

Communication Education and (Local) Politics

Roland W. Wagner
(wagner@ph-heidelberg.de)

Probably my issue would not draw much attention in Germany since politicians are not very popular here. Almost as unpopular as prostitutes or pimps. To give an example: A few months ago a comedian (Frank-Markus Barwasser, better known as Erwin Pelzig) asked: Why do only six percent of the Germans like politicians? His answer: Because 94 percent have already voted before.

That politicians only manage six percent on the popularity stakes is most likely accurate. This is the result of a public opinion survey conducted by a well-known opinion research institute from Allensbach last year.

Yes, it is sad. There are a lot of prejudices about politicians, for example that they lie, are selfish or corruptible, that they talk a lot and do little. It is also believed that they receive disproportionately high daily allowances and pensions – all at the taxpayers' expense.

My contribution, “communication education and local politics,” will not only take a close look at these prejudices but also give answers to the following three questions:

- What do politicians expect from communication education?
- How useful is communication education in politics?
- How useful is politics for communication education?

First Preliminary Note: Which Politicians am I Talking About?

In Germany, there are approximately 10,000 professional politicians in the German parliament, the Bundestag, in the 16 state parliaments, in the upper levels of municipalities and political parties. In my presentation, I do not want to put the focus on these politicians but rather on those more than 100,000 unpaid local politicians in the municipalities. They work free of charge or for a very low representational allowance. To give a concrete number: The members of the Bezirksbeirat (district advisory council) in Heidelberg receive 26 Euros for a session, which

corresponds to an hourly wage that is lower than the American minimum wage of 5 dollars 15 - if you take into account the time expenditure for preparation and follow-up. And the local councils receive a representational allowance of 665 Euros per month for their outlays and loss of salary. That does sound better, but they spend an average 80 to 100 hours on that.

Second Preliminary Note: Why Communication Education Rather than Speech Education?

I have chosen the term communication education not only as reference to Hellmut Geissner¹ but because linguistic interaction in local politics generally covers written as well as oral communication. The session documents are in written form, petitions and inquiries from citizens are submitted and answered verbally or in writing, the discussions in the sessions are verbal and recorded in written form; in addition, there are frequent power point presentations by the administrative staff. By the way, communication in the sessions usually takes place by way of conversation and conventional speeches are rather an exception (mostly in budget debates).

Third Preliminary Note: What Kind of Politics am I focusing on Here?

Here, it is not about international or national policy but rather about local policy. All German cities and municipalities have the right of municipal autonomy. This means: They may deal with and decide their local issues on their own as long as they stay within the framework of the law. This right is guaranteed in the German constitution, in the basic constitutional law, section 28, paragraph 2. The citizens may elect the municipal council and the mayor. The specific details of this municipal autonomy, the term of office, the selection of committees and offices open for election, this is defined in the municipal constitutions, the constitutions of the individual federal states and the municipal codes. The regulations of the individual federal states may vary, yet the fundamental principles are identical.

Every German citizen who has reached the age of majority (18) has the right to elect these people who are, in turn, responsible for decisions concerning the municipality, for example the construction of roads, libraries, public swimming pools, the road map and schedule of public transportation, the terms of garbage removal, the regulations governing house constructions and setting the level of fees and charges.

Before I move on to communication in local politics, I have to explain the general conditions. I will do so by using the example of my hometown Heidelberg².

Most of you probably know this city. Based on population, Heidelberg is ranked only as fifty-third among the eighty-three German major cities, yet it is one of the internationally best known cities. Heidelberg is also widely believed to be among the most beautiful cities in Germany. The harmonious ensemble of castle, the old part of town and river inspired the writers and painters of the Romantic Movement and still today fascinates millions of

visitors from all over the world. Currently, the population of Heidelberg is approximately 145,000 within an area of 109 square kilometers. In addition, there are around 20,000 members of the armed forces with dependents from various NATO States. Add to that approximately 3.5 million day-trippers per year (that is almost 10,000 a day) and on average approximately 930,000 overnight accommodations (thus over 2,500 per day). Another attraction: Heidelberg has the oldest university in Germany, founded in 1386. Recently, the University of Heidelberg was chosen to be one of the few German elite universities, it employs roughly 10,600 people. Currently Heidelberg has more than 30,000 students. In Heidelberg there are proportionally more university graduates and physicians than in any other major German city. In addition, Heidelberg is a very youthful city: Almost four out of ten inhabitants are younger than 30 (that is approximately 53,000 people). Due to its many visitors and the significant number of foreigners - among them many scientists and students - Heidelberg has always been a multicultural city.



Heidelberg

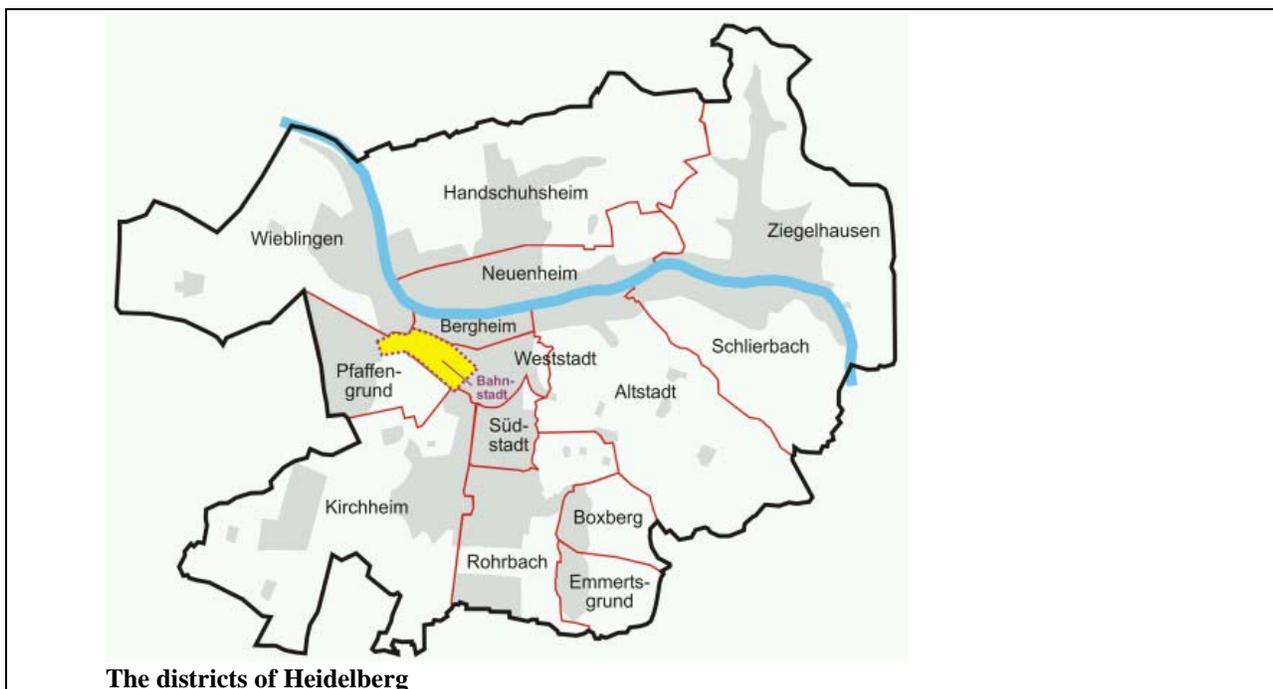
Some Information About the Political Structure of Heidelberg

At the head of the city council there is the mayor. For 16 years (from 1990 to 2006) we were governed by a female mayor, a trained teacher. She was a member of “my” political party and was also a graduate of “my” university. She majored in speech education and one of her teachers was my predecessor Gabriele Waechtershaeuser, who studied under Hellmut Geissner himself. Since 2006 we have had a new mayor who is not a member of any political party. He has a doctorate in Geography and had been in charge of environmental policy for a couple of years before.

The municipal council consists of the mayor as chairperson and 40 unpaid members, the city councilors. They are elected for a term of five years. After the election in 2004 the municipal council was composed like this: The biggest German political parties CDU and SPD gained 10 seats each, the GAL-Green Party got 8 seats, the group “Die Heidelberger” (translated: The people of Heidelberg) was allocated 4 seats, the *Freie Wählervereinigung* (Independents) and the FDP (The Liberals) got 3 seats each, the “*Bunte Linke*” (mixed leftists) and the “generation.hd” one seat each.³ In summer of 2008 the parliamentary party of the GAL Greens separated, so now there are nine groups in the municipal council and every major vote requires intensive discussions within the various parties.

The municipal council decides on all the local issues unless they were referred to the mayor. Sometimes there are still additional local political committees. For example, since 1989 there has been in Heidelberg a foreign council in which 6 councilors and 19 non-nationals or late repatriates discuss the issues important to them about once a month. Since 2006 Heidelberg has, in addition, had a youth municipal council which consists of 30 directly elected adolescents aged 14 to 19 and six advisory members of the municipal council. Students from special schools, high schools, junior high schools, secondary schools and technical schools are elected in proportion to their distribution. The youth municipal council represents the interests of youth against the municipal council and its committees as well as against the mayor. In addition, its members may serve as advisers to the municipal council if the issues are of concern to them.

And now I would like to present a committee that even many politically interested Germans do not know. But it is the committee with the most politicians working on a voluntary basis in the major cities of Baden-Wuerttemberg: the district advisory council. The district advisers - according to the statutes - are to advise the local council and the administration in important issues concerning the city districts and to represent the interests of the districts. Heidelberg has 14 districts.



For these 14 districts there are 13 district advisory councils - every district usually has one, only in my area is a district advisory council also responsible for two districts, *Weststadt* (the west area of Heidelberg) and *Suedstadt* (the south area of Heidelberg). A district advisory council has between 10 and 18 members according to the number of inhabitants of the district. Since *Weststadt* has more than 12,000 inhabitants and *Suedstadt* more than 4,000, the district adviser in charge was allotted the maximum number of seats.

The district advisers are not elected directly by the inhabitants of the districts, the election procedure is a little more complicated. First, every five years the seats for each district are allocated according to the respective results of the elections for the municipal council. Thus, in our district advisory council there are six Greens, four members of the SPD, four members of the CDU, two "Heidelberger," and one seat each for the FDP and the "Bunte Linke." In their meetings now the members of these parties elect their representatives from the members residing in this district. The elected members then are appointed as district advisers by the municipal council.

Locality: The sessions of the district advisers usually take place in the municipal districts, sometimes they may also use the council chamber of the city hall. The session dates and the agendas are published beforehand in the press as well as on the internet. Often the meetings are in parts public and non-public.

The participation of the citizens varies greatly. If the issue, for example, is the construction of a new tram line, more than a hundred might come to the meetings, but that is still less than one percent of the population. If the issue is less attractive (for example the relocation of a protected colony of lizards), then only two or three guests show up. Many interesting subjects, however, are discussed *in camera*, construction projects for example, so that none of the companies competing for the contract gains an edge on information.

I may give here some examples of issues that our district advisory council has been discussing lately:

- the construction of a new sports or multipurpose arena
- the creation of a roundabout instead of an intersection with traffic lights
- the outline planning draft of a new city district on the former grounds of *Deutsche Bahn* (the Federal Railway Company)

- the renewal of a through road
- the improvement of cycle path connections
- the loud squeaking and rumbling of some trams
- the cultural life of the city district
- a preservation charter to prevent an impairing of the outstandingly beautiful areas of a district by mismatching new buildings - and most of all:
- a zoning map for a central area in the district.

This last topic I want to present to you in somewhat more detail, since it exemplifies the opportunities and limits of our communicative interaction in local politics.

In Heidelberg, to be more precise, in the centre between the old part of town and the main station, there is an area with a mixed structure: courthouses, the tax office, the custom office, a hardware store, several restaurants and a hotel. Here is a picture of the "Bahnhofstrasse" taken in the spring of 2008⁴:



The properties and buildings on the right side of the picture - the tax office and the court house belong to the federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg. They are in need of rehabilitation and are contaminated with asbestos. In our state capital Stuttgart the officials have been pondering for years now on how to solve the problems of these buildings. Finally they decided for a PPP-project (ppp = public private partnership). They started a request for proposals and several large construction companies took part in the "anonymous bidding procedure." A company belonging to the Austrian road construction company Strabag with the name "Zueblin" received the tender. The company agreed to buy the premise

from the state, to build a new courthouse which would be let to the state and to cover the remaining areas with business and apartment buildings. In the fall of 2007 the plans are presented to the public and the committees. The residents are shocked: The adjacent road is supposed to be narrowed down from 33 meters to 18 meters, many big old trees would have to be felled. Furthermore, the building plot itself would be covered up to the last square inch and the proposed new buildings would be in part up to six stories high - much higher than the four stories otherwise prevalent in this district. Here is an artist's impression of the proposed development⁵



The local residents created an action group, they organized several sessions and information meetings, one is even attended by the Ministers of Finance and Justice of the federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg. They stated explicitly that they do not want to change the plans any more. There are even threats to move the district court to the larger neighboring city of Mannheim, which would mean the loss of approximately 400 jobs. Thus: a classic "*argumentatio ad baculum*".

At the crucial meeting of the district advisory council I proposed a motion, on behalf of my parliamentary group, which reflects demands of the citizens' action group. We asked the district council to keep the *Bahnhofstrasse* at least 22 meters wide, to adapt the new buildings better to the existing structure of buildings, to limit the eaves height of the new buildings to 17.50 meters and to save the trees. This motion is carried with a large majority, only the five representatives of the CDU and FDP did not vote in favor of it (these parties also form the federal state government).

A few days later the matter is presented to the municipal council. After a long discussion a vote is held. The result from our point of view: We were short of one voice. The way is cleared for construction!

What do Politicians Expect from Communication Education?

It seems like the politicians primarily expect hints on how to look more popular, likeable and pleasant in order to gain more votes at elections. However, this only applies to a minority. Often the people aspiring to a well-paid office do not trust our profession. Thus, our last mayoral candidate, renowned in his field and very cautious in talks with citizens, told me at a district get-together: "I am what I am and I don't want to be forced to change." He received so few votes that he did not even make it into the second round ballot.

In seminars for local politicians I heard much more often the following expectations:

- How can I use my voice so that I won't have a sore throat after a long day of talks and meetings?
- How can I make myself audible against a loud background noise for example at an information desk on the market place?
- How do I bring forward my arguments in order to convince as many people as possible?

- How can I contribute to an increased effectiveness in sessions?
- What can I do to reduce my stage fright?

And while we are on the topic of "Expectations": The fellow party members expect that - at least at local level - the communication advising and training is free of charge.

I think that I do not need to explain here the basics of speech education. Concerning vocal prophylaxis and volume training politicians are not in any way different from anybody else. I would rather focus on the rhetorical aspects of local politics.

1. Talks with citizens. Local politicians represent the initial point of contact for people with problems. They suffer for example from traffic or construction site noise, from traffic jams during rush hours, they complain about the shortage of parking space, cars exceeding the speed limit or the dangerous crossings on their children's way to school. The citizens expect their concerns to be taken seriously. But not every request can be supported without reservation, for example, according to current jurisdiction we are not allowed to reduce the speed limit to 30 kilometers per hour on main roads, we cannot introduce a progressive signal system for everyone and we will not arrange for each no-parking zone to get its own traffic wardens right around the clock. But if dangerous potholes are concerned, overflowing glass recycling containers or questions like how long a certain construction site is likely to be there, then we usually are able to help quickly. It only takes one phone call if you know the right person at the Administration Department. During conversations with the complainants themselves, primarily active listening is in demand, sometimes also the ability to interrupt with a compliment and to finish conversations in a polite manner.

2. Preliminary discussions within the parliamentary groups. The term fellow party member may be justified now and then, yet often it is downright euphemistic. Often the members of a party don't agree on certain issues since their personal interests and individual communication styles are too diverse. Someone who has children of school age, for example, is more likely to support school investments, someone who does not own a car does not care so much about the parking space problem; someone living in a traffic reduced area has little motivation to fight against the noise of the bypass roads. A general attitude for cooperation is in demand here, the search for compromises must come before the ambition to win the elections.

3. Preliminary discussions with other parliamentary groups: At the local level it is not too difficult to find common interests with the members or representatives of other parties since the issues are hardly ever about ideological differences but rather about district concerns. With the chairman of the Green party - he lives on the same street - I have a lot of pleasant conversations. We inform each other about our motions and often support them together. Positive and constructive conversations are even possible with members of the conservative parties or groups - especially at the numerous festivities and receptions organized by the city or the churches and at private parties. On one occasion - we received very extensive documents only two working days before the session date - we even organized a common preliminary talk of all parliamentary groups to counter the time pressure by the administration appropriately. Almost unanimously (there was only one dissenting vote), we decided to postpone the session, unanimously we decided for a special session with the mayor on the treatment of the committees by the administration.

4. Actual sessions of the political committees: They are very formal. A mayor or a high-ranking official of the city administration chairs the session. Usually the invitation to that session is accompanied by elaborate documents. In most cases, members of the respective departments are invited to discuss the items of the agenda. They inform more or less in detail and are available for further questions afterwards. The desire to speak varies. If there are important issues (and the press is present) some follow the motto "Everything has been said already but not by everyone." And of course the speech desire decreases with the increasing duration of the session.

5. Information on the session results. This usually takes place in the board meetings and sessions of the members of the respective party organizations - at the SPD these are the local associations. Brief, concise, descriptive - that's what the reports are supposed to be because - apart from local politics - other numerous issues of the national and federal state policy should be discussed.

So much for the information on locality and subjects. If you ask a local politician for further demands you will get some meta-communicative complaints. Most frequently they moan about the high expenditure of time for the sessions caused by lengthy lectures and contributions to discussions. They also get annoyed by individual rivalries, open or concealed. The younger politicians often talk too fast for their older colleagues. On the other hand,

some younger incomers have to surrender to older politicians lapsing back into their dialects. I still remember one of my first sessions as a district adviser: It was about a children's playground and I heard the word "*Fuchsenei*" over and over again. I couldn't find the word in any document or street map. Certainly, I knew that foxes lay no eggs (which would be the literal translation) but that this was a traditional name for a playground area confused me until I got the explanation after the session. "*Fuchsenei*" was the name of an oval green area near the former mansion of the railway car manufacturer Fuchs until around 50 years ago.

How Useful is Communication Education for Politics?

If I advise politicians in speech education I aim for the following four goals⁶:

- a) I would like to be able to give participants individual feedback on their communicative competence and establish criteria with them;
- b) I want to supply information leading to a better understanding of communication situations and counterparts, with their various opportunities and problems;
- c) I want to present and suggest exercises that serve to enhance the vocal and linguistic skills and to reduce disagreeable habits;

The expectations in terms of contents include reasoning and negotiating, advising, methods of posing questions, moderating discussions, presentations, structuring assistance and the handling of conflicts.

Here are possible services which our profession might make to politics – expressed as learning targets [in alphabetical order]:

Advising: Politicians should

- know the various advisory situations and accept them as an important component of their occupation;
- distinguish between purely informative sessions and those that require the solving of problems
- recognize and avoid the risks of over-intense questioning, assumed interpretations and hastily suggested solutions;
- have the ability to create and point out positive discussion conditions;
- be able to practice discernible active

listening;

- arrive at a better problem comprehension with the help of repetition methods;
- be able to structure discussions through occasional summaries;
- address also emotional aspects;
- be able to finish advising conversations in a positive way.

Aids of Structuring: Politicians should

- know how to enhance the effect through a logical structure and an approach that always keeps the audience in mind;
- know structuring aids to prepare discussion contributions, lectures and speeches;
- know deductive and inductive approaches and be able to adapt them to the target group;
- be able to put short explanations into effective and comprehensible words;
- be able to address difficult issues in an objective and constructive manner;
- be able to structure discussion contributions according to the three or five-step method (also as comments or conciliatory statements);
- know and apply methods to structure discussions and debates.

Conflicts: Politicians should

- know the conditions and rules of a discussion aimed at conflict resolution;
- know the characteristics of a fact-based informative discussion;
- be able to employ core questions in order to structure a conflict resolution discussion;
- know examples of traditional and modern methods of negotiating
- be experienced in the techniques of paraphrasing and verbalizing as aids for conflict resolution discussions.

Methods of Posing Questions: Politicians should

- know the different functions of questions;
- be able to differentiate open and closed as well as direct and indirect questions;
- be able to rephrase pseudo questions to real questions;
- know and use when necessary special kinds of questions like yes-no questions, control questions, filter questions, trick questions, counter questions, motivation questions, rhetorical questions, leading questions, questions chains;
- be able to place well-founded questions in sessions and other discussion situations in a constructive and flexible manner;

- be able to allow for sufficient time to think and reply after questions.

Moderating Discussions: Politicians should

- be able to acquire and to put into practice the theoretical background knowledge necessary for any clarifying talk based on facts;
- learn how moderation and participants affect the discussion atmosphere;
- be able to prepare and moderate a discussion;
- have the ability to create an environment that is appropriate to the occasion of the discussion and the participants;
- be able to prepare properly for one-to-one conversations and group conversations and to take over the responsible task of moderating these situations;
- be knowledgeable about the basics of conflict management.

Presentations: Politicians should

- know how to prepare and structure a presentation;
- know and use expertly different presentation facilities and media (overhead projector, flip chart, data projector *et cetera*);
- know how to create an appealing presentation;
- recognize the appropriate means of expression, be they linguistic, concerned with the manner of speaking or physical, as well as the presentation media suitable for conveying contents;
- be able to arrange a presentation according to a situation that is goal and audience oriented.

Reasoning and Negotiating: Politicians should be able to

- protect themselves and others from manipulation attempts. For that, it is necessary that participants are able to differentiate between reasoning and manipulation;
- distinguish between confrontational talks (debates, disputations and panel discussions) and deliberate conversations (conferences, sessions);
- create contributions with convincing arguments with structuring assistance;
- recognize and apply the basics of a fair reasoning;
- analyze the structures of reasoning;
- make clear to participants how goal-oriented thinking along structured lines helps them to perceive their own situation more precisely;
- master the basics of conducting negotiations

(differentiation between position, interest, goal);

- know and use traditional and modern techniques of negotiation;
- bring intensely emotionalized situations onto a more objective level with appropriate strategies.

Since this has been a rather abstract enumeration, I want to give a concrete example: At a seminar for local politicians in a large city in Saxony several city councillors complained that their inquiries and motions were not taken seriously enough by the city administration. I asked them to repeat one of these inquiries as literally as possible. Roughly, it went like this: *“Mister Mayor, I've been informed by the citizens of the district X that the condition of Y Street is still terrible. There are huge potholes. It would be really nice if someone would do something about that!”*

This article may sound very polite yet it is hardly convincing because there are no precise descriptions of the damage, no constructive proposals of a solution nor a clear call for action. If problems are to be addressed I found the MISLA/MANSA-Model very helpful, published by Richard Wittsack as early as in 1935⁷. The acronym MANSA contains the initials of the five structuring terms Motivation, Actual status, Nominal status, Solution, Appeal. Or put as questions: “Why am I speaking?” “What is the problem?” “What should it be like?” “How do we get there?” And “What must be done?”

After the explanation of the method the inquiry looked like this: *“Mister Mayor, several people of the district X have informed me of a serious problem. There are more than 100 potholes in Y Street, some of them already more than four inches deep. As you know, the city is in charge of safe road conditions and it would be better to avoid any possible car damage for which we would have to pay. The holes could be filled with asphalt just like the holes in Z Street a short time ago. Therefore I ask you: Get the job done next week!”*

How Useful is Politics for Communication Education?

This is the shortest chapter of this presentation because I don't want to emphasize the individual benefit of political decisions for individuals; for example, if certain Highways (or Autobahns), due to some cabinet decision, are developed so that certain colleagues get faster to their seminars. I also don't talk about the benefit for some colleagues when they get a contract for a rhetoric seminar by the education

founding of a party now and then. And also, I don't talk about that sense of success either that you might get as an adviser if a friend and politician goes in for a career and wages successful campaigns, as for example did a member of the Bundestag from Heidelberg, Lothar Binding, against smoking in public locations.

I am more concerned with the responsibility of politics for the conditions under which we live. I hope you agree with me that successful discussions are a substantial element for a healthy society. For that, we do not only need politicians that exemplify the culture of debating but also politicians that allow and call for such topics in schools and universities.

I hope we may see grounds for optimism here: If more politicians learn that modern communication education is no longer the rather primitive original speech education which it used to be, if more politicians sense that the tradition of aggressive rhetoric is obsolete, then our chances will improve greatly.

An example of the step in the right direction is the plan for a new teachers' education program in Baden-Wuerttemberg. The draft of April 8, 2008 obligates all students of education to take a class in Speech Education for two credit hours per semester. Pessimists would call that two drops in a bucket but optimists are happy about the increase of a 100 %.

Back to the question “How to deal with our politicians.” I found an article on this topic in our renowned weekly paper “Die Zeit.” The author Werner Jann is Professor of Political Science at the University of Potsdam. He wrote⁸:

“There is one point that armchair strategists, the tabloids and critically-concerned commentators agree on: “The politicians” are incompetent at solving imminent problems. ...they are uninspired and too aloof to see the worries of the people. ...

After a short moment's thought the question arises why our politicians are supposed to be so much more insensitive, uninformed, egoistic, ponderous and finally so much more ignorant than we voters are? ...

Our politicians are far from being indifferent and badly informed, rather they are too specialized.

Also, there is no such thing as “the typical politician” but rather human beings with a concern for sports fields, nature reserves, schools or the

integration of immigrants

They all care about the distribution of scarce resources because they are the ones that have to decide how much budgetary funding is available for theatre, schools or homes for asylum seekers.

Such processes are extremely unpopular and require people to deal with these conflict and consensus processes.

This is not meant to be uncritical praise of these "secret heroes" since there are of course incompetent, narrow-minded or even corrupt politicians. But probably in far lower numbers than in the rest of the population. This is ensured by the considerable competition for positions and the control via the public in particular. There is no area that is as transparent as politics. Whoever wants to go into politics must brace themselves for merciless criticism. But do these same people also have to accept the fact that they are deemed to lack competence and integrity? Is it nowadays only masochists that aspire to a political career?

Here may be the answer to the original question: Our politicians are more ignorant than the rest of us since even the most catastrophic reputation cannot deter them from getting involved for their fellow citizens. But how much longer? In the east German state Brandenburg, many municipalities cannot now find the necessary candidates for the local elections any more.

Thus a solution to the problem begins to appear: If there are no politicians any more, then we don't need to despise them any more either."

I confess it: I like politicians. Not all of them, but I know many who are quite likeable. This is one of the essential premises for giving direction to politicians in terms of communication education.

It's our job now not just to do this but to do it well.

- ¹ GEISSNER, H. K. 2000. *Kommunikationspädagogik. Transformationen der „Sprech-Erziehung.“* St. Ingbert
- ² http://www.heidelberg.de/servlet/PB/menu/1012904_11/index.html (19.3.2009)
- ³ http://www.heidelberg.de/servlet/PB/menu/1066076_11/index.html (19.3.2009)
- ⁴ Source: Unpublished material of the district-council meeting (2008)
- ⁵ Source: Unpublished material of the district-council meeting (2008)
- ⁶ WAGNER, R. W. 2004. *Grundlagen der mündlichen Kommunikation. Sprechpädagogische Informationsbausteine für alle, die viel und gut reden müssen.* Regensburg
- ⁷ WITTSACK, R. 1935. *Lerne Reden! Ein Weg zum Erfolg. Praktische Redelehre.* Leipzig (p. 93)
- ⁸ [http://www.zeit.de/1998/39/Sind_Politiker_du mm_](http://www.zeit.de/1998/39/Sind_Politiker_du_mm_) (19.3.2009)