



**Barbed wire
round Berlin**



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Arno Scholz

arani

Verlags-GmbH · Berlin-Grünwald

In collaboration with Gottfried Vetter

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Barbed wire round Berlin

Concrete walls and barbed wire have replaced hammer and dividers as the symbol of the rulers over 17 million Germans. Such walls were erected in the Third Reich as well, round all those places where men and women were imprisoned for having opposed the regime. Today it is not individuals who are placed behind barbed wire; it surrounds that part of Germany which the Soviets have drawn into their sphere of power.

At the zonal and sector boundaries there stand guard over this one great concentration camp officers of the "GDR" resembling those who once before held down the German nation with terror—then in the name of another "Führer." Their sub-machine guns aim at defenceless people. They have fired and hit. Not merely individuals. They have struck the German people to the heart.

The world cannot understand that German sub-machine guns fire on Germans whose only wish is to escape the "bliss" of the Ulbricht regime, the constant showering with communist propaganda and the compulsory participation in house meetings, parades and "actions." Only to get away from this, and often personal persecution as well, have so many abandoned so much. The toil-won home, certain livelihood, friends, relations.

But it is idle to try to appeal to the conscience of those responsible for this step which hermetically cut off Berlin on August 13, 1961. The rulers are blind, they see only the order given them, not in German but in the Russian language. They hit out wildly because they feel they cannot rule by conviction, but only by terror and oppression.

A state that must erect concrete walls and barbed wire to keep its citizens together has declared its own bankruptcy.

A regime which must bar off its own capital city, even from the well-disposed, cannot expect ever again to meet with approval and sympathy.

Ulbricht's system of oppression is even more perfect than that of the Nazis. In recent weeks at works meetings criticism was invited. The newspapers called for critical readers' letters. It is now clear that the intention was simply to lure opponents out so that they could be imprisoned. Today citizens of the Soviet zone are even brought to court merely for expressing disapproval over some trifling measure in their works or agricultural collective.

Ulbricht was powerless to grant either more freedom or a higher standard of living; so his only resource was to cordon off his sphere of power with concrete walls and barbed wire. Only thus could he deprive of hope of escape from the zone those who would not bow to his will.



BERLIN, AUGUST 13, 1961. Along the sector boundary rises a barrier dividing Germans from Germans, friends and families.



JAILERS FOR ULBRICHT. Soldiers of the "National People's Army" behind barbed wire—and behind the barrier wall (below). Do they know what they are doing? Over 200 of them have fled to the West since August 13.



And yet Ulbricht is startlingly shortsighted. West Berlin, whither so many fled who could no longer bear terror and oppression, was a safety valve which he has now shut off. He now keeps back those who would kick against his regime, but they represent neither potential labour nor even tolerance for his regime. On the contrary, he hourly and daily multiplies the number of his antagonists.

The concrete walls and the barbed wire across Berlin are only one of the many steps in the Soviets' attempt to ease their feet further into Europe.

Their greatest helper in this advance was Hitler. His plan to attack Poland was intended not merely to solve the problem of the Corridor and Danzig; Poland was to be once more partitioned.

Void of all scruple, Hitler offered his worst enemy, Stalin, half his prey, half of Poland. And yet a fleeting glance at the written program of the Third Reich would have shown Stalin that even the Ukraine—part of the Soviet Union—was regarded as the natural granary of the Greater German Reich and was already on the list of territories earmarked for conquest. Hitler wanted a pact with Stalin solely to have his rear free for an attack on France, Belgium and Holland.

It was a cruel fate for Europe that England and France were compelled to ally themselves with the Devil Stalin to drive out the Beelzebubs Hitler and Mussolini. Still crueller, however, was the end of the war. Hitler and Mussolini were "kaputt," as the Russians said, but Stalin had become the more powerful for it.

The Soviet Union now rules over Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Zone of Germany. After 1939 the USSR had increased its territory by 686,000 square kilometers and its population by 24 million. 1945 brought a further 65 million and 12 million square kilometers of land under its rule.

For the people of central Germany, now the Soviet zone, the slogan dinned into them before 1933 came true in 1945—"Through Hitler we will come to power!" The Soviets were suddenly there in central Germany, and as soon as Germany had capitulated they renewed their efforts to advance westwards.

The Soviets had agreed that Berlin was to be a special area under four-Power control. So as to paralyse this four-Power administration as soon as possible their first aim was to build up a strong communist party.

When the expected rush on the communist recruiting stations failed to appear, the Soviets at once went over to the slogan—Union of the Social Democratic and Communist parties in the SED (Socialist Union of Germany). The Social Democrats (SPD) were meant to provide the membership, the Communists (KPD) would have liked to provide the officials over them.

In the three Western sectors of Berlin this forced union came to nothing, and in the only free elections for the city parliament for all Berlin on October 20, 1946, the communists failed to book a dominating position in any of the 20 boroughs.

Immediately after these elections the Soviets committed their first breach of the four-Power statute. They deposed the burgomasters and borough councils in the eight boroughs of their sector and replaced them with elements obedient to the party line. They curtailed the rights of the freely elected representatives and on August 25, 1948 set a mob to break up the freely elected city parliament.

There followed ten years of more or less serious pinpricks, such as the stationing of Barrack-Quartered (= militarised) People's Police and finally the enthronement of the People's Chamber and Council of Ministers of the Soviet zone Government in East Berlin.

Until August 13, 1961 the Eastern sector remained apart from the so-called "GDR," at least outwardly. Deputies from East Berlin had no right to vote in the People's Chamber—in itself a recognition of the special situation of East Berlin.

Freedom of movement was still a fact. East Berliners could work in West Berlin, West Berliners in East Berlin. There were of course sector boundaries, but the Berliners could still cross them unhindered. All this changed on the morning when first barbed wire, then, replacing it, concrete walls were erected along the sector boundaries.

It is idle to dispute whether Ulbricht really from the start envisaged such measures to the extent they have now been carried out.

A great part of them are sure to have been ordered only later, when Ulbricht saw what bitterness his actions were causing in East and West Berlin. At times thousands of people stood at the sector boundary on both sides of the at first thin cordon of People's Police.

On the one side West Berliners, so embittered that at the slightest encouragement they would have stormed across; on the other East Berliners, who at the slightest encouragement would have torn down the barrier between themselves and the West Berliners.

Ulbricht must have feared a new June 17, 1953—or else he would have hesitated once more to bring up tanks at Potsdamer Platz, as he did.

There is no comparison for the measures Ulbricht took in Berlin. Not only were the concrete walls and barbed wire drawn across Berlin; the "capital of the 'GDR'" was also barred to the people living in the Soviet zone, even to its SED officials.

The citizens of this part of Germany—no matter whether they agree with its rulers or not—need a permit to enter the "capital." Within this "capital" there were at times four and six rows of sentries in staggered formation with rigorous controls. Ulbricht's degree of confidence in the



THE BOUNDARY runs right before the house door—Ruppiner Strasse in north Berlin. Armed “janitors” watch that nobody risks the jump over the barbed wire to freedom. Most entrances immediately on the boundary have since been walled up.



POLITICAL ACTION FROM THE WEST is called for in these hastily made placards paraded in protest before the Schöneberg town hall on August 16.

loyalty of his forces to the regime can be judged from the fact that near the sector boundaries all sentries were officers. Other ranks and policemen were kept further back to prevent their risking the jump over the barbed wire to freedom. He even had not great trust in the “combat groups” (= militarised works squads) on duty at the boundary. Most of them were given rifles, but no ammunition.

Ulbricht's measures consisted in robbing commuters over the sector boundary of their jobs overnight, ordering forced labour, putting them to work where it suits the regime, and simply evicting people from their homes on the sector boundary where many of them have lived for decades. SED officials were introduced into workplaces as spies, denouncing their colleagues to the machinery of the law.

The first statement issued to justify the iniquitous new measures at the sector boundaries contained the reference that these measures were taken on “recommendations” from the Eastern bloc states. Some of these states—the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Albania—are members of the UN and their “recommendation” is thus a breach of the United Nations' Charter. Entry to the UN is restricted to states whose governments expressly declare the United Nations' Charter as binding on them.

In the general Declaration of Human Rights the member nations of the UN have undertaken to pursue in particular the following principles:

“Every person has the right to life, liberty and personal security.”

“Every person has everywhere the claim to recognition of his rights within the law.”

“Every person has the right to freedom of movement and free choice of residence within a state.”

“Every person has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.”

“Every person has the right to seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.”

“Every person has the right to liberty of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes the liberty to change his religion or his conviction alone or in common with others, in public or privately, through doctrine, practice, church service or the performance of rites.”

“Every person has the right to free expression of opinion; this right includes the liberty to adhere to opinions uncontestedly and to seek, receive and disseminate information and ideas by all means of communication without respect to frontiers.”

The recommendation of the Eastern bloc states to the Soviet zonal Government meant the suppression of free choice of workplace and residence. That is a crying offence against the Charter which should not escape the attention of the UN Organisation.

The fate of Berlin cannot, however, be entrusted to the UN alone. The UN Organisation can never be more than an umpire; it cannot actively interfere as a protective power, as the three Western Powers are doing at present in Berlin.

However, the people of Berlin would favour the transfer of organisations of the UN to Berlin, and would like to see the UN Organisation entrusted with the additional task of continuously observing whose actions were the cause of unrest. Khrushchov would then have to reflect more carefully whether he could permit Ulbricht such actions as that of August 13, 1961.

The stones were still being laid on the concrete wall on August 26, when the "German Radio, TV and Phono Exhibition" opened its doors in West Berlin.

At the opening ceremony the Governing Burgomaster of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, first spoke of what Berlin was up to August 13, 1961: a place of meeting for people from East and West. In personal encounters, in lecture halls and numerous platform discussions heated debates were held in free exchange of opinion. For the sake of such conversation people from the Soviet zone and the Eastern bloc had made long, tedious journeys and run the gauntlet of all the controls. Tens of thousands from the East sector regularly attended cultural events in West Berlin, its theatres, cinemas and art exhibitions.

Berlin was also a shop window for the free world, displaying the wealth of production from its every part. The plethora offered was at the same time a striking answer to the economic strategists with magnificent visions of planning who can only supply a certain cogwheel or tool with the greatest difficulty.

It was no easy decision to abandon a home built up through years of toil, a livelihood, a circle of friends and relations, to embrace the uncertain fate of a refugee. And this characteristic of being a haven of rest and safety was lost to West Berlin on August 13.

But after this retrospect Willy Brandt set West Berlin a new task:

"We will strengthen the economic power of this city. We will raise its productive power. We will make it more than ever a centre of science, education and training. We will create more special institutions for the under-developed countries. We will create favourable terms for additional investments in Berlin. Above all we will bring people to Berlin and offer them favoured material conditions. Berlin will be a magnet, and many will come to it."

"The name Berlin will be the expression of the claim and will of the Germans to achieve the right to self-determination. Berlin will not be the oasis in the desert. Berlin will be the living utterance of the German trust in the future."

The Federal Economic Minister, Prof. Ludwig Erhard, seconded this new proposal and even added suggestions of his own:

“In Berlin the life of Germany finds a new incarnation. The events in Berlin could become a ‘theme for reflection for the entire German people’.



GATEKEEPERS of tyranny—“National People’s Army” soldiers on an armoured car posted between the pillars of the Brandenburg Gate.



A LOOK over the wall. Such scenes are repeated daily at the Berlin sector boundary. Perhaps they can see an aunt, perhaps a grandmother. A furtive wave of a handkerchief is the only sign relatives in East Berlin can give. And they go home with the gnawing thought—will we ever meet again?

“In this hour we feel ourselves at one. Few words are needed to emphasise the unity of all Germans in the Berlin question. Here we stand together.

“We appeal to the world. We have a right to do so, not because we are Germans, but because in the heart of Europe an injustice is being committed, an affront of such resonance as the world has nowhere seen. “It would be a noble contest if away from all questions of party we

could meet here and in the Federal Republic so that the citizens of free Berlin could consciously live a free life on a sound economic and social foundation. No-one knows Germany if he has not seen free Berlin." Detailed measures have been discussed for promoting West Berlin's economy, in commissions quickly convened under the leadership of Burgomaster Franz Amrehn. Rationalisation and investment will back up these measures.

A special housing program for workers from the Federal Republic will help to create a nucleus of attraction.

A few weeks later, on Friday, September 22, the Governing Burgomaster, Willy Brandt, presented to the city parliament a program aiming at revealing the new character of West Berlin.

The program provides for investment credits of 170 million DM for 1962, and to secure the execution of orders a further 160 million DM for production, sales and full employment. For new labour coming to the city 4,000 additional homes will be put up in West Berlin.

In collaboration with the Federal Republic, the Lands, the Association of German Municipalities, German university colleges and cultural organisations a "Stiftung Hauptstadt Berlin" (Foundation "Berlin the Capital") will be set up to aid the further extension of Berlin's universities, colleges, theatres and other cultural institutions as a visible sign of the community of free Germany in Berlin.

A Pedagogical Centre will be erected as a focus of German and international educational work in Berlin, more vacancies will be created for students at the Berlin universities, colleges and research institutes, so as to accommodate more students from West Germany. Students whose homes are in Berlin will be given bursaries to allow them to study in the Federal Republic.

To provide for these cultural undertakings a number of new buildings will be needed—a house for the faculty of Architecture in the Technical University, one for the Institute of Town Planning and one for a University Forum. On the outskirts of the Tiergarten, besides the Philharmonie already under construction, buildings for the Staatsbibliothek and to accommodate exhibitions will be erected.

Exhibits from the former Staatliche Museen will be displayed in new buildings in Charlottenburg, Dahlem, and in Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse, in collaboration with the Stiftung Preussische Kulturbesitze, and funds provided for a new studio building for the Sender Freies Berlin radio station in Reichskanzlerplatz.

In the field of public health Berlin will become more than ever a centre of training and further studies, in particular for doctors and dentists in the public service, for doctors from medical inspection offices and in the field of forensic medicine.

Berlin will be a particular centre of German development aid and partnership with the developing countries. To an important degree it

will provide aid for training work. The German Foundation for Developing Countries in Berlin urgently needs a centre for preparation and training of administrative experts bound for the developing countries, central language courses must be set up in Berlin, and also a school books institute for developing countries.

The Berlin Senate programme also calls for special measures for young people in Berlin and their contact with the youth of the Federal Republic. This requires improvements in the accomodation and care of young people coming to Berlin.

The erection of the Ulbricht Wall is a further material restriction on freedom of movement for the people of Berlin. There is a need for additional places for sport, play and recreation.

The German Industries Fair in 1962 will have as its leading theme economic co-operation with developing countries. In future Berlin will take part in industrial exhibitions and fairs in these countries—at the end of this year in Khartoum, at the beginning of next year in New Delhi.

While West Berlin was thus proclaiming its will to carry on its reconstruction undisturbed news kept arriving of the growing pressure being imposed on East Germans by the Soviet zone authorities. The most shocking example of their feelings under this pressure is in Bernauer Strasse in the north of Berlin. On one side of the street the houses are in the East, but the pavement is in the West. The tenants of these houses jumped out of the ground floor windows during the first few days after the sealing off—the entrances to the houses had already been walled up and new approaches built through the yards in the Soviet sector.

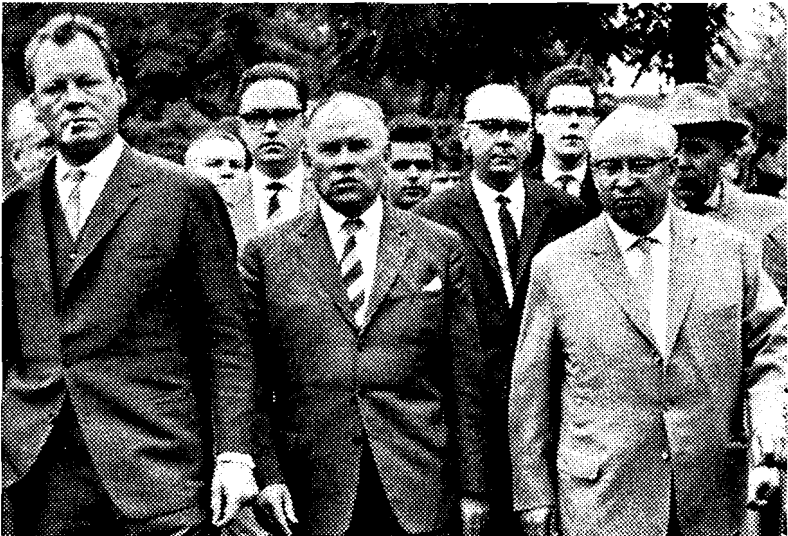
Thereupon with "People's Police" aid the ground floor windows were walled up. The people then fled through the first floor windows. When these were also walled up they risked the drop out of the second and third floors, helpful West Berliners having brought the Fire Brigade with their jumping sheets. In one week alone thirteen families, several with children, jumped to freedom. Many of them suffered grave spinal injuries.

Along the sector boundary the concrete walls were heightened again and again and topped with barbed wire. At places where sight was impeded small gardens and allotments were brutally torn up, a death zone ploughed, laid with barbed wire and marked with a second barrier line. It may be assumed that these were mainly intended to prevent "People's Policemen" from jumping over the wall to escape taking part in further injustice.

Houses were evacuated. Often at such short notice that the tenants had no time to pack their belongings. They were taken away in transports and accommodated in barns or schools. The evacuated homes were hung with be-sloganed banners.



BERLIN'S FRIENDS did not hesitate to hasten to the German capital. Above: the chairman of the W. German TUC, Willi Richter, was in Berlin by August 14. Here he is at the Brandenburg Gate with the Berlin TUC chairman, Walter Sickt and his deputy Anneliese Holtz. On their right: the Ober-Burgomaster of Hamm and SPD Bundestag Deputy Werner Figger. Below: Bundestag President Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, SPD Chairman Erich Ollenhauer and Governing Burgomaster Willy Brandt walking along the barrier zone.



In putting up the concrete walls and barbed wire "People's Police" repeatedly entered West Berlin territory. To add emphasis to their ejection and to avoid incidents the Allied protecting Powers themselves brought their forces to control the sector boundary.

In the outskirts of Berlin, which are in the Soviet zone, local authorities ejected individuals from the community for "attitudes harmful to society." In a number of cases courts have passed sentences of penal servitude between two and five years on people whose only offence was the desire to flee.

Even foreigners were sentenced merely for wanting to leave the territory of the zone. Bargees on the Elbe had to leave either wife or children behind on crossing the zonal boundary for the Federal Republic.



THE FIRST COUNTER ACTION came from Berlin workers. The day after the communist coup they demonstrated before the Schöneberg town hall. Willy Brandt came out to talk to them.

Television antennas were forcibly turned so that they could no longer receive Western stations. Radio listeners are dragged before the courts, sentenced and placed under immediate arrest to serve their sentences. In universities and technical colleges "purges" have been carried out, particularly against students and professors failing to declare their readiness to fight for the SED policy. Students who had not volunteered for armed service with the "People's Army" were thrown out of the lecture halls.

But besides barbed wire and concrete walls the well tried means of enticement and menaces against West Berliners and the Powers protecting them must be called in. The Soviet Prime Minister repeats endlessly his "peace plans," which aim at delivering Berlin into the control of the so-called "German Democratic Republic." President Kennedy opposed these plans in the General Assembly of the United Nations, at the same time instructing his Secretary of State, Mr. Rusk, to start negotiations with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko, with a view to ascertaining whether a compromise acceptable to both sides could be found. President Kennedy also sent General Lucius D. Clay—whose Air Lift defended Berlin against the blockade—to Berlin to make it clear to all that he is not prepared to tolerate arbitrary and unilateral alterations to the agreement on Berlin.

The American organisation "Freedom House," to whom Berlin is indebted for the Freedom Bell which hangs in the tower of Schöneberg town hall, awarded its Freedom Prize to Willy Brandt, the first German to receive it. The Governing Burgomaster flew to New York, and at a celebration on October 6, 1961, said:

"The Berliners are prepared rather to bear hardship and sacrifice than once again to bend their necks under the yoke of a dictatorship.

"For this they will continue to need the protection of the Allies. The original rights of the Western Powers offer more security and fewer risks than any other contrivance so far discussed.

"The second fundamental requirement in Allied Berlin policy is the right to free access—of course not for the garrisons alone, but for the civilian population as well. The air corridors laid down by agreement must remain uncontrolled. Overland communications should be subject to improvement in accordance with the interests of all concerned.

"The third basic requirement is the freedom and vitality of the city. Here it should be remembered that the reconstruction of West Berlin was only possible because we belong to the currency and jurisdictional area of the Federal Republic. Confidence in the future of the city depends on the maintenance of these bonds. They should be strengthened as much as possible.

"The question has been raised whether and how the United Nations might assume a greater or less portion of responsibility for Berlin. Much

that is right, much that is less right, has been said on the subject. It would be welcome if the United Nations were to occupy themselves with the flagrant flouting of human rights with Berlin as the example. Those committing these inhumanities should be compelled to account for themselves.

"They should be asked: Do you really believe that the right to self-determination should not apply in Europe? Do you really believe that the right to freedom of movement inside one and the same country, inside one and the same city, should be withheld? Do you really wish to defend the shooting in their own country of persons fleeing the country? That the demand for free decision by the people be stifled in police cellars and forced labour camps?

"We must not tire of demanding the removal of the wall in Berlin!

"As long as it exists I hold out the heartfelt prayer that humanitarian organisations and forces of good will shall exert their efforts towards securing at all events a minimum of human contacts within a country. That is an appeal of human dignity to the conscience of the world.

"Here and there the comment has been heard that the Germans were living on the moon if they denied the reality of the partitioning of their country. Let me say openly—it is just as much a reality that the Germans will not simply make the best of this partitioning. It is a reality that the partitioning does not serve peace.

"There are many individual questions which can be discussed. For example, whether equalised regional restriction and control of armaments is advisable. The solution of the German question appears illusory in any case if no agreement about security questions can be reached. The question can also be discussed what should be done in practice as long as the partitioning persists. There is no reason why the Western Powers should not have technical and practical questions dealt with by officials from both parts of Germany. They only must not believe that this will solve the German question.

"The fact remains—even if we have to accept the partitioning *de facto*, free Germany cannot recognise a regime based only on bayonets which is detested by men.

"For this attitude there are two reasons. The first I defined on March 13 this year in Washington when I said, 'We are prepared to make sacrifices, but we are not prepared to sacrifice sixteen million people.' That is a principle of morality.

"The second reason lies in our Constitution. It imposes on us the obligation to restore our national unity. My American friends will understand when I say one must not abandon a constitutional precept, even if it cannot be realised overnight.

"My compatriots—not only my fellow citizens in Berlin—have chosen their path, the path of freedom. Our national anthem no longer begins with the words—equivocal, though originally directed solely against the



US VICE-PRESIDENT Lyndon B. Johnson (centre) and Lucius D. Clay creator of the Air Lift (left), in Berlin. Willy Brandt is welcoming them. Mr. Johnson solemnly renewed the US security guarantee for Berlin.

system of small states—'Deutschland über alles.' It begins—Herr Brandt concluded in New York—with the words 'Unity and right and freedom'."

The United States President congratulated Herr Brandt on this speech a day later, on October 7, 1961, in a telephone conversation in his hotel, and authorised him to publish this statement. President Kennedy's telephoning with Willy Brandt was in itself an unusual event, but it was given special weight by John Kennedy's associating himself with the contents of the speech.

In central Germany, the Soviet zone, 17 million people have lived since 1933 under terror and oppression. Flag and name of the tyrant have changed since 1945; the methods have remained the same.

The Federal Republic must not cease to speak for them who cry out for release from a system they have long borne, but neither desired nor are prepared to suffer.

Reality can never be to divide a land and a city which were one and wish to be one.



DAY OF JOY—day of sadness. A young bride talking over the wall to her mother, who lives in East Berlin. A few minutes' talk was all Ulbricht's jailers would allow.

From Ultimatum to barrier wall

Chronicle of the new attempt on Berlin

IN SPRING 1949 Josef Stalin, Dictator of the Soviet empire, had to cease the blockade of Berlin. He had failed in the attempt to tear up the agreement creating a “special territory of Berlin” under four-Power control which was signed in September 1944 by the USA, Great Britain and the USSR and confirmed at the 1945 Potsdam conference. Stalin wanted to force the capitulation of Berlin through a hunger blockade, but the resistance of the Berliners and the Western Powers’ Air Lift kept morale and the main artery of the city intact.

IN NOVEMBER 1958 Nikita Sergeievich Khrushchov—successor to Stalin, who died in 1953—reached out for Berlin. He wanted to isolate the western part of the city, where 2.2 million people live, from its lifelines in the West, to deprive it of its protecting Powers and lay the foundations for its complete subjugation.

ON NOVEMBER 27, 1958 the Soviet Union sent Notes to the three Western Powers, the Federal Republic and the so-called “German Democratic Republic” declaring the four-Power agreements on Berlin invalid. The Soviets proposed making Berlin a “demilitarised free city” in whose affairs no other state—not even “the two other German states”—should interfere. The Notes contained the alarming threat that negotiations on these proposals must start within six months. In the event of no agreement being reached the Soviet Union would transfer her rights in Berlin and the controls on the approaches to Berlin to the “GDR.”

The aim of the “free city” plan is to create a third German state out of Berlin whose lifelines would be controlled by the communist regime in East Berlin.

Khrushchov had already announced the new attack on Berlin’s status in a speech in the Moscow Sport Palace on November 10, 1958. His ulti-

matum caused a crisis in world politics. While the East Berlin regime at once declared its “unrestricted agreement,” Khrushchov’s demands were rejected in West Berlin as unacceptable. The Governing Burgo-master of Berlin, Willy Brandt, described them as an attempt to make Berlin a “free-for-all city.”

ON DECEMBER 6, 1958 elections were held for Berlin’s city parliament. They became at the same time a plebiscite on Khrushchov’s proposal, for the communist “Social Unity Party of Germany” (SED), which identified itself with the “free city” plan, also submitted candidates. They, Ulbricht’s party, received 1.9 percent of votes cast—not one mandate. The 1.9 percent represented the most devastating result that the communists had ever suffered in a free election in Berlin.

IN DECEMBER 1958 the foreign ministers of the 15 NATO states meeting in Paris renewed the guarantee to defend Berlin in the name of their governments.

ON DECEMBER 21, 1958 followed a Memorandum from Washington to Moscow. The USA pointed out that Moscow’s demand for the withdrawal of the Western Powers from Berlin imperilled the Soviet Union’s right to retain within their sphere those parts of Thuringia, Saxony and Mecklenburg which had been occupied by Western Allied troops at the end of the war (Exchanged by agreement for the Allies’ share in the four-Power control of Berlin. Transl.).

ON DECEMBER 31, 1958 came the official reply from the West to the Soviets’ Berlin ultimatum—in identical Notes from the Western Powers.

ON JANUARY 5, 1959 followed a Note from Bonn to the Soviet Government. The West rejected Khrushchov’s demands, but proposed four-Power talks on Berlin and at the same time negotiations on the reunification of Germany and the problem of European security. The three Western Powers insisted energetically on the maintenance of the agreements made on Berlin.

ON JANUARY 10, 1959 Moscow replied with a draft peace treaty for Germany: It provided for:

- peace “with the two German states” on territories as on January 1, 1959, including recognition of the Oder-Neisse line as definitive eastern frontier of Germany and the renunciation of the eastern provinces (now administered by Poland. Transl.).
- Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany;



BERLIN, AUGUST 16, 1961. This vast multitude has assembled voluntarily in Rudolph-Wilde-Platz before the Schöneberg town hall to protest before the world

- neutralisation of Germany;
- union of "the two German states" in a confederation on a parity principle.

At the same time the Soviet Union invited 28 states who had been at war with Germany to work out and sign a peace treaty.

IN JANUARY 1959 Moscow, through the mouth of the deputy Prime Minister Anastas Mikojan, made it clear that the Kremlin would not insist on the six-months' ultimatum—if negotiations were taken up.



against the communist act of violence and to proclaim their unbending will to preserve their freedom.

ON FEBRUARY 16, 1959 the Western Powers and the Federal Republic again proposed in reply to the Soviets' peace treaty Note a comprehensive exchange of opinion between the four former occupation Powers on all problems connected with the solution of the German question in the presence of advisers from the two German part-states. These talks were to be the preparation for a peace conference.

IN SPRING 1959 Khrushchov paid a demonstrative visit to the Soviet zonal regime. He added a new explosive element to the world discussion

on Germany. In two speeches he made on March 4 and 5 in Leipzig, the Soviet Prime Minister for the first time made clear his determination to make a separate peace with East Berlin in the event of there being no peace treaty after his own ideas signed with “the two German states.”

IN JUNE 1959 the Geneva foreign ministers' conference brought a new ultimative crisis. Mr. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, presented the following demands:

- within a year a paritative commission of “the two German states” should work out an agreement on reunification on the basis of the Soviets' draft peace treaty and report to the four Great Powers.
- If the West failed to accept this the Soviet would declare the continuance of the “occupation regime” in Berlin to be unacceptable and no longer guarantee the freedom of the approaches to the city.
- Gromyko again threatened a separate peace treaty.

In Geneva the West presented their response to the Soviet demands—the so-called four-stage peace plan for Germany. It differed from previous Western proposals for Germany in that all-German free elections were to take place not at the beginning of the reunification process, but only 30 months after agreement was reached.

In connection with the free, all-German elections the West made two further concessions:

- The election law should be drawn up by a mixed German commission.
- The elections should be supervised by representatives of the two German part-states jointly with representatives of the four Great Powers or the United Nations.
- Partitioned Berlin should under this plan be reunited by free elections, its freedom guaranteed during the transition period by the four Great Powers.

Despite months of negotiation the Geneva foreign ministers' conference, attended by advisory delegations from the Federal Republic and the Soviet zonal republic, produced no concrete results.

IN SEPTEMBER 1959 Prime Minister Khrushchov visited the President of the United States. The Camp David talks took place. The communiqué on the talks states on the subject of Berlin:

- “With regard to the special question of Berlin agreement was reached that provided the other states directly concerned agreed, negotiations would be resumed with the aim of reaching a solution which would meet the interests of all concerned and would be in the interests of maintaining peace.”

IN MAY 1960 the German problem was to be the focus of a summit conference in Paris. But the conference failed before it had started. Khrushchov used the discovery of US reconnaissance flights over the Soviet Union as an excuse to explode the conference before it started by demanding a humiliating statement from the US President.

At a turbulent press conference in Paris Khrushchov again raised his Berlin demands in a menacing tone, only to explain immediately afterwards to officials of the SED in East Berlin that their realisation would have to wait "for some time longer."

IN AUTUMN 1960 the forum of the UN assembly was the next scene of a Berlin statement by the Soviet Prime Minister. With ever greater emphasis the communist line of argument on Germany and Berlin included the claim that the Federal Republic had no rights whatever in Berlin, as West Berlin lay "in the territory of the GDR." The phraseology on this point shows one important difference, however. While the Soviet zonal regime states that West Berlin lies "On the territory of the GDR," openly announcing a claim to possession, Soviet declarations or statements by the Warsaw Pact states speak rather more cautiously about West Berlin lying "in the midst" or "within" the zonal state.

ON JANUARY 20, 1961 the newly elected President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, revealed the basic principles of his policy on Berlin and Germany:

- The USA will if need be in common with the other protecting Powers fight for their rights in Berlin and for the freedom of the people of Berlin.
- The United States again propose East-West negotiations on the German and Berlin problems on the basis of the right to self-determination.

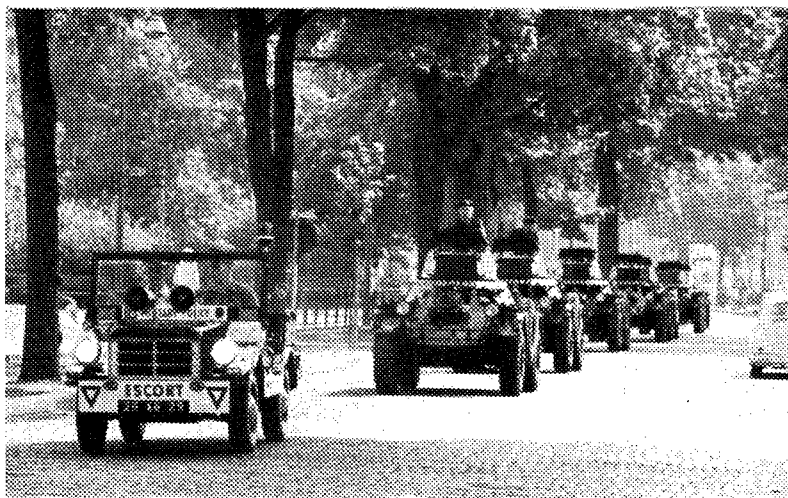
IN JUNE 1961 the new US President and the Soviet Prime Minister met in Vienna. Their meeting was marked by an outwardly conciliatory tone which induced prematurely optimistic prognoses. Khrushchov handed Kennedy a new Berlin memorandum, announcing that a separate peace treaty would be signed with the zonal regime in 1961 if no satisfactory results were obtained by the from East-West negotiations. Khrushchov called West Berlin "a lump in the Soviet Union's throat."

ON JUNE 15, 1961 Khrushchov informed over radio and television the Soviet people of his intentions about Berlin which he had also expressed to President Kennedy. The demands were also contained in the new Soviet Notes addressed to the four Powers.



AN ENTHUSIASTIC WELCOME greeted Vice-President Johnson and (below) the US combat group which reached Berlin on August 20 via the autobahn through the Russian zone.





THE BRITISH GARRISON in Berlin was also reinforced. A group of British reconnaissance cars driving through Berlin-Spandau. Allied tanks took over the guarding of the sector boundary (below).



ON JULY 26, 1961 the US President renewed the guarantee for Berlin and called upon the American nation for sacrifices for peace and for the defence of its rights.

FROM AUGUST 5 to 7, 1961 representatives of the Warsaw Pact states met in Warsaw and the foreign ministers of the three Western Powers with Federal Foreign Minister von Brentano in Paris. The Warsaw statement repeated the communist demands for Berlin, at the same time the Soviet Prime Minister declared his peaceful intentions in a television speech in Moscow. He contradicted the assumption that the East was planning a new Berlin blockade. Without the world realising it yet, the diplomatic and propaganda overture to the onslaught of August 13 thus came to an end.

FROM 1958 TO AUGUST 13, 1961 the Soviet zonal regime had the double task of causing doubt through propaganda on the legal position of West Berlin, which was done by the constant repetition that Berlin lay "on the territory of the GDR" and also by systematically slandering the Federal Republic. In 1960 was added to this the insinuation that the Federal Government was planning a military "onslaught on the GDR." With this regime the zonal regime was seeking a political alibi for the planned cordoning off of the people of the Eastern zone from Berlin and the Federal Republic.

This campaign of vilification was the direct cause of the increase in numbers fleeing the "GDR." The tragic German internal migration from East to West—the flight of Germans to Germans—is a unique phenomenon in post-war history.

By the time the barrier was erected on August 13, 1961, almost four million people had fled from the communist-ruled part of Germany which calls itself the "workers' and farmers' state."

Since the beginning of 1961 more than 150,000 refugees had come to the Berlin emergency reception camp in Marienfelde—in the week before August 13 alone some 13,000. As the SED was unable to name the true causes of this mass flight they spoke of "organised slave trade." Various signs indicate that the renewed rise in the wave of flights in July and August 1961 caused the communists to put up the barrier earlier than originally intended.

ON AUGUST 13, 1961 Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and "Chairman of the State Council of the GDR" annexed the Eastern sector of Berlin under cover of darkness. Shortly after midnight military columns with units of People's Police and the "National People's Army" drove up and towards 2 a.m. occupied the sector boundary, blocking it with barbed wire entanglements. The few

wayfarers wishing to cross from one part of Berlin to the other were sent back. At the main crossing points of the boundary, Brandenburg Gate, Potsdamer Platz, Friedrichstrasse and the Warschauer Brücke, tanks and armoured cars drove up. At various points pioneers of the "People's Army" tore up the paving or the asphalt with pneumatic drills and erected barricades. Raised points were occupied by observation posts and machine gun crews. The sector boundary resembled a main firing line.

Shortly after 2 a. m. the West Berlin police had received news of the barricading. At 2.30 all commando units of the West Berlin police and Emergency Police (Bereitschaftspolizei, armed and mounted) were alarmed. At 4 a. m. RIAS radio station broadcast the first announcements of the barricading.

Simultaneously with the barricading by the military detachments inter-sector traffic on the elevated and underground railways was stopped.

On the morning of August 13—a Sunday—there was a bitter awakening for Berliners in East and West. The Eastern radio and the chief SED newspaper, "Neues Deutschland," published a number of obviously long prepared ordinances:

- "Decision of Council of Ministers of German Democratic Republic" of August 12, 1961.
- "Statement by Warsaw Pact Governments."
- "Announcement from the Ministry of the Interior" dated August 12.
- "Announcement by the Ministry of Transport of the German Democratic Republic" dated August 12.
- "Announcement by the City Authority of Greater Berlin" of August 12.

The decisive paragraphs of the decision of the Council of Ministers read as follows:

- To suppress the hostile activity of the revanchist and militarist forces in West Germany and West Berlin a control will be introduced at the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic including the boundary with the West sectors of Greater Berlin such as operates on the frontiers of every sovereign state. Effective control and a reliable guard must be guaranteed at the West Berlin boundaries so as to block the way to agitation. These boundaries may in future only be crossed by citizens of the German Democratic Republic with a special permit. As long as West Berlin is not transformed into a demilitarised, neutral Free City, citizens of the capital of the German Democratic Republic require a special certificate to cross the boundaries to West Berlin (these certificates are in practice not available for the citizens of East Berlin; so far they have only



FEDERAL CHANCELLOR DR. ADENAUER paid a short visit to Berlin on August 22. His first words were directed towards the Berliners beyond the barrier wall. On his right Willy Brandt, behind him (half covered) Federal Minister Ernst Lemmer. Behind Dr. Adenauer is Berlin's deputy burgomaster Franz Amrehn.

been issued to state, economic and party officials visiting Berlin on orders—Author). Visits by peaceful citizens of West Berlin to the capital of the German Democratic Republic (=East Berlin—Author) is possible on presentation of West Berlin identity card (this provision has since become null and void—Author).

The agreement of the Warsaw Pact states is expressed in a statement culminating in the following "appeal":

- The Governments of the signatories to the Warsaw Pact appeal to the People's Chamber and the Government of the GDR, and to all workers of the German Democratic Republic with the proposal to introduce at the West Berlin boundary a state of order which will reliably bar the way to the agitation against the countries of the socialist camp and will guarantee round the territory of West Berlin, including its boundary with democratic Berlin, a reliable watch and effective control. Naturally these measures will not affect the provisions in force for traffic and control on the communications between West Berlin and West Germany.

The statement closes:

- At the same time the Governments of the participants in the Warsaw Pact consider it necessary to emphasise that the necessity for these measures ceases as soon as the peace settlement with Germany is realised and the questions ripe for discussion are solved on this basis.

Point 6 of the announcement of the Soviet zonal Ministry of the Interior detailing the restrictions on movements of persons inside Berlin special mention. It reads:

- Citizens of the German Democratic Republic who do not work in Berlin are requested to refrain from visiting Berlin until further notice.



REUNION in tears. The little girl was visiting her grandparents in East Berlin when the Iron Curtain fell across the city. After days of anguish she rejoins her parents.

It must be unique in more recent history for the inhabitants of a country to be prohibited—for the “request” amounted to a prohibition—to visit their capital. This ordinance remained in force for twelve days. It was only lifted after the barrier in and round Berlin had been made so tight with walls and barbed wire that virtually all ways of escape were cut off.

The “Announcement of the City Authority of Greater Berlin” of August 12 cut decisively into the lives of more than 50,000 East Berliners who until that day had found bread and work commuting to West Berlin workplaces. The announcement reads:

- By virtue of the decision of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic of August 12, 1961 it is no longer possible for citizens of democratic Berlin to pursue an occupation in West Berlin.

The City Authority calls upon all citizens of democratic Berlin who have hitherto pursued an occupation in West Berlin to report either to their last place of employment in democratic Berlin to resume work or at their appropriate place of registration where suitable occupation will be found for them.

The vengeance of the SED struck the commuters with full force. For long the communist propaganda had conducted a campaign against them alleging that they deprived the “Workers’ and Farmers’ State” of their labour for greed of gain. Now most of the erstwhile commuters were classified in the lowest wage category in their new jobs in East Berlin. Many of them were directed to heavy physical work without regard to their occupational training.

On Sunday, August 13 at about 3 p.m. barbed wiring completed the barrier. In impotent rage tens of thousands of Berliners from both parts of the city assembled to watch the sad spectacle of their forcible separation.

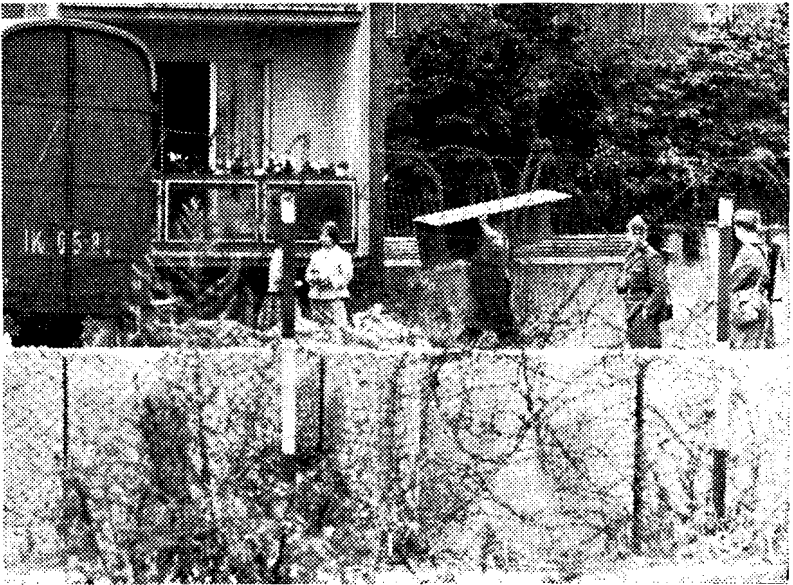
Berlin’s Governing Burgomaster, Willy Brandt, broke off an election tour and returned to Berlin. On the radio he said:

- August 13 was the beginning of the actual trial of our whole people. A phase of post-war history is ended; a new phase has begun for us. It will be the real test for our people. The situation concerns us all. We will all have to stand together in questions of national existence, we in Berlin and in West Germany, so that history will not try us and find us wanting.

Responsible political circles of the West unanimously held the Soviet Union responsible for the erection of the communist barricades and the other measures in East Berlin. The US Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Rusk, announced a sharp protest coming from the West.

ON AUGUST 14, 1961 followed the first protest demonstrations by Berlin workers against the communist attack. Led by their shop stewards committee chairmen, 6,000 workers of the AEG Turbine Factory in Berlin-Moabit were the first to march to Schöneberg town hall to hand a resolution to the Governing Burgomaster. This called for counter-measures by the Senate of Berlin, the Allies and the Federal Government making it clear to the Soviet zonal rulers that outrages on human rights would not be suffered with indifference. Further protests followed. At the same time protests were raised by workers in several works against the continued employment of SED members. The Land association of the West German TUC called for a fifteen minute sit down strike, which also expressed the protest of Berlin workers against the erection of the sector barrier. In the following period the trade unions also acted as the moving force for demonstrations of protest and solidarity.

- The Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (=TUC) organised a boycott movement against the communist administered elevated railway. Result: the overwhelming majority of passengers shunned the railway. The average of journeys on the elevated railway sank by 85 to 90 percent.
- **ON AUGUST 15** the Land district executive of the DGB (TUC) at a meeting attended by the Chairman, Willi Richter, approved the step taken by members who had protested against the employment of SED members in their works. The TUC called for the immediate cessation of cultural and sporting relations with the Soviet zone until the situation in Berlin returned to normal.
- **ON AUGUST 22 AND 23** the Federal Executive and the Federal Committee of the DGB held extraordinary meeting in West Berlin attended by leading representatives of the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, including Victor Reuther (USA) and Giacomo Bernasconi (Switzerland) and the Secretary General of the IFFTU, Stefan Nedzynski. The leading committees of the DGB leadership called for appeal to the United Nations about the infringement of human rights in Berlin and the Soviet zone. A plebiscite throughout Germany under the control of the UN, and negotiations for a peace treaty for a reunited Germany was also demanded. In a number of assistance schemes the DGB donated 250,000 DM for the amelioration of distress among sector boundary commuters left stranded in West Berlin through the sealing off of the East.
- Under the motto "This is just the time!" the TUC laid the foundation stone for a Trade Union House in West Berlin (corner of Kleist and Keithstrasse). The traditional three hammer blows were given by the TUC chairman, Willi Richter with the following words: "For the right to self-determination and the liberty of all men! For the

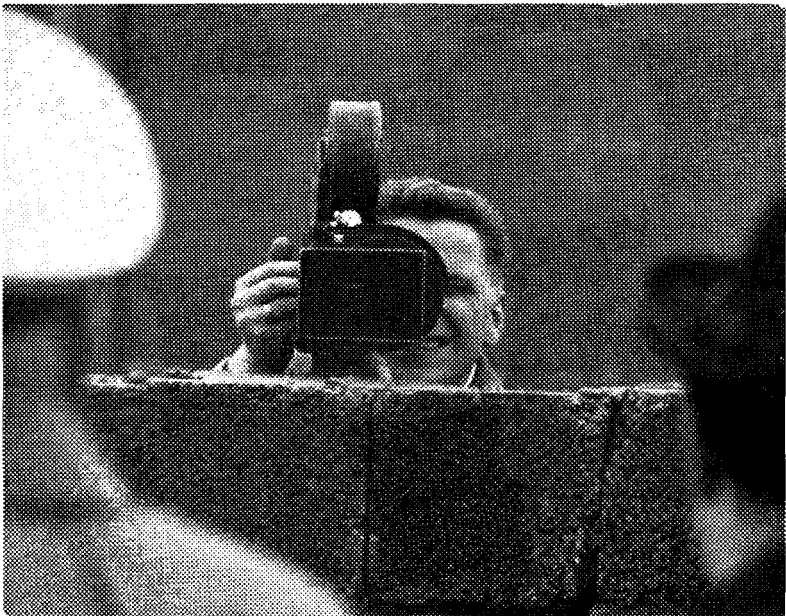


DRIVEN FROM THEIR HOMES—East Berliners whose houses are close to the barrier wall. — Below: Ulbricht's "peace frontier" on the outskirts—a double barbed wire fence along the roads joining the autobahn.





THE ORGANISED LIE: Loudspeaker cars beyond the Wall. — Any provocateurs in sight? An East Berlin cameraman risks a shot over the Wall (below).



reunification of Germany in peace and freedom to a social and democratic constitutional state! For peace among nations throughout the world!

On Monday, August 14, the Bundestag president, Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier and the chairmen of the three parliamentary parties of the Bundestag, Dr. Heinrich Krone (CDU), Erich Ollenhauer (SPD) and Erich Mende (FDP) acquainted themselves with the details of the situation in Berlin.

The permanent NATO council held an extraordinary meeting on the Berlin situation.

East Berlin resembled a beleaguered city. The population shunned as far as possible the streets and squares occupied by the military. 40,000—People's Army, People's Police, Works Combat Groups—are estimated to be under arms in East Berlin.

ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16, 1961, 500,000 Berliners assembled in Rudolph-Wilde-Platz before the Schöneberg town hall for a unique demonstration under the motto "Berlin calls to the world!" The Governing Burgomaster, Willy Brandt, said that Berlin expected political action. Addressing the armed formations in the East sector he cried, "Don't let them turn you into blackguards! Show your humanity wherever you can! Above all, refuse to fire on your fellow-countrymen!" Herr Brandt announced that he had addressed a letter to the US president. Placards revealed the disappointment in Berlin at the hesitant reaction of the Western Powers and the Federal Government.

ON AUGUST 17, 1961 the Commanding General of US forces in Germany, General Clark, arrived in Berlin. He inspected the sector barricades and the US garrison in Berlin.

In three identical Notes the Western Powers protested against the measures at the sector boundary. The closing of the boundary was described as illegal and the demand expressed for cancellation of the measures ordered by the Soviet zonal regime. The Western Powers held the Soviet Union fully responsible for the new breach of the four-Power status.

Meanwhile the barbed wire entanglement along the sector boundary was being replaced with a wall, also spiked with barbed wire and higher than a man. Further the doors and windows of East sector houses immediately on the sector boundary were walled up. Daily there were daring attempts at escape, few of which, however, succeeded.

ON AUGUST 18, 1961, the German Bundestag met in Bonn. The only item on the agenda: a statement by the Federal Government on the political situation and deliberation of the situation of Berlin.

In the name of the Federal Government Chancellor Adenauer made a statement characterising the communist coup as follows:

- These measures are an involuntary admission by the Ulbricht regime that it is not supported by the free will of the Germans living in its zone. The measures confirm that the exercise of the rights of self-determination by the German people in the cause of maintaining world peace can no longer be delayed.

These unlawful measures, which the Federal Government views with concern and repulsion, are in flagrant contradiction to the four-Power agreements on the freedom of movement within Greater Berlin and against those four-Power agreements on the control of communications between Berlin and the Soviet zone.”

Berlin’s Governing Burgomaster, Willy Brandt, stated on the same subject:

- “What has happened in Berlin is the march of an army into territory where it has no right to be. The so-called People’s Army with its subordinate organisations has annexed East Berlin. It has ground the four-Power status under the caterpillars of its tanks.”

And further:

- “For the Western protecting Powers last Sunday means that they have been ousted from those four-Power agreements which relate to Berlin as a whole. The statement by the Warsaw Pact states and the proclamations of the Soviet zonal regime based on that statement really mean that the Western Powers’ share in the responsibility for Germany as a whole is in dispute, even before the much-discussed peace treaty.”

Other speakers in the debate were Dr. Heinrich Krone, chairman of the parliamentary CDU, Erich Ollenhauer, (SPD), leader of the Opposition and Dr. Erich Mende, chairman of the parliamentary FDP. Bundestag President Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier closed the sitting with a pledge to the preamble of the Constitution: “The entire German nations remains called upon to complete the unity and liberty of Germany by free self-determination.”

On the same day as the Bundestag solemnly protested against the communist coup in Berlin, the members of the communist state youth organisation, the “Free German Youth” (FDJ) were summoned to report for “honorable service in the armed formations.” Shortly after this so-called FDJ regiments were formed in East Berlin and the cities of the Soviet zone. FDJ squads started a campaign against reception of the West German television services.



A DRAMATIC RESCUE—tenants in a house on the sector boundary have signalled their desire to flee. The fire brigade holds a jumping sheet, willing hands reach out to ease the old people's climb to freedom. But while young West Berliners seize the old woman's leg communist officials appear in the house and try to drag her back. She still escaped. Other tenants were forcibly detained.



A WREATH ON THE BOUNDARY—at this spot in Bernauer Strasse in north Berlin a desperate woman threw herself from the third floor into the street. She paid with her life for her leap to freedom.

ON AUGUST 19, 1961 the US Vice-President, Mr. Lyndon D. Johnson arrived in Berlin on a direct mission from President Kennedy. He was accompanied by General Lucius D. Clay, architect of the Air Lift during the Berlin blockade (he has since been appointed President Kennedy's special representative in Berlin), and President Kennedy's personal adviser, Mr. Charles Bohlen.

The Berliners gave the US Vice President an unrivalled welcome. They saw him as the living proof of the unshakable will of the United States to defend the freedom of Berlin and its approaches.

Before the Berlin city parliament Johnson renewed the US protective guarantee for Berlin in impressive words:

- For the continued existence and the future of this city we Americans have pledged what our forefathers guaranteed at the foundation of the United States: our lives, our goods and our sacred honour.

ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 20, 1961, 1,500 US troops arrived in Berlin to an equally enthusiastic welcome to reinforce the existing garrison. They arrived over the Helmstedt—Magdeburg—Berlin autobahn. This demonstrative gesture also came on direct orders from President Kennedy.

ON AUGUST 22, 1961 Federal Chancellor Adenauer paid an eight hour visit to Berlin. On a tour of the city and along the hermetically sealed sector boundary he apprised himself of the situation. The Federal Government, he said, would exert all its powers in collaboration with its Allies to maintain the freedom of West Berlin and the communications with the Federal Republic to their full extent until the day of reunification.

The same day Ulbricht aggravated the chicanery at the sector boundary. The Soviet zonal Council of Ministers ordered that as from August 23 West Berliners must have a pass subject to fee to enter the East sector.

ON AUGUST 24, 1961 troops of the Western Powers took over the guarding of the sector boundary, the Eastern authorities impertinently "requested" the people of West Berlin not to approach within 100 yards of the barriers "for their own safety." Heavy tanks drew up at the most dangerous points.

ON AUGUST 25, 1961 the White House addressed a "serious warning" to the Soviet Union. This solemnly pointed out that any attempt to interfere with the approaches to Berlin would be regarded as an "aggressive act" for the consequences of which the Soviet Union must bear full responsibility. This warning arose from a Soviet Note protesting against alleged misuse of the air corridors between Berlin and the Federal Republic.

ON AUGUST 31, 1961 Federal President Heinrich Lübke came unannounced for an informatory visit to the German capital. He summarised his impressions in a broadcast. An excess of suffering, distress and anxiety, a human tragedy on the greatest scale had been provoked which was almost graver than the ruthless breach of valid agreements and the frivolous menace to peace, he said.

The disappointment in Berlin about the initial lack of Western decision in the face of the new communist challenge was turned to confidence overnight by Mr. Johnson's visit and the arrival of the US reinforcements.

ON AUGUST 31 the Soviet Government surprisingly announced the intention to resume nuclear tests. This was a breach of the moratorium between the nuclear Great Powers on the cessation of tests.

ON SEPTEMBER 1 the President of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, Präses Scharf, was expelled from East Berlin, where his official seat and private residence are. Präses Scharf had been appointed some few days before to be episcopal administrator for the eastern metropolis of the Berlin-Brandenburg Church, as Dr. Dibelius, Bishop of Berlin and Brandenburg, had been prevented from fulfilling his office in the sphere of communist rule.

ON SEPTEMBER 2 the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, at the Belgrade conference of non-aligned states called upon the Great Powers to hold new talks on Germany. He emphatically supported the securing of free access to West Berlin, but affirmed the thesis of the existence of two German states. However this thesis was not recorded in the final resolution of the conference.

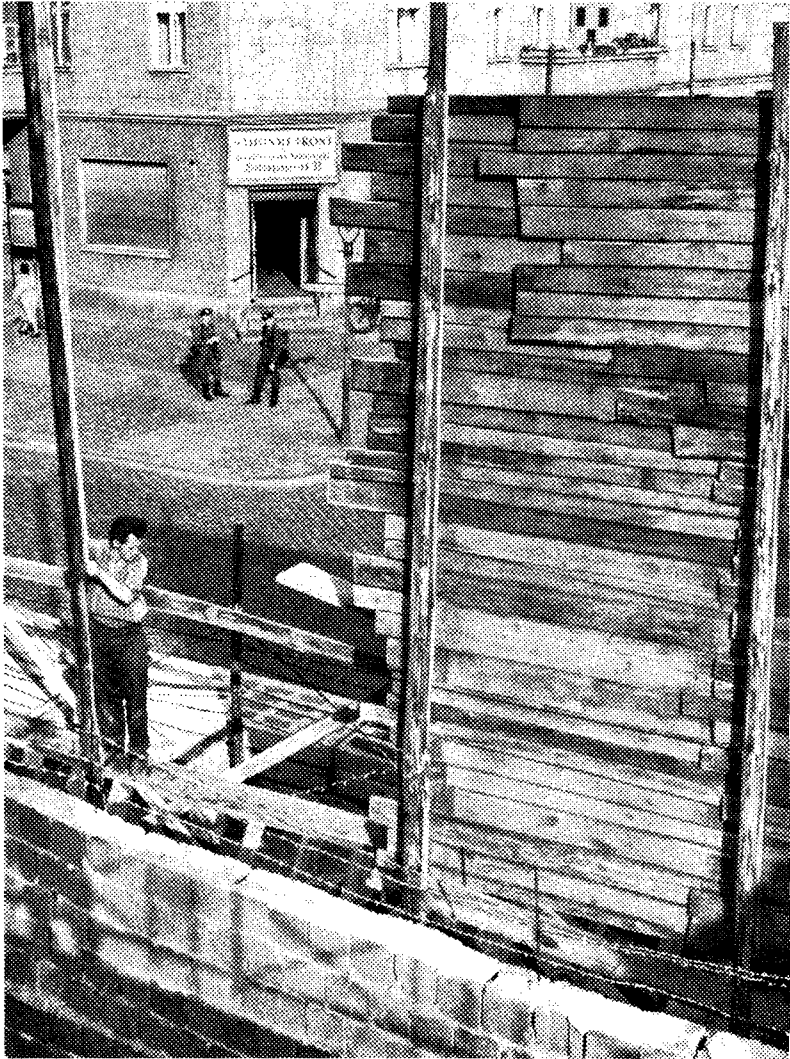
ON SEPTEMBER 5 President Kennedy ordered the resumption of nuclear tests "in the laboratory and below ground, without radio-active fall-out." Mr. Kennedy's issued by the White House said: "We have no other choice, if we are to fulfil The US Government's responsibility towards its citizens and the security of the free world."

ON SEPTEMBER 6 Mr. Nehru and the President of Ghana, Mr. Nkrumah, in Moscow handed Prime Minister Khrushchov an appeal from the 25 non-aligned states represented at the Belgrade conference. The appeal requested Mr. Khrushchov to hold a summit meeting with President Kennedy with a view to removing the acute danger of war by negotiation. Meanwhile the machinery of the law in the Soviet zone was put into top gear. Penal servitude and imprisonment, and now in some districts or townships forced labour and forced sojourns were imposed. The special law effective since August 25 is applied empowering the courts to impose "restriction



TORN DOWN—these houses on the sector boundary had sheltered too many fugitives. — Near the Oberbaum bridge in the Kreuzberg borough the burgo-master, Willy Kressmann, unveiled a memorial (below). “People’s Police” murdered two East Berliners trying to escape across the Spree here.





THE COMMUNIST "PARADISE" being boarded up. At points on the boundary where friends and relatives used to wave from both sides of the wall, gangs guarded by "People's Police" began putting up ten metre high hoardings.

of residence with labour instruction.” As the terror grew, so did resistance in the population. It was mostly of a passive nature. One result was catastrophic arrears registered in bringing in the harvest.

ON SEPTEMBER 8 the three Western Powers in identical Notes issued to Moscow a sharp warning against any hindrance to air traffic to West Berlin. This was their answer to a Soviet Note of September 2 protesting against the “abuse” of the air corridors to Berlin. The Western Powers emphasised that any interference with air traffic to West Berlin would be regarded as an aggressive act which would have serious consequences.

ON SEPTEMBER 9 it became known from London and Washington that Great Britain and the USA were taking precautionary measures to reinforce their armed forces in the Federal Republic.

In West Berlin the Senator for the Interior, Joachim Lipschitz, announced that since August 13 People’s Police “in greater strength than a company” had fled to West Berlin. Herr Lipschitz stated that knowledge had been gained of an order instructing the armed guards on the sector boundary that it was their duty to open immediate, prolonged, aimed fire on anyone in uniform fleeing to the West.

ON SEPTEMBER 10 the Federal Government as an immediate step made 500 million DM available for West Berlin. The intention was to mitigate the consequences of the arbitrary measures by the Soviet zone Government and to secure the further development of West Berlin.

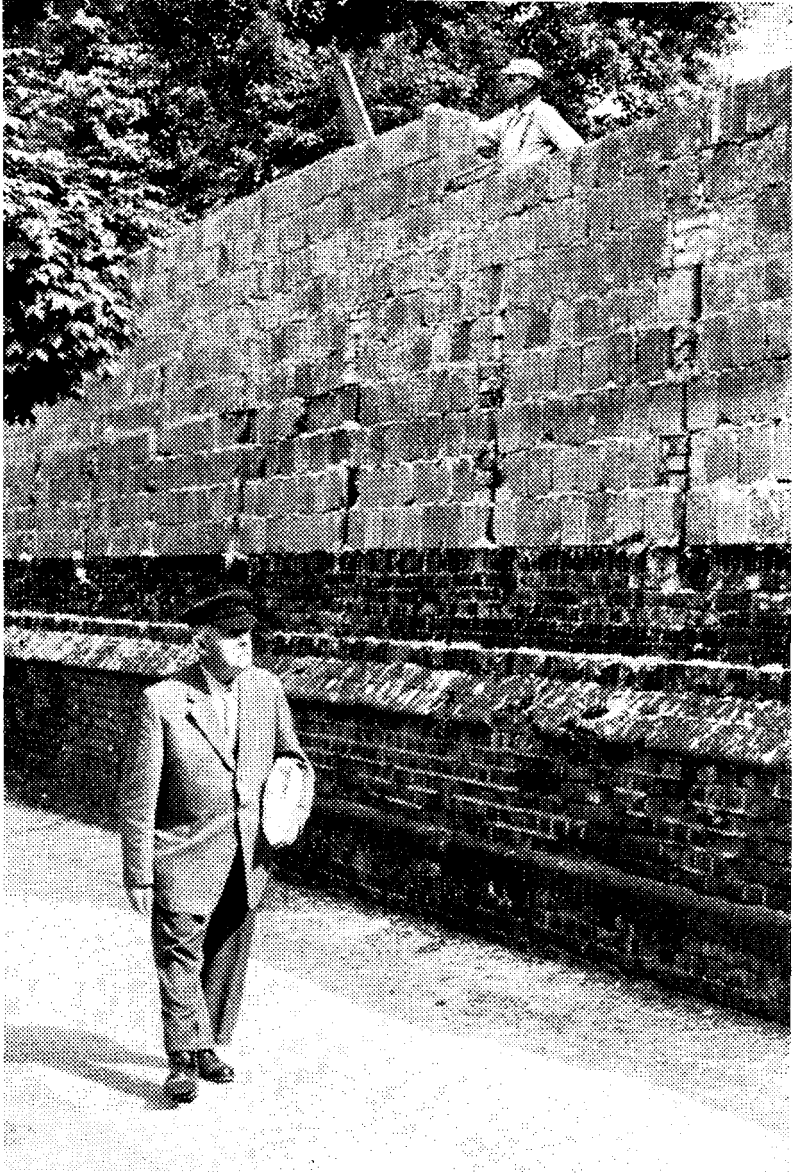
ON SEPTEMBER 12 gangs guarded by armed People’s Police began at various points of the sector boundary to build a second concrete wall.

ON SEPTEMBER 14 the Western foreign ministers’ conference began in Washington. The dominating theme was Berlin and Germany. Details were not published, but correspondents’ reports indicated US determination to seek diplomatic contact with the Soviet Union.

ON SEPTEMBER 15 Government officials in Washington reported information according to which the Soviet zone regime was planning mass evacuations of the population living at the sector boundary in East Berlin and along the zonal frontier. A few days later this information proved to be true. First in Berlin and then at the zonal frontier forcible evacuation of “boundary dwellers” began.

ON SEPTEMBER 17 the fourth Bundestag was elected in the Federal Republic. The CDU/CSU lost five percent and thus its absolute majority, while SPD and FDP each booked a five percent gain. The election of Berlin deputies for the fourth German Bundestag (election is not direct, it is conducted by the Berlin city parliament) was overshadowed on the evening of September 17 by the tragic death of the President of the city parliament, Herr Willy Henneberg. Herr Henneberg collapsed while delivering his address and died a few minutes later.

ON SEPTEMBER 19 General Lucius D. Clay, President Kennedy's special representative in Berlin, landed at Tempelhof. His appointment was the expression of American determination that Berliners should remain free, said General Clay on his arrival in the German capital.



THE OLD MAN and the wall. Dumb embitterment shows in the old Berliner's face. At this point, in Liesenstrasse, the wall has risen to four metres.



**Barbed wire
round Berlin**