

# BERLIN 1961

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## BERLIN—1961

*For the third time in just over 13 years, the Soviets have launched a major threat to the freedom of West Berlin. The nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance are pledged to protect that freedom. I am confident that we and our Allies and the stalwart people of West Berlin will meet this challenge. This pamphlet sets forth some of the basic facts about Berlin, the repeated assaults on its freedom, and our obligations. It outlines also our patient and persistent efforts to resolve the issues involved by peaceful means. I believe that it will provide useful background for all citizens. Public understanding of the necessity for both firmness and diplomacy will contribute to the prospects for peace.*

August 18, 1961

DEAN RUSK  
Secretary of State

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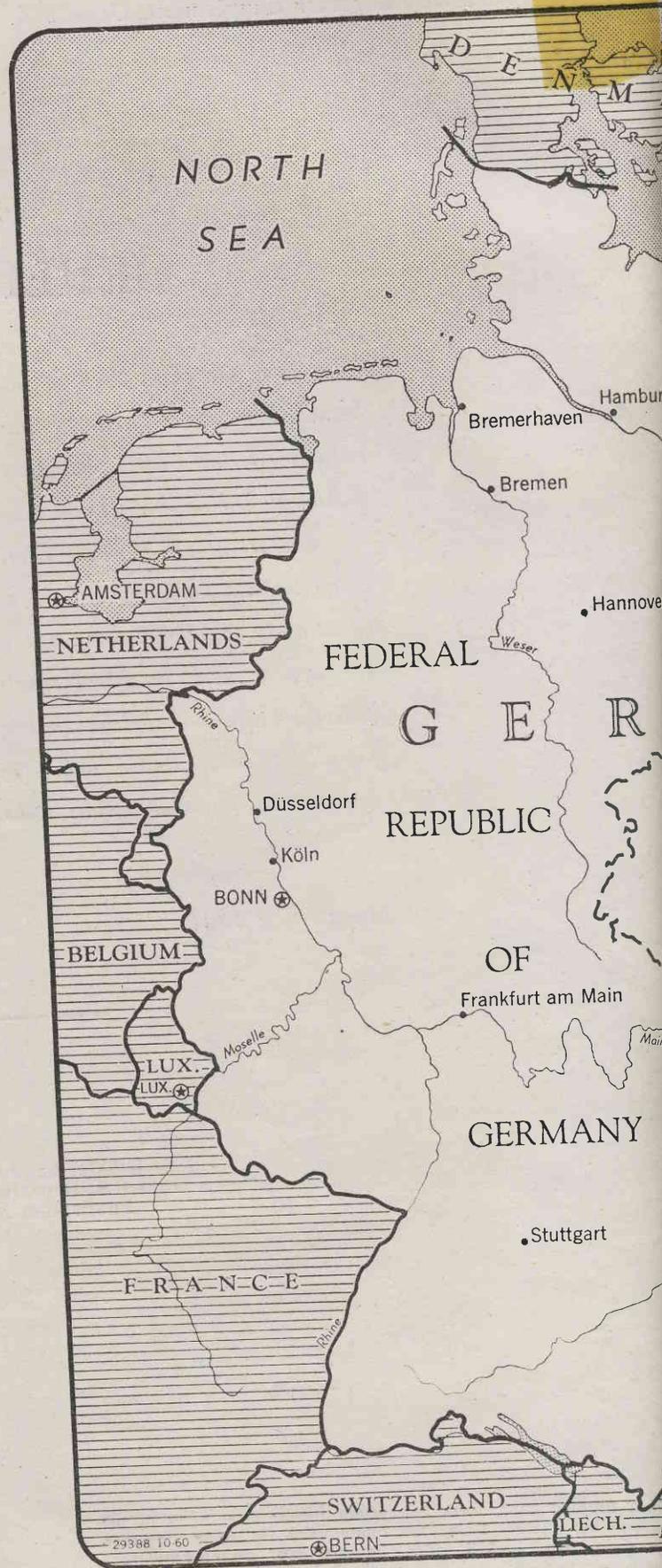
IN A DIVIDED CITY, these two young friends meet often at the border but never have the opportunity to play together. To them, the barbed wire barriers are accepted without question—something which existed before they were born.

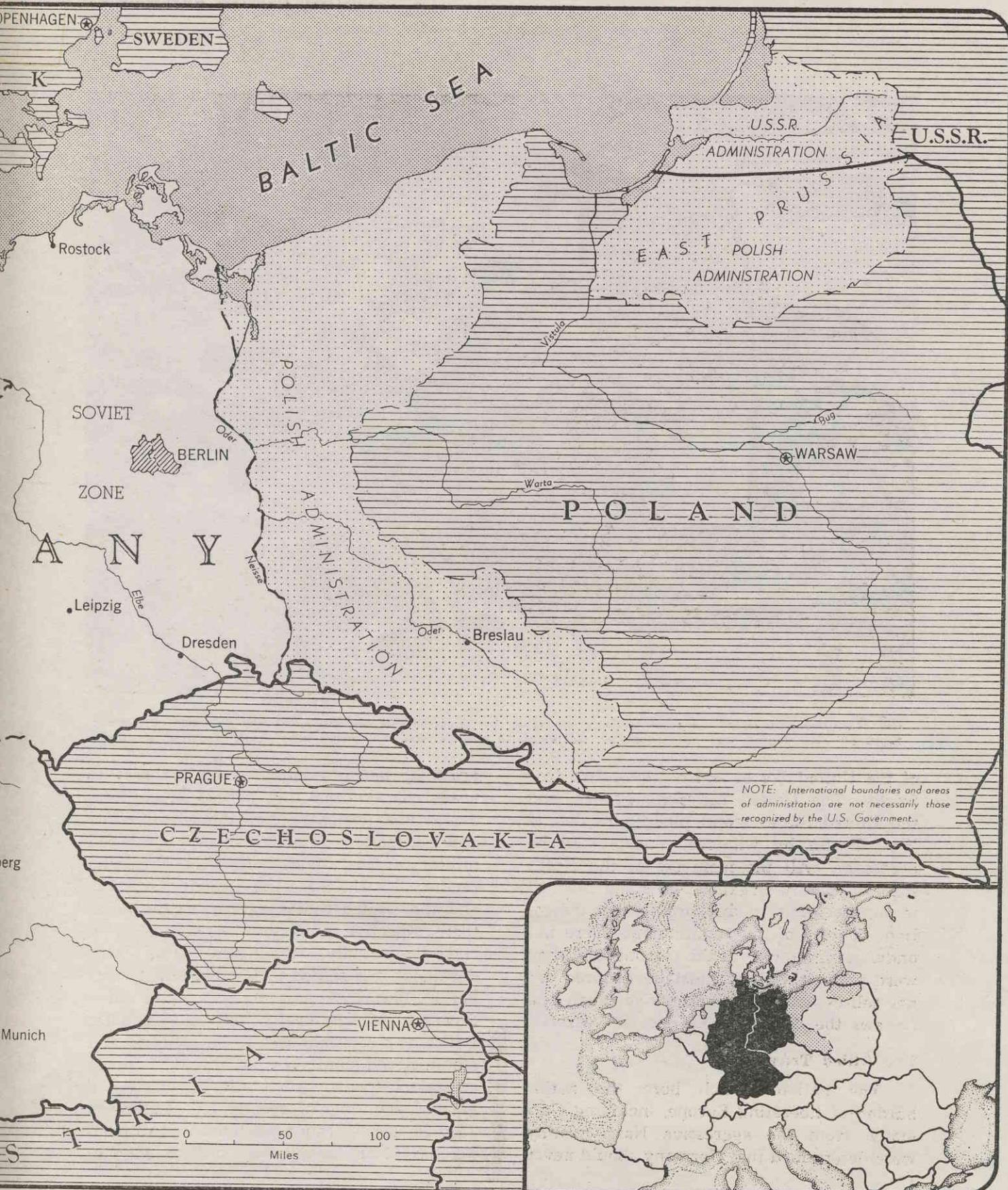
**B**ERLIN lies more than 100 miles behind the Iron Curtain within the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. It is not, however, part of that zone. It is a separate political entity for which the four major Allies of the war against Nazi tyranny are jointly responsible. Its special status stems from the fact that it was the capital not only of Hitler's Third Reich but of the German nation formed in the latter half of the 19th century. In essence, the four major Allies agreed to hold Berlin, as the traditional capital, in trust for a democratic and united Germany.

The Federal Republic of Germany, comprising the former occupation zones of the Western Allies, is a democratic state. Its 53,000,000 people enjoy self-determination at all levels. Through their freely elected Federal Government, they have taken their place in the community of free nations.

By contrast, the 16,000,000 inhabitants of the Eastern zone are ruled by the East German regime called the "German Democratic Republic". That regime was not chosen by the people it controls and has never been freely endorsed by them. It was imposed by duress and is maintained by the apparatus of a police state backed by the military forces of the Soviet Union. Berlin contains four sectors. The 2,250,000 inhabitants of its three Western sectors live under a municipal Government which they have freely chosen. The Eastern sector has some 1,100,000 inhabitants. In 1948, the Soviets separated it from the rest of the city. Subsequently they permitted the East Germans to declare it the capital of the East German regime. Thus the people of East Berlin, like those of the Eastern zone of Germany, are ruled by a regime they did not choose.

Every President of the United States since the second world war has deemed the defence of Free Berlin critical to the security







**THE 16,000,000 INHABITANTS** of East Germany are ruled by a Communist regime called the "German Democratic Republic." The regime was not chosen by the people it controls, and has never been freely endorsed by them.

of the United States and of the entire free world. The United Kingdom, France, and the United States stand pledged to defend West Berlin by whatever means may be necessary. All the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization stand pledged to support them in discharging that obligation. These solemn commitments were not undertaken lightly. If the reasons why they were undertaken and must be honored are not self-evident, they become so when one reviews the history of the last 16 years.

#### **The Allied Trusteeship**

The nations which bore the major burden of liberating Europe, including Germany, from the aggressive Nazi tyranny were determined that Germany should never

again be permitted to become a threat to peace. To that end they agreed on the total defeat and destruction of the Nazi regime and occupation of all Germany by Allied military forces. Well before the Nazi surrender, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed on the areas their respective military forces would occupy and temporarily administer. The basic document was signed in London on September 12, 1944, by representatives of the three Powers. It specifically set aside greater Berlin as a separate area to be occupied and administered jointly by all three. It made crystal clear that greater Berlin was not a part of any zone of occupation. Later—on July 26, 1945—France was admitted to partnership in the occupation, with a zone in

**THROUGH A FREELY ELECTED** Federal Government, West Germans have taken their place in the community of free nations. Thousands crowd West Berlin's Platz der Republic during the city's Labour Day celebrations, May 1.

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**HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS** of young people have fled from East Germany in search of human freedom that exists beyond the border. But many elderly residents of the Communist zone feel that it is too late to make the break.

Western Germany and a sector and joint responsibilities in Berlin. Marshal Stalin had acceded to this reluctantly, with the condition that the French zone and sector be carved out of those previously assigned to Britain and the United States.

Meanwhile, at the Potsdam Conference,

July 17—August 2, 1945, the heads of government of the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed on certain more specific measures to be applied in Germany. These included reparations and the eradication of the National Socialist Party and of all Nazi institutions and propaganda.

They included also positive measures to prepare for the "eventual reconstruction of German political life on a democratic basis and for eventual peaceful cooperation in international life by Germany."

Under the Potsdam Agreement (or Protocol), local Government was to be developed immediately on democratic principles through elective councils. As soon as practicable, elections were to be held for regional, provincial, and state (land) governments. At all these levels, the occupation authorities were pledged to encourage all democratic political parties by granting them rights of assembly and public discussion.

### Agreement to Reestablish Germany As One Nation

For the time being, Germany was not to have a central government. But it was to be treated as a single economic unit and "certain essential central German administrative departments, headed by state secretaries" were to be established in the fields of finance, transport, communication, foreign trade, and industry. These were to act under the supervision of the Allied Control Council, the central governing body for the four occupation zones.

In declaring that Germany was to be treated as a single economic unit, the Potsdam Agreement clearly indicated that Germany, with some readjustment of its boundaries, was to be reestablished as one nation. In setting "eventual peaceful cooperation in international life" as a goal, it spoke of "Germany", not of two or more Germanies.

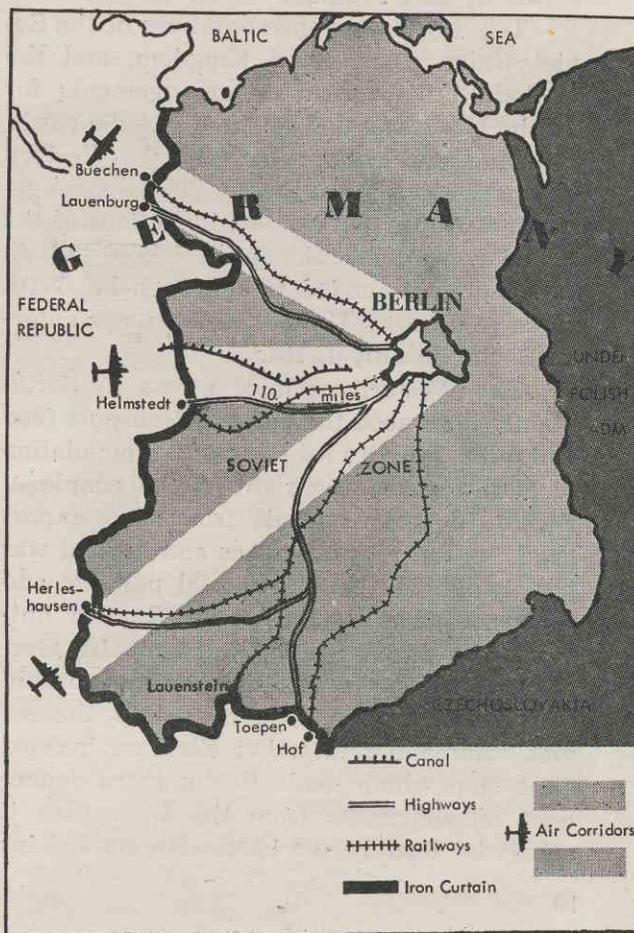
Whatever may have been his reasons, Marshal Stalin advocated at this time a single Germany. In his "Proclamation to the People" of May 8, 1945, he had declared that "the Soviet Union...does not intend to dismember or destroy Germany." It was not until later, when their hopes of communizing all of Germany waned, that the Soviets opposed the reunification of Germany.

Thus the major Allies became trustees for a reformed Germany—trustees for all

the peoples who had fought against or suffered from the aggressions and atrocities of the Nazi regime. Not least, they were trustees for the people of Germany. The reformed Germany to which they committed themselves was to be peaceable, self-governing through democratic political processes, and eventually united.

At the heart of this trusteeship was Berlin, the traditional national capital. Although geographically it lay deep within the Soviet occupation zone—indeed much closer to the Oder-Neisse line than to the western boundary of the Soviet zone—not even Marshal Stalin suggested that it should be under exclusive Soviet custody. He agreed that Berlin was the joint responsibility of all four of the major Allies and that it should be administered as a unit. Such were the main terms of the trusteeship to which the major

ACCESS ROUTES TO WEST BERLIN



Allies—the U.S.S.R. as well as the three Western Powers—bound themselves.

### **The Right of Access to Berlin**

The Western Powers obviously could not perform their duties and exercise their rights in Berlin without the right to transport troops and supplies from their own zones of occupation. Their right of free access to Berlin was thus plainly inherent in their right to be in Berlin. This was confirmed by Marshal Stalin in his reply of June 18, 1945, to President Truman's cable of June 14 concerning the withdrawal of American troops from the Soviet occupation zone and their entry into Berlin. Mr. Truman stipulated, among other things, "free access by air, road, and rail from Frankfurt and Bremen to Berlin for United States forces." Marshal Stalin promised to take "all necessary measures" in accordance with the plan stated by Mr. Truman.

Ten days later representatives of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed on arrangements for use by the Western Powers of specific roads, rail lines, and airplanes between the Western occupation zones and Berlin. These arrangements were further defined by actions of the Allied control machinery in Berlin and, in due course, extended to the French. With these guarantees, United States troops entered Berlin on July 1, 1945.

The Western right of access to Berlin plainly embraced the right to transport food and other supplies for the civilian population of Berlin. And the right of the people of Berlin to receive goods from, and export goods to, the Western zones and beyond was plainly inherent in the special political status accorded to Berlin. It was further buttressed by the Potsdam Agreement that Germany should be treated as an economic unit. In point of fact, in September 1945, the Soviet commander, Marshal Zhukov, insisted on a step which made Berlin more dependent on shipments from the West than it otherwise would have been. He notified his

opposite numbers that the Soviet zone could no longer supply the food which normally had come to Berlin. The Western Powers were thus compelled to assume instantly the responsibility for feeding the inhabitants of the city's Western sectors.

### **The Communist Election Failure**

The Soviets took advantage of their capture of Berlin to appoint a provisional government of the city and its subdivisions. They took special care to plant reliable agents in the police.

The Western Allies successfully insisted on the right of the people of Berlin to elect their own government. In preparation for this, the Soviet authorities tried to force a merger of the non-Communist Social Democratic Party (SPD) with the Communist Party (KPD) into the Socialist Unity Party (SED). They succeeded in the Eastern zone of Germany, where they held full power. But in Berlin under joint Allied control, they failed. Even so, they probably expected the Communists to do well in the city elections. Several districts had been Communist strongholds during the Weimar Republic, and the Communists appointed to key city and subdivision posts by the Soviets could reasonably be expected to deliver votes.

The Berlin elections were held October 20, 1946. The results: Social Democratic Party (SPD), 48.7 percent; Christian Democratic Party (CDU), 22.2 percent; Socialist Unity Party (SED), 19.8 percent; Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), 9.3 percent. Thus the Communists won less than one-fifth of the vote and only one-fifth of the seats in the city Parliament, which proceeded to elect a Social Democrat as Mayor. In April 1947, he was repudiated by the Parliament because he had signed a promise to cooperate with the SED. He resigned, and on June 24, 1947, Parliament elected Social-Democrat Ernst Reuter as Mayor. The Soviets "vetoed" Reuter's election. Until December 1948, a Deputy Mayor conducted the city's affairs.

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The Soviets also systematically obstructed the efforts of the legally elected city government to control the city police, as authorized by the Kummandatura (the Allied governing body for Berlin). Instead, Soviet agents in the police took orders only from Soviet officials. Eventually the city government established control over the police in the Western sectors. But, in the Soviet sector the Communist police officials defied to the end the orders of the Kommandatura and the Berlin Government.

The elections of October 20, 1946, were the last, as well as the first, city-wide elections held in postwar Berlin. The Soviets could not prevent self-determination in the

Western sectors. But never again did they allow the inhabitants of the Soviet sector to choose their government.

#### **Imposition of Communist Control on East Germany**

Meanwhile, in the Eastern zone of Germany and by its conduct in the Allied Control Council for Germany, the Soviet Union had been making clear its determination to vitiate most of the positive principles of the Potsdam Protocol. Instead of encouraging, or even permitting, reconstruction of German political life on the democratic basis of free choice, it riveted Communist control on government at all levels. It began by

**IN A DEFIANT GESTURE** of protest soon after the Communists took over control of East Berlin, residents of the city hauled down the red flag flying atop Brandenburg Gate on the border between the Soviet and British sectors of Berlin.





IN A TYPICAL Berlin border scene, a West Berlin girl expresses her irritation to a Communist guard.

appointing seasoned German Communists to key posts. Most of them had spent the Nazi period in the Soviet Union and now returned to Germany with the Soviet armies. Among them was one Walter Ulbricht. He had received intensive training in Communist dogma at the Lenin Institute in Moscow from 1926 to 1929. He had gone back to the Soviet Union in 1937 or 1938 and remained there during the war. He was reported to be a Soviet citizen. In 1945, he returned to Germany as a Colonel in the Soviet army. He soon emerged as the Chief Soviet agent in Eastern Germany.

With Soviet backing, these German Communists set out systematically, to destroy all opposition. A favorite political device was the single ticket chosen by the Communists. By compelling the Social Democratic Party to merge with the Communist Party

in the Socialist Unity Party, the Communists forged their basic political instrument. Several other political parties were, and still are, allowed to exist for show purposes but are in fact under tight Communist rein. To intimidate and subdue their opponents the Communists employed all the practices of a police state.

In the Western zones of Germany, by contrast, the basic right of self-determination was not only permitted but fostered. The political life of Germany was reconstructed on a democratic basis, beginning with local elections and rising, by stages, to state (land) elections. All non-Nazi parties and candidates, including the Communists, were allowed to compete on even terms. Despite unhampered freedom of activity, the Communists were so unsuccessful in West German elections that they eventually failed to obtain even the 5 percent of the popular vote necessary for seats in Parliament.

The Soviets also blocked or evaded execution of the provisions of the Potsdam Protocol for treating Germany as an economic unit and for allowing reconstruction and self-support. In December 1945, they vetoed a proposal to open zonal borders to travel by Germans. When the Western Powers asked them to place manufactures from East Germany in a common pool to meet the costs of essential imports, in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, they did not deny the Agreement but failed to comply with it. Meanwhile, they had looted the Eastern zone and refused to account for what they had taken. They also commandeered and shipped eastward almost the entire agricultural yield of their zone.

#### Economic Merger of the Western Zones

A year after the surrender, the German economy still lay in semi-chaos. None of the zones was self-supporting. The United States renewed the effort to implement the Potsdam Agreement that Germany was to be treated as an economic unit. It proposed prompt

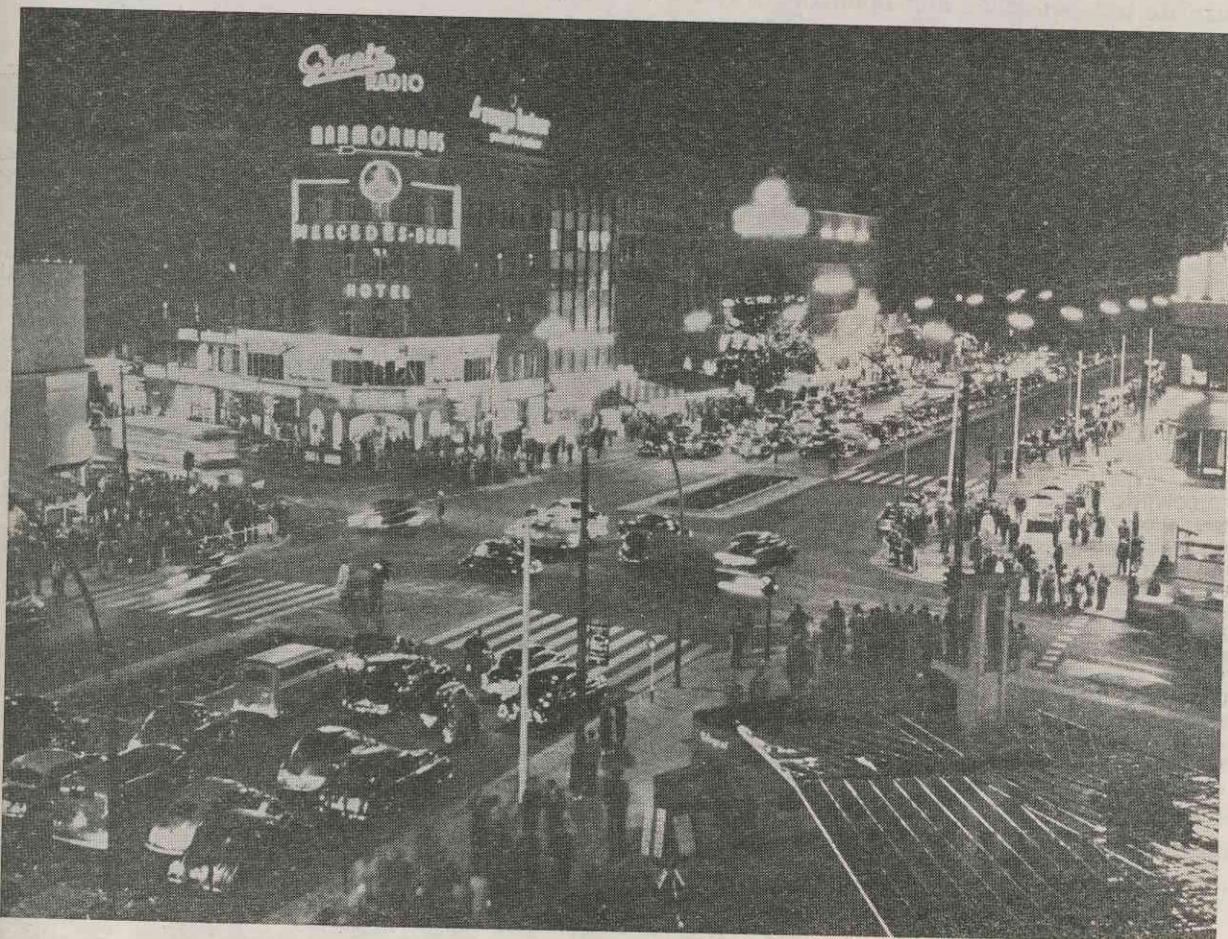
establishment of central German administrative agencies, free trade between zones, and a balanced programme of imports and exports.

On September 6, 1946, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes made a speech at Stuttgart in which he said bluntly that the Allied Control Council was "neither governing Germany nor allowing Germany to govern itself." He explained the impending economic merger of the British and American zones and laid down a positive economic programme for all of Germany. This included drastic fiscal reform to prevent ruinous inflation, organization of transportation, communications, and postal service throughout the country without regard to zonal barriers,

and a central administrative department for agriculture to improve production and distribution of food. He also stressed the importance of permitting Germany to increase industrial production and organize the most effective use of her raw materials, granting that she must share her coal and iron with the liberated countries of Europe.

That fall the British and American zones were merged for economic purposes. France held back, hoping that differences with the Soviets could be resolved. But the Soviets remained obdurate. At the fifth session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the four occupation Powers, held in November and December 1947, the Western delegates concluded that agreement with the Soviets could

PROSPEROUS KURFUERSTENDAMM, ONE OF WEST BERLIN'S PRINCIPAL STREETS AND SHOPPING AREAS



be reached "only under conditions which would not only enslave the German people but would seriously retard the recovery of all Europe."

### **Soviet Imperialist Aims vs West European Rehabilitation**

Soviet objectives in Europe had become increasingly plain. The first was to rivet Communist regimes on all the areas of eastern and central Europe which the Red armies had occupied during and at the end of the war. The second and larger objective was to extend Communist domination over western and southern Europe. The Soviets were actively supporting an aggression against Greece, euphemistically called a "Civil War". They were strongly pressing Turkey for concessions which would jeopardize its independence and open the way for further Soviet expansion into the Mediter-

anean area and beyond. In western Europe they were banking on economic stagnation and political paralysis to set the stage for Communist take-overs.

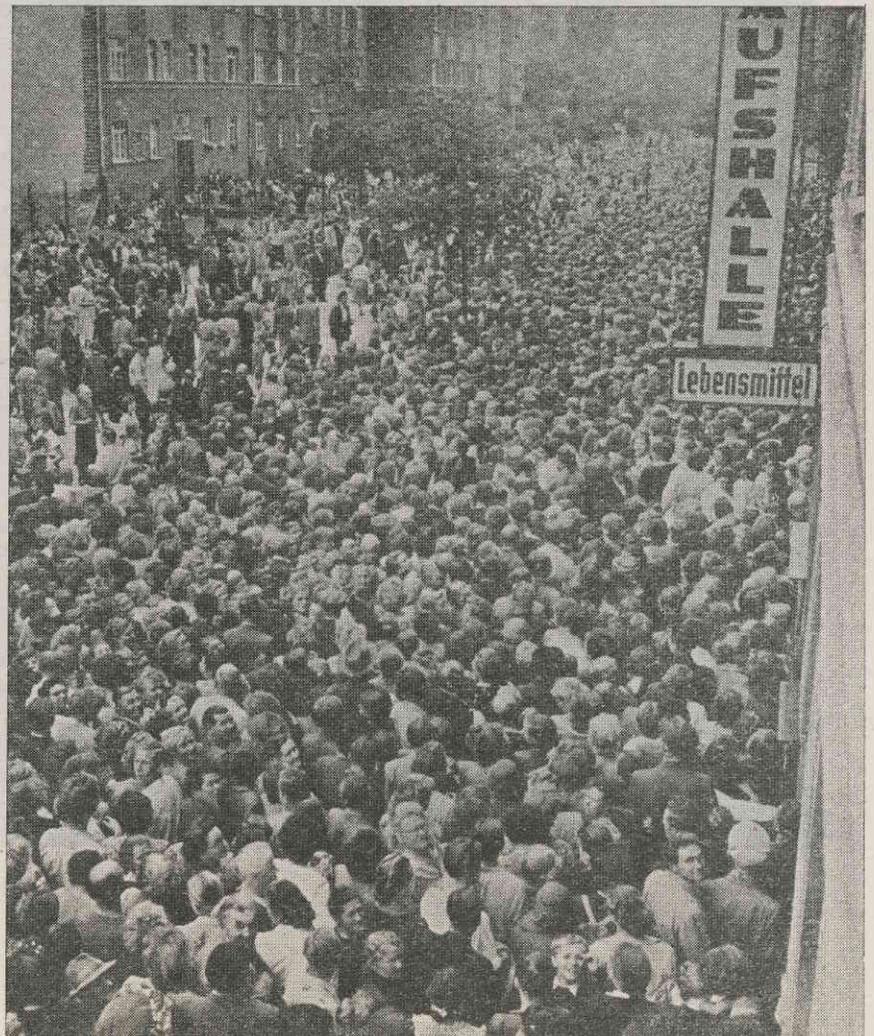
In March 1947, the United States moved to curb Soviet expansion by extending economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey and proclaiming a general policy of such aid to other nations resisting overt or covert aggression. This quickly became known as the Truman Doctrine.

In June 1947, in a speech at Harvard, Secretary of State George C. Marshall set in motion what became a great cooperative European recovery programme.

The central conflict of purpose was set forth in Secretary Marshall's report to the Nation in December, 1947:

"The issue is really clear-cut, and I fear there can be no settlement until the coming months demonstrate whether or not the civil-

**FOLLOWING SOVIET CLOSURE** of land and water routes between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany in 1948, the West chose to supply West Berlin by air. Food, coal and other essential supplies were flown to Berlin around the clock to frustrate the Soviet attempt to starve the city into the Communist fold. Hungry crowds gathered at the West Berlin City Hall for food rations as Allied planes arrived at a rate of one every 45 seconds. Eleven months later the Soviets lifted the blockade and again permitted free access into the city on land and water routes.





WEST BERLIN CHILDREN CHEERED ALLIED PLANES AS THEY ARRIVED WITH FOOD IN THE 1948 AIRLIFT

ization of western Europe will prove vigorous enough to rise above the destructive effects of the war and restore a healthy society. Officials of the Soviet Union and leaders of the Communist parties openly predict that this restoration will not take place. We, on the other hand, are confident in the rehabilitation of western European civilization with its freedoms."

The nations of western Europe responded to the Marshall Plan with enthusiasm and vigor. The next years saw the economic recovery of Western Europe, including the Western zones of Germany. At the same time, West Germany began a political reconstruction on a democratic basis. On March 6, 1948, with the concurrence of Bel-

gium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, the Western Allies agreed to fuse their zones economically and politically. They agreed also on a new occupation statute which, while reserving essential powers to the Allies, enabled West Germans to participate in the community of free peoples through a Federal Government of their own choosing. On June 18, the Western military governors announced a reform basic to West Germany's economic recovery: the substitution of a sound currency, the Deutschemark (or D-Mark), for the inflated Reichsmark.

The Soviets responded to those constructive measures by a series of steps, in violation of commitments, culminating in a total blockade of West Berlin.

### The Blockade and the Airlift

On March 20, 1948, the Soviets walked out of the Allied Control Council for Germany. On April 1, they imposed rail and road restrictions on Allied traffic to Berlin. On June 16, they walked out of the Berlin Kommandatura. On June 23, German Communists staged riots around the Berlin City Hall, situated in the Soviet sector. This was the day currency reforms were introduced in Berlin. The Western Allies had not previously extended to Berlin the West German currency reform of June 18. They were willing to retain the old Reichsmark in Berlin, provided that they shared control over the amounts issued. The Soviets refused to share this control. Instead they introduced a new currency of their own in their zone and sector. The Allies promptly introduced the new D-Mark into the Western sectors of the city.

On June 24, the Soviets totally severed all land and water routes between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany. Their undisguised intent was to force the Western Allies out of Berlin and starve the people of the city into the Communist fold.

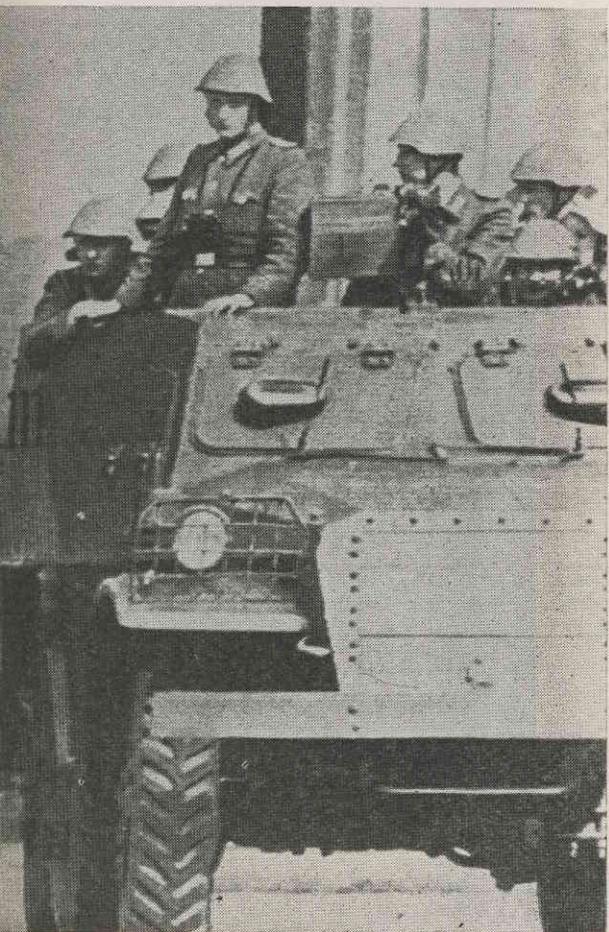
In response to this bald aggression against their rights and the freedom of the people of Berlin, the Western Allies would have been fully justified in using force, to whatever degree necessary to reopen and maintain surface routes to Berlin. Instead, they chose to supply Berlin by air.

For the next 11 months every pound of food and coal, and all else necessary to keep alive the people of West Berlin and supply to forces of the Western Allies in Berlin, was transported by air. In a total of 277,728 flights, American, British, and French airmen brought in 2,343,301 tons of food and supplies. At the peak of the airlift, planes were landing in West Berlin at the rate of one every 45 seconds.

The airlift had its casualties, nevertheless—72 men including 31 Americans, lost their lives in accidents. Their names are perpetuated on a soaring monument in front of



THE EAST GERMAN armed forces were organized by the Soviet Union in 1950, first as a "People's Police". In the following two years, these forces were increased to 140,000 military personnel, including three mechanized divisions and an air force, plus 100,000 armed police. This military force, backed by additional units of the Soviet army and air force, imposed a Communist puppet regime upon the people of East Germany, and have kept it in power under the domination of the Soviet Union. Pictured here are East German soldiers guarding the border between East and West Berlin.



Tempelhof Airport. A Berlin foundation, "Airlift Gratitude", provided scholarships for the children of these fallen heroes. In due course, they may, if they wish, attend the Free University of Berlin as guests of the Free Berlin Government.

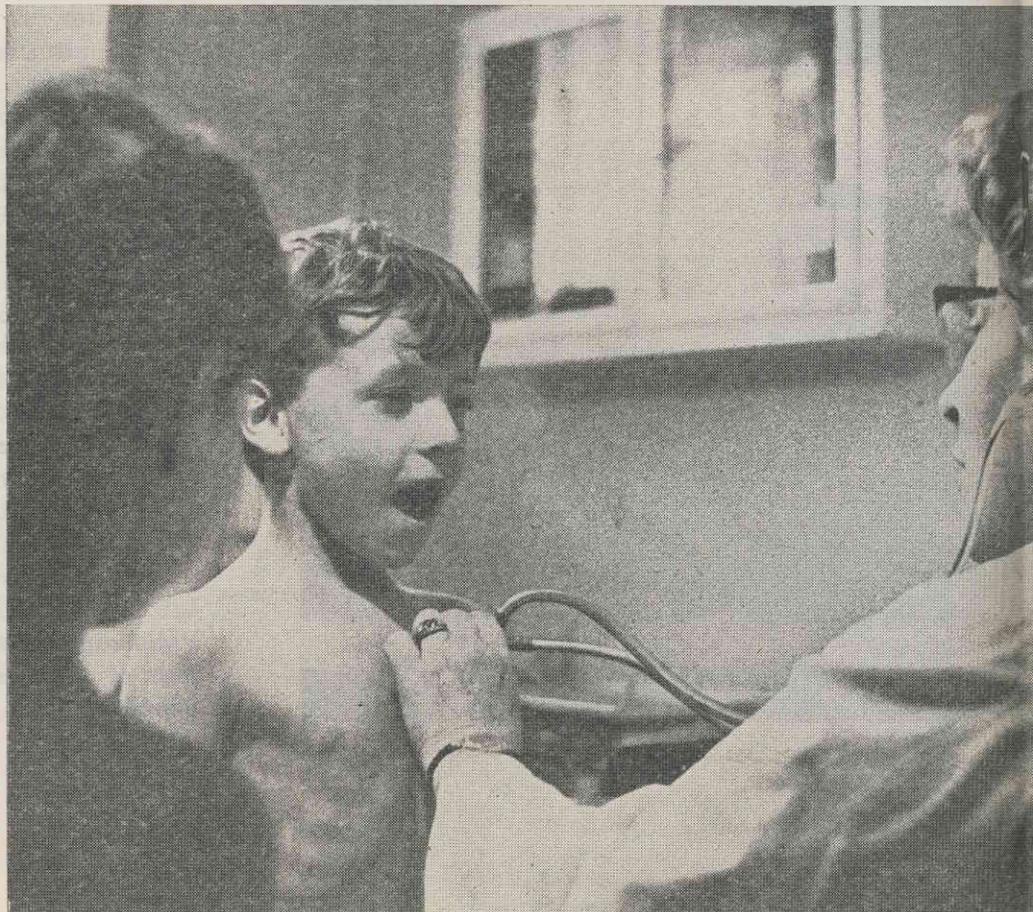
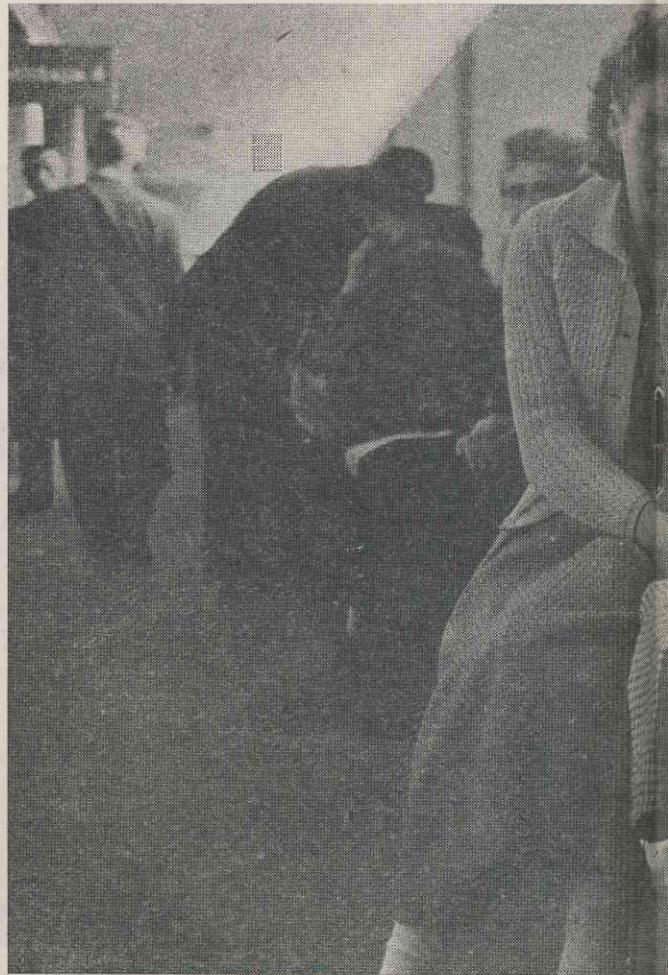
That university was born under the airlift when many teachers and students from the old university of Berlin, situated in the Soviet sector chose freedom in the Western sectors. It held its first classes by candlelight in nine cold rooms in an old building. The Free University of Berlin, with more than 12,000 students, has become one of the world's great institutions of higher education. Last year, one fourth of its students came from East Germany and East Berlin.

#### **Heroic Stand of the West Berliners**

The airlift is an indelible chapter in the history of the defense of freedom. So is the fortitude of the people of Berlin during the blockade. They subsisted on a slim diet. The Communists offered them food if they would register in East Berlin, but all but a few thousand spurned the offer. During the winter, as fuel was scarce, they were usually miserably cold. For months electric current was on only three hours in 24. The Berliners proved themselves worthy of the fraternity of free peoples. Admiration for their courage and endurance helped greatly in rehabilitating the name of the German people in the eyes of the world.

The experience of the blockade forged a lasting bond of friendship among Berliners, Americans, and their allies. Every noon the ringing of the freedom bell from the tower of the West Berlin City Hall serves as a reminder of their common cause. The Freedom Bell was a gift from the American people—millions of them, including school children, voluntarily contributed to the fund to make and install it. It was inspired by the Liberty Bell enshrined in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, which in 1776 pealed the tidings of the American Declaration of Independence, with its immortal truths "that all

AS LIFE became increasingly unbearable in the "Worker's Paradise" of Communist East Germany, thousands upon thousands of residents of the zone began to "vote with their feet." Despite barbed-wire fences, armed watch-towers and a plowed "death strip" along the entire border between the East and West zones of the country, and the threat of prison sentences, refugees continued to flow into Free Germany. Since 1945, an estimated 3,300,000 fled to freedom at a rate of 4,000 a week in recent years. West Berlin was the main escape hatch. Here the refugees were taken to reception centers where they were fed, clothed and given medical treatment until they could be flown to West Germany to begin a new life. In these scenes at a West Berlin reception center a mother and child await their plane to a new home, a small boy gets a medical check-up, a man and his son seek word of the boy's mother still in East Germany, and new arrivals queue up for processing.



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men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness," and that Governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."

In the spring of 1949, the Soviet Union tacitly admitted failure in its first great effort to oust the Western Powers and swallow all of Berlin. Soviet-U.S. diplomatic conversations in New York led to a Four Power agreement on May 4, 1949, providing in part:

"All the restrictions imposed since March 1, 1948, by the Government of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic on communications, transportation, and trade between Berlin and the Western zones of Germany and between the Eastern zone and the Western zones will be removed on May 12, 1949."

This Article was implemented on May 8 by order No. 56 of the Soviet Military Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet occupation forces in Germany. It was reaffirmed, strengthened, and amplified the following month by the Council of Foreign Ministers Meeting in Paris.

The Soviet Union did not faithfully adhere to its renewed pledges. In January 1950, it began a "creeping blockade", designed to wreck the new recovering economy of West Berlin. With persistent interference with transport and deliveries, it combined a violent propaganda campaign intended to frighten the West Berliners. These were only the first of a long series of harassments.

### Berlin After the Blockade

With the end of the blockade, Free Berliners set about energetically to rebuild their city and revive its industries. They completed the task of clearing away war ruins and rubble and of restoring public parks and gardens. They re-equipped factories and power plants and built new ones.

Distance and related handicaps made it hard for Free Berlin's industries to compete with West German and foreign firms. In

1955, the Communists added to these handicaps by drastically increasing tolls on highway traffic between West Germany and Berlin. But through driving initiative, hard work and Marshall Plan aid—which, directly and indirectly, totalled almost one billion dollars—Free Berlin's industrial output rapidly grew. New office buildings, apartment houses, and hotels sprang up. Stores and shops began to bulge with all the goods that the advanced technology and manufacturing techniques of the West can provide.

Free Berlin has again become Germany's greatest industrial city and the greatest metropolis between Paris and Moscow. Since the end of the blockade, approximately 320,000 new jobs have been created in Free Berlin.

Although somewhat below that of West Germany, the average standard of living in Free Berlin is far above that of any city anywhere in the Communist world. Incidentally, more than 200,000 West Berliners own automobiles. In the last few years, the So-

**TODAY, more than 200,000 West Berliners own their own automobiles — an indication of the city's economic progress.**



viets and their German puppets have striven to make East Berlin a show-place. Despite their efforts, East Berlin remains a drab place compared to Free Berlin.

The high standard of living in Free Berlin is not confined to material things. Free Berlin has become a great cultural center where one may enjoy not only the best in German culture but samplings of the culture of other nations.

Most important of all, the people of West Berlin read what they please, think and speak as they please, and vote as they please.

### **The Political Reconstruction of West Germany**

The blockade of Berlin did not halt the political reconstruction of West Germany.

On September 1, 1948, the West German Parliamentary Council convened in Bonn, under the chairmanship of Dr. Konrad Adenauer, anti-Nazi former Mayor of Cologne, to draft a provisional constitution (or Basic Law, as it is called). The Council completed its work in May 1949. On August 14, 1949, the people of West Germany voted in the first free general election Germany had known since 1932. On September 21, the Federal Republic of Germany came into being with Dr. Adenauer, leader of the Christian Democratic Party, as its Chancellor.

### **The Soviets Set Up an East German Puppet Regime**

On October 7, 1949, the Soviet authorities set up their puppet regime in the Eastern

**ON AUGUST 13, 1961, in an attempt to stop thousands of Germans fleeing East Berlin, the Communists sealed the West Berlin border. Here an East German couple sadly walks away after being stopped at a border crossing...**



zone of Germany. With Soviet support and in further violation of the Four Power agreements, the imposed East German regime proclaimed the Soviet sector of Berlin to be its capital.

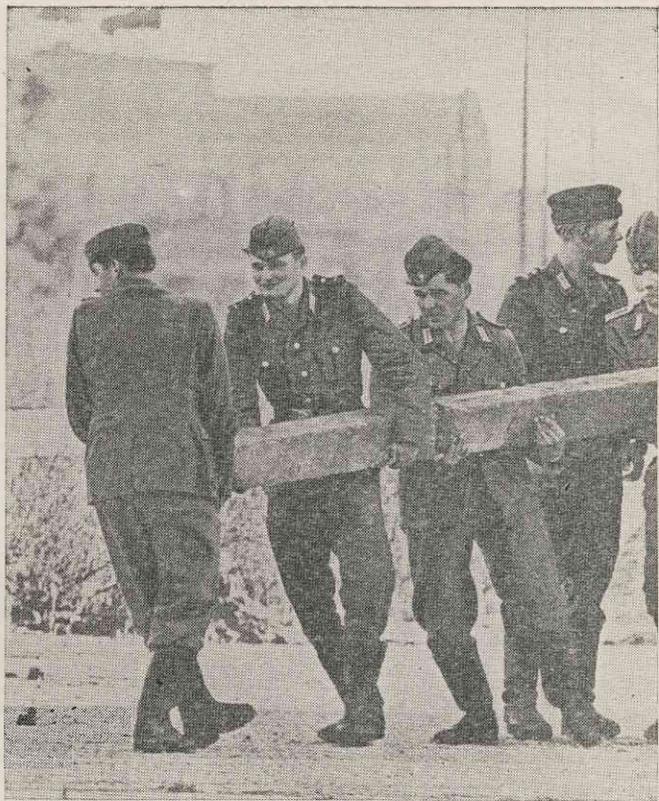
In the spring of 1950, the Soviet Union began arming East German forces, at first under the guise of "People's Police". The Western Allies protested, but to no avail. By the end of 1953, East Germany, with only 17,000,000 people, had 140,000 military personnel, including three mechanized divisions and an air force, plus 100,000 armed police. This was more than a year before the establishment of an armed force by the Federal Republic, which had only 150,000 regular police for a population three times that of East Germany.

In a series of steps in 1954 and 1955 the Soviets purported to grant the East German puppet full sovereignty. Among other things, they transferred to it control of the borders with the Federal Republic and West Berlin and over German traffic between the two areas.

In 1951, the United Nations set up a special commission to determine whether conditions were suitable for the holding of free elections throughout Germany. This U.N. commission was unable to complete its task because it was barred from the Soviet zone of Germany and Soviet sector of Berlin.

As the East German regime was unlawfully created and does not rest on the consent of the governed, but is kept in power by the apparatus of a police state backed by military forces of the Soviet Union, the Western nations have refused to recognize it. So have all other non-Communist nations.

What a great majority of the East Germans and East Berliners think of their Communist masters has been manifested in many ways. One telling testimonial was the spontaneous strike against new Communist work "norms" which boiled up in East Berlin on June 17, 1953. Almost simultaneously, spontaneous strikes and demonstrations occurred in East German cities. The East German regime was unable to subdue these uprisings



... while Communist soldiers begin work on a concrete wall to replace and reinforce the barbed wire barriers . . .

with its own police and troops. It had to call for Soviet armed forces. It was saved by Soviet tanks.

Most significantly, these strikes which became popular uprisings were led by construction and factory workers and other wage-earners—the very people whom the Communists claim particularly to represent. They were a revolt of the proletariat against the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Another telling, and continuing, testimonial was the massive migration of East Germans and East Berliners to freedom in the West. After the experience of 1953, the Soviets and their German agents decided not to exploit the East German workers quite so ruthlessly. Some foodstuffs have been almost chronically in short supply. In the early summer of 1961, strict rationing of several important foods was re-introduced. Nevertheless, average living levels in East Germany and East Berlin have risen appreciably, although they remain far below those of West Germany and West Berlin.

That material improvement did not, however, stay the exodus of East Germans and East Berliners.