THREE DAYS AFTER THE BLOCKADE was lifted General Lucius D. Clay returned to America. In his four years in Berlin he had seen Germany rise from the depths of defeat and find its place among the free people of the world. He had seen the beginnings of its economic recovery and the revival of its democratic traditions. He had seen the wave of Communist expansion halted and the tide of victory turn toward the West. Now, with the Communist pressure removed, he was going home, and on the day before he left, he took an unprecedented step. As the American Military Governor for Germany he wanted to pay his respect to the German people, and he did it with a gesture they would understand. Casting precedent aside, he paid a personal visit to Mayor Reuter in the Mayor's own office in West Berlin's City Hall.

The following day when General Clay left from Tempelhof, over a quarter of a million Berliners were there to see him go. Two days later in Washington he addressed both the United States Senate and the House of Representatives. To the House, Clay said that in Berlin the spirit and soul of the German people had been reborn; to the Senate, that the rule of law had been restored.¹
Two weeks after General Clay’s departure, the Council of Foreign Ministers convened in Paris. The Paris meeting had been one of Russia’s conditions for lifting the blockade and the principal item to be discussed was the question of Germany. The session lasted twenty-nine days, and when it adjourned, settlement was no closer than when it began.

In their final communique, issued on June 20, the four Foreign Ministers (Acheson, Bevin, Schuman, and Vyshinsky) acknowledged that they had been unable to reach an agreement. They did say however that they would continue their efforts and that a future meeting would be arranged.

The communique also stated that the occupation officials in Germany would consult on a quadripartite basis to restore transportation between East and West, to expand trade, and to improve economic relations.

As for Berlin, the Foreign Ministers agreed that the May 4th Declaration lifting the blockade would remain in effect. Specifically:

(5) The Governments of France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States agree that the New York Agreement of 4th May, 1949, shall be maintained. Moreover, . . . in order to improve and supplement this and other arrangements and agreements as regards the movement of persons and goods and communications between the Eastern zone and the Western zones and between the zones and Berlin, . . . the Occupation Authorities, each in his own zone, will have an obligation to take the measures necessary to insure the normal functioning and utilization of rail, water and road transport for such movement of persons and goods, and such communications by post, telephone, and telegraph.2

The result of the Paris meeting was to reaffirm Allied rights in Berlin. By agreeing to remove its earlier restrictions, the Soviet Union once more recognized these rights, and the right of Western access as well. Russia had lost her fight to force the Allies out of Berlin and, as with the ebb and flow of the tide, Communist pressure now receded.

Indeed, the Russians had lost more than the fight in Berlin. With the departure of General Clay, the Allied military administration of Germany ended. General Clay was succeeded by a civilian, John J. McCloy, who was to serve as U.S. High Commissioner instead of Mili-
tary Governor. Throughout Germany military government officials were replaced with civilian administrators and the occupation took on a tone of recovery.

More important, the Soviet pressure on Berlin had hastened the formation of a West German government. One of the major reasons for the blockade (if not the major reason) had been to prevent the political merger of the three Western zones. Had it not been for Western determination in Berlin, the Soviets very likely would have succeeded. Allied withdrawal from Berlin in 1948, would have signalled a new shift in the balance of power in Europe. In its aftermath, few Germans would have dared oppose the Russian behemoth. The West persevered, however, and on May 8, 1949—just four days before the blockade was lifted—the Basic Law of the German Federal Republic was officially proclaimed.

The creation of the West German government had been a difficult process. In addition to Communist opposition, the Allies themselves were at first somewhat skeptical, and it was not until April of 1948, that France agreed to join the preliminary talks. Within Germany itself, opposition during the early stages had been pronounced. The Social Democrats in particular opposed the formation of a new nation which would include only part of Germany. Had Communist intentions not been so clearly demonstrated by the blockade, it is quite likely that the opposition of the Germans themselves would have prevented a West German government from coming into existence. As it was, the Russians could not have picked a better method to insure its formation. The heroic stand of the Berliners, and especially of the SPD's own Ernst Reuter, soon converted what opposition there had been.

On September 1, 1948, ten weeks after the blockade began, a special "Parliamentary Council" of German leaders from the three Allied zones convened in Bonn to draft a provisional constitution. The members of the Parliamentary Council had been elected by each of the local parliaments throughout western Germany. Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the venerable ex-mayor of Cologne, was chosen as the Council's chairman.

* An account of these first proceedings, probably apocryphal, relates how Dr. Adenauer arrived at the first meeting, saw the seat belonging to the chairman vacant and took it. Being the oldest member present, he supposedly assumed that the seat at the head of the table was intended for him.
By January of 1949, the draft of the Parliamentary Council was finished. Bowing to the wish for a united Germany, however, the delegates called the resulting document a "Basic Law" rather than a Constitution. A Constitution, they felt, could only be drafted when German reunification became a reality.

As adopted, the Basic Law contained 146 Articles and provided the legal basis for the political merger of the eleven states (Länder) which at that time comprised the Western zones. In the words of the Preamble, the Federal Republic was created: "Conscious of its responsibility before God and mankind, filled with resolve to preserve its national and political unity and to serve world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe." 4

The new government of the Federal Republic was parliamentary in type, resembling most other European democracies. Executive authority was vested in a Chancellor elected by the lower house (Bundestag) of parliament. The Bundestag itself would be composed of 402 members, each of whom would be elected by the people for a term of four years. The upper house of parliament, or Bundesrat, was to be composed of representatives appointed by the governments of each of the eleven states comprising the Federal Republic, who were to serve for an indefinite term at the pleasure of the state which they represented. The concurrence of both houses was required for the passage of all legislation. The Federal President, who was the official head of state, like the heads of state of most continental nations, was largely a ceremonial official with little actual power.

On May 10, 1949, the Rhineland town of Bonn was chosen as the provisional capital of the new government. The first elections took place three months later, and seventy-nine percent of those eligible in West Germany went to the polls, returning a Bundestag divided among five principal parties and numerous smaller ones.**

* On February 16, 1949, the initial draft of the Basic Law was presented to the three military governors. March and April of 1949, were spent ironing out minor differences and on April 25, in a special meeting at Frankfurt, Generals Clay, Robertson and Koenig informally gave their consent. On May 8, the Basic Law was officially adopted by the Parliamentary Council, and on May 12, the day on which the blockade was lifted, the governments of France, Great Britain, and the United States tendered their formal approval.

** The largest party, the CDU (Christian Democratic Union), received thirty-one percent of the vote cast and obtained 139 seats. The SPD became the second largest party in the Federal Republic with 131 seats followed by the Free Democrats with 52 seats, the German Party with 17 seats and the Communists (SED) with 15.
Recovery (1949–1958)

On September 7, the new Parliament met in Bonn and five days later Professor Theodor Heuss, noted Tübingen professor and outspoken critic of the Nazi regime, was elected Federal President. Three days afterwards, on September 15, the seventy-three-year-old Konrad Adenauer was elected Chancellor.

The following week, on September 21, 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany formally came into being. The three Allied High Commissioners promulgated a new Occupation Statute and terminated the military occupation. On the same day, the High Commissioners officially received Chancellor Adenauer and the members of his new government in a special ceremony in the Petersberg Hotel overlooking the Rhine just outside Bonn. (The Petersberg Hotel had been the residence of the British delegation during the fateful 1938 meeting between Neville Chamberlain and Adolph Hitler at Bad Godesberg.)

In a moving speech, Chancellor Adenauer expressed his gratitude to the Commissioners for the help which the Allies had given Germany during the military occupation. The Chancellor then shook hands with each of the High Commissioners and afterwards presented his cabinet. But the cabinet did not shake hands. They were appointees of the Chancellor, not the Allies, and der Alte wanted to make this point clear.5

The status of Berlin under the West German Basic Law is unique. The members of the Parliamentary Council originally proposed that Berlin should be included as a state (Land) within the Federal Republic. The Allies took exception to this proposal, however, since Berlin was still under four-power occupation. The French especially were hesitant about the inclusion of Berlin in the new West German government, but more because of fear of a united Germany than because of the city's four-power status.

On November 22, 1948, while the negotiations over the Basic Law were still in progress, General Clay advised Washington of this difficulty. After detailing several other areas of conflict with the French, Clay stated:

I am even more concerned with the French comment that the participation of the representatives of Berlin at Bonn is threatening the political reconstruction of western Germany. We have told the French that if quadripartite government exists in Berlin at the
time that the constitution is approved, we will have to disapprove Berlin participation in western German government. On the other hand, if Berlin is then a split city, it must be supported by western Germany. Careful attention must be given under the conditions which the constitution is approved to including Berlin in western German government. The French do not really want a united Germany with Berlin as the capital. Our policy calls for a united Germany. Any act on our part which would indicate that we oppose a united Germany would lessen greatly our influence in western Germany. [Italics added.]

When the initial draft of the Basic Law was presented to the military governors three months later, Berlin was included as one of the states of the Federal Republic. Since the blockade was then still in effect, there was some doubt whether the four-power status of Berlin would continue. Also, the Social Democrats were extremely desirous of uniting Berlin with the Federal Republic. Berlin was one of the traditional centers of SPD strength in Germany and the Socialists wanted its votes in the new German government. It can be assumed that the Christian Democrats were somewhat less enthusiastic about Berlin's inclusion, although for political reasons they supported it vigorously.

Had the blockade continued or had the West decided to end the fiction of four-power occupation in Berlin, it is conceivable that the former German capital would have been included as a full member state of the Federal Republic. On May 8, 1949, when the Parliamentary Council formally ratified the Basic Law, the provisions regarding Berlin were still included. But when the Allied military governors formally approved the Basic Law four days later, specific exception was taken to these provisions. In a letter to Dr. Adenauer, the military governors stated:

* Specifically, these articles provide:

** Article 23**

For the time being, the Basic Law shall apply in the territory of the Länd der Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Greater Berlin, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein, Wuerttemberg-Baden and Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern. It shall be put into force for others parts of Germany on their accession.

** Article 144**

(2) Insofar as restrictions are imposed on the application of the Basic Law to one of the Länd er enumerated in Article 23, . . . or to a part of one of these Länd er enumerated, that land or a part of the land shall have the right, . . . to send representatives to the Bundestag and . . . to the Bundesrat.
A third reservation [of the Western powers] concerns the participation of Greater Berlin in the Federation. We interpret the effect of Articles 23 and 144(2) of the Basic Law as constituting acceptance of our previous request that while Berlin may not be accorded voting membership in the Bundestag or Bundesrat nor be governed by the Federation she may, nevertheless, designate a small number of representatives to attend the meetings of those legislative bodies.9

Thus, while Berlin was recognized by the Basic Law as a state of the Federal Republic, the action of the military governors in taking exception to these provisions prevented her from becoming a full-fledged member. One month later, when the Berlin city assembly officially requested the Commandants of the Western sectors to remove this restriction, their request was refused. Accordingly, when the Federal Republic officially came into being on September 21, the representatives from Berlin were present in Bonn in an advisory capacity only.10

Today, Berlin’s position is much the same. It is still technically under four-power occupation although according to the Basic Law of the German Federal Republic it is also a Land of West Germany. Only the Allied reservation of May 13, 1949, keeps these provisions of the Basic Law from being applicable. Laws passed by the Federal Assembly in Bonn are applicable to Berlin when they are approved by the Berlin city assembly. In practice, laws passed in Bonn which are intended to affect Berlin contain a special “Berlin clause” which provides that the city shall put the particular law into effect within thirty days. The action of the Berlin assembly is then a formality.11

Except for the fact that it has remained under de jure Allied occupation, the development of self-government in Berlin has proceeded concurrently with that of West Germany. On August 29, 1950, a new Constitution for Berlin was approved by the three Western Commandants which granted the Berliners virtual independence.* Two

* Under the 1950 Constitution, the city government in Berlin consists of a Lord Mayor, a Deputy Lord Mayor, a Senate (Senat) of 13 senators, and a City Assembly of 133 members. The City Assembly is directly elected by the people and in turn elects the mayors and the Senat. The Senat, in practice, is an executive body rather than a deliberative one, and each senator is charged with the administration of some facet of city government (e.g., transportation, finance, education, etc.). Since Berlin is also an unofficial Land of the Federal Republic, the Lord Mayor of Berlin also serves as a type of Prime Minister for the city, and the
years later, on May 26, 1952, when the occupation of West Germany finally ended, the ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic were strengthened considerably. In a letter to Chancellor Adenauer, the three Western High Commissioners advised him that they would cooperate with the Federal Republic as much as possible in the city's political and economic development. Shortly afterward, the Western Commandants officially waived their right to review the actions of the city assembly.\(^12\)

In contrast to her political recovery, Berlin's economic recovery proceeded slowly. The ten months of the blockade prevented all but the most essential commerce from taking place. Food and fuel took priority on the incoming aircraft, and without raw materials Berlin's industries stood idle. Even after the blockade was lifted Berlin continued to lag far behind its West German competitors. There were several reasons for this.

First, situated one hundred and ten miles within the Soviet zone, Berlin was deprived of its normal commercial contacts with the surrounding area. Its trade, by necessity, was conducted with the West, from which it was geographically isolated. Aside from the added transportation costs, this remoteness in itself seriously hindered a thriving economy.

Second, because of the blockade, Berlin was unable to take advantage of the currency revision in mid-1948 that restored a stable deutsche mark. Whereas in West Germany the new currency meant that business and industry could begin to plan for the future without fear of a ruinous inflation, the blockade prevented similar plans from being carried out in Berlin. Accordingly, West Germany gained an extremely important one-year head start in putting the sound currency to work.

Third, and directly related to the first two reasons, Berlin was plagued by a mountainous unemployment problem. Before the war, Berlin was not only the capital of the German state but the center of Germany's business and commerce as well. Thousands of people

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city assembly as its House of Representatives, but there is little added responsibility as a result.

[The Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg also occupy this type of dual status, being both states of the Federal Republic and cities as well. In the United States, the same would be true should Washington, D.C., be admitted to the Union as a sovereign state.]
were employed there as white-collar officials and clerks in the head offices of Germany's banking, insurance and industrial combines, and thousands more in government. When the war ended, all this was over. The government was dissolved and most of the major commercial organizations moved their headquarters to West Germany. As a result, Berlin's immense army of clerks and officials were left without a means of livelihood. While the city's industrial workers could be reemployed quite easily, these could not.

Paradoxically, the blockade itself eased Berlin's immediate unemployment problem by putting large numbers of people to work unloading and distributing supplies. The construction of Tegel airfield alone employed over 20,000 persons. When the blockade ended these temporary jobs also ended, and the number of unemployed in Berlin by mid-1949 exceeded 400,000.

In addition, Berlin's postwar population was no longer young and vigorous. Over twenty-five percent were pensioners. Persons older than sixty far outnumbered those under twenty, and men between the ages of twenty-five and forty were only one-third as numerous as before the war.

Thus, even though the airlift had succeeded, Berlin's economic plight was desperate. Money was urgently needed to begin the process of reconstruction. On July 30, the city government petitioned the Western Commandants to include Berlin in the Marshall Plan. Two weeks later American High Commissioner McCloy announced that 55 million deutsche marks ($13 million) would be made available to Berlin immediately for the construction of electric generating facilities. And on December 15, 1949, a three-year Marshall Plan agreement was signed in Bonn authorizing Berlin 95 million marks ($24 million) in economic assistance. Fifty million of the ninety-five million were to be spent for housing and small industries; forty million for heavy industry, and five million for public communication systems.\textsuperscript{13}

With these infusions, Berlin gradually began to recover. Rubble removal was stepped up to a two-shift per day basis, and priority for employment was given to those supporting families. Construction also resumed on an accelerated basis and by the mid-1950's amounted to more than 250 million dollars annually. The value of Berlin's total exports rose from three million dollars in 1950 to thirty million in 1954, and production returned to almost seventy percent of its prewar
level. The number of jobless was reduced to 268,000 in 1952, and 158,000 in 1954. By 1959, unemployment was virtually unknown.

As Berlin’s industrial capacity increased, so did the prosperity of its commercial establishments. Stores again were well stocked; hotels and restaurants began to thrive; neon lights went on at night, and the Kurfürstendamm and Tauentzien once more became alive with shoppers and tourists.

But Berlin’s recovery was still a tenuous one. Its lifeline to West Germany stretched 110 miles through the Soviet zone and was susceptible at every point to interruption and control by Communist authorities. Even after the Allied airlift ended, a “commercial airlift” of ninety to a hundred planes continued flying products out of Berlin which, if carried overland, might have been seized under various pretexts by the East. A so-called “creeping blockade” applied intermittently by the Soviets over the years further hampered efforts toward recovery. While the Communist measures have never seriously interfered with the commercial life of Berlin for an extended period, they have had considerable nuisance value in keeping the Berliners aware of their precarious existence.

An example of this intermittent harassment occurred on July 8, 1949, less than three weeks after the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers, when the Soviet authorities closed down all of the crossing points between their zone and the West for a period of seven days. No excuse was given, and facilities were not restored until a formal protest was lodged by the Western Commandants on July 12.14

In January of 1950, the assault on commercial traffic between West Germany and Berlin was resumed. Trucks traveling the Berlin-Helmstedt autobahn were subjected to prolonged searches and those carrying scrap metal were denied passage. Allied protests brought only occasional relief, and truck traffic to Berlin did not return to normal until the nineteenth of February.15

For two days in July, 1950, electricity into West Berlin from the power plants located in the East was interrupted. On September 21, the East German authorities cut the flow of current completely. The generator which had been constructed in West Berlin with Marshall Plan funds then took over the supply of the three Western sectors permanently. Two days later, on September 23, Soviet authorities
blocked barge traffic into West Berlin, and did not restore it until October 5.16

In 1951, the Communist harassment continued. Following the expiration of a trade agreement between East and West Germany on August 2, 1951, Soviet authorities imposed what amounted to a prohibitive road tax on all autobahn traffic to Berlin. This tax was not reduced until the signing of a new trade pact on September 20, 1951.

In May of 1952, Russian authorities denied passage to all American and British military vehicles on the Helmstedt autobahn for one week. This was the first interference with Allied traffic since the blockade had been lifted in 1949. The Soviet ban against Allied vehicles was followed on May 27, 1952 (the date of West Germany's admission to the European Defense Community), with the total closure of the borders surrounding West Berlin and the cutting of all telephone communications between West Berlin and both East Berlin and East Germany. Although the border was reopened later that month following Allied protests, direct telephone connections were never resumed.

Also in 1952, an American hospital plane was buzzed by two Soviet MIG-15 fighters when it strayed slightly from the air corridor in heavy weather. The following year, a British Lincoln bomber was shot down by MIG fighters over the Elbe River just outside the Hamburg corridor with the loss of all on board.

In spite of such pressure, perhaps to some extent because of it, the Berliners did not waver in their resistance to communism. On October 24, 1950, to commemorate this resistance, the American people presented to Berlin the Freedom Bell—a replica of the Liberty Bell and inscribed after the fashion of Abraham Lincoln: "That this world under God may have a new birth of freedom." The day the Freedom Bell was unveiled in Berlin was a day of rejoicing. General Clay returned from America to make the dedication, and his reception was a moving testament to the place he occupies in the hearts of the Berliners. From all over the city they came to welcome him; almost half a million crowded into the plaza and streets in front of the Schöneberger Rathaus for the ceremony. Children were let out of school to attend, and many persons from the East also came over.

For those from the East it was an especially memorable day. Life under the puppet regime of Walter Ulbricht was bleak beyond de-
scription. Shortly after the splitting of the city government in 1948, a system of Communist house and street wardens, much like that of the Nazis, had been established in East Berlin. On April 25, 1949, all land and private houses in East Berlin were expropriated. This was followed on May 1, by a governmental order seizing all banks and insurance companies. On May 30, the East German People's Council formally proclaimed a constitution for the so-called "German Democratic Republic," and on October 7, 1949, the regime officially came into existence.

In April of 1950, when the Berlin city assembly requested free citywide elections, the East refused to take part. When the request was repeated again in 1951 by Mayor Reuter, the East German government again declined, calling the proposed elections "uninteresting parish contests." The following April, a special UN Commission investigating the possibility of all-German elections was denied admission to East Berlin.

In addition to the lack of political liberty, the economic plight of the average citizen in the so-called "workers and peasants state" of East Germany was disastrous. A pound of butter—when it was available—cost 10 marks ($2.50); a pound of meat, 12 marks ($3.00); a pound of coffee, 75 marks ($18.75). Shoes were three times as expensive in the East as in West Germany, and new clothes were virtually unobtainable.

Private enterprise in the Soviet zone was quickly liquidated by the Ulbricht regime. At the end of 1950, less than nine percent of the basic industry of East Germany was privately owned, and by 1958, the figure had sunk to less than four percent. Retail trade, which previously had been all independently owned, was less than fifty percent private in 1950, and less than twenty-five percent in 1958.

In agriculture, the situation in East Germany was chaotic. In 1945, when the Soviet occupation began, all land holdings over 247 acres had been expropriated. Collectivization began in 1952, and was completed in the spring of 1960. Today, eighteen years after the war, East Germany still produces less agriculturally than it did in 1939, and food shortages are still very much of a problem.

One of the immediate results of the attempts to collectivize East German agriculture in 1952 was a pronounced increase in the number of refugees leaving the Soviet zone. To halt it, the Ulbricht regime be-
gan the construction of a 100-meter "death strip" along the West German frontier, and evacuated all families living along the border who were not "politically reliable." At the same time, the number of crossing points from East to West Berlin was reduced from 227 to less than a hundred. Armed policemen were placed at the remaining crossing points, and everyone (other than Allied personnel) traveling between the two sectors was forced to submit to rigorous customs checks.

In spite of the East German security measures, over 20,000 persons fled the Communist Workers' Paradise in September. The trend continued throughout the year, and the month of January, 1953, brought no respite. By February the monthly total of refugees was exceeding 30,000, and on the second day of March, 1953, more than 6,000 persons reported in West Berlin to ask for asylum.

Stalin's death on March 6, 1953, caused a brief relaxation in Communist terror, but the exodus continued unabated. Over 58,000 persons—an all time monthly record—fled the "German Democratic Republic" that month. During April and May the figures remained at about the same level, and a feeling of extreme tenseness now gripped the Soviet zone.

On May 14, 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party in East Germany proposed a ten percent increase in individual production quotas. When the measures were put into effect the following month, reaction was bitter. In East Berlin, the workers on the gigantic Stalin Allee housing project held a dramatic protest meeting. On June 16, a delegation of over 300 from the project marched to the East German House of Ministries on Leipzigerstr. (the former headquarters of Hermann Goering's Luftwaffen Ministerium).

As the marchers made their way through the city, other workers joined them, and by the time they arrived at Leipzigerstr. the crowd numbered over 5,000. The East German police made no effort to interfere with the demonstrators, and the Communist functionaries who tried to explain the new quotas were shouted down. The rest of the day was spent in organizing other protest rallies throughout East Berlin, and by nightfall a full-fledged revolt was in the making.

The following morning, June 17, 1953, East German workers and Soviet tanks clashed repeatedly in East Berlin. A crowd of 50,000 East Berliners stormed through the Brandenburg Gate and tore down the
Red flag flying above it. For a fleeting moment, freedom seemed to reign in East Germany.

But the revolt was doomed by Russian intervention. By the evening of June 17, it was over. In the next several days the uprising in East Berlin spread throughout East Germany but there, as in Berlin, it was also put down by the bayonets of the Red Army.

On June 18, Mayor Ernst Reuter, speaking over the radio from West Berlin, eloquently delivered its epitaph:

A people cannot be held in submission in the long run, with martial law and bayonets and tanks; and it would be terrible if the graves, which are already deep enough, should be made deeper. . . .

What I saw today at the Potsdamer Platz of these wastes, this dead, empty city, reminded me of my first impression at the end of 1946 in that terrible winter when I first returned to Berlin and saw the Tiergarten. A man's heart could have stopped, and it could stop today as we see this city murdered by the forces of history in which we have all been torn.

We renew our appeal to the entire world; the world must finally understand and I hope must admit that the Germans are a people who know the worth of freedom. . . .

Less than four months later this stirring German leader, Professor Ernst Reuter, Lord Mayor of Berlin, was dead. The Berlin radio at half-hour intervals on the afternoon and evening of September 27, 1953, announced that the Lord Mayor had died of heart failure earlier that day. To the Berliners, the departure of a great friend and leader brought profound grief. They remembered that the previous year at Christmas time Ernst Reuter had asked them to place lighted candles in their windows as a greeting to their loved ones who were missing—to those still held prisoner in Russia. And now, on Reuter's death, to express their grief once more, windows all over Berlin again were filled with candles. It was a spontaneous demonstration of the place which Ernst Reuter held in the hearts and minds of his people.

To Reuter's friend, Willy Brandt, as he walked home from the Mayor's house that day, "those innumerable, flickering little flames . . . looked like innumerable glittering tears. The Berliner wept wherever he received the news . . . a whole city was mourning for its dead leader; the people were moved as many Americans were when, in April of 1945, President Roosevelt left them forever."
With Reuter's death Berlin was plunged momentarily into a period of despair. The coalition of Social Democrats, Christian Democrats and Free Democrats which he had fashioned during the blockade fell apart. Dr. Walter Schreiber of the CDU, who had been Deputy Mayor under Reuter, became Lord Mayor, but his political sympathies belonged, it seemed, to an era long past. The Social Democratic Party, the largest and most powerful party in Berlin, left the government coalition, and without its support the city government was frustrated.

The times themselves following Reuter's death also were troubled. The inability of the Western powers to take positive measures following the June 17th uprising still rankled. The courageous people of East Berlin who had dared to take revolution into their own hands had been ignored—left alone, it seemed, to fight the military might of the Red Army. The East German regime, despised and hated though it was, had been allowed to keep itself in power, while the West confined itself to anguished hand-wringing and paper protests.

In Berlin itself, the immediate Allied reaction on June 17 had been to dissociate from the revolt. In their first public announcement the three Western Commandants denied their complicity in the uprising. Only later was the Soviet action in putting it down formally protested. For many in West Berlin who had suffered through the blockade, it seemed that the Allies were resting on their laurels. At a time when East Germany was in turmoil, when guidance and direction from Moscow were crippled as a result of Stalin's death, many thought the West should have acted (at least diplomatically) to seek an overall settlement in Germany.

As a result of the inability of the Western powers to intervene, the Soviets were given a free hand to restore the power of the satrapal Ulbricht regime. Over ten thousand persons were arrested in the Soviet zone for complicity in the uprising. Although most were later released, sixteen were sentenced to death by a Soviet military court. For many people in the East, the lesson of the revolt was a tragic one. There now seemed no alternative but to get along with the Communists as best they could. If there was to be salvation, it would have to come from without.

In West Berlin and West Germany the immediate response to the East German uprising was similar to that of the Western powers. A feeling of helplessness gripped everyone. On July 1, 1953, the West
German Bundestag declared that henceforth the seventeenth of June would be celebrated as a national holiday—the Day of German Unity. In West Berlin, the broad extension of the Unter den Linden leading into the Brandenburg Gate was renamed the Strasse of the Seventeenth of June in commemoration of the revolt. In the East, the workers on the Stalin Allee project succeeded in their immediate aim of reducing production quotas but only for two months, and in August the quotas were raised again to their former level.

In January of 1954, six months after the East Berlin revolt, a new effort was made to reach a settlement in Germany. Following preliminary consultations in the UN, the Seventh Session of the Council of Foreign Ministers convened in Berlin on January 25. Indicative of the growing rift between East and West, the site of the meetings alternated daily between the Allied Control Council in the American sector and the Russian Embassy. The Conference itself produced little in the way of tangible results. Western proposals for free all-German elections were rejected out of hand by Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov, and when the conference adjourned on February 20, agreement on Germany was still in the far distant future.

One month later, on March 25, 1954, the Soviet Union announced that it was granting the puppet East German regime “full sovereignty.” The Soviet pronouncement was followed on April 8, by a joint Western declaration refusing to recognize the Soviet action.

The three governments, [according to the Allied statement,] . . . will continue to regard the Soviet Union as the responsible power for the Soviet zone of Germany. These governments do not recognize the sovereignty of the East German regime which is not based on free elections, and do not intend to deal with it as a government. They believe that this attitude will be shared by other states, who, like themselves, will continue to recognize the Government of the Federal Republic as the only freely elected and legally constituted government in Germany.28

In a partial reply to the Soviet efforts to create a separate and “sovereign” East German state, the Federal Parliament, in a symbolic gesture of German unity, convened in Berlin on July 17, 1954, and reelected the benign Dr. Heuss as Federal President for a second term. Heuss’s election was followed by the passage of a joint resolu-
tion proclaiming Berlin as the natural capital of German political life, and calling for eventual German reunification.

Three months later the first elections were held in West Berlin since the end of the blockade. The Social Democrats, who had not yet recovered from the loss of Ernst Reuter, remained the largest single party in Berlin, but lost almost 20 percent of its former strength to the CDU, which was then coasting on a wave of Adenauer popularity. The Communist (SED) Party entered the lists once more, after having sat out the 1948 elections, but received less than 3 percent of the total vote. Professor Otto Suhr of the Social Democrats was elected Lord Mayor and a coalition government returned to power. With the unusually high figure of 91.8 percent of the electorate voting, the results were as follows:

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<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
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<td>(44.6%)</td>
<td>69</td>
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<td>FDP</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small parties</td>
<td>145,291</td>
<td>(9.5%)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SED</td>
<td>41,345</td>
<td>(2.7%)</td>
<td>—</td>
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The following year, 1955, saw a brief thaw in East-West relations. Following the signing of the Austrian Peace Treaty in May, the first postwar Summit Conference between the Big Four heads of government convened in Geneva in early July. Nikita Khrushchev, who had recently come to power in Russia following the overthrow of Georgi Malenkov, seemed willing to reach a settlement in Germany. In a final directive to their Foreign Ministers, the Big Four agreed that the reunification of Germany was to be carried out by means of free elections, and that the settlement of the "German question" was to be achieved "in conformity with the natural interests of the German people and the interests of European security."

But the "Spirit of Geneva" was shortlived. On September 20, the Soviet Union granted full diplomatic recognition to the East German regime and gave East Germany the right to control all traffic to and from Berlin, except for that of the Allied forces.24

The Western powers replied to the Soviet action the following week by announcing that they would continue to hold the Soviet Union responsible for the fulfillment of all previous agreements regarding
Berlin. The three Western Foreign Ministers meeting in Washington also reaffirmed "that the Federal Republic of Germany is the only German Government freely and legitimately constituted and therefore entitled to speak for Germany as the representative of the German people. . . . These three governments do not recognize the East German regime nor the existence of a state in the Soviet zone." *25

The following year, on October 23, 1956, news of the Hungarian Revolution broke over Berlin with a sudden fury, and with it rose the star of another Berliner who in a short time was to fall heir to the mantle of Ernst Reuter. In the Budapest massacre the Berliners were witnessing another revolt of free people violently suppressed by the armed might of the Red Army, and memories of the East Berlin uprising rapidly revived. As on June 17, 1953, indignation combined with helplessness raised the temper of the city to a fever pitch. A mass protest rally was organized in front of the Schöneberger Rathaus on the evening of November 4. By this time it had become obvious that the West would not intervene, and the 100,000 Berliners who assembled there that evening were in an ugly mood. Both Franz Neumann and Ernst Lemmer, leaders respectively of Berlin's SPD and CDU, were hissed and booed when they tried to speak. They were followed by a speaker who was not even on the program—the relatively obscure forty-three-year-old President of Berlin's city assembly, Willy Brandt.

The early life of Brandt is well known.26 He was born out of wedlock in Lübeck on December 18, 1913. His father was never known to him. His early name, "Herbert Framm," was taken from his mother's

* Following the Western announcement, the Soviet Union stated that Allied access to Berlin would not be affected. According to the Kremlin:

As for control over the movement between the German Federal Republic and West Berlin of military personnel and freight of garrisons of the U.S.A., Great Britain, and France, quartered in Berlin, in negotiations between the Governments of the U.S.S.R. and the German Democratic Republic, it was stipulated that this control would henceforth be carried out by the command of the Soviet Military forces in Germany temporarily until the achievement of a suitable agreement.

It is self-understood that, in concluding the above mentioned treaty, the Governments of the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic took into consideration the obligations which both have under existing international agreements relating to Germany as a whole.

family and he grew up in the most modest circumstances. He took part in early Socialist causes in Germany; fought the storm troopers and the Stahlhelm; fled when the Nazis came to power in the early ’Thirties; and fought with the loyalists in the Spanish Civil War. Afterward he went to Norway, became a Norwegian citizen, joined the resistance and according to some, fought against the Germans during the Nazi invasion in 1940.

In 1946, Brandt returned to Berlin as press attaché to the Norwegian Military Mission, and carried the rank of Major in the Norwegian Army. At the end of 1947, he renounced his Norwegian citizenship and applied for renaturalization in Germany. A friend of both Ernst Reuter and Kurt Schumacher, Brandt became head of the SPD’s liaison office in Berlin which dealt directly with the Allied Military Government. In 1949, following the departure of the Allied High Commissioners from Berlin to West Germany, he was chosen as one of Berlin’s eight representatives to the Bundestag in Bonn. Later that year he became the local SPD chairman in the borough of Wilmersdorf. In 1950, he was elected to the city assembly, and became its president in 1955. In both 1952 and 1954, he ran against Franz Neumann for the SPD party chairmanship in Berlin, but was defeated on both occasions.

Now, on the evening of November 4, as he began to address the Budapest demonstrators, Brandt quickly found a responsive chord. Instead of encouraging a march into East Berlin as many wanted, he volunteered to lead the crowd to the Memorial for the Victims of Stalinism located on the Steinplatz in the British sector. Most of the demonstrators followed Brandt and the others drifted off. When they reached the Steinplatz, Brandt concluded the march with a short speech and then led in the singing of the sentimental German folk-song “Ich hatt’ einen Kameraden.”

As the meeting was breaking up, word was brought to Brandt that another group of demonstrators with torches in hand were marching to the Brandenburg Gate. The West Berlin police, he was told, were trying to contain the marchers but the situation was critical. Brandt, and his wife Ruth, then jumped into a car and rushed toward the Gate. Already a formation of the East German Peoples Police and Russian tanks were drawn up beyond it on the Unter den Linden, and an armed clash seemed in the offing.
On the way to the Brandenburg Gate, Brandt and his wife passed another column of marchers in the Tiergarten. Here the police also were having a difficult time and Brandt stopped, grabbed a microphone from a damaged police car and spoke to the crowd. According to his own later account, the pressure on the West Berlin police cordon slackened. Again the song, "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden," and the marchers dispersed.

At the Brandenburg Gate the situation was still critical. West Berlin police president Johannes Stumm had succeeded partially in restoring order, but there was still danger that the situation would get out of hand. Brandt spoke to the demonstrators from atop an automobile. "Then," he states, "I placed myself at the head of another procession, a smaller one this time, and led it away from the Brandenburg Gate, past the Russian War Memorial, situated on West Berlin territory. Here I asked the people to sing defiantly the German national anthem. In political situations it is useful to remember that my German countrymen are fond of singing." 27

With the singing of the "Deutschland Lied," the demonstration was over, and what could have been a very nasty incident had been averted. In October of the following year, on the death of Professor Suhr, Willy Brandt was elected Lord Mayor of Berlin.