

FOUNDATION OF FEDERAL GERMANY AND TURKISH PRESS

FEDERAL ALMANYA’NIN KURULUŞU VE TÜRK BASINI

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Abstract

After the Second World War, while it was expected that a period of peace would be started, the conflict of interest that started between the Allied states re-emerged the danger of war in the world. The ideological differences, which formed the basis of the differences of opinion on how to govern Germany, caused the Western Allies and the USSR to define each other as enemies. The aggressive attitude, that first started with the Soviet blockade of Berlin continued with mutual propaganda and moves, which further deepened the problems between East and West. In fact, a common decision could not be reached on the political and economic unity of Germany, so the Western Allies united the Western Occupation Zones and started the process leading to the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. In this study, starting from the end of the Second World War, how the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany had reflected on the leading newspapers of the Turkish press, Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Akşam and Son Posta respectively.

Keywords: Allies, Berlin Crisis, Federal Germany, Turkish Press.

Öz

İkinci Dünya Savaşı’nın ardından artık barış dönemine girileceği beklenirken Müttefik devletler arasında başlayan çıkar çatışması dünyayı yeniden savaş tehlikesi ile karşı karşıya bırakmıştır. Almanya’nın nasıl idare edileceği üzerine başlayan fikir ayrılıklarının temelini oluşturan ideolojik farklılıklar, Batılı Müttefiklerle SSCB’nin birbirlerini düşman olarak tanımlamasına sebep olmuştur. İlk olarak Sovyetlerin Berlin’i abluka altına almasıyla başlayan saldırgan tutum karşılıklı propaganda ve hamlelerle devam etmiş bu durum doğu ile batı arasındaki sorunları daha da derinleştirmiştir. Nitekim Almanya’nın siyasi ve iktisadi birliği konusunda ortak bir karara varılamamış, böylece Batılı Müttefikler Batı İşgal Bölgelerini birleştirerek Federal Almanya Cumhuriyeti’nin kuruluşuna giden süreci başlatmışlardır. Bu çalışmada İkinci Dünya Savaşı’nın sonundan başlayarak Federal Almanya Cumhuriyeti’nin kuruluşunun Türk basınına nasıl yansıdığı ve değerlendirildiği dönemin önde gelen gazeteleri Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Akşam ve Son Posta gazeteleri incelenerek ele alınmıştır.

Keywords: Berlin Krizi, Federal Almanya, Müttefikler, Türk Basını.

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INTRODUCTION

The Second World War, which started on September 1st, 1939, with Germany's rhetoric of *lebensraum* (Hitler, 1982, p.590) and its attack on Poland, did not end as Germany had hoped, and the war ended in Europe in May 1945 and in Asia in September in favor of the Allies. Germany, Italy, and Japan were defeated in the war, France, and the UK, were victorious, but since the negative effect of the war on these countries was quite high, they needed a long time to return to their pre-war situations (Armaoğlu, 2017, p.379). This situation changed the international balances, and the USA and the USSR emerged as two superpowers after the war.

What the new post-war order would look like was on the agenda as early as 1943, when the war started to go in favor of the Allies. The Allies, which put an end to the presence of Germany and Italy in Africa and excluded Italy from the war in the summer of 1943, met in Tehran between November 28th and December 1st, 1943, to discuss their plans for the future of the war. At the Tehran Conference with the participation of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, President Roosevelt stated that Germany should be divided into five self-governed parts consisting of all Prussia to be rendered as small and weak as possible, Hanover and Northwest section, Saxony and Leipzig area, Hesse–Darmstadt, Hesse–Kassel and the area South of the Rhine Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg. He proposed that these five self-governed regions should be gathered under two main regions, namely the Kiel Canal and Hamburg city region, and the Ruhr and Saar region, which will be under the United Nations or some form of international control (Foreign Relations of The United States: Diplomatic Papers, The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran, 1943, p.600). Churchill, on the other hand, requested the regions in the south of Germany (Bavaria, Baden, Wurtemberg) to be separated from Germany and included in the Danube Confederation (Gilbert, 2021, p.898). Stalin stated that he leaned toward the idea of Roosevelt among these two proposals, because the Germans, who would take part in the confederation, would become stronger again and would dominate the region, and indicated that their main goal was to prevent German unity (Gürün, 2000, p.336). In line with this purpose, Stalin argued that the Prussian officers and staff should be eliminated. After the discussions at the conference, it was deemed appropriate to examine this at the European Advisory Commission before making a final decision, but it was agreed in principle and was put out a memorandum (Berojkov, 2012, p.149,150).

The views on the condition of Germany at the end of the war came up again at the Yalta Conference at the beginning of 1945. Yalta Conference, also called the Big Three Conference by the Turkish press, was held between February 4th and 11th in 1945 with the participation of

the leaders of the USA, UK, and USSR (Benhür & Eraslan, 2023). In the meeting between Stalin and Roosevelt on the first day of the conference, Roosevelt stated that everyone agreed on dividing Germany into occupation zones, but whether France would have a share of these occupation zones was a problem. Stalin stated that France did not contribute much to the war, thereupon, Stalin indicated that this issue should be resolved at the Yalta conference (Sherwood, 1950, p. 851). Stalin said that he would not oppose if a zone were given to France from the occupation zones of the United Kingdom and the USA, but he insisted that France should not be included in the control commission. Roosevelt agreed with Stalin about that issue. The Foreign Minister of the United Kingdom, Eden, stated that France would not accept any occupation zone proposal if it were not included in the commission, and therefore the commission issue should be settled (Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, Conferences at Malta, and Yalta, 1945, p.619).

In fact, in the communiqué published at the end of the conference, it was declared that three states (the USA, USSR and UK) would occupy regions of Germany and that control would be ensured by establishing a Control Commission consisting of the commanders-in-chief of the three states, headquartered in Berlin. It was also decided that France would take over an occupation zone if it requested to and be invited by three states as the fourth member of the Control Commission. It was stated in the communiqué that the borders of the French occupation zone will be determined by the four countries through the representatives of the European Solidarity Commission (Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945, p.970).

In the joint declaration published by the USA, UK, USSR and France on June 5th, 1945, the outlines of how Germany will be shared among these four countries were determined. Accordingly, it was decided that the eastern region of Germany would be occupied by the USSR, the southwestern region by the USA, the north-western region by the UK, and the western region by France, and Berlin, which was in the USSR occupation zone, would be occupied and administered by the forces of four countries and a joint administration (Documents on Germany, 1959, p.18). Then, in another declaration published on July 26th, the borders of the occupation zones became definite (Documents on Germany, 1959, p.21-24).

After the Yalta Conference, with the withdrawal of Germany from the war, the Potsdam Conference (Berlin Conference) was held between July 17th and August 2nd 1945 in order to solve the problems that emerged in Europe. At the conference, which was also attended by the leaders of the USA, the USSR and the UK, Harry Truman represented the USA instead of US

President Roosevelt, who died on April 12th, 1945. The UK, on the other hand, started the conference under the leadership of Churchill, but instead of Churchill, who lost the general elections in July, the newly elected Prime Minister Clement Attlee joined the conference on behalf of the UK. At the end of the Potsdam Conference, it was decided how Germany would be governed politically, economically, and militarily. Accordingly, Germany will be governed by the commanders-in-chief of the US, UK, USSR and France in the occupied zones, and Germany will be democratically rebuilt. In addition, Germany will be completely disarmed and demilitarized, also the German war industry will be eliminated (Foreign Relations of The United States: Diplomatic Papers, The Conference of Berlin (The Potsdam Conference), 1945, p.1481).

However, Potsdam decisions could not be implemented due to ideological differences and conflicts between the USSR and western states began to emerge increasingly. While the USSR emphasized the need for political unification in Germany, the rest of the Allies advocated economic integration first (Gürel, 1977, p.210). As a result of these disagreements, the British and American occupation forces in Germany started negotiations for the unification of the two occupation zones in June 1946, and at the end of the negotiations, the American and British zones merge under the name of Bizone on 2 December 1946 (Ataöv, 1969, p.236). With another agreement made on 29 May 1947, a new Economic Board, High German Court, and bank were established for Bizone. Western states, considering the disagreements with the USSR as an obstacle to the establishment of stability in Western Europe, took a clear stance on ensuring the political and economic construction of Western Europe and incorporating democratic Germany into it as soon as possible. The USSR responded politically to this situation and withdrew Soviet Occupation Zone Commander Marshal Sokolovsky from the Allied Control Council on March 20th (Wettig, 2008, p.168). Later, with the inclusion of the French occupation zone in Bizone, a separate monetary system was established for the western regions on 20 June 1948 (Ataöv, 1969, p.236). On the same day, the Soviets issued a new currency in their own occupation zones and put it into use. These successive moves further deepened the divide between the West and the East.

Turkey, which managed to stay out of the war at the beginning of the Second World War by citing the potential problems with the USSR and continued this situation until the end of the war, clearly had a stance in favor of the Allies. The Turkish press also confirmed that Turkey was not neutral from the beginning of the war, that it was only in a non-combat situation, and saw Turkey as the protector of Middle East peace, describing the Allies as a friend. The main

point of this study is how the Turkish press, which emphasizes peace at every opportunity, had an attitude about the conflicts between the Western Allies and the USSR, which brought the world to the brink of a new war after the Second World War, and how it reflected the conflict of interest over Germany. For this purpose, four prominent newspapers of the period (Cumhuriyet, Ulus, Akşam, Son Posta) were selected, and the years 1948-1949, during which actions between the parties took on a concrete form, were examined to include relevant news and opinion columns (Topuz, 1973, p.172). While high circulation numbers were a factor in selecting these newspapers, their ideological positions also played a significant role. Ulus served as the advocate of the ruling Republican People's Party (CHP) at the time. On the other hand, following the establishment of the Democrat Party (DP), Son Posta supported the DP between 1946 and 1950, positioning itself as an opposition force in domestic politics while adopting an anti-Soviet stance in foreign policy (Karcı, 2021). Akşam, whose editor-in-chief Necmeddin Sadak became the Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1947, published without an editorial section until 1950 in an effort to avoid partisanship. While the newspaper attempted to maintain a neutral stance, its organic ties to the CHP government cannot be denied (Kavaklı, 2005, p.135). Conversely, Cumhuriyet, under the leadership of Nadir Nadi, aligned itself with the DP during the same period, opposing the ruling party. Although Nadir Nadi claimed they aimed to maintain a balance, he also acknowledged that their criticisms were predominantly directed at the CHP (Nadi, 1979, p.321). Thus, by selecting newspapers representing diverse viewpoints, an effort was made to include perspectives from across the ideological spectrum.

When examining the national literature, it is observed that there is no specific study on the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany. For this reason, the study aims to contribute to the literature by both explaining the process of the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany and providing a media-centered narrative. In this regard, the document analysis method, one of the qualitative research approaches, has been used. The selected newspapers were accessed from the National Library Digital Archive and the digital archive created by Cumhuriyet Newspaper. At the same time, the publications of the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Prime Ministry Republic Archive and the US Ministry of Foreign Affairs were surveyed, and the relevant sections were used in the process leading to the establishment of the Federal Germany.

1. The Berlin Blockade

After the Second World War, before the effect of the war could be overcome, the tension that started between the USSR and the Western Allies in Europe over the administration of Germany

have wide press coverage in the Turkish press as well as in the world press. Starting from June 23rd-24th, 1948, transportation between Berlin, which was occupied by the Western Allies, and the Western occupation zone of Germany began to be blocked by the USSR (Shlaim, 1983, p.171). On June 24th, the Akşam Newspaper brought up the confusion in Berlin with the headline “The Soviets want to force the Three Western States to withdraw from Berlin” (Akşam, 24.06.1948, p.1). In the same news, it was mentioned that the train services were stopped, and the electricity supplied to the Western occupation zones was cut off, leaving the American, British and French regions in Berlin stranded. In his statement on the matter, Soviet occupation commander Sokolovsky stated that the Soviet military administration did not acknowledge the four allied states kommandatura (Allies States Military Command) and the city government. Strongly opposed to the currency reform in West Germany, Sokolovsky accused the Berlin city government of openly supporting American politics and said that for this reason, he did not regard the government as an institution expressing the true thoughts of the German people (Ulus, 25.06.1948, p.1). General Clay, the Governor-General of the American Occupation Zone, made the following statement on the subject:

The Soviets are trying to get us out of Berlin by increasing their pressure. Their recent moves clearly demonstrate this. But apart from war, any move they may undertake cannot keep us away from Berlin. Unfortunately, it is the German people who suffer because of all these events. If the Soviet pressures continue, it is certain that there will be a shortage of food and other important materials in Berlin. (Ulus, 25.06.1948, p.4).

While the tension between the West and the USSR in Germany started to reach its peak, the UK had to take various measures due to the blockade in Berlin. Due to the power cut of the USSR and the insufficient provision of food by plane, many decisions were put into practice in Berlin (Cumhuriyet, 28.06.1948, p.3). On June 27th, Ulus Newspaper, with the headline “Berlin is under siege”, stated that the British informed the Soviets about their demands for the reopening of transportation to meet the food and beverage needs of the Berlin people (Ulus, 27.06.1948, p.1).

Sadi Irmak, writing in his column in Ulus, evaluated the events in Germany. Referring to the Potsdam conference, Irmak stated that a new war broke out not long after the agreement and that the victorious countries put pressure on Germany for their own ideology to prevail. In this case, Irmak thinks that both sides see Germany as a steppingstone in this war. As a result, Irmak's conclusion is that it is exceedingly difficult for the German people to adopt the ideologies that were tried to be imposed by the victorious states while suffering so much (Irmak, 1948).

The statement made by UK Prime Minister Attlee at the workers' meeting proves that the disagreements are purely ideological. Attlee stated that the UK will never accept communist ideology and that they respect issues such as human rights more, and that the quality of life of those in the west is also higher than in the east. According to Attlee, only a world of misery can bring communists to power. For this reason, communists do not want the development of Europe (Cumhuriyet, 28.06.1948, p.3).

The policy of the USSR in Berlin was harshly criticized in the British and American press, and the Turkish press also reflected this. In the news given in Akşam, it was reported that even the Reynold News newspaper, which was first described as being left-winger, expressed an opinion on take a tough stance against the USSR. Later, in the news that included sections from the Observer newspaper, it was mentioned that the newspaper saw the measures taken by the USSR as an infringement and that if the principles announced in Nuremberg really constitute an international penal law as claimed, the perpetrators of this infringement are still accused of crimes against peace and humanity. In addition, the news included a section of the Observer newspaper listing the reasons behind these moves of the USSR (Akşam, 28.06.1948, p.2).

As expected, the UK, USA, and France sent a strong note to the USSR, demanding that the Berlin blockade would be lifted as soon as possible, and that the Berlin issue could only be resolved through negotiations. It was also stated in the notes that as long as the occupation of Germany continued, the Western Allies would continue to stay in Berlin with the right of being victorious, and this blockade, above all, left the German people in a tricky situation (Cumhuriyet, 7.07.1948, p.3).

Churchill, in a speech he gave, stated that if the Western allies surrendered to the Soviet pressure in Berlin, they would face the danger of war with the Soviets and they would lose their trump card to prevent a third world war. Churchill added that the USSR acted with a sense of vengeance and that the western allies should persistently pursue a correct and open policy against it (Cumhuriyet, 11.07.1948, p.3).

In the anonymous editorial published in the newspaper Cumhuriyet on July 22, 1948, an evaluation was made on the Berlin issue. The disagreements that took place were evaluated as the tradition of the Bolsheviks. It has been stated that when they constantly come to such disagreements and face a harsh attitude, they take a step back, refraining from going forward, but meanwhile they get away with what they have earned, so they follow the same policy in Berlin. In the article, it is said that it is the fault of the Western states that the Soviets follow this policy. While the war was going on, it was stated that the Western allies' positive approach

to every request in order not to provoke the Soviets constituted the basis of the current tricky situation, and it was argued that a hard and determined policy should be followed from now on (“Berlin çıkmazından çıkmak”, 1948).

While awaiting the outcome of the events in Berlin with curiosity, the Turkish press included the note given by the Soviets on 15th-16th July in response to the notes of the Western allies. In the note given, a few issues were particularly emphasized, and all the accusations against the Soviets were dismissed. First of all, the Soviet government, stating that the UK, France and the USA did not comply with the agreements made about Germany and that they wanted to break up Germany, also stated that the established quadruple control mechanism was destroyed by the three Western states. The current situation of Berlin and Germany has been described as the natural result of the policy followed by the three western states that did not comply with the Potsdam decisions (Ulus, 15.07.1948, p.4.; Son Posta, 16.07.1948, p.7). Therefore, the USSR informed the three governments in separate notes that with the disregard of the Berlin agreement, the rights of the Western allies over Berlin automatically disappeared and they did not need to apply pressure in this direction, and that if a negotiation was to be held on this issue, it should be done without any conditions (Cumhuriyet, 16.07.1948, p.3).

After the Soviet note in response to the Western allies, the conflicts over Germany were discussed in various columns in the Turkish press. In one of them, one of the leading lawyers of the time, Prof. Dr. Yavuz Abadan affirmed that the note given by the USSR made the situation dramatic by bringing the tension to an extreme, rather than reducing it. Stating that the issue in Berlin is directly related to the establishment of world peace, Abadan pointed out that the winner in Berlin will have all the legacy of victory and that the attitude of the parties who realize this is insistent for this reason. Abadan thinks that the Berlin Depression will be resolved in time and that the patient side will prevail (Abadan, 1948a).

Abidin Daver evaluated the events in Berlin in the editorial he wrote in Cumhuriyet newspaper. Daver figured the answer given by the Soviets as a product of a policy that is full of misleading information and designed to gain time by stalling. He thinks that the Soviets, which penetrated to the center of Europe, will not want to withdraw from here. According to Daver, under these circumstances, two routes had to be followed: the first was to retreat, and the second was to get access to Berlin forcibly. Thinking that the third world war could be delayed a little more in the first of these options, Daver predicts that the war could break out immediately in the second option (Daver, 1948a) In another article published in Cumhuriyet, Ömer Rıza Doğrul stated that

the Soviets wanted to achieve their goal by using two million Berliners as hostages (Doğrul, 1948a).

In the same days, it was brought up in the Turkish press that the Western allies would take coercive measures against the USSR and that an armed convoy could be sent to Berlin (Son Posta, 17.07.1948, p.1-7). Especially Lucius Clay, the commander of the American occupation zone, thought that the Soviets were bluffing and that the blockade should be enforced. However, with the decision of the US National Security Council, it was decided to postpone this option until the beginning of winter. (Miller, 2008, p.48). On the other hand, sixty American planes came to the British bases and were assigned to manoeuvre over Germany from there. The Soviets, on the other hand, declared that their own fighter planes would train in the area where the planes carrying food to Berlin had passed. In the days when the environment was getting more and more tense with mutual confrontations and the third world war was around the corner, the British press warned that it is necessary to be provident for everything (Son Posta, 18.07.1948, p.1).

In his article, Abidin Daver questioned that the Soviets were playing a very dangerous game, but where did they find the courage for this dangerous game, in the situation where the soldiers of the two sides piled on the borders of Germany gave the appearance of two enemies rather than allies. Firstly, Daver emphasized the pacifism of the Western Allies, and later stated that although the USA, UK and France demobilized their armies at the end of the war and had weak forces in the occupied regions, the presence of a strong army ready to invade Europe by the Soviets in the region encouraged the Soviets. In addition, according to Abidin Daver, the Soviets hope that puppet governments such as Poland and Czechoslovakia will support the Red Army militarily and that they can benefit from the fifth column in some European countries (Daver, 1948b).

On July 21, 1948, the Soviets wanted to corner the western allies with a new move. The Soviet government gave 100,000 tons of bread flour and various cereals to the Soviet occupation command in Germany, which could also benefit the Western occupation zones in Berlin. In the official communiqué published, it was stated that everyone from Berlin could buy bread and other food needs from the shops in the Soviet zone with the money valid in the Soviet zone (Cumhuriyet, 21.07.1948, p.3). This situation was evaluated as the propaganda of the Soviets in the USA, and they listed their goals as reducing the importance of the efforts of the Western allies for the supply of Berlin by air, increasing the value of the Soviet currency in circulation, and controlling the food distribution to be made in Berlin. The UK, on the other hand,

interpreted this as a political move and claimed that with this attempt, the claims of the Western allies about not giving up on Berlin were tried to be unfounded (Son Posta, 21.07.1948, p.7).

While the inextricable situation in Germany continued, the mutual statements of the parties were followed with interest by the Turkish press. Akşam featured a statement by Sokolovsky on the first page on July 23rd. Sokolovsky claimed that Berlin was not under a blockade, and that they had taken some restrictions and precautions after the Americans did not allow the Russians to enter their territory. He emphasized that if the Americans opened their territory to the Soviets, they would open their territories to the Americans. On the other hand, UK Foreign Minister Bevin, in his speech in the House of Commons, said that the responsibility for the abolition of the quadruple control in Berlin and Germany was not theirs. He stated that it was impossible for any British political leader to meet with a Russian political leader before the transportation was reopened in order to meet the food and beverage needs of the British military units and civilian people in Berlin (Akşam, 23.07.1948, p.1).

2. The Process Leading to The Establishment of The Federal Germany

The first news about the establishment of a new state in West Germany began to appear in the Turkish press on 27 July 1948. In the news with the headline “Government is being founded in West Germany” in the Son Posta Newspaper, it was stated that a complete agreement was reached between the governors of the three occupation zones and the German political leaders about the plans for the West German government to be established. In the same news, it was stated during the negotiations that a constituent assembly would be elected by September 1st and that this assembly would prepare a constitution with the advice of military governors. Although no decision has been made on the name of the new government, the German leaders preferred not to use any name such as "West Germany" indicating the disintegration of Germany (Son Posta, 27.07.1948, p.1,3).

On the same day, a photo from the meeting between three Western occupation zone governors and German leaders was published in the Akşam, under the headline “Germany issue is entering a final phase” and under the subheading A West German state is being established, transportation between West and East Germany is cut off. The following words of General Clay's political adviser, Robert Murphy, regarding the new developments in Germany are included in the continuation of the news were published in Akşam: “Everything is ready to establish the new German government. The treaty also leaves the door open for the future adherence of the Soviet occupation zone” (Akşam, 27.07.1948, p.1).

Cumhuriyet, on the other hand, focused a lot on the measures taken against the Soviets in Berlin. According to the news of Cumhuriyet, the American and British authorities have declared that trains going to the Soviet occupation zone are now prohibited from passing through their own zones. While this decision was evaluated as the first step of the economic measures to be taken later, the comments of an official from the American military government about the decision were also included in the news. The official considered the damage that this measure could cause to many countries trading with the Soviet region but stated that they had to act in the face of the Soviets' insistence on keeping Berlin under a blockade (Cumhuriyet, 27.07. 1948, p.1,3).

Although the Western allies tried to take a tough stance with the sanctions against the Soviets, on the other hand, it announced that an attempt would be made to negotiate with the Soviets so that the Berlin crisis would not trigger a third world war. In the news that Son Posta newspaper quoted from Reuters, it was stated that the UK Foreign Minister Bevin's absence from Moscow, knowing that Molotov would be meeting with him, was an effort by the Kremlin to gain time (Son Posta, 31.07.1948, p.4). In his column in the Ulus Newspaper, Yavuz Abadan described this move of the USA, UK, and France on the way to negotiation as the last resort in the way of peace and agreement against the danger of Communism, which threatens the world at any moment (Abadan, 1948b).

While there was no result from the negotiations that continued throughout August, the Turkish press interpreted the meeting of four occupation zone governors after five months on 31 August 1948 to resolve the disagreements in Berlin, as the negotiations would result in a positive outcome. But one day later, at the meeting of the commanders-in-chief of the Western states in Bonn, they invited the constituent assembly to a meeting about West Germany. (Kürkçüer, 1957, p.101). The Constituent Assembly started to work to prepare a constitution (Basic Law) in line with the decisions taken at the London Conference (Cumhuriyet, 2.09.1948, p.3).

On September 3rd, 1948, Cumhuriyet newspaper, headlined “the tendency to unite between the Germans increased”, announced that the new constituent assembly focused on the necessity of the unification of all Germans from Saar region to Breslau (Cumhuriyet, 3.09.1948, p.1).

Ömer Rıza Doğrul, who authored an article for Cumhuriyet on the same day, stated that the first purpose of the long-standing talks in Moscow was to solve the problems in Berlin, and the second purpose was to establish a united Germany. In the continuation of his article, Doğrul stated that the Western Allies took action for the establishment of the West German state and after talking about the activities of the convening constituent assembly, the efforts of the Soviets to prevent this attempt, far from giving results, further strengthened the claims of the Western

Allies in Germany. In addition, according to Doğrul, now, when even Berlin was torn into pieces by force, the preservation of German unity was deemed meaningless by the Western states, and for this reason, it was aimed to save at least the west of Germany by establishing a West German State. Stating that it is very difficult to achieve peace in an environment where both sides do not trust each other, Doğrul stated that if one of the parties abandons the policy of infringement and threat, an environment of trust will be established and then a peace can be established between the East and the West. (Doğrul, 1948b)

While the situation in Berlin was expected to improve gradually, the tension created by the communists was interpreted by the Turkish press as that the gap between the West and the East would gradually widen. The communist group, which prevented the assembly by storming the assembly building during the meeting of the Berlin City Council, carried out its third protest within a week (Ulus, 7.09.1948, p.3). According to the news in Cumhuriyet, the communists supported by the Soviets and even transported to the parliament building where the protest would be held were helped by the Soviet police (Cumhuriyet, 7.09.1948, p.3) Frank Howley, the Governor of the American Occupation Zone of Berlin, made a press statement on the subject and stated that the Soviet commander in Berlin did not fulfil his duty, and that the meeting of the city council elected by the people was deliberately prevented from meeting in the center, which is legally entitled. (Cumhuriyet, 7.09.1948, p.3) However, on the pretext of the protests, the City Council was moved to the British district in Berlin. (Gürel, 1977, p.212; Akşam, 7.09.1948, p.1)

Secretary of State Marshall, in his statement, stated that the aim of the events in Berlin was to establish a government under communist domination in Berlin, and emphasized that the United States would not engage in any negotiations under such pressure. Marshall used the following expressions in the continuation of his speech:

Such turmoil will, of course, not have a good effect on the efforts being made between the four states to have a full agreement on the Berlin issue. Recent events in Berlin show that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is putting into practice the communist methods. (Cumhuriyet 9.09.1948, p.4).

Soon after, on September 9th, the Germans, who gathered in the British district in Berlin and numbered 250.000, protested communism, and tore up the Soviet flags. Franz Neuman, head of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Berlin, gave a speech and briefed on the purpose of their meeting:

We have gathered in this square today to prove our commitment to freedom. We respectfully commemorate those who sacrificed their lives for freedom under the domination of the National Socialist dictatorship, but at the same time, we would like to respectfully salute those

who have been detained for the sake of freedom in the concentration camps, police cellars and prisons that have been re-established since 1945 by a new regime that acted arbitrarily. These concentration camps are just like the old ones. However, instead of a swastika, there is a flag with a sickle and a hammer on its doors. (Akşam, 10.09.1948, p.1).

On the other hand, the next day, communists gathered in the Soviet region and organized a protest. However, in the news given in the Akşam, it was stated that many of those who would participate in the protest were transported to the Soviet region by train and trucks, the Berliners remained unresponsive to this demonstration, and even the crowd dispersed before the end of the demonstration, according to the BBC reporter. A Soviet General, who gave a speech at the protest, which had an average of 50,000 people, said that American imperialism wanted to drag the world into another war.

The days that continued with mutual intimidation and propaganda activities led to the separation of the parties from each other in Berlin and the possibility of war to be considered. On September 23rd, 1948, a note with the same content as the previous note, estimated to be the last one by the Turkish press, was reported to the Soviets by the Western Allies. Ömer Rıza Doğrul predicted that if the Soviets did not give a positive answer to this note, the issue would be brought to the United Nations and the separation between the East and the West would be finalized (Doğrul, 1948c). Speaking at the United Nations assembly meeting in Paris on the same day, Marshall said that the Soviets should not mistake the patience shown to them as a weakness, and that they would have made a tragic mistake if they had such an idea (Ulus, 24.09.1948, p.4).

Nadir Nadi, evaluating Marshall's speech in his column, thinks that the Russians do not care much about Western democracies, given the policy followed by the Soviets. From this point of view, Nadi stated that the mobility of the Western allies was weak in the eyes of the Soviets and added that they hoped that the Soviets could achieve their wishes with this policy without using weapons, and that they had achieved successful results so far. He interpreted Marshall's words "Let those in the minority honor the decision of the majority", which he used in his speech, as classical democracy lessons and soft expressions. Nadi, who stated that the Soviet regime completely rejected such rules and on the contrary, that every way is permissible to reach the goal, the majority is obliged to follow the minority somehow, formed the basis of the Soviet regime, and claimed that Marshall's statements would not have any effect on the Soviets under these conditions (Nadi, 1948).

On September 26th, 1948, the United Nations Soviet delegate Vyshinsky's speeches in which he held the floor and made various accusations against the American and British were published

in Cumhuriyet Newspaper. At the beginning of his speech, Vyshinsky gave a few proposals about international disarmament, and then criticized America's policy at the United Nations and declared that they would not support any proposal made by the United States. In addition, Vyshinsky continued his words as follows:

Military alliances or blocs are established, new air, naval and land bases are built, old bases established during the war are expanded according to the latest military technique. The American, French, and British governments formed a military and political bloc of three states. The formation of such alliances is clearly against the interests of peace and security. The British, French, and American press openly write that the military alliance of the three western states is against Russia and the new democracies. (Son Posta, 26.09.1948, p.3).

he underlined the alliances targeting the Western allies and at the same time becoming increasingly prominent.

The harsh Soviet attitude at the United Nations continued in the response to the Western allies' note and no positive response was given to any of the allies' requests. Thereupon, it was decided that the Berlin question would be brought to the Security Council by the three western states. Son Posta Newspaper, which published the news with the headline "Three States Reported the Berlin Dispute to the Security Council", included detailed information from the Reuters agency in the continuation of the news. According to the news, the Foreign Ministers of the UK, France, and the USA met to examine the Soviet response corresponding to the note they gave on the situation that emerged when the land and sea transportation between Berlin and the Western occupation zones of Germany was blocked by the Soviets. It was stated that the answer given by the Soviets was not satisfactory in any respect, and that no valid answer could be obtained for any of the questions asked, and that the issue had to be brought to the Security Council (Son Posta, 27.07.1948, p.7). In the news headlined "Russians were taken to the Security Council" in Ulus Newspaper on September 30th, 1948, it was stated that the UK, France, and the USA prepared a note and sent it to the United Nations Secretary General Trygve Lie, and that an official application to the Security Council was made. In the note, information about the blockade in Berlin was given, and it was demanded that the issue be examined as soon as possible by drawing attention to the aggressive attitude of the Soviet side that was not pro-compromise (Ulus, 30.09.1948, p.1,5).

On 14 November 1948, the Akşam newspaper, with the headline "A New Initiative for the Berlin Issue", took air that the United Nations Secretary-General Trygve Lie and the President of the General Assembly Evatt made a proposal to the four states that are party to the Berlin issue to start negotiations and take all necessary measures in order to solve the problems as soon as possible. (Akşam, 14.11.1948, p.1). However, a few days later, the response of the three

Western Allies showed that this attempt was not working out very well. In the response to the United Nations, it was stipulated that the Soviet blockade on Berlin be lifted first to initiate any negotiations. They also stated that any attempt to be made should be done through the Security Council (Doğrul, 1948d).

As of December 1st, 1948, the two regions began to separate from each other. The communists, supported by the Russians in the Soviet occupation zone in Berlin, declared that they had established a new city council to oppose the Berlin city administration and elected Friedrich Ebert Jr as the president. The assembly's first act was to declare that the city council in the West region was not recognized and that they would administer the whole of Berlin. It is said that the Russians took a big step towards conflict in the news that Ulus Newspaper gave in big headlines saying, “A puppet government was established in Berlin” (Ulus, 1.12.1948, p.1). The headline of the news in Cumhuriyet was “The Russians broke the last bond in Berlin”. In this regard, the Turkish press implies that the side that is not in favor of peace in the face of the patience of the allies is the Soviets. As a matter of fact, Ömer Rıza Doğrul wrote in his column that whatever needed to be done to settle the Berlin issue was already done in Moscow by the three Western allies (Doğrul, 1948e).

A week later, the Soviets were defeated in the elections held in the western occupation zones of Berlin. Even though the Soviets made various attempts to prevent the elections or not to ensure sufficient participation, the Social Democratic Party was the winner of the elections with 838,100 votes in the Berlin elections, which took place with a turnout of 86.2 percent. While the Christian Democratic Party received 258,456 votes in the elections, the Liberal Democrat Party received 214,224 votes, and this election was evaluated as the victory of the Western Bloc¹ (Cumhuriyet, 7.12.1948, p.1,4).

Ömer Rıza Doğrul, who wrote his views on Berlin in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, claimed that it was understood with this election result that the people of Berlin were in favor of advanced democracy and that they were not communists but were also anti-communists. Giving examples from democratic governments in Europe, Doğrul stated that the people of Berlin are trying to appropriate themselves to Europeans and European civilization (Doğrul, 1948f).

¹ Although the number of votes received by the parties in the election results does not affect the result, the numbers differ in the newspapers. For example, Ulus Newspaper gave the Social Democratic Party's votes as 839.488, the Christian Democratic Party's votes as 253.925, and the Liberal Democrat Party's votes as 210,525. See; Ulus, 7.12.1948, p.3.

The determinations of Ömer Rıza Doğrul on the people of Berlin prove that there is an intense migration from the east of Berlin to the western occupation zones in the news that was reflected in the Turkish press on the same days. According to the figures announced by General Clay, about a thousand Berliners migrate from the Soviet zone to the Western regions every day. Clay said that this situation had been going on since October. (Ulus, 8.12.1948, p.3)

In an article on the third page of the Ulus Newspaper on 14 December, it was shared with the public that the Russians were trying to establish a puppet government in East Germany. In the information conveyed by the United Press news agency, it was claimed that the Soviet government was in contact with the communists in Germany and that they were aiming to have the government they would establish in East Germany sign a separate peace treaty with the Soviet Union. General Clay, who was asked about his views on the subject after the news, said that the Soviets have such a right if they wish, but the issue is whether the government to be established will claim to govern all of Germany. Clay, who did not think this was very likely, stated that this government would not have a significant impact on West Germany (Ulus, 14.12.1949, p.3).

Meanwhile, the USSR made another move and established the Eastern Economic Committee in response to the Marshall Plan. It was announced that other European countries could join the committee, which was established with the participation of the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Czechoslovakia, if they accepted communism (Cumhuriyet, 26.01.1949, p.3).

While continuing to take precautions against Western states on the one hand and wanting to show in the international community that he was not a supporter of war, on the other hand, the meeting that the USSR leader Stalin had with Kingsbury Smith, the director of the American international news service, had wide coverage in the Turkish press. Answering Smith's questions, Stalin stated that if the USA, UK, and France gave up forming a government in West Germany, the Berlin blockade could be lifted, and that he could also meet with President Truman to discuss the signing of a peace treaty (Akşam, 31.01.1949, p.1).

This expression of Stalin was named as the Peace Attack in the Turkish press. On February 1st, 1949, Cumhuriyet newspaper headlined “Soviet peace attack in America was greeted coldly”, reported that this proposal was perceived by Western states as a trap, a stage of war of nerves and to undermine the Atlantic Pact. On the same day, in his article on the subject, Nadir Nadi wrote that the basic policy of the Soviets was to expand by taking advantage of the turmoil brought by the war, seize strategic points, and implement a plan prepared without causing a

new war. Therefore, Nadi thought that the plans of the Soviets were ruined in the face of the Western states, which had a stable attitude in the face of the Berlin crisis, and now they want to gain time again with this offer and to get one step closer to their goals by softening the tense environment (Nadi, 1949).

On February 4, Truman rejected Stalin's offer, stating that it would not be right to discuss matters of world peace only with the Soviets. Again, US Secretary of State Dean Acheson stated that this was speculation. Abidin Daver also said that what the Soviets did was nothing but speculation and compared Stalin to Hitler and stated that he only acted more planned (Daver, 1949a).

As a matter of fact, the disagreements and the veto crises in the United Nations Security Council paved the way for a western union to be formed against the Soviets. While seeking the alliance of all the permanent members of the United Nations in the Security Council, which was applied for the settlement of the Berlin Issue, the continuous use of the veto right of the USSR created an obstacle to peace (Eroğlu, 1957, p.23). For this reason, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established on April 4th, 1949, by the representatives of 12 states. With the signed pact, changes were made on the occupation status of Germany and broad authorities were given to the German authorities.

Immediately afterwards, on April 8th, 1949, the Foreign Ministers of the USA, France and the UK came together and came to an agreement and declared the new West Germany occupation status (Son Posta, 8.04.1949, p.3). According to the agreement, as soon as the Federal Republic of Germany is established, the military administrations of the three western states in Germany will come to an end and the allies will be in the region only for control. Military governors, on the other hand, will take their place at the head of the occupation forces, leaving their places to high commissioners (Daver, 1949b). In his statement after the meeting, the UK Foreign Minister made the following statements: "If Germany is wise, they will welcome this agreement. While it is their responsibility to start two world wars, these three governments are trying to help them establish a new and democratic Germany." (Cumhuriyet, 8.04.1949, p.3).

The new occupation status was notified to the constituent assembly in Bonn on 11 April 1949. Ulus, which gave the news headlined "Western occupation status provides an independent government for the Germans", emphasized that this government to be established would depend on certain conditions. Among these conditions, there are clauses such as the fact that the occupation forces have veto powers in the event that any law that will endanger their own

occupation purposes is enacted by the Germans, and that the West German government cannot annul the occupation laws (Ulus, 11.04.1949, p.3).

Sadi Irmak, who wrote about the matter in his column in Ulus, stated that new opportunities were being prepared so that Germany could take its place in the Family of European States in the field of economy and culture. According to Irmak, with this government being established in West Germany, Western states will provide the following benefits: since it will not be possible to leave a country, like Germany with a high cultural level and a long state life, without a state forever, giving independence will save the costs of the occupation administration. Germany, the best industrialized and most technically advanced in Europe will help Europe develop, and this will lessen the burden on the United States. Irmak states that the decision taken based on these considerations is politically very appropriate (Irmak, 1949).

In response to the efforts of the Western allies to establish a democratic regime in West Germany in order to make West Germany a part of Europe again, the news that the Soviets would establish a government in East Germany on the same day was published in the Turkish press. In the news in Son Posta, elections for the German National Congress will be held in May, and then a constitution will be prepared, and the republic will be declared (Son Posta, 21.04.1949, p.3). In addition, while there were rumors that the Berlin Blockade, which was getting worse for the Soviets, would soon be lifted, the news quoted by the Berlin reporter of Times stated that the Russians would be pleased to end this situation, which both reduced their political credits and brought them financial damage.

On April 27th, 1949, it was confirmed by the official communiqué issued by the US State Department that the Soviets made a proposal to the US for the lifting of some conditions of the Berlin blockade and that negotiations were started. A day later, in the meeting between Jessup, the American delegate to the United Nations, and Jakop Malik, the Soviet delegate, in New York, he gave a note to the Soviets to inform them about when and how the Berlin Blockade would be lifted (Akşam, 28.04.194, p.3). Truman, in his weekly press conference, stated that he believed the Soviet attempts to lift the blockade in Berlin were sincere, and underlined that otherwise the meetings could not continue (Son Posta, 29.04.1949, p.3).

With the headline “The Blockade in Germany Ends on May 12” on 5 May 1949, Cumhuriyet newspaper stated that at the end of the ongoing negotiations, at the meeting held between the United Nations representatives of the USA, UK, France and the USSR, the mutual blockade in Berlin would be lifted on 12 May and the Foreign Ministers of the four states decided to meet in Paris on May 23. (Cumhuriyet, 5.05.1949, p.1) After the decision was taken, British Foreign

Minister Bevin, who made a speech to the people of Berlin, stated that the British Air Force defeated an attempt that sentenced two million Berliners to starve to death, and stated that he expected positive results from the quadruple conference to be convened. Bevin also stated that his greatest goal is to eliminate the feeling of hatred between France and Germany, which continues from generation to generation, and if he can succeed, the UK also wants to end the feeling of distrust toward Germany (Daver, 1949c). While Bevin was in Berlin, the Bonn parliamentary council also adopted the West German constitutional draft at the plenary meeting, and it was accepted by thirty-three votes to twenty -nine that the center of the new Federal Republic of Germany would be the city of Bonn (DİAD, 501-31201/123490/3).

As a matter of fact, the Berlin Blockade, which had been going on for months, was lifted on the night of May 11, and the first shipment was made to Berlin by train and trucks. Son Posta Newspaper, which shared the news with its readers with the headline “Berlin Blockade lifted at midnight last night”, wrote that long queues were formed at the entrance of Berlin, and everyone was waiting for the time when the blockade would be lifted (Son Posta, 12.05.1949, p.3). Also, Cumhuriyet Newspaper reported the news with the same headline, it was stated that the lifting of the blockade did not reduce the tension between the East and the West, and that the propaganda race continued at full speed. In the continuation of the news, it was reported that in the newspapers and on the radio in the Soviet occupation zone, broadcasts were made that the entire German nation was grateful for lifting the Berlin blockade, while on the other hand, it was stated in the newspapers in West Germany that the Soviets did not have the power to continue the siege and they had to submit to the Western states to put an end to it (Cumhuriyet, 12.05.1949, p.3)

The meeting, which was determined by the United Nations representatives of the four great states, started on 23 May 1949 in Paris with the participation of the Foreign Ministers of the four states. At the meeting, it was announced that issues such as the unification of Germany and the preparation of a peace treaty for Germany would be discussed. While all eyes were on the meeting to be held in Paris, the Constitution of the Federal Republic of West Germany was officially proclaimed in Bonn at the hour of the meeting, thus the Federal Republic of Germany was established, and it was reported that a temporary committee would carry out the government task until the elections took place.

Akşam Newspaper reported on the first page that “West German government was declared yesterday Three West regions became a federal republic”, and that black, red and yellow German flags were hoisted over the official buildings in the West region (Akşam, 24.05.1949,

p.1). Son Posta Newspaper, on the other hand, shared the news headlined “The Constitution of the Federal Republic of West Germany was officially declared” on the same day and stated that if a positive result can be obtained from the Paris conference, the constitution could be valid in the Soviet occupation zones as well (Son Posta, 24.05.1949, p.3).

After the proclamation of the constitution in West Germany, the Western allies made a proposal to the USSR to unite East and West Germany under a single administration. The content of the proposal includes clauses such as East Germany's acceptance of the provisions of the Bonn constitution, the acceptance of all kinds of freedom, the preparation of a new occupation status based on the quadruple principle, and the granting of broad powers to the German Federal Republic (Cumhuriyet, 29.05.1949, p.3). However, the East German People's Congress declared that the constitution prepared in Bonn would not be accepted and they would be subject to the constitution they had prepared. USSR Foreign Minister Vyshinsky also stated at the meeting held in Paris that it would be more accurate for the constitution prepared in East Germany to cover the whole of Germany and hopes for the unification of Germany were thus ended. As a matter of fact, it was declared in the communiqué of the Fourth Conference in Paris, whose last meeting was held on 20 June 1949, that an agreement could not be reached that would ensure the economic and political integrity of Germany.

In the parliamentary elections held in August, Theodor Heuss was elected President and on September 20, 1949, the first government of the Federal Republic of Germany took office under the chancellorship of Adenauer (DİAD, 501- 31106/123268/1; 501-31823/125651/1).

CONCLUSION

The Turkish press closely followed the developments in Europe and the world during and after the Second World War. With the end of the Second World War, the conflict of interest of the allied states that claimed rights over Germany, which was defeated, was shared with the public day by day.

The Turkish press, which did not remain neutral in the tension between the USSR, the USA, France, and the UK, which started with the Berlin Crisis and gradually deepened, preferred to broadcast in favor of the Western allies. The distrust of the Soviets and the Marshall Plan announced in 1947 brought Turkey closer to America and the Western Bloc, and this showed itself in the press.

The Turkish press, which thought that the Soviets followed such an aggressive policy in Germany during the Berlin Crisis, encouraged by the moderate policy implemented by the Western states during the Second World War, had included in their publications that the Western states should have followed an upright and consistent policy since the first day of the blockade of Berlin. One reason for this is the thought that a concession to the Soviets here would encourage the Soviets even more and pave the way for the third world war. Therefore, there is a concern that Turkey will face the USSR in the event of such a war.

During the Berlin Crisis, which was the most crucial point in the process leading to the establishment of the Federal Germany, a clear stance was taken against Communism, and democracy was emphasized at every opportunity. While the Western Allies were seen as great friends and allies, the Soviets were described as an enemy capable of making all kinds of political games to achieve their goals, and even Stalin was described as a continuation of Hitler. On the other hand, the Turkish press, which found the expressions used by the Western Allies in their statements from time to time too soft and optimistic, criticized the Western Allies for not being more tough on these points.

The establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany was seen as a natural result of this process and was evaluated as an expected situation. In addition, the role of the Federal Republic of Germany in the re-development of Europe was emphasized. When all these news and articles in the Turkish press are examined, it is seen that the Turkish press has taken an attitude towards ensuring peace as soon as possible and for this to be realized by the Western Allies through democratic means.

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