





International and Constitutional Aspects

- Legal starting point
 - Constitution of the FRG
 - Constitution of the GDR
- Political background
- Achieving reunification the constitutional battle
- NATO
- Two plus four treaty
- European integration
- Charter of the United Nations



Point of departure: 1989

Two non sovereign states

FRG: Federal Republic of Germany

GDR: German Democratic Republic

- Officially, World War II hadn't even ended; a peace treaty was never signed
- The **United Nations charter permits** any member of the world organization to *invade* the territory between the rivers Rhine and Oder should the Germans ever pursue an "aggressive policy".
- The **Soviets reserved their** *right to represent the GDR*, if necessary, both internationally and vis-à-vis West Germany -- as if the East Germans were little more than a vassal state



Constitutional background of the FRG: In lack of a "constitution"

Instead of a constitution Germany has a "Basic Law" (Grundgesetz) In 1949: The Basic Law was only intended for a temporary use





The constitution of the FRG

Reunification as constitutional goal

Preamble of the Basic Law (Grundgesetz) from 1949 to 1990:

"The whole German People remains **compelled to fulfill the Unity and Freedom of Germany** by virtue of its right to free self-determination."

→ The jurisprudence of the Federal Constitutional Court of Germany therefrom resulted in a constitutional prerogative, which was **binding to all governmental entities**, to regain German Unity and work toward achieving this objective.



Art. 23 of the Basic Law until 1989

For the time being, this Basic Law shall apply in the territory of the Länder of Baden, Bavaria, Bremen, Greater Berlin, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Schleswig-Holstein, Württemberg-Baden, and Württemberg-Hohenzollern. In other parts of Germany it shall be put into force on their accession.

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Constitutional Background of the GDR

Article 1 of the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, Promulgated October 7, 1949

Germany is an indivisible democratic republic, the foundations of which are the German Länder.

The (German Democratic) Republic decides on all issues which are essential to the existence and development of the German people as a whole, all other issues being decided upon by independent action of the Laender (states).

[...]

There is only one German nationality.



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Constitutional Background in the GDR (cont.)

Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, April 6, 1968

Article 1

The German Democratic Republic is a **socialist state** of the German nation.

Article 8

(2) The creation and maintenance of normal relations and cooperation between the two German states on the basis of equality are a national concern for the German Democratic Republic. The German Democratic Republic and its citizens, moreover, seek to overcome the division forced on the German nation by imperialism, and to gradually reproach the two German states to the point of their unification on the basis of democracy and socialism.



Constitutional Background of the GDR (cont.)

Constitution of the German Democratic Republic, October 7, 1974

Article 1

The German Democratic Republic is a **socialist state of workers and farmers**.

Article 8

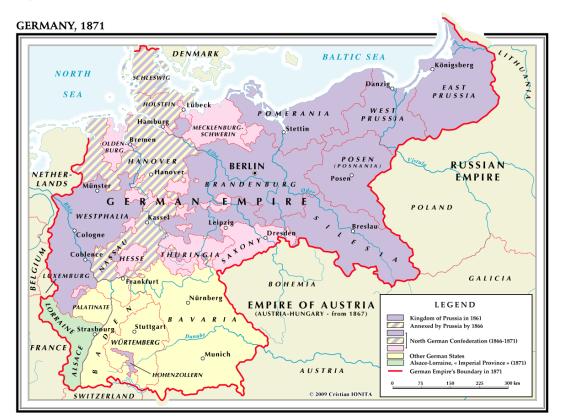
(2) The German Democratic Republic will never undertake a war of aggression or use its armed forces against the freedom of another people.

- → The GDR and the Soviet government obviously had receded from the earlier position which was favorable to unification
- → GDR and FDR were seen as two completely independent states



Poland: Concerns about German expansion to now Polish territories

Germany from 1871 – 1918





International opinions and standpoints

- the nightmare of a united Germany







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The EU, France and Germany



- Mitterrand in private conversation to Thatcher: Reunification would result in Germany gaining more European influence than Hitler ever had.
- German Unification is "a legal and political impossibility"
- Kohl has no understanding of other nations' sensitivities and was exploiting German "national" feeling.
- Mitterrand's solution: Incorporating the unified Germany into European institutions
- England and France suspected that the FRG might establish a low-wage, deregulated economy in the former GDR

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European integration: Towards the treaty of Maastricht

Trust built up during the last 40 years

Mitterrand to Thatcher: "But I can't declare war on Germany"!

Forty years of bonding in all areas (schools, parliaments, army, economy, science, culture etc.)

But also fears of the other European states

French observer: "Germany, a big nation, is again becoming a great nation [A]II it lacks is the military arm. From the height of its power, its industrialists and merchants are looking far beyond the West, at the wide world. And France looks at Germany. It is the season of suspicion-thoroughly foreseeable after all."

"Somehow, Kohl bought the Unification by giving up the "Deutsche Mark" → European Monetary Union → currency (EURO) an highly political issue until today



The "German question"

Initial Point

- Germany might not need European integration any longer
- Germany feared to become the **dominating European power**

The GDR and the European Union (former EC)

The former GDR automatically became part of the EU without any amendment of the Treaty of Rome

- → Principle of moving treaty frontiers
- → Helmut Kohl made clear that the **EU will not have to co-finance the costs** of adjustment in East Germany
- → Transitional rules



Two plus four treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany Signing in Moscow, September 12, 1990

"Two": Federal Republic of Germany and German Democratic Republic

"Four": Powers that occupied Germany at the End of World War II: responsible for Germany as a whole.

Replacing Potsdam Agreement (1945):

- Germany did not have full national sovereignty
- Upon deposit of the last instrument of ratification, united Germany became fully sovereign on 15 March 1991

Preamble: Recognizing that thereby, and with the unification of Germany as a democratic and peaceful state, the rights and responsibilities of the Four Powers relating to Berlin and to Germany as a whole **lose their function**





Achieving reunification – the constitutional battle

Overview: Three possible constitutional solutions

1) Confederation

2) "New" Constitution: Art. 146 Basic Law

3) Joining of the GDR area, Art. 23 Basic Law:

Advantage: Fast solution



Option 1: Confederation

- Confederation of the two German states / loose community
- → Gradually merging certain functions
- Intentions of the GDR reform parties: more social and egalitarian, less aggressive capitalism
- But: Especially Helmut Kohl found that something more was possible.
- Nota bene: Kohl's 10 points included some kind of confederation.
- Prerequisite of the first possible solution: A new GDR constitution

The Round Table draft: A Round Table (composed equally of representatives of the reform movement and representatives of the SED and its allied organizations) was already working on a new democratic GDR Constitution. But the draft was **never finished** because the GDR people didn't want a new democratic GDR but a complete reunification.



Option 2: Art. 146 Basic Law

Art. 146 (termination clause of the original Basic Law of 1949)

This Basic Law shall cease to be in force at the day where a constitution is adopted by free decision of the German people.

- → This clause can mean that a unification has to be accomplished by the adoption of a new constitution by the people of both German states.
- → It was argued that a new constitution was necessary (Option 2 seen as the only option)



Option 2: Art. 146 Basic Law (cont.)

Did the Basic Law have a democratic deficit?

A new constitution could also cure a democratic deficit in the adoption of the Basic Law in 1949.

→ The Basic Law was **proposed by a Parliamentary Council** that had been chosen by the legislatures of the Länder. The Parliamentary Council consisted of **65 members**.

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Option 2: Art. 146 Basic Law (cont.)

Did the Basic Law have a democratic deficit (cont.)?

From the **point of view of democratic theory**: An **extensive discussion of constitutional ideas** from both the FDR and GDR would have taken place

Doubts from a practical point of view:

- The CDU/CSU government disliked the possibility that **GDR ideas might influence a** new constitution.
- Furthermore, democratic participation needs much time (and education?) that's why it
 was faster and easier to simply establish facts

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Option 3: Art. 23 Basic Law (accession of new Länder)

Points of criticism

- Forfeiting the chance of fundamental reforms not only in the GDR
- Some representatives of the eastern SPD didn't like this kind of "capitulation" of the GDR.

Discussion: What would have been the best choice?



Going with option 3

- The areas of the former German Democratic Republic (East Germany) were incorporated into the Federal Republic of Germany
- Though some articles of the constitutions were adopted, contributions of the experience
 of the GDR reform movement were not reflected

Straight talk: Wolfgang Schäuble (at that time German Minister of interior affairs):

"This is the accession of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany and not the reverse. We want to do everything for you. You are cordially welcome. We do not want to trample coldly on your wishes and interests. But **this is not the unification of two equal states**."

→ From a legal point view there has never been a reunification but rather an "acquisition".



Going with option 3 (cont.): International effects

- The practical result of that model is that the now expanded Federal Republic of Germany continued to be a party to all the treaties it had signed prior to the moment of reunification, and thus inherited the old West Germany's seats at the UN, NATO, the European Union etc.
- Also the same Basic Law and the same laws that were in force in the Federal Republic continued automatically in force, but now applied to the expanded territory.

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Would about today? Is a new constitution necessary or possible?

- Even today there are discussions whether a new constitution should be adopted because Art. 146 Basic Law said nothing about when such a new constitution must be adopted.
- However, others argue that Art. 146 should be deleted because it has no function any more. Some even claim that Art. 146 is invalid because it is obsolete. Argument: Art. 146 is a dangerous possibility.
- Another question is whether a new constitution has to be adopted due to the progressing European integration accompanied by a loss of competences of the national states.

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The (Re) Unification Treaty

Article 1: Länder

(1) Upon the accession of the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with Article 23 of the Basic Law taking effect on 3 October 1990 the Länder of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia shall become Länder of the Federal Republic of Germany. [. . .]

(2) The 23 boroughs of Berlin shall form the Land Berlin.

"5 New Länder" → traditional internal federal structures are maintained



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The (Re) Unification Treaty (cont.)

Article 3: Entry into Force of the Basic Law

Upon the accession taking effect, the Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany [...] shall enter into force in the Länder of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia and in that part of Land Berlin where it has not been valid to date, subject to the amendments arising from Article 4, unless otherwise provided in this Treaty.

Article 12: Treaties of the German Democratic Republic

(1) The Contracting Parties are agreed that, in connection with the establishment of German unity, international treaties of the German Democratic Republic shall be discussed with the contracting parties concerned with a view to regulating or confirming their continued application, adjustment or expiration, taking into account protection of confidence, the interests of the states concerned and the treaty obligations of the Federal Republic of Germany as well as the principles of a free, democratic basic order governed by the rule of law, and respecting the competence of the European Communities.

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The (Re) Unification Treaty (cont.)

The end of the GDR

- On October 3rd 1990 (now unification day), the German Democratic Republic ceased to exist, and five new Federal States on its former territory joined the Federal Republic of Germany. East and West Berlin were reunited, and joined the Federal Republic as a full-fledged Federal City-State
- → Absorption of the GDR
- The FRG remained the same legal personality that was founded in 1949
- Officially the Federal Republic was identical with the "German Reich", although its actual power extended only over a part of the territory and population of the "Reich".

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The (Re) Unification Treaty (cont.)

New Preamble of the Basic Law (changed by the Unification Treaty)

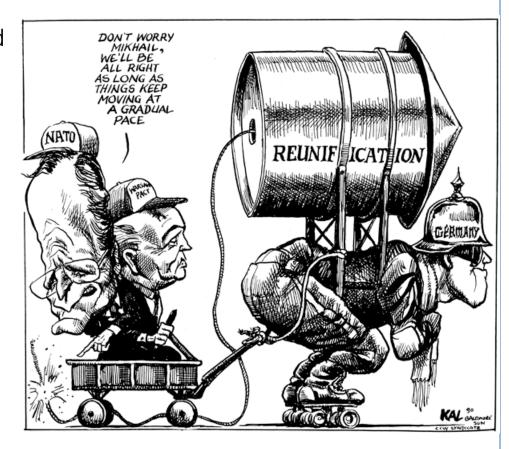
Preamble since 1990 with an additional sentence: "Conscious of their responsibility before God and man, Inspired by the determination to promote world peace as an equal partner in a united Europe, the German people, in the exercise of their constituent power, have adopted this Basic Law. Germans in the Länder of Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin, Brandenburg, Bremen, Hamburg, Hesse, Lower Saxony, Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania, North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Saarland, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Schleswig-Holstein and Thuringia have achieved the unity and freedom of Germany in free self-determination. This Basic Law thus applies to the entire German people."



NATO

NATO and the Warsaw Pact in the Cold War: About 1.5 million soldiers from nine countries face each other along this front which is running through Germany.

In early December 1989, Bush erected the highest hurdle when he stated that the United States would only agree to reunification if the new Germany became member of the NATO



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Germany and its eastern neighbors







Two plus Four Treaty

Art. 6

"The **right of the united Germany to belong to alliances**, with all the rights and responsibilities arising therefrom, **shall not be affected** by the present Treaty."

Art. 5

(1) Until the completion of the withdrawal of the Soviet armed forces for the territory of the present German Democratic Republic and of Berlin in accordance with Article 4 of the present Treaty, only German territorial defence units which are not integrated into the alliance structures to which German armed forces in the rest of German territory are assigned will be stationed in that territory as armed forces of the united Germany. During that period and subject to the provisions of paragraph 2 of this Article, armed forces of other states will not be stationed in that territory or carry out any other military activity there.



Amending Art. 23 GG

Art. 23 GG was changed in 1992 in order to fight fears of Germany's neigbours in Europe



[European Union – Protection of basic rights – Principle of subsidiarity]

(1) With a view to establishing a united Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany shall participate in the development of the European Union that is committed to democratic, social and federal principles, to the rule of law, and to the principle of subsidiarity, and that guarantees a level of protection of basic rights essentially comparable to that afforded by this Basic Law. To this end the Federation may transfer sovereign powers by a law with the consent of the Bundesrat. The establishment of the European Union, as well as changes in its treaty foundations and comparable regulations that amend or supplement this Basic Law, or make such amendments or supplements possible, shall be subject to paragraphs (2) and (3) of Article 79.



Amending Art. 146 GG (in force since 1990)

Article 146 [Duration of the Basic Law]

This Basic Law, which since the achievement of the unity and freedom of Germany applies to the entire German people, shall cease to apply on the day on which a constitution freely adopted by the German people takes effect.

- → To fight fear of a reemergence of German nationalism
- → There are no more territories that can join Germany



»Er wird friedlich und vollkommen harmlos sein!«



Reassuring the rest of Europe (and the world)

Two Plus Four Treaty

Article 1

- (2) The united Germany and the Republic of Poland shall confirm the existing border between them in a treaty that is binding under international law.
- → German-Polish Border Treaty (1990): Oder-Neisse line

Article 3

- (1) The Governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic reaffirm their renunciation of the manufacture and possession of and control over nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. They declare that the united Germany, too, will abide by these commitments. [...]
- (2) [...] The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany undertakes to **reduce the personnel strength of the armed forces of the united Germany to 370,000** (ground, air and naval forces) within three to four years. [...]



Reassuring the rest of Europe (and the world)

Two Plus Four Treaty

Article 7

- (1) The French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America hereby terminate their rights and responsibilities relating to Berlin and to Germany as a whole. As a result, the corresponding, related quadripartite agreements, decisions and practices are terminated and all related Four Power institutions are dissolved.
- (2) The United Germany shall have accordingly **full sovereignty over its internal and external affairs**.