleidsvorming bij de overheid
1969	Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	De kritiek in ons leven (Lukas 17) (Enkele beginselen van een gespierde omgang)
1969	Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	Burgerzin (Lukas 18) (Wat iedere rechtgeaarde burgerman weten moet)
1969	Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	Openbare orde (Beginnels van gezagshandhaving volgens Lukas 19)
1969	Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	Vrede - Oorlog - Defensiebeleid
1969	Meijer, H.	Wordt onrechtmatig geweld wederom gehonoreerd?
1969	Millenaar, K.	Belastingen en verdeling van lasten
1969	Mulderije, H.	De financiële verhouding tussen kerk en staat
1969	Munster, A.A.	De verrijzenis van de staat Israël
1969		Nota met betrekking tot de onderwijsproblematiek
1969	Ormel, D.W.	De nieuwe wet op de ondernemingsraden: begin of voleindig van de medezeggenschap in de onderneming
1969	Ramondt, J.J.	Herziening wet op de ondernemingsraden
1970	Ramondt-Entrop, A.C.	Subsidiëring kerken
1970	Reinsma, R.	De invasie der kerkelijken. De a.r. Tweede Kamerleden van 1897-1917
1970	Ruiter, A.C. de	Ethiek, politiek en de nieuwe maatschappij
1970	Schaft, M. van der	De A.R. Partij heeft geen keus. Papoea's, Indonesië en Nederland
1970	Verplanke, C.J.	De financiële verhouding tussen kerk en staat II
1970	Volten, H.	Vrede - Oorlog - Defensiebeleid
1970	Algra, H.	Iets over Dr. J.J.C. van Dijk
1970	Beinema, M.	Filmen en keuren
1970	Blanken, W.	Bestuurlijke vormgeving II
1970	Boonstra, D.	Enkele beschouwingen naar aanleiding van de jongste verkiezingen
1970	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Universiteit op stellen
1970	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Vrijheid van onderwijs
1970	Drogendijk, A.C.	Standpuntbepaling inzake het vraagstuk van de abortus provocatus
1970	Drogendijk, A.C.	Wettelijke zijde van het abortus provocatus vraagstuk
1970	Geerink Bakker, M.	Notities bij het omroepbestel
1970	Idenburg, P.J.A.	Buitenlands beleid nieuwe stijl
1970	Jonge, M.W.C. de	Vrede - Oorlog - Defensiebeleid? Een bijdrage in de discussie
1970	Kooiman, D.	China en zijn boeren
1970	Kuiper, D.Th.	Dilemma's van christelijke samenwerking en radicaliteit
1970	Lammers, G.J.	Enkele kanttekeningen bij het rapport van de commissie-Biesheuvel
1970	Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	Vrede - Oorlog - Defensiebeleid? Reactie op het artikel van Jhr. Mr. M.W.C. de Jonge
1970	Noordzij, G.P.	Enkele beschouwingen naar aanleiding van de jongste verkiezingen
1970	Ramondt, J.J.	Industriële democratie, een evaluatie van twee publikaties

1970	Roon, G. van	Op weg naar een nieuw onderwijsbeleid, aan de top en aan de basis
1970	Rousseau, L.J.	Onderwijs en politiek; reactie op de nota met betrekking tot de onderwijsproblematiek (juni/juli 1969)
1970	Rijnsdorp, C.	Cultuurproblemen? De cultuur zelf is het probleem
1970	Steenkamp, D.J.	Op weg naar een nieuw onderwijsbeleid, aan de top en aan de basis; reactie op het artikel van Dr. G. van Roon
1970	Verdam, P.J.	Bestuurlijke vormgeving
1970	Vermeijden, J.	Op weg naar een nieuw onderwijsbeleid, aan de top en aan de basis; reactie op het artikel van Dr. G. van Roon II
1970	Volten, H.	Vrede - Oorlog - Defensiebeleid? Reactie op het artikel van Jhr. Mr. M.W.C. de Jonge

D.2 Authors of *Antirevolutionaire Staatskunde* and their productivity
in alphabetic order, 1948-1970

Author	Articles
Aantjes, W.	1
Aartsen, J. van	1
Albeda, W.	13
Algra, H.	49
Andel Gz., J. van	5
Anema, A.	1
Baal, J. van	1
Baars, John van	1
Bakker, J.A.	1
Barends, J.	1
Bavinck, J.H.	1
Beinema, M.	1
Bennekom, J.A. van	1
Berghuis, W.P.	12
Bergsma, P.	1
Blanken, W.	1
Bloembergen, E.	1
Boeft, J. den	1
Boer, E. de	1
Boessenkool, F.	1
Boonstra, D.	1
Boot, J.J.G.	1
Borst Pzn., A.	1
Borst, P.	1
Bos, A.	1
Bos, P.C.	2
Bosch, L.	2
Bosman, D.J.	1
Boukema, P.J.	2
Bouman-Eringa, D.I.	1
Boven, H.D.W.	1
Brillenburger Wurth, G.	3
Brink, E. van den	1
Brink, W.	1
Brouwer, B.J.	2
Brugge, B. ter	1
Bruijne, G.A. de	1
Bruins Slot, J.A.H.J.S.	5
Burg, L.J. van der	1

Buter, J.	1
Calvinistische Juristenvereniging	1
Cnossen, T.	4
De Raad van State	1
Deugerink, J.D.	1
Diemer, E.	30
Diemer-Lindeboom, F.T.	3
Diepenhorst, I.A.	20
Dijk, K.	1
Dirker, F.W.	6
Donner, A.M.	8
Doorn, A.	1
Dooyeweerd, H.	4
Drogendijk, A.C.	7
Dronkert, K.	3
Eijdsen, H. van	1
Elsinga, T.	1
Faber, S.	1
Feddema, J.P.	2
Frost, H.	5
Gaay Fortman, W.F. de	5
Geerink Bakker, M.	1
Genuit, J.W.	1
Gerbrandy, P.S.	2
Gerssen, P.	2
Goede, M. de	1
Goossens, G.	1
Gosker, R.	6
Goslinga, A.	6
Götzen, L.	2
Goudzwaard, B.	11
Groen, K.	10
Grosheide, J.H.	1
Haar, J. van der	1
Haas, C. de	1
Hagen, A.J.	3
Harms, J.A.	1
Hazenbosch, C.P.	2
Hellema, H.J.	2
Helsdingen, C.C. van	1

Hensbergen, H. van	1
Herwijnen, P.F. van	2
Heuvel, Chr. van den	1
Hollander, J.	9
Hommel, H.J.	1
Hoogendijk Jr., W.C.D.	5
Hoogh, B. de	2
Idenburg, P.J.A.	4
Jansen, J.C.	1
Janssens, J.	2
Jong Cz., J. de	3
Jong, J.J. de	1
Jonge, M.W.C. de	1
Jonker, H.	1
Jurrijens, R.Th.	1
Kaam, B. van	1
Kägi, W.	1
Karsemeijer, J.	1
Kleffens, E.N. van	1
Kleinhou, H.	1
Klinken, J. van	1
Klusener, P.A.A.	1
Knecht, T.	2
Kolthof, A.	2
Kooi, O.	1
Kooijmans, P.H.	3
Kooiman, D.	2
Kooy, T.P. van der	8
Kooymans, P.H.	3
Kouwenhoven, A.	2
Kret, A.J.	1
Kuijper, F.	1
Kuiper, D.Th.	1
Kuitert, H.M.	1
Kuypers, G.	17
Kuyperstichting, Dr. A.	1
Kwaadsteniet, A.R. de	2
Kwant, R.C.	1
Laan, H. van der	1
Lafeber, A.F.	2
Lambooy, J.G.	1
Lammers, G.J.	4
Langedijk, D.	1
Lindeboom, G.A.	5

Lord Attlee	1
Lugtigheid, H.J.	1
Mark, P. van der	2
Mathon, Th.E.E.H.	1
Matter, H.M.	1
Matze, K.J.	1
Meeder, Ch.G.	2
Meijer, H.	1
Mekkes, J.P.A.	10
Mekkes, P.M.J.	1
Meyenfeldt, G.W. von	6
Middelberg, L.R.	1
Miedema, J.P.	1
Millenaar, K.	1
Moet, J.P.	2
Molen, Gesina H.J. van der	12
Muiswinkel, F.L. van	2
Mulder, G.E.	1
Mulderij, H.	1
Munster, A.A.	1
Nederbragt, J.A.	2
Niftrik, G.C. van	1
Noordzij, G.P.	1
Nooy, J. de	1
Noteboom, J.W.	2
Okma, N.	1
Oosterhoff, J.A.	3
Oostindie, A.	1
Ormel, D.W.	2
Platteel, P.J.	2
Ploeg, J. van der	1
Polet, G.H.	1
Poot, J.	2
Popma, K.J.	1
Popta, S. van	1
Pot, A.	3
Prins, J.H.	8
Puchinger, G.	2
Putten, J. van	2
Ramondt, J.J.	2
Ramondt-Entrop, A.C.	1
Ramshorst, A. van	1
Rang, J.F.	4
Reinsma, R.	3

Renkema, P.	1
Ridderbos, Herman	1
Ridderbos, S.J.	1
Riessen, H. van	1
Rietveld, B.	1
Rijnsdorp, C.	1
Rip, W.	4
Rippen, J.J.	3
Romkes, Jac.	1
Rooijen, J.P. van	1
Roon, G. van	3
Roos, F. de	2
Rooyen, J.P. van	1
Rothuizen, G.Th.	1
Rousseau, L.J.	1
Ruiter, A.C. de	9
Ruller, E. van	1
Ruller, H. van	1
Ruppert, M.	2
Rutgers, A.A.L.	5
Schaft, M. van der	1
Schakel, M.W.	13
Schelven, C.M.E. van	2
Schenkeveld, A.	1
Schippers, R.	1
Scholten, J.J.A.	1
Scholten, L.W.G.	29
Scholtens, H.	1
Schotborgh, L.	1
Schouten, A.	1
Schouten, J.	3
Schut, G.H.A.	1
Severijn, J.	1
Smeden, B. van	1
Smeenk, C.	3
Smid, T.D.	3
Smit, M.C.	2
Smitskamp, H.	2
Stapelkamp, A.	2
Stapelkamp, M.C.P.	1
Steenkamp, D.J.	1
Stegeren, J.T. van	1
Stellinga, J.R.	6

Szabó, László Cs.	1
Tele, Ahti	1
Terpstra, G.H.	2
Terpstra, J.	2
Teylingen, E.G. van	1
Timmer, A.P.	1
Troost, A.	2
Tuinen, S. van	3
Veerman, A.	1
Velema, W.H.	1
Vellinga, J.M.	1
Verdam, P.J.	1
Verhoeff, H.G.	1
Verkerk, E.P.	1
Verkuyl, J.	2
Vermeer, W.	1
Vermeijden, J.	1
Vermeulen, H.J.	1
Verplanke, C.J.	16
Versteeg, Th.A.	1
Viegen, J. van	1
Visser, P.	2
Visser, R.	1
Volten, H.	2
Vonkenberg, E.J.E.G.	1
Warnaar Jzn., A.	2
Waterink, J.	1
Werkgroep van de Centrale Commissie van het College van Advies der A.R.P.	1
Westenbrugge, J. van	1
Wijk, H.D. van	2
Wijngaarden, M.A. van	1
Wilde, J.A. de	2
Wilde, J.P.I. van der	3
Winter, J. de	1
Ydo, H.J.	1
Zeegers, A.	4
Zijlstra, J.	1
Zuidema, S.U.	13
Zuthem, H.J. van	4
[empty]	3
Total	693

E. Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift & Politiek

E.1 Publications of *Katholiek Staatskundig Maandschrift* and *Politiek* in chronological order, 1947-48 – 1970-71

Year	Author	Title
1947-48	Redactie	Voorwoord
1947-48	Smits van Waesberghe, M.M.J.	Humanisme en Politiek
1947-48	Van Bilsen, B.	Waarom een Katholieke partij?
1947-48	Van Ginneken, K.H.	De economische toestand van Nederland en het Technisch Onderwijs
1947-48	Albering, L.A.H.	Analyse van de verkiezingen van 1946
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Parlementaire Kroniek
1947-48	Roolvink, E.G.M.	Parlementaire Kroniek betreffende het Indonesische vraagstuk
1947-48	Steenberghe, M.P.L.	De handelspolitiek der Verenigde Staten van Amerika
1947-48	De Boer, Jos	Onderwijsproblemen. Meer armslag voor het particulier initiatief
1947-48	Vandekerckhove, Robert	De Christelijke Volks Partij
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Parlementaire Kroniek
1947-48	Andriessen, W.J.	Noodregeling ouderdomsvoorziening
1947-48	Teulings, Frans	Vermogensheffing in eens
1947-48	De Gou, L.	De grondwet van Zwitserland
1947-48	Stokman, J.G.	Het Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming
1947-48	De Neree tot Babberich, M.F.F.A.	Protestant en Katholiek. Afnemend getij
1947-48	Ariens, Ant. A.	De natuurlijke rechtsgrond voor de Integrale vergoeding der materiële oorlogsschade
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Het beginselprogramma van de Partij van de Arbeid
1947-48	De Neree tot Babberich, M.F.F.A.	Suriname en Curaçao
1947-48	De Kock, F.	De politieke oriëntering der Zwitserse katholieken
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemeen Parlementair Overzicht. Noodvoorziening Perswezen
1947-48	Droesen, W.J.	De Toekomst van het Kleine Landbouwbedrijf
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Parlementaire Kroniek
1947-48	De Kock, F.	De Politieke oriëntering der Zwitserse katholieken (II)
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De Nederlands-Belgisch-Luxemburgse Douane-overeenkomst
1947-48	Van Unen, M.A.F.M.	Privaateigendom mede in verband met de medezeggenschap in de onderneming
1947-48	Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming	Het kleine boerenprobleem in Nederland
1947-48	Roolvink, E.G.M.	Parlementaire Kroniek betreffende het Indonesische vraagstuk
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Het welvaartsfonds Suriname
1947-48	Vigilax.	De veiligheidsraad en Indonesië
1947-48	Zwartkruis, Th.	De Katholieken in het politieke leven van Groot-Brittannië
1947-48	Schiphorst, J.	Over de jongerenorganisatie in de K.V.P.

1947-48	Andriessen, W.J.	Rondom het initiatief van mr. Oud
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemeen Parlementaire Kroniek
1947-48	Mes, A.J.J.M.	De herverkavelingswet Walcheren
1947-48	Droesen, W.J.	Het prijsbeleid in de land- en tuinbouw
1947-48	Schuyt, W.J.	De grondslagen van de M.R.P.
1947-48	De Kock, F.	De politieke situatie in Zwitserland (III)
1947-48	Roolvink, E.G.M.	Waarheen gaat Europa? Een beschouwing over het federalisme
1947-48	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Processievrijheid
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemeen Parlementaire Kroniek
1947-48	Kropman, G.C.J.D.	De verhouding van het rijk tot de west
1947-48	Verhoeven, Bernard	De strijd om de volkshogeschool
1947-48	Albregts, Aug.	Het vraagstuk der lonen en prijzen
1947-48	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemeen Parlementaire Kroniek
1947-48	Lucas, A.M.	Minister Gielen verdedigt zijn beleid
1947-48	Van der Valk, F.E.J.	Over de vrijheid van de menselijke persoon I
1947-48	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Overheid en openbare zeden
1947-48	Lucas, A.M.	De Nederlandsche Bank. Wijziging van haar statuten
1948-49	Van der Valk, F.E.J.	Over de Vrijheid van de menselijke persoon II
1948-49	Serrarens, P.J.S.	De rechten van de mens
1948-49	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Samenwerking van Gemeenten
1948-49	Andriessen, W.J.	Katholieke Volkspartij en Communisme
1948-49	Albering, L.A.H.	Beschouwing over de verkiezingen in 1948
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De kabinetsformatie van Mr. v. Schaik
1948-49	Snitker, W.	Staatkundige eenheid onder de Nederlandse Katholieken
1948-49	Aarden, J.M.	Vertrouwvol Beraad
1948-49	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Doelstellingen van de strijdkrachten van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden
1948-49	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	De eerste verdedigingslijn der democratie
1948-49	Scriba	Partij en Fractie
1948-49	Snitker, W.	Vrijmoedige Kanttekeningen op het Tweede Partij congres
1948-49	Aarden, J.M.	Een College van Beraad
1948-49	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Statuut van de Nederlands-Indonesische Unie.
1948-49	Roolvink, E.G.M.	Parlementaire Kroniek betreffende het Indonesische vraagstuk
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De Ronde Tafel Conferentie
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De Nieuwe Staatsregeling voor Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Oost en West in de aanhangige grondwetswijziging
1948-49	Van Grinten, W.C.L.	Nederlandse Unie nieuwe stijl
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De Noodwet-Indonesië
1948-49	Sassen, E.M.J.A.	De ontwikkeling in de West-Europese samenwerking
1948-49	Vigilax.	De buitenlandse politiek van Amerika
1948-49	Albregts, Aug.	Het vraagstuk der lonen en prijzen II
1948-49	Karmelk, R.	Geleide Economie en Particulier Initiatief I

1948-49	Nivard, F.J.M.	Het ontwerp van wet op de economische delicten
1948-49	Karmelk, R.	Geleide Economie en Particulier Initiatief II
1948-49	Hooij, Th.S.J.	Gezinspolitiek ook ten opzichte van zelfstandigen
1948-49	Koersen, Th.D.J.M.	Publieke bedrijfsorganisatie
1948-49	Platenburg, Th.J.	Is bescherming van de Nederlandse landbouw in de toekomst noodzakelijk?
1948-49	Veldkamp, G.M.J.	Kinderbijslag voor zelfstandigen
1948-49	Platenburg, Th.J.	Sociale zekerheid voor allen
1948-49	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Kinderbijslag voor de in loondienst werkende ongehuwde moeder. Advies aan het Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming
1948-49	Beyers, W.E.H.	Beroepskeuzevoorlichting
1948-49	Albregts, Aug.	Publiekrechtelijke Bedrijfsorganisatie. Kanttekeningen bij de motie van de hoofdgroep Industrie
1948-49	Van Ginneken, K.H.	Wetsontwerp ondernemingsraden
1948-49	Zwartkruis, Th.	Nationalisatie van de staalindustrie in Groot-Brittannië
1948-49	Andriessen, W.J.	Ondernemingsraden
1948-49	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Vrouwelijk personeel in de huishouding
1948-49	Stokman, J.G.	Subsidiëring van het Bijzonder Hoger Onderwijs
1948-49	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	De wettelijke regeling van de filmkeuring in Nederland
1948-49	Duynstee, F.J.F.M.	De vrijheid van onderwijs in politiek en in sociaal opzicht
1948-49	De Boer, Jos	Onderwijsvernieuwing
1948-49	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Voorlopige wijziging der bioscoopwet
1948-49	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	Richtlijnen voor een nieuw radiobestel
1948-49	Peters, J.M.	Onderwijs in de Tweede Kamer I
1948-49	Peters, J.M.	Onderwijs in de Tweede Kamer II
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Parlementaire Beschouwingen
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Parlementaire Kroniek
1948-49	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Parlementaire Rubriek
1949-50	Redactie	Voorwoord
1949-50	Klompé, Marga	Onze verantwoordelijkheid
1949-50	De Kock, F.	Nicolo Machiavelli de grondlegger van de moderne dictatuur
1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50	Sens, J.B.	De betekenis van de Gemeenteraad
1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50	Mol, J.M.	Het geneeskundig schooltoezicht
1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50	Witte, J.L.	Katholieke verdraagzaamheid en democratie
1949-50	De Block, A.L.	Grondwetsherziening
1949-50	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Verantwoordelijkheid voor zelfbestuur
1949-50	De Groot, A.J.M.	Wettelijke maatregelen tot het beperken van veelvuldige echtscheidingen
1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De begroting voor het dienstjaar 1950

1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50	Stokman, J.G.	Over het wezen van een Katholieke Partij
1949-50		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1949-50	Andriessen, W.J.	De jongste Partijraadsvergadering
1949-50	Stokman, J.G.	Het Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming en de Partij
1949-50	Albering, L.A.H.	Kader en Kadervorming
1949-50	Mineur, J.	Verplichte afstand van voorkeurstemmen
1949-50	Mineur, J.	Nogmaals de verplichte afstand van voorkeurstemmen
1949-50	Teuben, H.N.	Kan de afstand van voorkeurstemmen aan de kandidaten een verplichting opleggen?
1949-50	Albering, L.A.H.	Slotbeschouwing over het afstand doen van voorkeurstemmen
1949-50	Bruna, J.	Kanttekeningen bij het derde Partijcongres
1949-50	Pieters, J.M.	Grondslagen van de Nederlands-Indische-Unie
1949-50	Debrot, I.C.	De politieke verhoudingen op Curaçao
1949-50	De Graaf, Th.M.J.	Beschouwing over het laatste Indonesië-debat
1949-50	Pieters, J.M.	Samenwerking na soevereiniteitsoverdracht
1949-50	De Graaf, Th.M.J.	De Nederlands-Indonesische Unie
1949-50	Vermeulen, J.W.	De culturele samenwerking tussen Nederland en Indonesië
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Voorgeschiedenis van het Atlantisch Pact
1949-50	Beaufort, D.	Universele verklaring van de Rechten van de Mens I
1949-50	Beaufort, D.	Universele verklaring van de Rechten van de Mens II
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	De Toestand
1949-50	Schröder, J.W.M.	Een Europees Hof van Justitie
1949-50	Zwartkruis, Th.	De Nationale gezondheidszorg in Engeland en Wales
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Partijen en verkiezingen in Duitsland
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Over de Europese samenwerking
1949-50	Kortenhorst, J.	De huidige situatie der Benelux
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	De Russische machtspositie
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Interne verhoudingen in de Verenigde Staten
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Vijftig jaren van Europees-Aziatische betrekkingen
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Een nieuwe koers?
1949-50	Jansen, Hub.L.	Enige opmerkingen rond de actuele Nederlandse economische politiek
1949-50	Karmelk, R.	Industriepolitiek
1949-50	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Het Atlantisch Pact
1949-50	Heere, W.R.	De huidige stand van het bevolkingsvraagstuk
1949-50	Karmelk, R.	De industrialisatie en het vermogenstekort
1949-50	Middelhuis, J.A.	Het eigendomsrecht en de medezeggenschap in de onderneming
1949-50	Teulings, Frans	Het eigendomsrecht en de belastingheffing
1949-50	Kievits, J.M.	De financiering der Industrialisatie - met naschrift R. Karmelk
1949-50	Van Uden, C.W.A.	Verplicht lidmaatschap van de vakorganisatie
1949-50	De Bruyn, A.C.	Onnodige onrust
1949-50	Cerutti, F.F.X.	Het wetsontwerp op de bedrijfsorganisatie
1949-50	Ijsselmuiden, J.J.W.	De Rijksbijdrage in de geleden oorlogsschade
1949-50	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Het wetsontwerp op de ondernemingsraden

1949-50	Cals, J.M.L.Th.	Het wetsontwerp op de leesbibliotheken
1949-50	Gielen, Jos	Mens en Maatschappij
1949-50	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Het ontwerp Film- en Bioscoopwet
1949-50	Gielen, Jos	Een nieuwe bestuursvorm voor de Openbare School
1949-50	De Graaf, Th.M.J.	Parlementaire Kroniek
1949-50	Klompé, Marga	Parlementaire Kroniek, de grenscorrecties
1950-51	Swane, F.W.	De opheffing van de handelingsonbekwaamheid der gehuwde vrouw
1950-51	Rutten, Ch.	Een wettelijke regeling der Politieke Partijen
1950-51	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Overheid en openbare zeden
1950-51	Duynstee, F.J.F.M.	Behoeven onze Democratische Instellingen wijziging
1950-51	Steltenpool, Th.	Het Humanistisch Verbond (I)
1950-51	Romme, C.P.M.	Doeltreffendheid in de Democratie
1950-51	Steltenpool, Th.	Het Humanistisch Verbond (II)
1950-51	Duynstee, F.J.F.M.	Doelmatigheid in de Democratie - met naschrift door prof. mr. C.P.M. Romme
1950-51	Blaauw, J.H.	De vrijheid van godsdienstoefening in het openbaar
1950-51	Holt, J.G.H.	Wereldlijke Overheid en Kuisheid
1950-51	Van Bilsen, B.	Crisis der Europese Staatsphilosophie
1950-51	Holt, J.G.H.	Wereldlijke Overheid en Kuisheid (II)
1950-51	Stokman, J.G.	De discussie rondom de K.V.P.
1950-51	Stokman, J.G.	De discussie rondom de K.V.P.
1950-51	Horbach, G.J.M.	Het stemstelsel bij Groslijststemmingen
1950-51		Uit de redevoeringen, uitgesproken ter gelegenheid van de opening van het Vormingsinstituut der K.V.P.
1950-51		Bij het eerste lustrum der Kath. Volkspartij
1950-51	Albering, L.A.H.	Na het eerste lustrum der K.V.P.
1950-51	Van der Valk, F.E.J.	Samenwerking in de Nederlands-Indonesische Unie
1950-51	Kemna, H.	Het protestantisme in Italië
1950-51	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Europese problemen
1950-51	Kemna, H.	Het andere Rusland
1950-51	Vlekke, B.H.M.	De Amerikaanse Politiek in Azië
1950-51	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Rondom Korea
1950-51	Een medewerker te New-York	De Verenigde Naties, factor van beslissend belang
1950-51	Kemna, H.	De vrijheidsstrijd der Oekrainiers
1950-51	Serrarens, P.J.S.	Herfst te Straatsburg
1950-51	Schuyt, W.J.	Frankrijk. Ontwikkeling van het buitenlandse beleid na de oorlog (I)
1950-51	Fens, J.J.	Van Washington naar Brussel
1950-51	Michielsen, A.B.	Gezinspolitiek in Nederland en België
1950-51	Schrijvers, A.	Kanttelingen op het ontwerp-huurwet
1950-51	Van der Ven, J.J.M.	Sociale zekerheid
1950-51	Veraart, J.J.M.	Enkele voorzieningen in de Nederlandse Sociale Verzekering
1950-51	Van Uden, C.W.A.	Het uitvoeringsprobleem van de Sociale Verzekeringswetten
1950-51	Mulders, Th.H.	De Financiering en Economische gevolgen der Sociale Verzekering

1950-51	Veldkamp, G.M.J.	Sociale zekerheid beginselen en grenzen
1950-51	Verdijk, A.	Wettelijke regeling van de Provinciale Opbouworganen
1950-51	Delfgaauw, J.G.M.	Het Nederlands bevolkingsvraagstuk (Soc. Econ. aspecten)
1950-51	Lucas, A.M.	De behandeling van de belastingwetten in de Tweede Kamer
1950-51	Broekman, J.G.M.	Wettelijke regeling van het kleuteronderwijs
1950-51	Ponsioen, S.C.J.	Cultuurpolitiek, haar wezen en haar methoden
1950-51	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	De Critiek op de nieuwe film - Bioscoopwet
1950-51		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1950-51		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1950-51		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1950-51		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1950-51		De Algemene beschouwingen over de Rijksbegroting voor het dienstjaar 1951
1950-51		Begroting Sociale zaken, Dienstjaar 1951
1951-52	De Block, A.L.	Ten geleide
1951-52	Dresen, P.R.A.P.	Op welke wijze moeten de Grondrechten in de Grondwet geregeld worden
1951-52	Eijssen, P.	De delegatie van wetgeving
1951-52	Goseling, F.	Herziening van de Structuur der Staten-Generaal
1951-52	Van der Valk, F.E.J.	De Grondwetswijziging en de nieuwe rechtsorde
1951-52		Mr C.J.M.F. Goseling
1951-52	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De kabinetsformatie, nabeschuwing
1951-52	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Meerderheidsstelsel of evenredige vertegenwoordiging
1951-52	Dresen-Coenders, H.M.	Wettelijke maatregelen ter verbetering van de persoonlijkheids- en beroepsvorming van de jeugdige fabrieksarbeiders
1951-52	Berden, M.J.A.G.	Wettelijke maatregelen ter verbetering van de persoonlijkheids- en beroepsvorming van de jeugdige fabrieksarbeiders
1951-52	Snijders-Oomen, N.	Arbeid van de gehuwde vrouw buiten haar gezin
1951-52	Van Wijmen, W.J.J.	Processievrijheid, bespreking van het Rapport-de Wilde
1951-52	Van Schaick, H.H.J.	Over gemengd zwemmen in gezinsverband
1951-52	Dresen, P.R.A.P.	Drukpersvrijheid en verbod van bepaalde uitgaven
1951-52	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Het Gedenkboek Gemeentewet
1951-52	Veldkamp, G.M.J.	Arbeidsrecht voor huishoudelijk personeel
1951-52	Woltring, J.	De invloed van de Staten-Generaal op de totstandkoming van verdrag en overeenkomst
1951-52	Van Nell-Breuning, Oswald	De functie van de Grondeigendom in de Sociale- en de rechtsorde van onze tijd
1951-52	Veldkamp, G.M.J.	Arbeidsrecht voor huishoudelijk personeel II
1951-52	Andriessen, W.J.	Maatschappij, Politiek en Politieke partijen
1951-52	Petit, Ch.	Het wetsontwerp tot opheffing van de handelingsonbekwaamheid van de gehuwde vrouw
1951-52	Stokman, J.G.	K.V.P.-beleid en sociale doctrine
1951-52	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Candidaatstelling en Fractie
1951-52	Schuyt, W.J.	Frankrijk, Ontwikkeling van het buitenlandse beleid na de oorlog (II)
1951-52	Schuyt, W.J.	Frankrijk, De Ontwikkeling van het Duitse vraagstuk in de Franse diplomatie

1951-52	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Verdragen en overeenkomsten door de Nederlandse Staat aangegaan
1951-52	Schuyt, W.J.	Frankrijk, de Ontwikkeling van het Duitse vraagstuk in de Franse diplomatie
1951-52	Bot, Th.H.	Korea, Proeftuin der democratie in Azië
1951-52	Bot, Th.H.	Enkele aspecten vande z.g. technische bijstand aan de minder-ontwikkelde gebieden in Azië (I)
1951-52	Bot, Th.H.	Enkele aspecten vande z.g. technische bijstand aan de minder-ontwikkelde gebieden in Azië (II)
1951-52	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Groot-Brittannië en Europa
1951-52	Klompé, Marga	De K.V.P. en de Buitenlandse Politiek
1951-52	De Groot, C.	De spanning Oost-West en de tactiek van Rusland's streven
1951-52	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Beschouwing over de Wereldgezondheidsorganisatie
1951-52	De Vreeze, Th.M.	Het ontwerp-successiewet en de gezinspolitiek
1951-52	Van Ravels, W.G.	Bedrijfsrechtspraak
1951-52	Thunissen, H.O.	De Voedsel- en Landbouwworganisatie
1951-52	Kriellaars, F.W.J.	Nederland en de economische integratie in Europa
1951-52	Vogelaar, G.A.M.	Gezinspolitiek
1951-52	Hoogenstraaten, E.J.	Sparen
1951-52	Janssen, M.M.A.A.	Toezicht-Credietwezen
1951-52	Janssen, M.M.A.A.	Bedrijfsorganisatie in West-Duitsland
1951-52	Veraart, J.J.M.	Twee Kamerdebatten
1951-52	Van Berkel, R.Th.	Strijd om het gratiebeleid
1951-52	Verhoeven, Bernard	Begrotingen van Oorlog en Marine
1951-52		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1951-52		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1951-52	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Beschouwingen bij de Begroting voor 1952
1952-53	Van Bilsen, B.	Kerkelijk gezag en politiek
1952-53	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Verstarring of consolidatie?
1952-53	Romme, C.P.M.	Eenheid in de Politiek
1952-53	Stokman, J.G.	De Politieke Doctrine van de K.V.P.
1952-53	Albering, L.A.H.	Het Verkiezingsprogram van 1952 der K.V.P.
1952-53		Politieke Kanttekeningen, betekenis van het werkprogramma 1952
1952-53	Verster, J.	Concurrentie en Democratie
1952-53	Albering, L.A.H.	Na de verkiezingen van 1952
1952-53	Gielen, Jos	De wetsontwerpen op het Algemeen Middelbaar Onderwijs (A.M.O.) en het Voorbereidend Hoger Onderwijs (V.H.O.)
1952-53	Quaedvlieg, A.W.H.J.	Massa, Democratie en Staat I
1952-53		Politieke Kanttekeningen
1952-53	Quaedvlieg, A.W.H.J.	Massa, Democratie en Staat II
1952-53	Veltman, A.	Enquête, betreffende woonruimteverdeling
1952-53	Verberne, L.G.J.	Over Schaepman
1952-53	Wijffels, A.H.M.	Het verschoningsrecht van de journalist
1952-53	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Schaepmans wekroep in verleden en heden
1952-53	Gielen, Jos	Democratie en vertrouwen
1952-53	Romme, C.P.M.	Politiek en de Katholieken sedert het herstel van de Hiërarchie

1952-53	Couwenberg, S.W.	Staatburgerlijke vorming in Nederland
1952-53	Albering, L.A.H.	Doel en werkwijze der werkgroepen
1952-53	Albering, L.A.H.	Partij-organisatorische Vraagstukken
1952-53	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Atlantische en Europese Samenwerking
1952-53	Schuyt, W.J.	Is de preventieve oorlog geoorloofd?
1952-53	Keulemans, T.	De problematiek der Europese samenwerking
1952-53	Zwartkruis, Th.	De schoolstrijd in Engeland en Wales
1952-53	De Meyer, J.F.G.M.	Aspecten van het plan Schuman
1952-53	Hahn, K.J.	Duitsland tussen Oost en West
1952-53	Kessler, A.P.	Benelux
1952-53	Laudy, Marion	Van de Algemene Vergadering der Verenigde Naties
1952-53	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Spanning in het Midden Oosten
1952-53	Quaedyck, A.W.H.J.	Een socialistisch maatschappijbeeld, kritisch bezien
1952-53	Janssen, M.M.A.A.	De balans van een veldtocht
1952-53	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Sociale koers
1952-53	Mercator	Relaas van een veldtocht - met naschrift van drs. M.M.A.A. Janssen
1952-53	Krootjes, A.	Stichtingen, Richtlijnen en normen voor een wettelijke regeling
1952-53	Van Staay, J.A.M.	Belastingpolitiek
1952-53	Fens, J.J.	Off-Shore voorzieningen
1952-53	Janssen, H.H.	Is corporatieve ordening van het onderwijs mogelijk en gewenst?
1952-53	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Bezitspreiding door winstdeling
1952-53	Steenkamp, P.A.J.M.	De toekomst van onze loonpolitiek
1952-53	Observer	Gezin als basis van de Gezinspolitiek
1952-53	Van Waesberghe, H.P.J.M.	Doelstelling van het onderwijs
1952-53	Platenburg, Th.J.	Middengroepen en gemiddeld aantal kinderen
1952-53		Aflossing van de wacht
1952-53	Kortenhorst, J.	Het derde Kabinet Drees
1952-53	S.	Terugblik en toekomstbeeld, Algemene Beschouwingen over de Rijksbegroting
1952-53	Van Vliet, F.	De Tweede Kamer en Minister Witte over vragen van Volkshuisvesting
1952-53*	Delfgaauw, J.G.M.	Rapport Commissie voor de Middengroepen v.d. Katholieke Volkspartij. De Financiële Positie van de Middengroepen in loondienst
1952-53*	Massizzo, A.I.V.	Rapport Commissie voor de Middengroepen v.d. Katholieke Volkspartij. De Financiële Positie van de Middengroepen in loondienst
1952-53*	Platenburg, Th.J.	Rapport Commissie voor de Middengroepen v.d. Katholieke Volkspartij. De Intellectuele Positie van de Middengroepen in de Nederlandse Samenleving
1952-53*		Rapport Commissie voor de Middengroepen v.d. Katholieke Volkspartij. Verbetering van de positie der Middengroepen
1953-54	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Het zelfbeschikkingsrecht
1953-54	Romme, C.P.M.	Kanttekeningen bij twee redevoeringen
1953-54	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Een principieel aspect van de Gemeentepolitiek
1953-54	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Evenredige vertegenwoordiging en vertrouwen; een paar kanttekeningen
1953-54	Romme, C.P.M.	De verklaring van de Kardinaal

1953-54	De Rooy, N.	De Nederlandse politiek en de katholieken in de afgelopen eeuw
1953-54	Albering, L.A.H.	Gemeenteraadsverkiezingen 1953
1953-54	Gerals, A.W.J.	Aan welke zijde staat Maritain?
1953-54	Dekkers, G.J.	Verhouding overheid-particulier initiatief op het terrein van sociaal-charitatief werk
1953-54	Quaedvlieg, A.W.H.J.	Het Socialistische Plan gezien in zijn grondslagen van vrijheid en rechtvaardigheid
1953-54	Van Boxtel, Joh.	Socialisme en Wijsbegeerte
1953-54	Gielen, Jos	Socialisme en cultuur
1953-54		Ten afscheid
1953-54	Observer	"Democratie en Gezinspolitiek" versus "Gezin als basis van de Gezinspolitiek"
1953-54	Van Lier	Aan welke zijde staat Maritain?
1953-54	Elders, J.L.M.	Staatsgezag en soevereiniteit
1953-54	Kortenhorst, J.	De Staatsman Monseigneur Dr W.H. Nolens
1953-54	Romme, C.P.M.	De Raad voor Midden- en Kleinbedrijven
1953-54	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Het Provincie-program der Partij
1953-54	Rogier, L.J.	Herman Schaepman
1953-54		Kanttekeningen: het Partijcongres
1953-54	Stokman, J.G.	Katholieke politiek
1953-54	De Vreeze, Th.M.	Een beschouwing over het ontwerp Gezondheidswet
1953-54	Bremmers, L.H.A.	Principiële en maatschappelijke aspecten van het probleem der onderwijsvoorlichting
1953-54		Uit de redevoering van de nieuwe Partijvoorzitter
1953-54	Van Lanschot, W.M.W.	Overheid en studentenzorg
1953-54	Blaisse, P.A.	Behandeling in de Kamer van het ontwerpverdrag tot instelling van een Europese Gemeenschap
1953-54		Amerika en de wereld van 1953
1953-54	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	Socialistische "Internationale Gemeenschap"
1953-54	Van der Laan, Anton F.	Het Saarvraagstuk: een inleidende studie
1953-54	Smit-Vlamings, A.G.O.	Vier maar Evenwichts-politiek
1953-54	Schuyt, W.J.	Kroniek van Frankrijk
1953-54	Stokman, J.G.	Een tweede Technische Hogeschool in Eindhoven en een leerzaam debat
1953-54	Broekman, J.G.M.	Kosteloos onderwijs
1953-54	Thurlings, Th.L.M.	Koop- en pacht prijsbeheersing van landbouwgronden
1953-54	Mol, J.M.	Schoolgezondheidszorg
1953-54	Van Eechoud, J.P.K.	De economische ontwikkeling van Nieuw-Guinea
1953-54	Van Eechoud, J.P.K.	De economische ontwikkeling van Nieuw-Guinea II
1953-54	Vermeulen, J.H.A.	Crematie
1953-54	Romme, C.P.M.	Sociale voorzieningen voor zelfstandigen
1953-54	Groeneveld, G.W.	Is een socialiserende en nivellerende belastingpolitiek aanvaardbaar?
1953-54	Steenkamp, P.A.J.M.	Enige aspecten van de economische orde in socialistisch perspectief
1953-54	Rohling van Spanje, M.C.W.	"Equal pay"
1953-54	Romme, C.P.M.	Keerpunt in de fiscale en sociaal-economische politiek

1953-54	Van Nispen tot Sevenaer, C.M.O.	Redelijkheid en onredelijkheid der successiebelasting
1953-54	Dekkers, G.J.	Departement van Maatschappelijk Werk
1953-54	Massizzo, A.I.V.	Wat werd er tot nog toe voor de middengroepen bereikt?
1953-54	Maenen, Jos	De nieuwe Zondagswet
1953-54	Romme, C.P.M.	De troonrede
1954-55	Stokman, J.G.	Verdraagzaamheid en Humanisme
1954-55	Couwenberg, S.W.	Opmerkelijke Ontwikkeling in het denken over de staatstaak
1954-55	Aarden, J.M.	Commentaren op het rapport van de Commissie van der Grinten: kanttekeningen bij deze commentaren (eerste gedeelte)
1954-55	Albering, L.A.H.	De Statenverkiezingen van 1954 in het licht van de naoorlogse ontwikkeling der politieke partijen
1954-55	Aarden, J.M.	Commentaren op het rapport van de Commissie van der Grinten: kanttekeningen bij deze commentaren (tweede gedeelte)
1954-55	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De Conferentie Nederland-Suriname-Nederlandse Antillen
1954-55	Van Oorschot, A.L.G.M.	Culturele taak van de Televisie en haar bevordering in het nationale vlak
1954-55	Van Lieshout, G.	Onzekerheid in Nederlands politieke situatie na het mandement
1954-55	Romme, C.P.M.	Na-beschouwing
1954-55	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Doorbraak - met of zonder ons?
1954-55	Mulders, G.	Politiek en Apostolaat
1954-55	Van Rijckevorsel, K.	Naar een nieuw Burgerlijk Wetboek
1954-55	Delfgaauw, J.G.M.	Doorbraak - met of zonder ons? - met naschrift E.G.H. Bornewasser
1954-55	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	Sport en lichamelijke opvoeding. Onze katholieke visie en politieke taak
1954-55	Stokman, J.G.	De geestelijke ontwikkeling van Nieuw Guinea
1954-55	A.	Kanttekeningen. De groslijststemming in de K.V.P.
1954-55	Fens, J.J.	"Onze verdediging"
1954-55	Stokman, J.G.	De Sovjet Unie en de Internationale Arbeidsorganisatie
1954-55	De Hoog, B.J.E.M.	De Organisatie van de Verenigde Naties voor Onderwijs, Wetenschap en Cultuur (UNESCO)
1954-55	W.S.	Franse Kroniek
1954-55		Resolutie van het N.E.I.-Congres te Brugge
1954-55	Fens, J.J.	De Europese ontwikkeling na het wegvallen van de E.D.G.
1954-55	Süsterhenn, Adolf	De Duitse Katholieken en de Politiek
1954-55	Op de Coul, F.	Arbeitsgemeinschaft III op de Duitse Katholiekendag te Fulda
1954-55	Verbist, A.	Een nieuwe Phase van de Schoolstrijd in België
1954-55	Een bijzondere medewerker in de Verenigde Staten	Amerika, Zuid-Oost Azië en Formosa
1954-55	Schuyt, W.J.	Het streven van de Christen-Democraten in Europa
1954-55	Souren, C.J.M.H.	School, Gezin en Maatschappij
1954-55	Jansen, C.	Bij het verschijnen van een Rapport
1954-55	Godding, H.	Bijbelonderwijs op de openbare school
1954-55	Peters, J.M.	Schoolgeld
1954-55	Quaedvlieg, A.W.H.J.	De Middenstandsnota I
1954-55	Quaedvlieg, A.W.H.J.	De Middenstandsnota II
1954-55	Teulings, Frans	Vorming van Staatsvermogen: Socialistische politiek doorgedrukt?

1954-55	Bosman, H.W.J.	Het vraagstuk "Belastingen of Leningen" in de huidige Nederlandse situatie
1954-55	Meier, E.W.	Nogmaals "Vorming van Staatsvermogen": Socialistische politiek doorgedrukt? - met naschrift van Mr F. Teulings
1954-55	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	Particuliere bezitsvorming
1954-55	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	Enige aspecten van de huidige loonpolitiek
1954-55	Schouten, D.B.J.	Enkele beschouwingen naar aanleiding van de Rijksbegroting 1955
1954-55	Albering, L.A.H.	K.V.P.-voorstel voor een noodvoorziening ten behoeve van weduwen en wezen
1954-55	Mertens, P.J.Jan	Kritiek op het K.V.P.-voorstel voor een noodvoorziening ten behoeve van weduwen en wezen
1954-55		Politieke kanttekening
1954-55		Politieke kanttekeningen. Huizen, lonen en prijzen.
1955-56	Gielen, Jos	Het wederwoord van Dr B. Al
1955-56	Van Boxtel, Joh.	Socialisme en Zedelijkheid
1955-56	Kusters, W.J.J.	Het gemeentelijk annexatie vraagstuk
1955-56	Duynstee, F.J.F.M.	Regering, Volk, en Parlement I
1955-56	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Aspecten van de gemeentelijke indeling. Het annexatie-vraagstuk
1955-56	Romme, C.P.M.	Partijraadsrede 1955
1955-56	Duynstee, F.J.F.M.	Regering, Volk, en Parlement II
1955-56	Romme, C.P.M.	De oplossing der crisis
1955-56	Quaedyck, A.W.H.J.	De kritiek van Mr Daams
1955-56	Cornelissen, A.J.M.	De Vrijheidsgedachte en het crematie-debat
1955-56	Stokman, J.G.	Naschrift
1955-56	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Bestuursvorm der grote gemeenten
1955-56	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Subsidiëring van nevenorganisaties van het Humanistisch Verbond
1955-56		Politiek kanttekeningen. KVP-Werkprogram 1956
1955-56	Kraaijvanger, E.H.A.	Het vraagstuk van de woningbouw
1955-56	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Bezitsvorming en het werkprogram 1956 der KVP
1955-56	Van Doorn, H.W.	Katholieke eenheid
1955-56	De Vreeze, Th.M.	De nieuwe Gezondheidswet door de Tweede Kamer aanvaard
1955-56	Quaedyck, A.W.H.J.	"Conservatisme" en "Progressiviteit"
1955-56	Elders, J.L.M.	"Conservatisme" en "Progressiviteit"
1955-56	Langemeijer, F.K.	Woningbouw en Werkprogram
1955-56	Janssen, M.	Rijksuitgaven
1955-56	Stokman, J.G.	Bij de tiende verjaardag van de KVP
1955-56	Slootmans, Corneel	Monumenten-wet
1955-56		Uit de rede van Z.E. Prof. Dr L.J.M. Beel, uitgesproken te Utrecht bij gelegenheid van het 10-jarig bestaan der KVP
1955-56	Van Nispen tot Sevenaer, C.M.O.	Uitgeholde eigendom
1955-56	Quaedyck, A.W.H.J.	Het principe der Volksverzekering
1955-56	Stuyt, T.	Enkele opmerkingen naar aanleiding van het wetsontwerp tot vervallenverklaring van het vervreemdingbesluit niet-landbouwgronden
1955-56	Blaisse, P.A.	Vragen van handelspolitiek
1955-56	Vlekke, B.H.M.	Fantasie over de Co-existentie

1955-56	Schuyt, W.J.	Franse Kroniek
1955-56	Blaisse, P.A.	Parlement en Navo
1955-56	Hahn, K.J.	Van Moskou naar Genève
1955-56	Van Helvoort, M.	Indrukken van het volksreferendum in het Saar-gebied op 23 October 1955
1955-56	Hahn, K.J.	Duitsland tussen Oost en West
1955-56	Sassen, E.M.J.A.	De stand van de Europese integratie
1955-56	Schuyt, W.J.	Ná de Franse verkiezingen
1955-56	Hahn, K.J.	Pius XII en de internationale vraagstukken
1955-56	Visch, E.	De betekenis van de taak der luchtmacht in de N.A.V.O.
1955-56		Buitenlands Panorama
1955-56	Stokman, J.G.	Flitsen uit de behandeling der Onderwijsbegroting
1955-56	Peters, J.M.	Part-time onderwijs en verlenging van de leerplicht
1955-56	Van Waesberghe, H.P.J.M.	Hoe verhoudt zich de algemene vorming tot de beroepsvorming?
1955-56	Broekman, J.G.M.	Het kleuteronderwijs
1955-56	Jansen, C.	Bij het verschijnen van een rapport
1955-56	Pelosi, E.	Enkele bemerkingen bij de "Tweede Onderwijsnota"
1955-56	Gielen, Jos	De onderwijsparagraaf in het KVP-program
1955-56	Schoe, P.C.	Het onderwijs op Nieuw-Guinea
1955-56		Politieke kanttekeningen, rond het televisie-debat
1955-56		Politieke kanttekeningen, Belasting, huren, kabinetscrisis
1955-56		Politieke kanttekeningen, Het geestelijk fundament van de "doorbraak"-partijen
1955-56	P.	Politieke kanttekeningen
1956-57	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Is "doorbraak" een beginsel?
1956-57	Kropman, G.C.J.D.	Katholiek politiek in heden en toekomst
1956-57	Verhoeven, Bernard	Het kulturele leven
1956-57	Jacobs, N.H.	Tien jaar Radio- en Televisiebeleid 1945-1956
1956-57	Verdijk, A.	Kanttekeningen bij de groei van een Departementale Benjamin
1956-57	Albering, L.A.H.	De verkiezingen van 1956
1956-57	Van Rijckevorsel, K.	De handelingsbekwaamheid der gehuwde vrouw
1956-57	Van Schaveren, Jos	Kabinetformatie 1956
1956-57	Funk, B.	Het regionalisme
1956-57	Van Schaveren, Jos	Kabinetformatie 1956
1956-57	Van Schaveren, Jos	Kabinetformatie 1956
1956-57	Boelen, A.M.	IJ-mond
1956-57	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Bestuursproblematiek van de IJ-mond
1956-57	Vrouwenvelder, H.J.A.M.	De hoge overheidsuitgaven en het budgetrecht
1956-57	Van der Zanden, H.H.	De wijziging der pensioenwetten in de Tweede Kamer
1956-57	Albering, L.A.H.	Overheid en onderdaan
1956-57	t Hoen, P.C.A.	Het westen en overig Nederland
1956-57	Van Schaveren, Jos	Het parlement over kabinet en formatie
1956-57	Van Berkum, P.P.	Inflatie en volle werkgelegenheid
1956-57	Van Campen, C.M.	De financiering van de investeringen

1956-57	Quaadvlieg, A.W.H.J.	De economische en financiële paragraaf van het werkprogramma der K.V.P. voor 1956
1956-57	L.	Hoe staat het met de bezitsvorming?
1956-57	Blaisse, P.A.	Herstel en expansie van het bedrijfsleven
1956-57	Droesen, W.J.	10-jaar landbouwbeleid
1956-57	Hooij, Th.S.J.	Middenstandsbeleid
1956-57	Cerutti, F.F.X.	Enkele aantekeningen over publiekrechtelijke bedrijfsorganisatie als maatschappelijke vorm der toekomst
1956-57	Teulings, Frans	Financiële en fiskale politiek
1956-57	Van de Ploeg, C.J.	De loon- en salarispolitiek
1956-57	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De sociale zekerheid
1956-57		Politieke kanttekeningen, Bezitsvorming
1956-57	Bosman, H.W.J.	De rijksfinanciën in 1957
1956-57	Kriellaars, F.W.J.	Landbouwbeleid
1956-57	Van der Voort, H.G.M.	Bezitsvorming door verspreiding van effectenbezit
1956-57	Andriessen, W.J.	Het Besluit bevordering eigen woningbezit
1956-57	Bekkering, H.	Het herstel van de financiële zelfstandigheid der gemeenten (I)
1956-57	Klompé, Marga	De buitenlandse paragraaf van het werkprogram 1956
1956-57	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	De Katholieke Volkspartij in de Europese politiek
1956-57	Blaisse, P.A.	Euratom
1956-57		Buitenlands Panorama. Van Bandoeng naar Belgrado
1956-57	Visch, E.	De betekenis en de taak der luchtmacht in de N.A.V.O. (II)
1956-57	De Gou, L.	De Oosterschelde wederom in het geding
1956-57		Buitenlands panorama. De Verenigde Staten en het Midden-Oosten
1956-57	Le Brun Keris, Georges	De veelzijdigheid van het Algerijnse drama
1956-57	Hahn, K.J.	Duitsland's oostelijke bureaus
1956-57		Buitenlands panorama. Fusie van de Italiaanse socialisten? De Sowjet-Unie mist enkele miljoenen mensen. Internationale Studiedagen in Berg en Dal.
1956-57		Buitenlands panorama. Brief uit Wenen
1956-57	Hahn, K.J.	Het Hongaarse drama
1956-57	Schuyt, W.J.	De ontwikkeling van het Midden-Oosten
1956-57		Buitenlands panorama. De politiek eenheid van het Westen
1956-57		Buitenlands panorama. Koude successie-oorlog om het Midden-Oosten
1956-57	Blaisse, P.A.	Gemeenschappelijke markt en Euratom
1956-57	Vanistendael, August	Christelijk Europees contact
1956-57	Schuyt, W.J.	Straatburgse klanken over Brusselse plannen
1956-57	Van Iersel, O.E.S.A.	Wenselijk onderwijsbeleid en het aandeel der ouders
1956-57	Stokman, J.G.	Opgang en vernieuwing van het onderwijs
1956-57	Pelosi, E.	Ouders - School - Maatschappij
1956-57	Hageman, J.M.	De financiële gelijkstelling van het bijzonder hoger onderwijs
1956-57	Van Lanschot, W.M.W.	Enige aantekeningen bij het rapport van de Advies-kommissie voor te treffen voorzieningen t.b.v. studenten
1957-58	Van Doorn, H.W.	Politiewet en Burgemeester
1957-58	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Overpeinzingen over het benoemingsvraagstuk

1957-58	Romme, C.P.M.	Politieke rede bij het 75-jarig bestaan van de Friese Bond
1957-58	Pijnenburg, P.D.M.	De werkzaamheid van de provinciale besturen
1957-58	Van Campen, C.M.	De betekenis van de landbouw voor de volkswelvaart in het licht van het financieel economisch perspectief
1957-58	Brouwer, T.	De zelfstandigheid van de boerenstand veilig in het werkprogram van de K.V.P.
1957-58	Bekkering, H.	Het herstel en de financiële zelfstandigheid der gemeenten (II)
1957-58	Van der Voort, H.G.M.	Bezitsvorming door spreiding effectenbezit
1957-58	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming - mr P.J.M. Lübbers	Vestigingsbeleid in detailhandel en ambacht
1957-58	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming - drs W.J. van Slobbe	Verbreiding van de P.B.O.
1957-58	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming - dr P.D.M. Pijnenburg	Het ontwerp van de wet op de ruimtelijke ordening
1957-58	Romme, C.P.M.	Ter inleiding van het dubbelnummer gewijd aan de bezitsvorming
1957-58	Ponsioen, S.C.J.	De leer van de kerk over de eigendom in de loop der tijden
1957-58	Martens, J.J.M.	De betekenis van gespreide bezitsvorming voor persoonlijkheid en gemeenschap
1957-58	Heerkens, G.A.C.	Economische aspecten van de gespreide eigendom
1957-58	Observator	De spreiding van het aandelenbezit
1957-58	Samson, K.A.J.	Middenstand en bezitsvorming
1957-58	Van der Ley, L.A.Ph.	De stand van zaken t.a.v. de bezitsvorming in Nederland
1957-58	Kratz	Eigendom en overheid
1957-58		Sociaal-economische aspecten van het deltaplan
1957-58		Sociaal-economische aspecten van het deltaplan
1957-58	Roof, J.M.	Maatschappelijke aspecten van het Zeeuwse deltaplan
1957-58	Van den Heuvel, M.H.L.	Ontwerp deltawet en grondwet
1957-58	Van Campen, C.M.	De Rijksbegroting 1958
1957-58	Veldkamp, G.M.J.	Actuele middenstandsproblemen
1957-58	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming - mr B.L.A. van Zwieten	Woningbouw Corporaties
1957-58	Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming - mr J.F.M. Bosch	Gelijk loon voor gelijkwaardige arbeid van mannen en vrouwen
1957-58	Rohling van Spanje, M.C.W.	De S.E.R. en de bedrijfsarbeid voor de jeugd
1957-58	Cuppen, A.J.	Hofstra, K.V.P. en investeringsaftrek
1957-58		Het Nixonplan
1957-58		De Nato in Bonn
1957-58		Het congres van de N.E.I.
1957-58	Schuyt, W.J.	De sociale aspecten van de Europese Economische Gemeenschap
1957-58	Vlekke, B.H.M.	De gevolgen van de communistische expansie in Azië
1957-58	Hahn, K.J.	Ontwapening
1957-58		De kansen der C.D.U.
1957-58		Hoog spel van Chroesjtsjow

1957-58	Debrot, I.C.	Naar een Caraïbische Gemeenschap
1957-58		Nieuw-Guinea
1957-58		Spoetnik
1957-58		Nederland en Indonesië
1957-58		Nato
1957-58		Kerkstrijd in Oost-Duitsland
1957-58		Het Westen op zoek naar taktiek
1957-58		Egyptisch-Syrische Unie
1957-58		Onrust in Zuid-Amerika
1957-58		Konferentie te Bagdad
1957-58	Verhoeven, Bernard	De Monumentenwet
1957-58	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Bij filmkeuring een derde weg
1957-58	Derksen, J.H.M.	De onderwijsbegroting in de Eerste Kamer
1957-58	Van der Laan, Anton F.	"Het Westen en overig Nederland" en de vestiging van nieuwe instellingen van hoger onderwijs
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - bestedingsbeperking
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Afbouw der sociale wetgeving
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Rede prof. Oud 5 april '57
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Huurronde 1957
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Het ontwerp jeugdspaarwet
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Mee- en tegenvallers op de brede basis
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - De sportnota
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Geldprobleem bij bouwen
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Onaanvaardbaar
1957-58		Politieke kanttekeningen - Het belastingdebat
1957-58	Peters, W.M.A.	Politieke scholing en kadervorming
1958-59	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	De betekenis van gemeenteraadsverkiezingen
1958-59	L.S.	De vlottende lijn van de C.H.U.
1958-59	Quaedlyn, A.W.H.J.	Katholieke politieke organisatie een zaak van beginsel en opportuniteit, I
1958-59	Blaisse, P.A.	Sport en toto (Rapport van de dr Wiardi Beckman Stichting)
1958-59	Albering, L.A.H.	Statenverkiezing 1958
1958-59	Romme, C.P.M.	De politieke positie der Katholieken
1958-59	Quaedlyn, A.W.H.J.	Katholieke politieke organisatie een zaak van beginsel en opportuniteit, II
1958-59	Albering, L.A.H.	De gemeenteraadsverkiezingen 1958
1958-59	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Eenheid naar omstandigheden
1958-59	Quaedlyn, A.W.H.J.	Nogmaals de kwestie van de Katholieke politieke organisaties als zaak van omstandigheden en van beginsel
1958-59	Guffens, Th.M.G.	Personalisme en democratiesering
1958-59	Gielen, W.J.G.M.	Rondom het begrip Beginselvastheid
1958-59	Aarden, J.M.	De breuk van 11 december in de politieke samenwerking
1958-59	Coorens, P.J.H.	Het tekort in het Algemeen Burgerlijk Pensioenfonds
1958-59	Koersen, Th.D.J.M.	Bezitsvorming en Jeugd-spaarregeling
1958-59	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De Algemene Kinderbijslagverzekering

1958-59	Moonen, H.	Enkele gedachten bij de Zesde Industrialisatienota
1958-59	Vermaas, E.A.V.	Het S.E.R.-advies inzake de arbeidstijdverkortng
1958-59	Veelenturf, L.J.	Regeling financiële verhouding Rijk en Gemeenten I
1958-59	Meier, E.W.	De algemene financiële beschouwingen over de rijksbegroting voor 1959 in de Tweede Kamer
1958-59	Veelenturf, L.J.	Regeling financiële verhouding Rijk en Gemeenten II
1958-59	Bachg, F.H.J.	De hervorming van het ondernemingsrecht als centraal probleem van christelijk sociaal structuurbeleid
1958-59		Katholicisme en Socialisme (Gesprekken in München)
1958-59	Verberne, W.M.	Aanloopproblemen van de Europese Integratie, I
1958-59		N.E.I.-kongres te Scheveningen
1958-59	Verberne, W.M.	Aanloopproblemen van de Europese Integratie, II
1958-59	Debrot, I.C.	Een nieuwe natie "The West Indies"
1958-59		Verkiezingen in Italië en België - De tragedie van de Vierde Republiek
1958-59		Strijd in het Midden-Oosten
1958-59		De Paus van de Vrede
1958-59		De Vijfde Republiek - Bommen op Quemoy - Fanfani's nieuwe lijn
1958-59		Ommezwaai in Amerika - Blijvende onrust op Cuba
1958-59		Berlijn - Finland
1958-59	Hahn, K.J.	Nieuw-Guinea
1958-59		Race naar de maan - Portugal - Cuba - De Renaissance van Frankrijk
1958-59	Verhoeven, Bernard	Fundering van de Kultuurpolitiek I
1958-59	Verhoeven, Bernard	Fundering van de Kultuurpolitiek II
1958-59	Gielen, Jos	Het onderwijs in zijn betekenis voor mens en maatschappij
1958-59	Pelosi, E.	De opbouw van het onderwijsbestel
1958-59	Schelfhout, C.E.	Notities bij de financiële gelijkstelling van openbaar en bijzonder onderwijs
1958-59	Albering, L.A.H.	De planning bij het onderwijs
1958-59	Jansen, C.	De vrijheid van inrichting van het bijzonder onderwijs
1958-59	Stokman, J.G.	Maatschappelijke onderwijsorganen
1958-59	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Wettelijke regeling van het Partijwezen
1958-59		N.A.V.O.
1958-59		Werkloosheidsdebat in de Tweede Kamer
1958-59		Politieke beschouwingen na de laatste verkiezingen
1958-59		Nieuw-Guinea in de Tweede Kamer
1958-59		Partij van de Arbeid bezint zich op haar nederlaag
1958-59		De algemene financiële beschouwingen over de rijksbegroting voor 1959 in de Tweede Kamer
1958-59		Politieke barometer staat op onzeker
1959-60	Albering, L.A.H.	Het beleid der K.V.P.
1959-60	Albering, L.A.H.	De Kamerverkiezing 1959
1959-60	Miermans, C.G.M.	Wijzigingen van Gemeentegrenzen in Noord-Holland (I)
1959-60	Couwenberg, S.W.	De ondergang van de brede basis (I)
1959-60	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Voorbereiding der Kandidaatstellingen (I)

1959-60	Miermans, C.G.M.	Wijzigingen van Gemeentegrenzen in Noord-Holland (II)
1959-60	Peters, W.	De vrouw in de Nederlandse politiek
1959-60	Romme, C.P.M.	Verwisseling van partner
1959-60	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Vorbereiding der Kandidaatstellingen (II)
1959-60	Couwenberg, S.W.	De ondergang van de brede basis (II)
1959-60		Twee maanden kabinetsformatie
1959-60	Albering, L.A.H.	Over P.v.d.A. en V.V.D.
1959-60		Afrekening en begroting bij de Anti-Revolutionairen
1959-60		De eerste steen gelegd, sociaal-ekonomisch beleid van kabinet-De Quay
1959-60	Gielen, W.J.G.M.	Enige opmerkingen over het liberalisme van de V.V.D. (I)
1959-60	Gielen, W.J.G.M.	De strijd tussen progressiviteit en conservatisme
1959-60	Gielen, W.J.G.M.	Enige opmerkingen over het liberalisme van de V.V.D. (II)
1959-60		De persoon in de democratie
1959-60		Rond de algemene beschouwingen
1959-60		Nauwere samenwerking tussen de drie christelijke partijen
1959-60	Velu, H.A.F.	Demokratisering als opgave
1959-60	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Onbillijkheden van een kiesstelsel
1959-60	Albering, L.A.H.	Samenwerking van Christelijke partijen in Nederland
1959-60	Blaisse, P.A.	Ekonomisch perspektief
1959-60	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	Welvaartsbeleid op financieel, sociaal en ekonomisch gebied
1959-60	Zwanikken, J.	De K.V.P. en de minder-draagkrachtigen
1959-60	Andriessen, W.J.	Woningen voor heel het volk
1959-60	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De algemene Weduwen- en Wezenwet
1959-60	Tindemans, L.C.	Idee ne praktijk der bezitsvorming in België
1959-60	Ponsioen, S.C.J.	Ziektekostenvoorziening
1959-60	Derks, J.	Televisiebeleid en reklame
1959-60	Langemeijer, F.K.	De doorvoering van de bezitsvorming (I)
1959-60	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Demokratie en televisie
1959-60	Langemeijer, F.K.	De doorvoering van de bezitsvorming (II)
1959-60	Bohré, B.F.	De verlaging van de belasting voor ongehuwden
1959-60	Van de Zanden, H.	Samenloopregeling overheidspensioenen met bodempensioen
1959-60	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Enkele beschouwingen over de feitelijke ontwikkeling van de publiekrechtelijke bedrijfsorganisaties tussen de jaren 1950 en 1960
1959-60	Snijders, W.L.	De P.B.O. als maatschappelijk-organisatorisch verschijnsel
1959-60	Van der Grinten, W.C.L.	De funktie van de Sociaal-Ekonomische Raad in ons maatschappelijk bestel
1959-60	Jansen, Hub.L.	De problemen van een verdere verbreiding van de P.B.O.
1959-60	Coppes, Th.	De nieuwe ontwikkeling in de loonpolitiek
1959-60	Gielen, Jos	Het vraagstuk van de achterstand
1959-60	Fens, J.J.	Buitenlands Beleid en binnenlandse zorgen
1959-60	Alting van Geusau, F.A.M.	Berlijn
1959-60		Toumlinie
1959-60		Oostenrijk

1959-60		Oostenrijk
1959-60		E.G.K.S.
1959-60		Singapore
1959-60		N.E.I.-kongres
1959-60		Hawaii en Alaska
1959-60		Zuid-Amerika
1959-60	Hahn, K.J.	Onrust over Afrika
1959-60	W.J.S.	Afrika en Europa
1959-60		Genève
1959-60		Het sociale Handvest van de Raad van Europa
1959-60		Krises in de Westduitse Partijen
1959-60		Atoomdiskussie in de Labour-Party
1959-60		Gesprekken op hoog Niveau
1959-60		Propaganda
1959-60		Laos
1959-60		Polen
1959-60	Schuyt, W.J.	Vraagstukken rondom de Europese Verkiezingen (I)
1959-60	Schuyt, W.J.	De prijs van de vrijhandelszonde
1959-60	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Het kultuuroffensief van de Sowjet-Unie (I)
1959-60	Schuyt, W.J.	Vraagstukken rondom de Europese Verkiezingen (II)
1959-60	Faleroni, Alberto Daniel	Latijns-Amerika en de Sowjethandel
1959-60		Kongres van de Democrazia Christiana te Florence
1959-60		De Gaulle
1959-60	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Het kultuuroffensief van de Sowjet-Unie (II)
1959-60	Schiphorst, J.	De opkomst van de christelijke democratie in Italië: Don Luigi Sturzo
1959-60		Europa
1959-60		Latijns-Amerika
1959-60	Hahn, K.J.	De crises van het Europese Socialisme
1959-60	Stokman, J.G.	Onderwijs, de beste investering voor de toekomst
1959-60	Pacilly, Ch.	De Leraarsopleiding
1959-60	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	De Verhouding Overheid en Sport
1960-61		Kanttekeningen bij de Partijraadsvergadering van maart 1960
1960-61	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Een Duitse wet op het partijwezen
1960-61	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Het parlementaire bezoek uit Suriname en de Antillen
1960-61	Gielen, Jos	Zuilvering en verzuiling
1960-61	Keesen, S.P.M.	Overheid en middenstandsvoorlichting
1960-61		Politiek voorspel op de Olympische spelen
1960-61	Rogier, Jan	Willem Nolens
1960-61	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	Internationale actualiteit van de Christelijk-sociale leer
1960-61	Van der Top, G.J.	Standpunt van enkele politieke partijen t.o.v. opheffing en samenvoeging van gemeenten
1960-61		Bij het vijftienjarig bestaan van het Centrum voor Staatskundige Vorming
1960-61	Kok, T.	Beperking van het verhaalsrecht

1960-61	Van Maarseveen, Th.J.F.	De cultuurstaat, een nieuw begin?
1960-61	Festen, J.J.J.M.	Subsidiepolitiek (bespreking rapport A.R.)
1960-61	Westerterp, Th.E.	Referendum en Algemene Verkiezingen
1960-61	Andriessen, W.J.	Volkshuisvesting in de Tweede Kamer
1960-61	Nelissen, R.J.	Middenstandsnota 1959
1960-61	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Enkele beschouwingen bij het 10-jarig bestaan van de Wet op de ondernemingsraden
1960-61	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	De Nota betreffende lichamelijke vorming en sport
1960-61	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Differentiële loopvorming in het licht van de internationale praktijk
1960-61		Ruimtelijke ordening en welvaartsspreiding
1960-61	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Nederland en de Kartels
1960-61	Moorman, H.C.W.	De vierde defensienota in de Tweede Kamer
1960-61	Massizzo, A.I.V.	Beoordeling van het per 1 januari 1960 herziene tarief voor de inkomstenbelasting en de loonbelasting voor ongehuwden
1960-61	Langemeijer, F.K.	Herstel of verbetering?
1960-61	Megens, H.J.M.	Enige kanttekeningen bij een jeugdwet
1960-61	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Arme en Rijke landen
1960-61	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	De herziening van het ondernemingsrecht
1960-61		Melkgarantie
1960-61	Van der Pluym, J.M.M.	Besteding, Belasting, Beloning
1960-61	Bogaert, K.A.M.	Effecten en bezitsvorming
1960-61		Kroniek van een crisis
1960-61	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Ekonomische samenwerking en ontwikkeling
1960-61	Moorman, H.C.W.	De strategie der toekomst
1960-61		Vlamingen en Walen
1960-61		De integratie van de landbouw in de E.E.G.
1960-61		Oostelijk Duitsland
1960-61	Faleroni, Alberto Daniel	Strategie en tactiek van het kommunisme in de koloniale en semi-koloniale landen
1960-61		Partijdag van de C.D.U.
1960-61		N.E.I.
1960-61		Topkonferentie
1960-61		15 Jahre Christliche Demokratie in W-Deutschland
1960-61		Mislukte topkonferentie - en wat nu?
1960-61	Schuyt, W.J.	Afrika - E.E.G. - Europa
1960-61	Terwisscha van Scheltinga, F.J.A.	De onderhandelingen over internationale gecontroleerde ontwapening (I)
1960-61	Terwisscha van Scheltinga, F.J.A.	De onderhandelingen over internationale gecontroleerde ontwapening (II)
1960-61		Chroestjof en het kolonialisme
1960-61	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Vreedzame koëxistentie
1960-61		Algerije
1960-61		Krisis in het Engelse Socialisme
1960-61		Kennedy President
1960-61		Force de Frappe

1960-61		China - Rusland
1960-61		Verwachtingen voor 1961
1960-61	Gielen, G.	Afrika
1960-61	Hahn, K.J.	De tragedie van de kommunistische intellektueel
1960-61		Onderwijsproblemen in Nieuw-Guinea
1960-61	Pelosi, E.	Kanttekeningen bij de Nadere Nota van de Onderwijscommissie van de A.R.P. inzake het Ontwerp van Wet tot regeling van het Voortgezet Onderwijs
1960-61	Janssen, H.H.	De positie van de bijzondere universiteiten en hogescholen in het wetsontwerp op het wetenschappelijk onderwijs
1960-61		Vrij Onderwijs
1960-61	Jansen, C.	Bij het verschijnen van een rapport
1960-61	Van Driel, Joh.M.C.	Studieloon; gelijke kansen; studietoelagen
1961-62		Europa en Nieuw Guinea (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62		Revaluatie (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62	Couwenberg, S.W.	Direkteur en vakbondsleider in één partij
1961-62	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Het Parlement en de kommunistische revolutie
1961-62	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	De werkstaking
1961-62	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	Christelijk-Sociaal beleid, ook voor de jongeren een opdracht
1961-62	Maeyer, J.M.M.	Eigendom in het ontwerp nieuw Burgerlijk Wetboek
1961-62	Alting van Geusau, F.A.M.	Bijeenkomsten van staats- en regeringshoofden
1961-62	Hahn, K.J.	Heroriëntering en desoriëntering in het Europees Socialisme
1961-62		Samenwerking in E.E.G. (Buitenlands Panorama)
1961-62	Sandkuyl, F.A.	Openbaarheid bij P.B.O.
1961-62	Bornewasser, E.H.G.	Wijziging der bioskoopwet. Een "technische herziening"
1961-62	Ariens, A.A.	Wijziging der bioskoopwet. Méér dan een "Technische herziening"
1961-62	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	De R.T.C. op zoek naar de stem der wijzen (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62	Kwant, R.C.	Een kritische beschouwing over Walgrave's katholiek-personalistische gemeenschapsleer
1961-62	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Het pacifisme (1). Enkele kanttekeningen
1961-62	Verhoeven, Bernard	Het Nieuw-Guinea beleid in een nieuwe fase
1961-62	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Het pacifisme II. Enkele kanttekeningen
1961-62		Het 15e kongres van de N.E.I.
1961-62		K.V.P.-gespreksdag over Europa
1961-62	Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	Gemeenteprogram 1962
1961-62	Rutges, J.F.	Pausen en internationale ontwapening I
1961-62	Rogier, Jan	Aalberse
1961-62	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Naar een arbeidsongeschiktheidsverzekering
1961-62	Rolink, J.M.	Sport en volksgezondheid
1961-62	Van Lieshout, G.	Nieuw Program van stapel gelopen. Herzieningen bij A.R. en C.H.U.
1961-62	Zwanikken, J.	Vakkundige bezetting op zwaar departement (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62	Blaisse, P.A.	Nederlands-Nieuw Guinea
1961-62	Albering, L.A.H.	Er zijn weer statenverkiezingen
1961-62	Leijten, J.C.M.	Kunstmatige inseminatie
1961-62	Rutges, J.F.	De Pausen en de internationale ontwapening II

1961-62	Festen, J.C.	De Hoge Raad en de beperking van de processievrijheid
1961-62	Geldens, J.J.M.	Emigratiebeleid en werkgelegenheid
1961-62	Van der Pluym, J.M.M.	Woningnood en woningbouwbeleid
1961-62		Uitstel belastingverlaging (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62	Schuyt, W.J.	Associatie, moderne vorm van samenwerking tussen arme en rijke landen
1961-62		Kanttekeningen bij het kinderbijslagdebat (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62	Reijnaarts, W.H.J.	Enkele economische gevolgen van een voldongen feit
1961-62	Van Grinten, J.W.M.	Wettelijke regeling van de werkstaking
1961-62	Hoefnagels, H.	De encycliek Mater et Magistra, naar een herwaardering van het sociale leergezag der Kerk
1961-62	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Kanttekeningen bij de miljoenennota
1961-62	Niele, H.	Gehuwd of ongehuwd in de inkomstenbelasting
1961-62		De algemene financiële beschouwingen (Parlementaire kroniek)
1961-62	Gielen, G.	Het kommunisme in de ontwikkelingslanden
1961-62		De regering-Kennedy (Buitenlands Panorama)
1961-62	Rutges, J.F.	Franse Kulturele hulp aan ontwikkelingslanden
1961-62	Gommers, P.H.	De kapitaalstroom naar onderontwikkelde gebieden
1961-62	Schuyt, W.J.	Rondom enkele Afrikaanse konferenties
1961-62	Grond, L.	De hulp aan de ontwikkelingslanden in de wereld I
1961-62		Oost/west (Buitenlands Panorama)
1961-62	Grond, L.	De hulp aan de ontwikkelingslanden in de wereld II
1961-62	Gielen, G.	De Sowjet-Unie en het kolonialisme I
1961-62		West-Duitsland na de verkiezingen (Buitenlands Panorama)
1961-62		Her-waardering van het plan-Rapacki
1961-62	Bronkhorst, H.	Hammersköld en de V.N.
1961-62	Gielen, G.	De Sowjet-Unie en het kolonialisme II
1961-62	Vandekerckhove, Robert	Vlaams/Waalse verhoudingen
1961-62	Rutten, F.J.Th.	Ter inleiding van het vraagstuk der aktivering van talenten
1961-62	Kreykamp, A.P.L.M.	Aktivering van talenten - Rijksstudietoelagen. De huidige situatie in Nederland
1961-62	Matthijssen, M.A.J.M.	Aktivering van talenten - probleemstelling en toekomstperspektief
1961-62		K.V.P.-gespreksdag over studiekosten en studietoelagen
1961-62	Snitz, J.C.	De reserve om het H.O. Kanttekeningen bij het artikel van dr Mathijssen
1962-63	Albering, L.A.H.	De statenverkiezingen 1962
1962-63	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Het Voorontwerp-Arbeidsvoorwaardenwet
1962-63		Jongerencongres inzake de Staatsburger in de Democratie
1962-63	Van den Ende, W.M.I.	Rechtsgrond voor subsidie kerkenbouw
1962-63		Partijraad K.V.P. bijeen te Amsterdam
1962-63		† Drs. G.C. Stubenrouch
1962-63	Albering, L.A.H.	Naar het Partijprogramma 1963
1962-63	Albering, L.A.H.	Gemeenteraadsverkiezingen 1962
1962-63		Subsidiëring kerkenbouw (Parlementaire Kanttekening)
1962-63	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Embargo op voorkeurstemmen?

1962-63		Vernieuwing der Politieke Wetenschap
1962-63		Het parlementaire jaar 1961-1962
1962-63		Misère ouverte in de V.V.D.
1962-63	Aarden, J.M.	Mr. K.T.M. van Ryckevorsel, de "rebel" of Partijleiding contra voorkeur
1962-63		Aanvang van het parlementaire jaar
1962-63	Schneider, L.	Het Ministerie van Maatschappelijk Werk bestaat tien jaar
1962-63	Festen, H.	De ziektekosten-voorziening in het licht van het ontwerp Ziekenfondswet
1962-63	Elsen, H.A.M.	De volksverzekeringen. Een analyse als basis voor toekomstig beleid
1962-63	Mertens, P.J.Jan	De sociale arbeiders- en arbeidsverzekeringen
1962-63	Marselis, L.L.	Welstandsgrenzen in de sociale verzekering
1962-63	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Open Ondernemerschap - De groei van de onderneming
1962-63	Martens, C.H.A.	Regionaal Industrialisatiebeleid
1962-63	Droesen, W.J.	Landbouw in de Tweede Kamer
1962-63	Van de Does de Willebois, W.R.J.	Democratie en Buitenlandse Politiek
1962-63	Rutges, J.F.	De Pausen en de internationale ontwapening (3) Pius XI
1962-63	Rutges, J.F.	De Pausen en de internationale ontwapening (4) Pius XI
1962-63		Het kleine Europa wordt groter - De Britse toetreding - Toetreding of Associatie? (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		Wetenschap in China krijgt meer vrijheid (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		Coëxistentie vóór integratie (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		Ontwapening en inspectie (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		Bij de behandeling van het verslag van de Europese Economische Gemeenschap in de Tweede Kamer (Parlementaire Kanttekeningen)
1962-63	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	N.E.I.-Congres te Wenen
1962-63	Quaedyck, A.W.H.J.	Geloof en Wereld
1962-63	De Block, A.L.	Mr. Dr. C.P.M. Romme
1962-63	Delfgaauw, J.G.M.	Het Nederlandse Bevolkingsvraagstuk
1962-63		Schermutselen, maar niet alleen als "Spielerei". Wensen en mogelijkheden rond de kabinetsformatie
1962-63	Schlichting, L.G.A.	Macht en Recht van "Pressure-groups"
1962-63		Begroting 1962 van Binnenlandse Zaken (Parlementaire Kroniek)
1962-63		Begroting Volkshuisvesting (Parlementaire Kroniek)
1962-63	Assmann, W.P.G.	Regionale economie
1962-63	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Kanttekeningen bij het Verdrag tot oprichting van de Europese Economische Gemeenschap
1962-63	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Nog verder dan Pater Hoefnagels
1962-63		Het verkeer in Nederland
1962-63	Hilkens, G.H.E.	Het vraagstuk van de vervreemding van landbouwgronden
1962-63	Verdijk, A.	Het sociaal probleem van de probleem-gebieden
1962-63		Huurverhogingen (Parlementaire Kanttekeningen)
1962-63	Peijnenburg, M.W.J.M.	Het loonbeleid in nieuwe banen
1962-63	Van Amelsvoort, M.	De Rijksbegroting tegen een wisselende achtergrond
1962-63		Enig kanttekeningen bij de nota inzake het toerisme

1962-63	Van der Ven, J.J.M.	De Sociale verzekering als ontwikkelingsgebied
1962-63		M.R.P.-Congres (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		Wereldcongres van jonge Christen-democraten (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		C.D.U.-Bondspartijdag (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63		Bescherming bevolking in de Sowjet-Unie (Buitenlands Panorama)
1962-63	Hahn, K.J.	Spanje - het uur van de beslissing nadert
1962-63	Van Slobbe, Willem-Jan	De vergroting en de versterking van de E.E.G.
1962-63	Westerterp, Th.E.	De onderhandelingen over de Europese politieke Unie
1962-63	Rutges, J.F.	Regeringshulp voor particuliere ontwikkelingsarbeid
1962-63	Blaisse, P.A.	Hulp aan landen in ontwikkeling
1962-63	Kok, T.	Leerplicht verlenging - partiële leerplicht
1962-63	Stokman, J.G.	Nà het mammoetdebat over Cals' wetsontwerp
1962-63	Matthijssen, M.A.J.M.	Maatschappelijke onderwijsorganen
1963-64	Aalberse, P.J.M.	Terugblik en Perspectief
1963-64	Albering, L.A.H.	Verantwoording van partij en partijprogramma
1963-64	Van Helvoort, M.	Ruimtelijke Ordening
1963-64	Stokman, J.G.	Onderwijsbeleid nieuwe stijl
1963-64	Andriessen, W.J.	Het woningbouwbeleid
1963-64	Hahn, K.J.	Perspektieven van de Westelijke Politiek
1963-64	Winkelman, P.H.	Wereldeconomie en Nationale Politiek
1963-64	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Elementen van de economische politiek
1963-64		Het verkeer
1963-64	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemeen Politiek Overzicht
1963-64	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	De Bezitsvorming tijdens de tweede ambtsperiode van Staatssecretaris Schmelzer
1963-64	Kusters, W.J.J.	Het Nederlandse Bevolkingsvraagstuk
1963-64		Parlementaire kroniek
1963-64	Albering, L.A.H.	De Kamerverkiezing 1963
1963-64	Van Hout, P.J.J.	Het ontwerp Ziekenfondswet in het licht van de maatschappelijke ontwikkeling
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64	Duyverman, J.P.	Aalberse als raadslid (1899 - 1918)
1963-64	Domsdorf, E.P.M.W.	Kanttekeningen bij de kernenergiewet
1963-64	De Bruyn, L.P.J.	Feitelijke en verwachte functionaliteit van de werkgroepen
1963-64		Parlementaire kroniek
1963-64	Aarden, J.M.	Reflectie op de kabinetsformatie 1963
1963-64	Hahn, K.J.	Politiek zonder ideologie
1963-64	Fluitsma, S.P.	Het wetsontwerp op de arbeidsongeschiktheidsverzekering
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64	Bornewasser, J.A.	Schaepman en het isolement der Nederlandse katholieken
1963-64	Van Amelsvoort, M.	De bestedingsruimte in de komende jaren
1963-64	Gielen, W.J.G.M.	Over ideologie en ontideologisering
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64	De Kort, W.L.P.M.	Algemene Politieke Beschouwingen 1963-1964

1963-64	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Economie in beweging
1963-64	Moyersoën, L.	De jongste taalconflicten in België. Een poging tot objectieve en synthetische voorlichting
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Medezeggenschap in de onderneming. Enige kanttekeningen naar aanleiding van de studiedag van de Sociaal-Economische Commissie
1963-64	Gielen, G.	Kanttekeningen bij het kernstopverdrag
1963-64	Van der Sanden, P.J.A.	De positie van de partijraad
1963-64		Wereldcongres Christendemocraten
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64		Parlementaire kroniek
1963-64	Redactie	Kennedy en de wereld van morgen
1963-64	Boeren, J.A.	Bestuursvoorzieningen voor stedelijke concentraties
1963-64	Janssen, Joh.G.A.	Wet op de bejaardenoorden
1963-64	Stokman, J.G.	Ontwikkelingshulp en Missie en Zending
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64	v.d. S.	Parlementaire kroniek
1963-64	Boeren, J.A.	Bestuursvoorzieningen voor stedelijke concentraties (II)
1963-64	Lörtzer, G.F.	Middenstand en prijsbeleid
1963-64	Hahn, K.J.	Een nieuwe Italiaanse Regering
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1963-64	Boeren, J.A.	Bestuursvoorzieningen voor stedelijke concentraties (slot)
1963-64	Vos, R.A.	"Herziening van het echtscheidingsrecht"
1963-64		Buitenlands Panorama
1964-65	Hahn, K.J.	Politiek en ideologie
1964-65	Smal, C.A.	Sociale organisaties in het perspectief van de politiek
1964-65	Van der Donk, W.A.	Staatsrechtelijke nabeschouwing over godsdienst en kroon in Nederland
1964-65	Groen, K.	Enkele gevleugelde woorden uit de Nederlandse politiek
1964-65	Moorman, H.C.W.	Het departement van defensie I
1964-65	Moorman, H.C.W.	Het departement van defensie II
1964-65		De algemene vergadering der V.V.D. op 17 april j.l. te Eindhoven
1964-65	Gielen, W.J.G.M.	In het belang van de "C"?
1964-65	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	De K.V.P. politieke beweging of confessionele partij?
1964-65	Perquin, W.	"Politieke samenwerking"
1964-65	Miermans, C.G.M.	Een tweede randstad Holland in ontwerp
1964-65	Jansen, J.H.	De Defensie-nota
1964-65	Elsen, G.L.	Is er in 1964 nog ruimte voor gemeentelijk beleid inzake film-vertoningen?
1964-65	Perquin, W.	Naar meer democratie ook op provinciaal en gemeentelijk niveau
1964-65		"Wet Installaties Noordzee"
1964-65	Stokman, J.G.	Rondom de discussie over de Partijvorming
1964-65		Personeelsbeleid defensie
1964-65	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	Sociaal-economische democratie
1964-65	Thurlings, Th.L.M.	Landbouwstructuurpolitiek

1964-65	Sonnenschein, L.	Een semi-belastinggebied voor gemeenten
1964-65	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Bankfusies
1964-65		"Medezeggenschap in de onderneming"
1964-65	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	"Prijzen van onroerend goed"
1964-65	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	De K.V.P.-Bijdrage tot de Algemene Politieke beschouwingen
1964-65	Dorrestein, J.	Het woningbeleid, een uitzicht
1964-65	Jansen, P.J.	Naar een meer bevredigende vermogensverdeling
1964-65	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Een drietal belangrijke wetsontwerpen op het terrein van de sociale zekerheid
1964-65	Van der Gun, F.G.	Het systeem van loonvorming
1964-65		"Verdere ontwikkeling P.B.O."
1964-65	Lardinois, P.J.	De landbouw als hefboom voor Europese Integratie?
1964-65	Bakker, C.P.A.	Kwantiteit en kwaliteit in de woningvoorziening
1964-65	Peijnenburg, M.W.J.M.	Het systeem van loonvorming
1964-65	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Conjunctuur en groei
1964-65		"Woningbouw"
1964-65	Alting van Geusau, F.A.M.	Betekenis van de encycliek "Pacem in Terris"
1964-65	Blaisse, P.A.	De ontwikkeling van de economische blokvorming in de wereld
1964-65	Zonneberg, J.E.M.A.	Betekenis van de encycliek "Pacem in Terris" voor de Nederlandse katholieke politiek
1964-65	Montealegre, M.	Overwinning voor christelijke democratie in Latijns-Amerika
1964-65	Gielen, G.	Kontakten met kommunistische landen
1964-65	Visser, W.J.A.	De relatie tussen de Verenigde Staten van Europa van Noord-Amerika
1964-65		Samenwerking tussen overheid en particulier initiatief
1964-65	Hahn, K.J.	Christelijke democratie in twee continenten
1964-65	Schampers, J.M.	Landschap en recreatie
1964-65	Brok, M.F.	Uitzicht door een beslagen venster
1964-65	Gielen, Jos	Naar een onderwijskundige onderwijspolitiek I
1964-65	Gielen, Jos	Naar een onderwijskundige onderwijspolitiek II
1964-65	Baeten, A.M.I.H.	Radio- en televisiebeleid
1965-66	Matti, J.L.	De controlerende functie van het Parlement
1965-66		Politieke kanttekening: Kabinetscrisis
1965-66		Politieke kanttekening: Kabinetsformatie
1965-66	Van der Sanden, P.J.A.	Parlement en Parlementair Stelsel I
1965-66	Stokman, J.G.	Kerk, Wereld en Partij
1965-66	Vrouwenfelder, H.J.A.M.	Het K.V.P.-provincieprogramma 1966
1965-66	Funk, B.	Het gemeenteprogramma 1966-70
1965-66	Van der Sanden, P.J.A.	Parlement en Parlementair stelsel II
1965-66	Albering, L.A.H.	Reacties op het rapport "Grondslag en Karakter van de K.V.P."
1965-66	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Goud in de internationale politiek
1965-66	Bogaers, P.C.W.M.	De leefbaarheid van ons land
1965-66	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Het rapport van de commissie-Verdam
1965-66		Ondernemer en Politiek

1965-66	Nuyens, F.C.J.	Herziening van het ondernemingsrecht. Beschrijvingen over het rapport-Verdam
1965-66	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Naar een nieuwe industrialiseronde
1965-66	Slooff, F.L.G.	Vermogensaanwasdeling en investeringsloon hebben een nieuwe fase ingeluid voor de bezitsvormingspolitiek
1965-66	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Naar een arbeidsongeschiktheidsverzekering
1965-66	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	De bijdrage van de K.V.P.-Tweede Kamerfractie tot de Algemene Politieke en Financiële beschouwingen
1965-66	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Verkeerspolitiek Nieuwe Stijl
1965-66	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Industrialisatie als centraal element voor de welvaartsontwikkeling
1965-66	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Politieke Kanttekeningen: De Mijnnota
1965-66		Politieke Kanttekeningen: Zware geneeskundige risico's
1965-66	Houben, P.H.J.H.	Kanttekeningen inzake Parlementaire controle en meerderheidsbeslissingen in E.E.G.-verband
1965-66	Schmützer, A.K.M.	De Conferentie voor handel en ontwikkeling van de Verenigde Naties te Genève (Wereldhandelsconferentie) I
1965-66	Schmützer, A.K.M.	Wereldhandelsconferentie II
1965-66	Alting van Geusau, F.A.M.	Betekenis van de encycliek Pacem in Terris
1965-66	Plattel, M.G.	Het rassenvraagstuk in de Verenigde Staten
1965-66	Bronkhorst, H.	Vierde lustrum van de Verenigde Naties. Een interne visie
1965-66	Esselaar, Th.C.	De les van twaalf jaren
1965-66		NEI-conferentie over ontwikkelingshulp
1965-66	Esselaar, Th.C.	De crisis in de Europese Gemeenschappen
1965-66		De mislukking van het plan Deferre
1965-66		Succes voor CDU/CSU en Erhard
1965-66	Hahn, K.J.	De verantwoordelijkheid van de Christen-Democraten tegenover de ontwikkelingslanden
1965-66	Westerterp, Th.E.	De Europese politiek van de Franse oppositie
1965-66	Couwenberg, S.W.	De Oost-West verhouding in toekomstperspectief
1965-66		De democratische toekomst van Europa
1965-66	Westerterp, Th.E.	Het Congres van de Europese Christen-Democraten in Taormina
1965-66		Perspectieven voor de Europese integratie
1965-66	Hahn, K.J.	De nieuwe editie van de Vijfde Republiek
1965-66	Van Leeuwen, A.F.	De planetisatie van ons menselijk bestaan
1965-66	Blom, G.H.J.	De onderwijspacificatie in de praktijk. Een onjuiste uitvoering van de Kleuteronderwijswet
1965-66	Elsen, G.L.	Gemeentelijke filmkeuring in opspraak
1965-66	Miermans, C.G.M.	Vierde Technische Hogeschool in Alkmaar
1965-66		De geschoolde en gevormde jeugd heeft een goede toekomst in de wereld van morgen
1966-67	Matti, J.L.	Een belangrijke wet en een belangrijk amendement
1966-67	Albering, L.A.H.	De verkiezingen voor de Provinciale Staten
1966-67	Albering, L.A.H.	De Gemeenteraadsverkiezingen 1966
1966-67	Van den Heuvel, M.H.L.	Bezinning op het Partijwezen
1966-67	Albering, L.A.H.	De motie en de nacht van Schmelzer
1966-67	Van der Sanden, P.J.A.	De kabinetsformatie
1966-67	Van Beekum, J.	Samenwerking als grondslag van bestuur

1966-67	Hahn, K.J.	Rond de christen-democratische samenwerking in Nederland
1966-67	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	Wat wil de K.V.P. en wat wil de K.V.P. niet?
1966-67		K.V.P.-Verkiezingsprogramma 1967
1966-67	Stokman, J.G.	Christelijke visie en politiek beleid
1966-67	Bakker, C.P.A.	De eigen woning als object van bezitsvorming
1966-67	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Bouvignedag over de aspecten van de Middenstandsproblematie
1966-67	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Sociale dienstplicht voor meisjes?
1966-67	Van Esch, J.C.P.A.	Harmonisatie van de omzetbelasting in de Europese Economische Gemeenschap
1966-67	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Inflatie en fiscus
1966-67	Notenboom, H.A.C.M.	De financiële beschouwingen
1966-67	Mommersteeg, J.A.	Fundamenteel Centrum-rapport inzake ontwikkelingshulp
1966-67	Valdès, Gabriel	Integratie en vrijhandel
1966-67		De overwinning van Labour
1966-67	Gommers, P.H.	Mogelijkheden van Europese Politieke samenwerking
1966-67		Onderhoud met Dr. Rafaël Caldera
1966-67	Cloudt, H.G.	De open brief van de P.v.d.A. over Vietnam
1966-67	Huigens, G.M.A.M.	De NAVO-crisis
1966-67	Schuyt, W.J.	Frankrijk en de Europese Gemeenschap
1966-67	Hahn, K.J.	Frankrijk en Oost-Europa
1966-67	Cloudt, H.G.	De regeringsnota over de ontwikkelingshulp
1966-67	De Boer, J.J.P.	Terug naar de Europese Defensie Gemeenschap
1966-67	Grol-Overling, A.C.	Integratie tussen blank en zwart Tanzania
1966-67	Gommers, P.H.	Het Europees debat en de K.V.P.
1966-67	De Vreeze, Th.M.	Een beschouwing over de Volksgezondheidsnota
1966-67	De Heij, W.	Van Lager Onderwijs naar Basisonderwijs
1966-67	Van Moorsel, J.L.F.	Wettelijke Maatregelen betreffende anti-conceptionele middelen
1966-67	Baeten, A.M.I.H.	Ontwerp Omroepwet
1966-67	De Heij, W.	Een nieuwe onderwijsstructuur gewenst?
1966-67	Janssen, G.A.J.	Schoolverzorgingsdiensten
1966-67	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Bouvignedag over de Volksgezondheidsnota
1966-67	Albering, L.A.H.	Overheid particulier initiatief en openluchtrecreatie
1967-68	Jurgens, E.C.M.	Het verkiezingsmanifest van de V.V.D.
1967-68	Albering, L.A.H.	Kamerverkiezingen-1967
1967-68	Dresen, P.R.A.P.	Recht op vrije voorlichting
1967-68	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	De regeringsverklaring
1967-68	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Uitgangspunten voor een linkse concentratie van A.R., P.S.P., P.v.d.A. en K.V.P.-leden
1967-68	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Christen-democratische samenwerking - radicaal vooruitstrevende samenwerking
1967-68	Jurgens, E.C.M.	Christen-democratische samenwerking - radicaal vooruitstrevende samenwerking
1967-68	Schmelzer, W.K.N.	De algemene politieke beschouwingen
1967-68	Van der Burg, F.H.	Herziening van het Kiesrecht binnen het kader van de grondwet
1967-68		De laatste loodjes van het jaar

1967-68	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Inflatie, werkgelegenheid en betalingsbalans
1967-68	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Het sociale gezicht van de K.V.P.
1967-68	Van Amelsvoort, M.	Economie uit balans
1967-68	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	De Algemene Wet Bijzondere Ziektekosten
1967-68	Van Kleinwee, P.J.	Spoorwegen in de knel
1967-68	Mommersteeg, J.A.	Nederland en de Verenigde Naties
1967-68	Van Oort, H.A.	"Het Rode Boekje" en de Gedachten van Mao Tse-Tung
1967-68	Gommers, P.H.	De E.E.G. en de gouden stnadaard
1967-68	Hermans, Hans	Het twee-partijstelsel in Amerika
1967-68	Hermans, Hans	Rechts en links in Amerika
1967-68	Karmelk, R.J.	De praktijk van de ontwikkelingspolitiek
1967-68	Cloudt, H.G.	De derde confrontatie tussen Israël en Arabië
1967-68	Schuylt, W.J.	Bombardementen op Vietnam
1967-68	Penders, J.J.M.	Het Vietnam-debat
1967-68	Karmelk, R.J.	Aspecten van de ontwikkelingspolitiek
1967-68	Hahn, K.J.	Naar een "aggiornamento" van de christen-democratische partijen
1967-68	Papini, R.	Naar een "aggiornamento" van de christen-democratische partijen
1967-68	Schmützer, A.K.M.	Juridische aspecten van de werkzaamheden van het Europese Parlement I
1967-68	Van Hezik, M.J.M.	Kwestie Zuid-West-Afrika in de Verenigde Naties
1967-68	Schmützer, A.K.M.	Juridische aspecten van de werkzaamheden van het Europese Parlement II
1967-68	Karmelk, R.J.	Nogmaals de praktijk van de ontwikkelingspolitiek
1967-68	Van Engelen, P.J.M.	Jeugdbeleid
1967-68	Van de Laar, L.J.M.	Enkele opmerkingen over overheid en kunst
1967-68	Van Erp, L.M.J.J.	Jeugdservice op weg naar volwassenheid
1967-68	Perquin, W.	Maatschappijleer in het basisonderwijs
1967-68	De Weijer, A.	Het Vaticaanse concilie en de godsdienstvrijheid
1967-68	Schuylt, W.J.	Oorlog en Vrede
1967-68	Hahn, K.J.	Dialog met het communisme
1967-68	Bot, Th.H.	De ontwikkeling der volkeren
1967-68	Bluyssen, J.W.M.	De taak van de leken in het openbare leven
1967-68	Miermans, C.G.M.	Groot-Amsterdam, schaalvergroting en doelmatig bestuur
1967-68	Van Hulten, M.	De "Groot-Amsterdam"-se ruimte
1967-68	Meuwissen, D.H.M.	Bestuurlijke opmerkingen in verband met Groot-Amsterdam
1967-68	Van der Eijden, A.P.J.	Economische mogelijkheden en financiële problemen van Groot-Amsterdam
1967-68	Siegman, W.	Over de schreef
1967-68	Brautigam, E.A.G.	Amsterdam: ingedeeld of opgedeeld
1967-68	Janssens-Quant, Th.	Het agglomeratiebestuur, haar verhouding tot de deelnemende gemeenten
1968-69	Perquin, W.	Subsidie aan politieke partijen
1968-69	Beckers, F.G.J.M.	De gemeentelijke herindeling van Zuid-Limburg
1968-69	Elsen, H.A.M.	De partijraad en de christelijke samenwerking
1968-69	Van der Donk, W.A.	Het stembusakkoord

1968-69	Couwenberg, S.W.	Het DCN en KVP
1968-69	Diepenhorst, I.A.	Het rapport van de commissie Cals-Donner. Een eerste woord
1968-69	Meuwissen, D.H.M.	Het stembusakkoord: een middel tot duidelijkheid
1968-69	Boot, G.A.A.M.	Naar nieuwe politieke verhoudingen
1968-69	Ras, H.G.	"Politiek en Welzijn; Welzijnspolitiek"
1968-69	Romme, M.A.J.	Geestelijke Volksgezondheid
1968-69	De Vreeze, Th.M.	Gezondheidsbestel in discussie
1968-69	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Consumentenbeleid
1968-69	Fransen, A.G.	Enkele kanttekeningen bij het rapport van de KVP-werkgroepen over het consumentenbeleid
1968-69	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Naar rechtvaardiger inkomens- en vermogensverhoudingen
1968-69	Van Amelsvoort, M.	De rol van het goud: automatisme versus rationaliteit
1968-69	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Het recht van de werkstaking
1968-69	Crijns, F.C.L.M.	De loonvorming in de EEG-landen
1968-69	Andriessen, W.J.	De volkshuisvesting in de Nederlandse politiek
1968-69	Westerwoudt, Theo	Mogelijkheden bij de uitvoering van de motie-Engels; een vraaggesprek met dr. F.H.M. Grapperhaus, staatssecretaris van financiën
1968-69	Van Schaik, Th.E.E.	De medezeggenschap van de werknemers, gezien in het licht van de huidige ontwikkelingen
1968-69	Van Amelsvoort, M.	De economische structuur in de spiegel van twee nota's
1968-69	Koot, Th.Th.G.M.	Sociale probleemgebieden tussen wal en schip
1968-69	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Verantwoordelijkheid van overheid en bedrijfsleven voor betere inkomens- en vermogensverhoudingen
1968-69	Westerterp, Th.E.	Na het nieuwe Franse veto tegen Engeland
1968-69	De Boer, J.J.P.	Vrede en veiligheid voor Europa
1968-69	Smal, C.A.	Populorum Progressio
1968-69	Cloudt, H.G.	Alle partijen willen vrede
1968-69	Hahn, K.J.	Vóór de Italiaanse verkiezingen
1968-69	Smal, C.A.	Het wereldbevolkingsvraagstuk
1968-69	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Vluchtelingen in Afrika; een groeiend politiek probleem
1968-69	Hahn, K.J.	Lente in Praag
1968-69	Tindemans, L.C.	De parlementsverkiezingen in België
1968-69	Reijs, Jan	Poolse problemen en protesten
1968-69		Rassenoorlog in Amerika
1968-69	Westerterp, Th.E.	Tweede Wereldhandelsconferentie: misrekening of nieuw begin?
1968-69	Rostworowski, Stanislaw Jan	Samenwerking tussen Oost en West
1968-69		Nederlands buitenlands beleid. Speciaal nummer met het verslag van een op 3 mei 1967 over dit onderwerp gehouden studiedag, georganiseerd door de Nederlandse équipe van de Europese Unie van christen-democraten
1968-69	Beckers, F.G.J.M.	Samenwerking tussen Oost en West; een antwoord aan Stanislaw Jan Rostworowski
1968-69	Hahn, K.J.	Een nieuwe overwinning van De Gaulle
1968-69	Verreijdt, J.R.G.	Spanningen in het Midden-Oosten
1968-69	Cloudt, H.G.	Oost en West na 20 augustus
1968-69	Kleisterlee, C.F.	De kerken en de 225 miljoen

1968-69	Bosman, H.W.J.	Rapport-Maris, revolutie, onbehagen
1968-69	Brands, J.Chr.	Bosman revisited
1968-69	Sweens, F.P.J.M.	Een internationaal beleid voor de Nederlandse cultuur
1968-69	Bosman, H.W.J.	Democratie, revolutie, studenten
1968-69	Brands, J.Chr.	Bosman revisited (2)
1969-70	Van der Stee, A.P.J.M.M.	Christelijke politiek in 1969
1969-70	Ter Maat, C.	Pax Christi en de verantwoordelijkheid van de christen - met naschrift C.F. Kleisterlee
1969-70	Sweens, F.P.J.M.	Het stembusakkoord: een pseudo-antwoord
1969-70	Van Raalte, E.	Koning, kabinetsformatie, stembusakkoord - met naschrift Prof. mr. J. van der Hoeven
1969-70	Buijs, Rini	De jongeren in (de Nederlandse) politiek
1969-70	Crijnen, Ton	De jongeren in (de Nederlandse) politiek
1969-70	Van Duijn, Dick	De jongeren in (de Nederlandse) politiek
1969-70	Stienen, Jac.	De jongeren in (de Nederlandse) politiek
1969-70	De Bruyn, L.P.J.	Partijen: Verbonden Delen. Een onderzoek naar relaties tussen de aanhang van diverse partijen
1969-70	Letschert, H.B.P.A.	De politiek der plaatsnamen, Retour Arnhem
1969-70	Couwenberg, S.W.	De invloed van maatschappelijke organisaties in de politiek
1969-70	Beckers, F.G.J.M.	Het vrijheidsbegrip en de politieke praktijk
1969-70	Westerwoudt, Theo	Kerk, KVP en maatschappijvernieuwing. Een vraaggesprek met Prof. Steenkamp
1969-70	Koot, Th.Th.G.M.	Stadsgewestbestuur voor optimaal leefklimaat
1969-70	Koot, Th.Th.G.M.	Nota bestuurlijke organisatie: constatering geen prospect
1969-70	Beckers, F.G.J.M.	Zuid-Limburg weer eens heringedeeld
1969-70	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	De rapporten van de groep van achttien
1969-70	Koot, Th.Th.G.M.	Budget en Boeman in een wonderlijke verhouding
1969-70	Visser, W.J.A.	Ontwerp-kernprogramma: opdracht en wens
1969-70	Pen, J.	Bedrijfsdemocratie: een illusie?
1969-70	Leijten, J.C.M.	Huwelijksband en wet
1969-70	Heisterkamp, Th.W.A.M.	De vernieuwingen in de ondernemingsvormen
1969-70	Van Kleinwee, P.J.	Spoor naar 1975
1969-70	Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	Politieke kanttekening rond een initiatief-ontwerp (PvdA-voorstel van wet tot beteugeling van de grondprijzen)
1969-70	De Roos, W.A.A.M.	Parlementaire enquête en economische macht
1969-70	Bakker, C.P.A.	Toeneming van de belastingdruk voor grote gezinnen
1969-70	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Het stakingsrecht
1969-70	Van Kleinwee, P.J.	Een nieuwe vervoerspolitieke conceptie noodzakelijk
1969-70	Tjeerdema, R.C.	Bevordering van het toerisme in Nederland
1969-70	Gommers, P.H.	De loon-prijsspiraal
1969-70	Elsenburg, Th.C.M.A.	Woonruimteproductie en stadssanering
1969-70	Smal, C.A.	Arbeidsvoorwaarden in de detailhandel
1969-70	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	De sociale grondrechten
1969-70	Slooff, F.L.G.	Een op de toekomst gericht inkomens- en vermogensbeleid
1969-70	Bakker, C.P.A.	Enige financiële aspecten van de verbetering van de volkshuishouding

1969-70	Huizing, P.	Financiële betrekkingen tussen staat en kerken
1969-70	Cornelissens, J.A.M.	Het SER-advies over de herziening van het ondernemingsrecht
1969-70	Van Duyn, A.A.	Enkele recente ontwikkelingen in de internationale monetaire wereld
1969-70	Van Grevenstein, J.A.U.M.	De presentatie van de Nederlandse cultuur in het buitenland
1969-70	Loeff, J.H.A.M.	De toekomst van Euratom
1969-70	Cloudt, H.G.	Portugal, Angola, Mozambique. Guinee; Een boek en een rapport
1969-70	Schuyt, W.J.	Europees politiek overleg en een nucleaire ontsporing
1969-70	Velu, H.A.F.	Ontwikkelingshulp in Nederland
1969-70	Horbach, L.J.C.	Internationaal regionaal economisch beleid
1969-70	Van Duyn, A.A.	Enkele ontwikkelingen in de internationale monetaire wereld
1969-70	Ter Woorst, G.J.	De problematiek van het wetenschappelijk onderwijs
1969-70	Kleisterlee, C.F.	Vorming voor de werkende jeugd, een prioriteit
1969-70	Rademaker, L.	Medebeslissingsrecht van studenten
1969-70	Kooymans, P.H.	Een brief die aankomt
1970-71	Couwenberg, S.W.	Waar moet het met Europa naar toe?
1970-71	Van Roon, G.	Het Duitse vraagstuk
1970-71	Van Hulst, J.W.	Europa's toekomst: economisch, sociaal, cultureel
1970-71	Rapporteurs	Verslagen van de discussies in de gespreksgroepen
1970-71	Beckers, F.G.J.M.	Verslag van de forumdiscussie
1970-71	Munnichs, J.M.A.	Ouder worden en bejaard zijn
1970-71	Janssen, A.M.A.J.	Het bejaardenbeleid en de rijksoverheid
1970-71	Van de Sande, F.	De maatschappij en de oude bevolking
1970-71	Paalvast, H.A.	Bejaarden in hun vrije tijd
1970-71	Van der Does-Enthoven, V.I.	De bejaarden in het verkeer
1970-71		De Amerikaanse Bejaardenwet van 1965
1970-71		Nomenclatuur van accommodaties voor bejaarden
1970-71		Enkele statistische gegevens betreffende de oudere bevolking
1970-71	Redactie	Woord vooraf van de redactie
1970-71	Veringa, G.H.	Een woord ter inleiding
1970-71	Beugels, Paul	Waar is ons plan voor een systematisch cultuurbeleid?
1970-71	Van Riemsdijk, J.	Kunstbeleid: mogelijk of onmogelijk
1970-71	Leering, J.	De kunst in een moeilijke situatie
1970-71	Sies, Ben	Cultuur-beleid in stad en regio?
1970-71	Gielen, H.B.M.W.	Cultuur Politiek in de kleine gemeente
1970-71	Van Engelen, P.J.M.	Functie van het jeugdwerk in het cultuurpatroon
1970-71	Van der Harten, J.D.	Cultuur en ruimtelijke ordening
1970-71	Gommers, P.H.	Het conflict, culturele ontwikkeling - economische groei

E.2 Authors of *Katholiek Staatkundig Maandschrift* and *Politiek* and their productivity
in alphabetic order, 1947-48 – 1970-71

Author	Articles
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Beugels, Paul	1
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Boelen, A.M.	1
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Bohré, B.F.	1
Boot, G.A.A.M.	1
Bornewasser, E.H.G.	16
Bornewasser, J.A.	1
Bosman, H.W.J.	4
Bot, Th.H.	4
Brands, J.Chr.	2
Brautigam, E.A.G.	1
Bremmers, L.H.A.	1
Broekman, J.G.M.	3
Brok, M.F.	1
Bronkhorst, H.	2
Brouwer, T.	1

Bruna, J.	1
Buijs, Rini	1
Cals, J.M.L.Th.	1
Centrum voor Staatkundige Vorming	13
Cerutti, F.F.X.	2
Cloudt, H.G.	6
Coorens, P.J.H.	1
Coppes, Th.	1
Cornelissen, A.J.M.	1
Cornelissens, J.A.M.	22
Couwenberg, S.W.	9
Crijnen, Ton	1
Crijns, F.C.L.M.	7
Cuppen, A.J.	1
De Block, A.L.	3
De Boer, J.J.P.	2
De Boer, Jos	2
De Bruyn, A.C.	1
De Bruyn, L.P.J.	2
De Gou, L.	2
De Graaf, Th.M.J.	3
De Groot, A.J.M.	1
De Groot, C.	1
De Heij, W.	2
De Hoog, B.J.E.M.	1
De Kock, F.	4
De Kort, W.L.P.M.	33
De Meyer, J.F.G.M.	1
De Neree tot Babberich, M.F.F.A.	2
De Roos, W.A.A.M.	1
De Rooy, N.	1
De Vreeze, Th.M.	5
De Weijer, A.	1
Debrot, I.C.	3
Dekkers, G.J.	2
Delfgaauw, J.G.M.	4
Derks, J.	1
Derksen, J.H.M.	1
Diepenhorst, I.A.	1
Domsdorf, E.P.M.W.	1

Dorrestein, J.	1
Dresen, P.R.A.P.	3
Dresen-Coenders, H.M.	1
Droesen, W.J.	4
Duynstee, F.J.F.M.	5
Duyverman, J.P.	1
Een bijzondere medewerker in de Verenigde Staten	1
Een medewerker te New-York	1
Eijssen, P.	1
Elders, J.L.M.	2
Elsen, G.L.	2
Elsen, H.A.M.	2
Elsenburg, Th.C.M.A.	1
Esselaar, Th.C.	2
Faleroni, Alberto Daniel	2
Fens, J.J.	5
Festen, H.	1
Festen, J.C.	1
Festen, J.J.J.M.	1
Fluitsma, S.P.	1
Fransen, A.G.	1
Funk, B.	2
Geldens, J.J.M.	1
Gerals, A.W.J.	1
Gielen, G.	6
Gielen, H.B.M.W.	1
Gielen, Jos	12
Gielen, W.J.G.M.	6
Godding, H.	1
Gommers, P.H.	6
Goseling, F.	1
Groen, K.	1
Groeneveld, G.W.	1
Grol-Overling, A.C.	1
Grond, L.	2
Guffens, Th.M.G.	1
Hageman, J.M.	1
Hahn, K.J.	27
Heere, W.R.	1
Heerkens, G.A.C.	1
Heisterkamp, Th.W.A.M.	1
Hermans, Hans	2
Hilkens, G.H.E.	1

Hoefnagels, H.	1
Holt, J.G.H.	2
Hoogenstraaten, E.J.	1
Hooij, Th.S.J.	2
Horbach, G.J.M.	1
Horbach, L.J.C.	1
Houben, P.H.J.H.	1
Huigens, G.M.A.M.	1
Huizing, P.	1
Ijsselmuiden, J.J.W.	1
Jacobs, N.H.	1
Jansen, C.	4
Jansen, Hub.L.	2
Jansen, J.H.	1
Jansen, P.J.	1
Janssen, A.M.A.J.	1
Janssen, G.A.J.	1
Janssen, H.H.	2
Janssen, Joh.G.A.	1
Janssen, M.	1
Janssen, M.M.A.A.	3
Janssens-Quant, Th.	1
Jurgens, E.C.M.	2
Karmelk, R.	4
Karmelk, R.J.	3
Keesen, S.P.M.	1
Kemna, H.	3
Kessler, A.P.	1
Keulemans, T.	1
Kievits, J.M.	1
Kleisterlee, C.F.	2
Klompé, Marga	4
Koersen, Th.D.J.M.	2
Kok, T.	2
Koot, Th.Th.G.M.	4
Kooymans, P.H.	1
Kortenhorst, J.	3
Kraaijvanger, E.H.A.	1
Kratz	1
Kreykamp, A.P.L.M.	1
Kriellaars, F.W.J.	2
Krootjes, A.	1
Kropman, G.C.J.D.	2
Kusters, W.J.J.	2

Kwant, R.C.	1
L.	1
L.S.	1
Langemeijer, F.K.	4
Lardinois, P.J.	1
Laudy, Marion	1
Le Brun Keris, Georges	1
Leering, J.	1
Leijten, J.C.M.	2
Letschert, H.B.P.A.	1
Loeff, J.H.A.M.	1
Lörtzer, G.F.	1
Lucas, A.M.	3
Maenen, Jos	1
Maeyer, J.M.M.	1
Marselis, L.L.	1
Martens, C.H.A.	1
Martens, J.J.M.	1
Massizzo, A.I.V.	3
Matthijssen, M.A.J.M.	2
Matti, J.L.	2
Megens, H.J.M.	1
Meier, E.W.	2
Mercator	1
Mertens, P.J.Jan	2
Mes, A.J.J.M.	1
Meuwissen, D.H.M.	2
Michielsen, A.B.	1
Middelhuis, J.A.	1
Miermans, C.G.M.	5
Mineur, J.	2
Mol, J.M.	2
Mommersteeg, J.A.	2
Montealegre, M.	1
Moonen, H.	1
Moorman, H.C.W.	4
Moyersoën, L.	1
Mulders, G.	1
Mulders, Th.H.	1
Munnichs, J.M.A.	1
Nelissen, R.J.	1
Niele, H.	1
Nivard, F.J.M.	1
Notenboom, H.A.C.M.	1

Nuyens, F.C.J.	1
Observator	1
Observer	2
Op de Coul, F.	1
P.	1
Paalvast, H.A.	1
Pacilly, Ch.	1
Papini, R.	1
Peijnenburg, M.W.J.M.	2
Pelosi, E.	4
Pen, J.	1
Penders, J.J.M.	1
Perquin, W.	4
Peters, J.M.	4
Peters, W.	1
Peters, W.M.A.	1
Petit, Ch.	1
Pieters, J.M.	2
Pijnenburg, P.D.M.	1
Platenburg, Th.J.	4
Plattel, M.G.	1
Ponsioen, S.C.J.	3
Quaadvlieg, A.W.H.J.	14
Rademaker, L.	1
Rapporteurs	1
Ras, H.G.	1
Redactie	4
Reijnaarts, W.H.J.	1
Reijs, Jan	1
Rogier, Jan	2
Rogier, L.J.	1
Rohling van Spanje, M.C.W.	2
Rolink, J.M.	1
Romme, C.P.M.	16
Romme, M.A.J.	1
Roof, J.M.	1
Roolvink, E.G.M.	4
Rostworowski, Stanislaw Jan	1
Rutges, J.F.	6
Rutten, Ch.	1
Rutten, F.J.Th.	1
S.	1
Samson, K.A.J.	1
Sandkuyl, F.A.	1

Sassen, E.M.J.A.	2
Schampers, J.M.	1
Schelfhout, C.E.	1
Schiphorst, J.	2
Schlichting, L.G.A.	7
Schmelzer, W.K.N.	12
Schmützer, A.K.M.	4
Schneider, L.	1
Schoe, P.C.	1
Schouten, D.B.J.	1
Schrijvers, A.	1
Schröder, J.W.M.	1
Schuyt, W.J.	23
Scriba	1
Sens, J.B.	1
Serrarens, P.J.S.	2
Siegman, W.	1
Sies, Ben	1
Slooff, F.L.G.	2
Slootmans, Corneel	1
Smal, C.A.	4
Smits van Waesberghe, M.M.J.	1
Smit-Vlamings, A.G.O.	1
Snijders, W.L.	1
Snijders-Oomen, N.	1
Snitker, W.	2
Snitz, J.C.	1
Sonnenschein, L.	1
Souren, C.J.M.H.	1
Steenberghe, M.P.L.	1
Steenkamp, P.A.J.M.	2
Steltenpool, Th.	2
Stienen, Jac.	1
Stokman, J.G.	25
Stuyt, T.	1
Süsterhenn, Adolf	1
Swane, F.W.	1
Sweens, F.P.J.M.	2
t Hoen, P.C.A.	1
Ter Maat, C.	1
Ter Woorst, G.J.	1
Terwisscha van Scheltinga, F.J.A.	2
Teuben, H.N.	1
Teulings, Frans	4

Thunissen, H.O.	1
Thurlings, Th.L.M.	2
Tindemans, L.C.	2
Tjeerdema, R.C.	1
v.d. S.	1
Valdès, Gabriel	1
Van Amelsvoort, M.	14
Van Beekum, J.	1
Van Berkel, R.Th.	1
Van Berkum, P.P.	1
Van Bilsen, B.	3
Van Boxtel, Joh.	2
Van Campen, C.M.	3
Van de Does de Willebois, W.R.J.	1
Van de Laar, L.J.M.	1
Van de Ploeg, C.J.	1
Van de Sande, F.	1
Van de Zanden, H.	1
Van den Ende, W.M.I.	1
Van den Heuvel, M.H.L.	2
Van der Burg, F.H.	1
Van der Does-Enthoven, V.I.	1
Van der Donk, W.A.	2
Van der Eijden, A.P.J.	1
Van der Grinten, W.C.L.	1
Van der Gun, F.G.	1
Van der Harten, J.D.	1
Van der Heyden, J.J.F.M.	16
Van der Laan, Anton F.	2
Van der Ley, L.A.Ph.	1
Van der Pluym, J.M.M.	2
Van der Sanden, P.J.A.	4
Van der Stee, A.P.J.M.M.	1
Van der Top, G.J.	1
Van der Valk, F.E.J.	4
Van der Ven, J.J.M.	2
Van der Voort, H.G.M.	2
Van der Zanden, H.H.	1
Van Doorn, H.W.	2
Van Driel, Joh.M.C.	1
Van Duijn, Dick	1
Van Duyn, A.A.	2
Van Eechoud, J.P.K.	2
Van Engelen, P.J.M.	2

Van Erp, L.M.J.J.	1
Van Esch, J.C.P.A.	1
Van Ginneken, K.H.	2
Van Grevenstein, J.A.U.M.	1
Van Grinten, J.W.M.	1
Van Grinten, W.C.L.	1
Van Haren, C.Ch.A.	14
Van Helvoort, M.	2
Van Hezik, M.J.M.	1
Van Hout, P.J.J.	1
Van Hulst, J.W.	1
Van Hulten, M.	1
Van Iersel, O.E.S.A.	1
Van Kleinwee, P.J.	3
Van Lanschot, W.M.W.	2
Van Leeuwen, A.F.	1
Van Lier	1
Van Lieshout, G.	2
Van Maarseveen, Th.J.F.	1
Van Moorsel, J.L.F.	1
Van Nell-Breuning, Oswald	1
Van Nispen tot Sevenaer, C.M.O.	2
Van Oorschot, A.L.G.M.	1
Van Oort, H.A.	1
Van Raalte, E.	1
Van Ravels, W.G.	1
Van Riemsdijk, J.	1
Van Rijckevorsel, K.	2
Van Roon, G.	1
Van Schaick, H.H.J.	1
Van Schaik, Th.E.E.	1
Van Schaveren, Jos	4
Van Slobbe, Willem-Jan	1
Van Staay, J.A.M.	1
Van Uden, C.W.A.	2
Van Unen, M.A.F.M.	1
Van Vliet, F.	1
Van Waesberghe, H.P.J.M.	2
Van Wijmen, W.J.J.	1

Vandekerckhove, Robert	2
Vanistendael, August	1
Veelenturf, L.J.	2
Veldkamp, G.M.J.	5
Veltman, A.	1
Velu, H.A.F.	2
Veraart, J.J.M.	2
Verberne, L.G.J.	1
Verberne, W.M.	2
Verbist, A.	1
Verdijk, A.	3
Verhoeven, Bernard	7
Veringa, G.H.	1
Vermaas, E.A.V.	1
Vermeulen, J.H.A.	1
Vermeulen, J.W.	1
Verreijdt, J.R.G.	8
Verster, J.	1
Vigilax.	2
Visch, E.	2
Visser, W.J.A.	2
Vlekke, B.H.M.	19
Vogelaar, G.A.M.	1
Vos, R.A.	1
Vrouwenvelder, H.J.A.M.	2
W.J.S.	1
W.S.	1
Westerterp, Th.E.	6
Westerwoudt, Theo	2
Wijffels, A.H.M.	1
Winkelman, P.H.	1
Witte, J.L.	1
Woltring, J.	1
Zonneberg, J.E.M.A.	1
Zwanikken, J.	2
Zwartkruis, Th.	4
[empty]	208
Total	1233

F. ORDO

F.1 Authors of *ORDO* in chronological order, 1948 – 1970

Author	Year	Number
Edith Eucken	1948	ORDO I
F.A. Hayek	1948	ORDO I
Walter Eucken	1948	ORDO I
Fritz W. Meyer	1948	ORDO I
Alfred Müller-Armack	1948	ORDO I
Wilhelm Röpke	1948	ORDO I
Leonhard Miksch	1948	ORDO I
Franz Böhm	1948	ORDO I
Karl Josef Partsch	1948	ORDO I
Wilhelm Röpke	1948	ORDO I
Hans Otto Lenel	1948	ORDO I
Heinrich Irmeler	1948	ORDO I
Hans Otto Lenel	1948	ORDO I
Walter Eucken	1949	ORDO II
Alexander Rüstow	1949	ORDO II
Albert Hahn	1949	ORDO II
Heinrich v. Stackelberg†	1949	ORDO II
Friedrich A. Lutz	1949	ORDO II
K. Paul Hensel	1949	ORDO II
Gernot Gather	1949	ORDO II
Leonhard Miksch	1949	ORDO II
Fritz W. Meyer	1949	ORDO II
Heinrich Irmeler	1949	ORDO II
Martin Wiebel	1949	ORDO II
Hans Otto Lenel	1949	ORDO II
Franz Böhm	1950	ORDO III
Walter Eucken	1950	ORDO III
Karl Friedrich Maier	1950	ORDO III
Leonhard Miksch	1950	ORDO III
Heinrich Kronstein	1950	ORDO III
Otto von Mering	1950	ORDO III
Günter Schmolders	1950	ORDO III
Alfons Schmitt	1950	ORDO III
O. von Nell-Breuning	1950	ORDO III
Burkhardt Röper	1950	ORDO III
Alfred Müller-Armack	1950	ORDO III
Wilhelm Röpke	1950	ORDO III
Carlo Antoni	1950	ORDO III
Otto Veit	1950	ORDO III
Wilhelm Grewe	1950	ORDO III
Hans Otto Lenel	1950	ORDO III
Hans Herbert Götz	1950	ORDO III
Hans Ilau	1950	ORDO III
Heinrich Irmeler	1950	ORDO III
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1950	ORDO III
K. Paul Hensel	1952	ORDO IV
Franz Böhm	1952	ORDO IV
Karl Friedrich Maier	1952	ORDO IV
Wilhelm Röpke	1952	ORDO IV
Friedrich A. Lutz	1952	ORDO IV
Fritz W. Meyer	1952	ORDO IV
Alfred Klutmann	1952	ORDO IV
Alexander Rüstow	1952	ORDO IV
Erich Achterberg	1952	ORDO IV
Volkmar Muthesius	1952	ORDO IV
Carlo Antoni	1952	ORDO IV
Hans Otto Lenel	1952	ORDO IV
Heinrich Rittershausen	1952	ORDO IV
Harold Rasch	1952	ORDO IV
Bernhard Pfister	1952	ORDO IV
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1952	ORDO IV
Otto Veit	1953	ORDO V
Karl Friedrich Maier	1953	ORDO V
Wilhelm Röpke	1953	ORDO V
Fritz Machlup	1953	ORDO V
Volkmar Muthesius	1953	ORDO V
Karl G. Gehnich	1953	ORDO V
Joseph Höffner	1953	ORDO V
Günter Schmolders	1953	ORDO V
Friedrich A. Lutz	1953	ORDO V
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1953	ORDO V
Erwin von Beckerath	1953	ORDO V
Otto Veit	1953	ORDO V
Hans Willgerodt	1953	ORDO V
Leonhard Gleske	1953	ORDO V
Hans Otto Lenel	1953	ORDO V
Heinrich Irmeler	1953	ORDO V

Rainer J. Willeke	1953	ORDO V
Constantin von Dietze	1953	ORDO V
Fritz M. Meyer	1953	ORDO V
Hans Otto Lenel	1953	ORDO V
Harold Rasch	1953	ORDO V
Ernst Bieri	1953	ORDO V
F.A. Hayek	1954	ORDO VI
Karl Josef Partsch	1954	ORDO VI
Otto Veit	1954	ORDO VI
Friedrich A. Lutz	1954	ORDO VI
Fritz W. Meyer	1954	ORDO VI
Wolfgang Berkefeld	1954	ORDO VI
Gerhard Winterberger	1954	ORDO VI
Carl Zimmerer	1954	ORDO VI
Wilfried Guth	1954	ORDO VI
Ernst Heuss	1954	ORDO VI
Leonhard Gleske	1954	ORDO VI
Fritz W. Meyer	1955	ORDO VII
F.A. Hayek	1955	ORDO VII
Daniel Villey	1955	ORDO VII
Wilhelm Röpke	1955	ORDO VII
Ernst Heuss	1955	ORDO VII
Norbert Kloten	1955	ORDO VII
Hans Willgerodt	1955	ORDO VII
Hans Huber	1955	ORDO VII
Carlo Mötteli	1955	ORDO VII
Rolf Gocht	1955	ORDO VII
K. Paul Hensel	1955	ORDO VII
Ernst Heuss	1955	ORDO VII
Harold Rasch	1955	ORDO VII
Rainer J. Willeke	1955	ORDO VII
Ludwig Arps	1955	ORDO VII
Hans Willgerodt	1955	ORDO VII
Ulrich Leffson	1955	ORDO VII
Otto Veit	1955	ORDO VII
Peter Muthesius	1955	ORDO VII
Karl R. Popper	1956	ORDO VIII
Friedrich A. Lutz	1956	ORDO VIII
Wilhelm Röpke	1956	ORDO VIII
Richard F. Behrendt	1956	ORDO VIII
Hans Willgerodt	1956	ORDO VIII
Kurt Schmidt	1956	ORDO VIII
Norbert Kloten	1956	ORDO VIII
F. Bosch	1956	ORDO VIII

R. Veit	1956	ORDO VIII
Ernst-Joachim Mestmäcker	1956	ORDO VIII
Günter Schmolders	1956	ORDO VIII
Alfred Amonn	1956	ORDO VIII
Otto Veit	1956	ORDO VIII
Fritz W. Meyer	1956	ORDO VIII
Hans Herbert Götz	1956	ORDO VIII
Rainer J. Willeke	1956	ORDO VIII
Harold Rasch	1956	ORDO VIII
Ulrich Leffson	1956	ORDO VIII
Harold Rasch	1956	ORDO VIII
Karl Oettle	1956	ORDO VIII
Friedrich A. Lutz	1957	ORDO IX
F.A. Hayek	1957	ORDO IX
Fritz Hauenstein	1957	ORDO IX
Ernst Heuss	1957	ORDO IX
Ernst-Joachim Mestmäcker	1957	ORDO IX
Louis Baudin	1957	ORDO IX
F.A. Harper	1957	ORDO IX
Wilhelm Hankel	1957	ORDO IX
Gerhard Zweig	1957	ORDO IX
Hans Willgerodt	1957	ORDO IX
Norbert Kloten	1957	ORDO IX
Kurt Schmidt	1957	ORDO IX
Otto von Mering	1957	ORDO IX
Fritz W. Meyer	1957	ORDO IX
Otto Veit	1957	ORDO IX
Josef Bless	1957	ORDO IX
Wilhelm Krelle	1957	ORDO IX
Heinrich Irmmler	1957	ORDO IX
Heinrich Irmmler	1957	ORDO IX
Hans Otto Lenel	1957	ORDO IX
Ernst Heuss	1957	ORDO IX
Dieter Giese	1957	ORDO IX
Ulrich Leffson	1957	ORDO IX
Gernot Gutmann	1957	ORDO IX
K. Paul Hensel	1957	ORDO IX
Karl Josef Partsch	1957	ORDO IX
Ulrich Leffson	1957	ORDO IX
F.A. Hayek	1958	ORDO X
Wilhelm Röpke	1958	ORDO X
Hans Willgerodt	1958	ORDO X
Peter Muthesius	1958	ORDO X

Friedrich A. Lutz	1958	ORDO X
Fritz W. Meyer	1958	ORDO X
Franz Böhm	1958	ORDO X
Carlo Mötteli	1958	ORDO X
Harold Rasch	1958	ORDO X
Josef Solterer	1958	ORDO X
J. Heinz Müller	1958	ORDO X
Kurt Schmidt	1958	ORDO X
Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn	1958	ORDO X
Ulrich Leffson	1958	ORDO X
Otto Veit	1958	ORDO X
Wolfgang Berkefeld	1958	ORDO X
Heinrich Irmeler	1958	ORDO X
Alfred Amonn	1958	ORDO X
Harold Rasch	1958	ORDO X
Ernst Heuss	1958	ORDO X
Ernst-Joachim Mestmäcker	1958	ORDO X
Dieter Giese	1958	ORDO X
Ernst Heuss	1958	ORDO X
Egon Tuchtfeldt	1958	ORDO X
Eberhard Pfeiffer	1958	ORDO X
Ruprecht Scholtissek	1958	ORDO X
Ruprecht Scholtissek	1958	ORDO X
Ernst Heuss	1958	ORDO X
Wilhelm Röpke	1959	ORDO XI
Ernst Heuss	1959	ORDO XI
Fritz Machlup	1959	ORDO XI
Martin Beckmann	1959	ORDO XI
Klaus E. Rohde	1959	ORDO XI
Milton Friedman	1959	ORDO XI
Richard C. Bernhard	1959	ORDO XI
Wilhelm Throm	1959	ORDO XI
Herbert Giersch	1959	ORDO XI
Hans Willgerodt	1959	ORDO XI
Wolfgang Albert	1959	ORDO XI
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1959	ORDO XI
Heinrich Irmeler	1959	ORDO XI
Otto Veit	1959	ORDO XI
Josef Bless	1959	ORDO XI
Harold Rasch	1959	ORDO XI
Hans Otto Lenel	1959	ORDO XI
Egon Tuchtfeldt	1959	ORDO XI
Egon Tuchtfeldt	1959	ORDO XI

Ulrich Leffson	1959	ORDO XI
Leonhard Gleske	1959	ORDO XI
Hans Otto Lenel	1959	ORDO XI
Wilhelm Röpke	1961	ORDO XII
Fritz Machlup	1961	ORDO XII
Hans Willgerodt	1961	ORDO XII
Otto Veit	1961	ORDO XII
F.A. Hayek	1961	ORDO XII
Jacques Rueff	1961	ORDO XII
Richard C. Bernhard	1961	ORDO XII
Ernst Heuss	1961	ORDO XII
J. Heinz Müller	1961	ORDO XII
Heddy Neumeister	1961	ORDO XII
Bernhard Pfister	1961	ORDO XII
Fritz W. Meyer	1961	ORDO XII
K. Paul Hensel	1961	ORDO XII
Erwin von Beckerath	1961	ORDO XII
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1961	ORDO XII
Wilhelm Krelle	1961	ORDO XII
Günter Schmölders	1961	ORDO XII
Wilhelm Seuss	1961	ORDO XII
Heinrich Irmeler	1961	ORDO XII
Egon Tuchtfeldt	1961	ORDO XII
Heinrich Irmeler	1961	ORDO XII
Christian Watrin	1961	ORDO XII
Hans Willgerodt	1961	ORDO XII
Harold Rasch	1961	ORDO XII
Ernst Heuss	1961	ORDO XII
Anton Rauscher	1961	ORDO XII
Josef Bless	1961	ORDO XII
Louis Rougier	1962	ORDO XIII
Bernhard Pfister	1962	ORDO XIII
Erik v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn	1962	ORDO XIII
Christian Watrin	1962	ORDO XIII
Friedrich A. Lutz	1962	ORDO XIII
Milton Friedman	1962	ORDO XIII
L. Albert Hahn	1962	ORDO XIII
Helmut Gröner	1962	ORDO XIII
Norbert Kloten	1962	ORDO XIII
Ernst-Joachim Mestmäcker	1962	ORDO XIII
Hans-Otto Lenel	1962	ORDO XIII
Ljubo Sirc	1962	ORDO XIII
Bernhard Pfister	1962	ORDO XIII

Harold Rasch	1962	ORDO XIII
Helmut Gröner	1962	ORDO XIII
Otto Veit	1962	ORDO XIII
Erich Hoppmann	1962	ORDO XIII
Fritz W. Meyer	1962	ORDO XIII
Hans Willgerodt	1962	ORDO XIII
Carlo Mötteli	1962	ORDO XIII
Erich Hoppmann	1962	ORDO XIII
Egon Tuchtfeldt	1962	ORDO XIII
Erich Hoppmann	1962	ORDO XIII
Hans Otto Lenel	1962	ORDO XIII
Rainer J. Willeke	1962	ORDO XIII
Ulrich Leffson	1962	ORDO XIII
Armin Gutowski	1962	ORDO XIII
Hans Otto Lenel	1962	ORDO XIII
Josef Bless	1962	ORDO XIII
Gottfried Eisermann	1963	ORDO XIV
F.A. Hayek	1963	ORDO XIV
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1963	ORDO XIV
K. Paul Hensel	1963	ORDO XIV
Ludwig M. Lachmann	1963	ORDO XIV
Wilhelm Röpke	1963	ORDO XIV
Theodore F. Marburg	1963	ORDO XIV
Fritz Machlup	1963	ORDO XIV
Ernst Dürr	1963	ORDO XIV
Franz Böhm	1963	ORDO XIV
Edmund Winterhoff	1963	ORDO XIV
James M. Buchanan	1963	ORDO XIV
Günter Schmolders	1963	ORDO XIV
Emil Küng	1963	ORDO XIV
Harold Rasch	1963	ORDO XIV
Ljubo Sirc	1963	ORDO XIV
Gerhard Tholl	1963	ORDO XIV
Heinrich Irmeler	1963	ORDO XIV
Heinrich Irmeler	1963	ORDO XIV
Hans Willgerodt	1963	ORDO XIV
Hans Otto Lenel	1963	ORDO XIV
Otto Veit	1963	ORDO XIV
Harold Rasch	1963	ORDO XIV
Christine Kensche	1963	ORDO XIV
Heddy Neumeister	1963	ORDO XIV
Hans Willgerodt	1963	ORDO XIV
Hans Willgerodt	1963	ORDO XIV
K. Paul Hensel	1965	ORDO XV/XVI

F.A. Hayek	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Ernst Heuss	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Gottfried Haberler	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Friedrich A. Lutz	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Bernhard Pfister	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Joachim Grunau	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Hans Otto Lenel	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Kurt Schmidt	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Gerhard Tholl	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Karlheinz Kleps	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Helmut Gröner	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Richard C. Bernhard	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Artur Woll	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Alfred Bosch	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Edmund Winterhoff	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Werner Bosch	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Gerhard Tholl	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Helmut Maneval	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Hans Otto Lenel	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Ernst Dürr	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Helmut Maneval	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Gerhard Tholl	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Gretel Müller	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Harold Rasch	1965	ORDO XV/XVI
Hans Otto Wesemann	1966	ORDO XVII
Frank H. Knight	1966	ORDO XVII
Edith Eucken-Erdsiek	1966	ORDO XVII
Wilhelm Röpke†	1966	ORDO XVII
Gottfried Haberler	1966	ORDO XVII
Franz Böhm	1966	ORDO XVII
Hans Willgerodt	1966	ORDO XVII
Carlo Mötteli	1966	ORDO XVII
William Fellner	1966	ORDO XVII
Ludwig M. Lachmann	1966	ORDO XVII
Ernst Heuss	1966	ORDO XVII
Josua Werner	1966	ORDO XVII
Alfred Bosch	1966	ORDO XVII
Reinhold Veit	1966	ORDO XVII
Eva v. Malchus	1966	ORDO XVII
Otto Veit	1966	ORDO XVII
Oswald v. Nell-Breuning	1966	ORDO XVII
Ernst Dürr	1966	ORDO XVII
Hans Willgerodt	1966	ORDO XVII
Erich Hoppmann	1966	ORDO XVII

Rainer J. Willeke	1966	ORDO XVII
Helmut Gröner	1966	ORDO XVII
Helmut Maneval	1966	ORDO XVII
P. Hermann Pichert	1966	ORDO XVII
Helmut Gröner	1966	ORDO XVII
Helmut Gröner	1966	ORDO XVII
Helmut Gröner	1966	ORDO XVII
Gerhard Tholl	1966	ORDO XVII
Joachim Grunau	1966	ORDO XVII
Werner Bosch	1966	ORDO XVII
Hans Willgerodt	1966	ORDO XVII
Wolfgang Borgstede	1966	ORDO XVII
Helmut Gröner	1966	ORDO XVII
<i>Missing data</i>	<i>1967</i>	<i>ORDO XVIII</i>
<i>Missing data</i>	<i>1968</i>	<i>ORDO XIX</i>
<i>Missing data</i>	<i>1969</i>	<i>ORDO XX</i>
Alfred Müller-Armack	1970	ORDO XXI
Carlo Mötteli	1970	ORDO XXI
Louis Rougier	1970	ORDO XXI
Friedrich A. Lutz	1970	ORDO XXI
Fritz W. Meyer	1970	ORDO XXI
Klaus Grewe	1970	ORDO XXI
Hans Willgerodt	1970	ORDO XXI
Hans Otto Lenel	1970	ORDO XXI
Josef Molsberger	1970	ORDO XXI
Ernst Heuss	1970	ORDO XXI
Hans Willgerodt	1970	ORDO XXI
Ernst Heuss	1970	ORDO XXI
Alfred Schüller	1970	ORDO XXI
Marion Westmann	1970	ORDO XXI
Hannelore Hamel	1970	ORDO XXI
Artur Woll	1970	ORDO XXI
Peter Cramer	1970	ORDO XXI
Hans-Rimbert Hemmer	1970	ORDO XXI
Helmut Gröner	1970	ORDO XXI
Karl Georg Zinn	1970	ORDO XXI
Eberhard Wille	1970	ORDO XXI
Hans Dieter Ockenfels	1970	ORDO XXI
Helmut Wittelsberger	1970	ORDO XXI
Alfred Schüller	1970	ORDO XXI
Dieter Cassel	1970	ORDO XXI
Werner Hammel	1970	ORDO XXI

