

ONE GERMANY, TWO STATES

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ABSTRACT

The Berlin blockade was the first negative experience the Germans experienced after the end of World War II. What happened convinced them that it was obligatory to establish a state. Western foreign ministers agreed. They had united their areas of occupation and now the final steps were taken to establish a state in West Germany. If it happened, this part of Germany would enjoy security and prosperity. The Allies were working without delay to create the German state in the west. From the beginning, there were disputes over how this state would exist and what authority it should have. Seeing that they were not in agreement, Western forces thought to ask the Germans how they wanted their state to be. On September 1, 1948, the first German constitutional assembly was convened to establish the form of government. The Allies had a veto, but thought they would give the Germans an opportunity to present their ideas and make concrete proposals. The Allies agreed to build a statute declaring all the powers and obligations to build a new German constitution. When the Berlin blockade became serious, on July 1, 1948, the three Western powers, through their governors, met in Frankfurt with the mayors and filed three documents. These letters were called the "Frankfurt Documents" and allowed the Presidents to rush to create the state of West Germany. September 1, 1948 would be the deadline for the Heads of State to submit the draft proposal which would be put to a popular referendum. The Frankfurt documents clarified the rights of each party and the new form of organization of the German state.

Keywords: State, Constitution, Frankfurt Documents, Security, Prosperity.

INTRODUCTION

Initially, the western project for the German heads of state appeared to be weak for the simple fact that Germany would be divided. Conrad Adenauer, who was a key political figure in the British occupation zone, complained that the Allies sought to maintain their dominance over the German people for a long time by dividing the country. His speculations about these documents were not infrequent and those who raised their voices more strongly than he were the Social Democrats. But, it was the German pragmatists who understood the situation better and consequently won. A country that had started a war and lost it had to accept an imperfect opportunity to live. After long efforts, the presidents of the lands, without any regrets, accepted the offer of Western occupation powers. As a condition they decided that the new state would not have a permanent constitution, but only a provisional document according to which the state would function as a sovereign until the merger was accomplished. The Germans have debated long and fiercely for this type of document. By removing the word "constitution" because it meant eternity of this state, they paved the way for legitimacy to join the Soviet Union at the right time. They agreed that the document that would replace the constitution would be called Grundgesetz (Basic Law). In a note sent to the occupying Western powers, Carlo Schmidt, the leader of the Social Democrats, tried to explain how badly the Germans now felt they only had to speak for half of their nation. He also tried to explain to the Allies that the mayors of the lands were unable to sign the partition with their

own hands. General Clay responded harshly to Schmidt's letter, saying that the Germans had forgotten who their true friends were. He vetoed saying that the allies would not accept changes to the language used in the text and that this offer was unchanged. Clay could not accept that the Germans would blame the Allies for the division of the country. French General Josef-Pierre Knigg said it was probably a mistake to give the Germans so much sovereignty. British General Robertson intervened, telling Clay and Knigg to let events go their way. They agreed and urged the mayors to accept the Western project. Clay also stated that the air bridge was another example showing that Westerners wanted to help not to harm the German people. Heads of land according to Clay with their positions were damaging the future of the country and it was very wrong to reject this project which had to overcome many political obstacles that could be put in front of them. Ernst Reuter endorsed Clay's idea and urged the presidents to accept the bid for the new state. Referring to Ulbricht's strong position in the eastern area, Reuters said: "*The Germany division was not settled here, it had become an accomplished fact*".

METHODOLOGY

This paper follows principles that the methods of history are appropriate to the study and that choices and alternatives at given points of time are central to this process. Events, not variables, are the crucial writ of analysis and capturing multiple time points builds narrative. In combination with variance approaches, process analysis has the potential to explain the effects of context (place) and time. Careful examination of relevant data allows identifying reactive sequences whereby an initial outcome triggers a chain of temporally ordered and causally connected events that lead to a final outcome.

This process research benefit from the use of historical research methods in analysis of sources, production of time-lines, using comparative evidence across time and space and in the examination of feasible alternative choices.

KONRAD ADENAUER, FIRST CHANCELLOR OF FRG

Germany was paying for her guilts. Indeed, many scholars have been stated that the Westerners proved to be content with a nation responsible for the largest and most devastating war in the history of mankind. The painful content of the Westerners showed how advanced they were compared to the Germans. On September 1, 1948, the Germans began to work to build the new state. At the Bonn meeting the parliamentary council reflected on the power of the German parties. The two strongest groups, the Social Democratic Party and the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), each had 27 votes each. To these forces was added a new party, the Christian Social Union (CSU). Many of the members of these parties had been firm opponents of Nazism.

Carlo Schmid drafted the final text of the basic law which was welcomed by all present. Given that the mayor of the Social Democrats was elected to edit the draft, CDU & CSU were chosen to run the convention. Konrad Adenauer was elected as the chairman. Conrad Adenauer was a prominent political figure in the Weimar Republic and mayor of Cologne from 1917 to 1933. He modernized the city and administration, making it a leading city throughout Germany and in the Catholic world. Hitler had fired him because Adenauer had ordered the removal of all Nazi symbols from town hall and public places. He was twice imprisoned by the Nazis and this fact had increased his prestige after the war. Being a

conservative center-right leader, Adenauer's authority grew rapidly. He turned the CDU-CSU coalition into a national force.

Initially, Adenauer's allies did not appear to be capable. The British occupation authorities did not like it as it had long been opposed by the Social Democrats. They had even been removed by the interim mayor of Cologne after the war after refusing to cut down the city's trees to be used for fire. Extremists did not like the Allies. A new extremism in Germany would again bring the world into disaster. However, they decided to try it. The basic law was very strong and straightforward. First he argued that political parties that did not exceed 5% of the vote do not enter in the parliament. In this way to the abusive politicians was told to stop, in order to create small parties to promote their inaccessible ideas. Secondly, a constructive vote was required for the distrust that the government could not be easily overthrown. By this act, the parliament could not dismiss one government without electing another. This made the parties more accountable for their actions and above all did not leave the country without a responsible government. In this way, was created a stable government without dictatorship. Thirdly, the powers of the head of state were limited. The head of state could not decide on the creation of a government without the parliament approval. It was undesirable for a conservative Sclerotic group and an aging Feldmarshall to come to terms with the government as in the case of von Papen with von Hindenburg who named Chancellor Hitler in 1933. With the desire to avoid the mistakes of the Weimar Republic, the Germans with basic law made possible for no one to see the armchair of power as eternal.

Being a people of social tradition, the Germans wanted to remind the Western allies that the basic law did not start in 1948. The Germans had their constitution written as early as 1849 (100 years ago) by the Social Democrats and liberals. They wanted to show Westerners that German social tradition had deep roots in history and that nothing could be done outside it. German tradition with this act has rejected the centrist Bismark / Weimar / Hitler model. Even after the Parliamentary Council approved the final draft on February 10, 1949, the Allies again had reservations, especially for the tax and budget items. At this point, a man enters in the scene whose personality would affect the entire European continent. Robert Schumann proved to be the kind of ally Ernest Bevin was looking for in Germany. Schuman had grown up in Alsace-Lorraine, an area that had caused so much strife between the French and the Germans. He had served in the German army during World War I and was fluent in German. He and Adenauer spoke German to each other so that they could understand each other better, while other French officials were forced to wait for the translation.

When Schumann visited London in 1949, he and Bevin settled many disputes over Germany. They agreed that German citizens would govern West Germany without prejudice to the interests and rights of the Allied powers. They agreed that Ruhr could satisfy French economic interests, but not to the detriment of others. Bevin and Schumann also agreed on German federal structures. In agreement with the new Secretary of State Dean Acheson agreed to remove some restrictions on German industrial production and to 'stop' the dismantling of German industry. Schumann demanded to enter Franco-German relations to a new phase and allied powers in Germany to gradually gain observer status. Given that France was giving its sign of reconciliation with Germany, the Allies and Germans had the simplest way of removing disputes between them. What is most important to mention is that the Allies agreed to give West Germany more authority in order to gain the necessary security to stand before the people. This meant that the Germans had to self-govern. By now, the Germans would have temporarily been in charge not of military occupation authority, but of high commissioners. During April 1949, the three foreign ministers of the Western

occupying powers signed the "miraculous agreement" under the Acheson draft. In this agreement Ruhr joined the new German state. Bevin insisted that Stalin should no longer be allowed to interfere to German and European affairs.

Even that Clay wanted to minimize the military authority, again the allies had a lot of powers in Germany. They could prevent any German legislation that may fall in contradiction with occupation policies. They could take any power in case of emergency. These measures pleased Schuman as he could quietly declare in the National Assembly (parliament) that Germany was no longer a threat to France. On May 8, 1949, the Parliamentary Council passed the Basic Law by a simple majority of 53 votes and 12 against. In the next 12 days, the ten states ratified the text (only Bavaria refused because it wanted more autonomy). Even the three governors of the western powers approved it. On May 23, 1949, the Basic Law came into force and the German Federal Republic (Bundesrepublik Deutschland) was created. On August 14, 1949, the first parliamentary elections were held. On September 15, 1949, by a single vote, the Bundestag elected Konrad Adenauer as the first chancellor of the new state, a position he held for 14 years. On September 21, the FRG began functioning as an independent state with limited sovereignty. Four years after the fall of the Third Reich, the Germans began a new political life. They began to decide their own fate, but for this they paid an expensive price; the national division.

WALTER ULBRICHT ESTABLISHES THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

During and after Berlin blockade, Walter Ulrich and Vasil Sokolovski never stopped working to change the structure of power in the Soviet occupation zone. These changes further strengthened Ulbricht's power. From the year 1947, it was rumored everywhere in the Soviet area that the Communist Ulbricht would be the indisputable "god" of the country. The Communists in the Soviet area were initially careful to maintain good relations with the Soviets because they had finally brought them to power. In the early days of his rule, Walter Ulbricht has called immature the conditions for full power in the country. About SED (The United Socialist Party of Germany) had begun the first Soviet suspicions of inability to fully fulfill its Moscow-approved program.

In the first point of view, Ulbricht seemed to pursue an independent policy from the Soviet Union. Even the East German leader had spoken with reservations against the coup in Czechoslovakia. To soften the climate with BS, Ulbricht on July 4, 1948 stated that the SED was no longer a party of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, but a party of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. He outlawed the Social Democratic faction within the party and publicly accused Yugoslav leader Josip Broz-Tito of abandoning communism. For Ulbricht, Moscow represented the only right path for any socialist party. Moscow and Ulbricht would be the only voices heard in the Soviet area. Anton Akerman, one of the most vocal ideologists of the SED, had to distance himself from an article written some time ago from where he stated that the path for all Germans would be one and only. He went so far as to self-denounce his written article in 1946. Now, the Soviet model of classes would have priority over everything. In order to fully complete the Soviet model, in September 1948, special committees were established to control every sphere of life in the Soviet area. Some social democrat were arrested on Sokolovsky's order. Those who escaped fled to West Germany.

Under the orders of Ulbricht and Sokolovsky, the economic planning committee in the soviet area had a staff of 5,000 members covering every aspect of government. With their policies, Ulbricht and SED simplified the work of Western allies to control their share. The

Sovietization of SED and the creation of the Soviet dominated administration area from the communist party undermined Stalin desire to take over the western area. The increase of refugees number from the Soviet area had further reinforced Western officials' conviction that they had no connection to SED. Once again, Ulbricht's attempt to gain as much power in the Soviet area has failed as any of Stalin's attempts to extend Communist influence to other areas. Ulbricht became omnipotent. In accordance to his order, three congresses were organized on behalf of the "German people" with which he boasted that he had influenced all public opinions in Germany. Some of the remaining Communist members in the western areas left for the east and did an invaluable favor to the allies. In their actions, Sokolovski and Ulbricht have damaged the Soviet cause in Germany and throughout Western Europe. Two of the CDU members in East Berlin, Jakob Kaiser and Ernst Lemer, after being forced to attend Ulbricht conventions, fled to the west. With their statements they multiplied by zero the Ulbricht calls that the impact of the congresses had affected the entire Germany.

GERMANY DIVISION

The victory of the CDU in the West was very much in line with Ulbricht politics. Its pragmatism for a secure future had supported the partition of Germany rather than the SPD (German Social Democratic Party) without cause. Because of his conviction that the Berlin blockade would remove all Western allies from Berlin, Ulbricht began in mid-1948 to devise a plan that would include the entire former German capital. He worked for a separate government in the Soviet area. This plan had been presented to Sokolovks since 1946, but when Stalin saw it he rejected it. In the year 1948, with Sokolovsky's help, Ulbricht was finally able to make his plan a reality. With a mind to create a state in the Soviet occupation area, Ulbricht and Sokolovsky set about working to establish a new German army. On July 3, 1948, Sokolovski issued the order to establish a new police force which was in fact a paramilitary organization called Kasernierte Volkspolizei (People's Police Station in Kazerra). After founding GDR, Ulbricht turned this force into a real army with a population of 50,000. Stalin has realized in the year 1948 that Ulbricht had gone further and faster than he wished. Also, the Soviet leader has understood that the air bridge would lead to further separation of the western territories from the east and the possibility of negotiating a united German state has faded over time. Ulbricht's moves to establish a state in the Soviet Union at any cost has undermined Stalin's efforts to negotiate. Finding no way out, Stalin called Ulbricht to Moscow seeking to refuse the policy pursued up to that time. He told to the German leader that the situation was not the same as in other Eastern European countries as there was no longer a united German state. From now on, we had to work only for unity and peace. Stalin went so far as he started to mock Ulbricht, telling him that he was fighting like his Teutonic ancestors bravely but with a fool. He told Ulbricht that he did not want to hear about the East-West divisions anymore. Stalin went as far as he dismissed Sokolovsky after supporting Ulbricht's policy of establishing an East German state. But he needed Ulbricht after he was formed in Moscow by the Cominform and had no one else to replace him.

CONCLUSIONS

Stalin's attempt for a united German state came too late. Events in Germany rolled around so quickly that he and Ulbricht got out of hand. In the West, Ulbricht's SED was hated more than the Soviets. Finding no way out, Ulbricht in May 1949 has organized the elections to the popular congress of the party. The result was disappointed. 35% of voters has said "no" to the list proposed by him and 7% of voters brought the ballot papers invalid. This fact was a strong warning that SED and the Soviets would not find it easy for the Germans in their area.

When the FRY was founded, Stalin has found very difficult to swallow the reality. Communists in the FRY had won 5.7% of the vote and barely entered in the parliament. With their defeat, Stalin could not hope for a strong, unified Communist voice throughout Germany. With no alternative, Stalin more desperately allowed Ulbricht to organize the founding of a German state in the Soviet area. The new state would be called the German Democratic Republic (DDR) a term that Ulbricht himself had rejected in the year 1946. FRY was officially established on October 7, 1949. Stalin's weak wishes put a stamp on the second Soviet failure in Germany.

In order to not bill to himself another failure, Ulbricht has turned third party congress in parliament (Volkskammer) with 330 seats, 210 of which were occupied by SED members. Following the Western example, the Soviet military administration was disbanded on October 10, 1949, and replaced by the Soviet Control Commission. Among the most famous and at the same time the most notorious bodies that was formed was the Ministry of State Security which was accountable only to the Political Bureau. From the beginning, Ulbricht and Grotowohl had this formidable structure in their possession that was known throughout Germany and around the world as Stasi.

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