In an effort to halt the refugee flow, which reached extraordinary proportions last week, the East German regime—purportedly at the behest of the Warsaw Pact countries—moved swiftly and effectively in the early morning hours of 13 August to seal off West Berlin from East Berlin and East Germany. At the same time it announced a series of decrees spelling out its actions.

The New Decrees

All East Germans and East Berliners who wish to go to West Berlin will have to secure special permits from their local police. A veiled warning was issued to East Germans to stay out of East Berlin unless on official business. The number of crossing points on the sector border between East and West Berlin was reduced from 87 to 13. East German army, police, and security forces were brought in to control movement over the sector and on the border surrounding West Berlin. It also was decreed that East Berlin and East German "border crossers" who have been working in West Berlin must no longer work there.

The East German Ministry of Transport took steps to cut off all elevated railroad (S-Bahn) service between West Berlin and both the Soviet sector and the East Zone. The S-Bahn, operated by the East German regime, has been the main transportation artery in the city and surrounding suburban areas. The S-Bahn service will be continued within West Berlin and, separately, in East Berlin and the zone. Similarly, the subway (U-Bahn) service is also being reduced under Western control except for one line—in permitted to make only one stop on the two lines which run through East Berlin.

On 16 August, the East German Ministry of Interior issued a regulation requiring West Berliners to secure special permits for their cars or motorcycles to enter East Berlin. Thus, for the first time West Berliners are forced to secure permits to enter the Soviet sector. This decree, like those of 13 August, violates the post-war quadrilateral agreement providing for Four-Power occupation of all of Berlin as well as the Four-Power Paris agreement of 20 June 1949 which ended the blockade of Berlin.

The East Germans also reduced the number of East-West Berlin sector control points where East Germans may secure passes to visit East Berlin. This move underlines the regime's claim to the right to control West German travel into East Berlin, set forth initially in a decree of 8 September 1960—also in violation of the Four-Power status of Berlin. This decree was one of the major reasons leading Bonn to abrogate the interzonal trade agreement last September. Bonn rescinded this action only after the East Germans in December agreed, among other concessions, not to give effective enforcement to the 8 September decree.

The regime has announced also that it will be illegal for East Germans to accept identification papers from West Berlin or West Germany. Bonn hitherto had granted such identification to East Germans on grounds of common German citizenship.

Refugee Flights

Figures on the official registrations of East German refugees at the Hohenschönhausen refugee reception center for 13 through 15 August total 10,712. The large majority of those escaped before the border closed on 13 August. No reliable count is yet available of those refugees who have since circumvented the new controls. Of the four-day total, 3,656 were border crossers; 994 of these came from East Berlin.
sanctions might be imposed against the Communist bloc if the Berlin issue could not be settled.

There has, however, been interference with communications linking East Germany, West Berlin, and West Germany. The US Mission in Berlin reported on

Traffic and Communications

While traffic—either Allied or West German—between West Berlin and West Germany has not yet been affected, the regime has threatened to interfere with West German freight shipments if Bonn resorts to economic countermeasures. Chancellor Adenauer in a speech on 14 August warned that trade

19 August that telephone services between East and West Germany was still interrupted, although that between West Berlin and West Germany was functioning normally. Telephone services between East and West Berlin has been cut. These moves probably reflect the regime's attempt to deprive its own population of means to communicate with the West.
Travel of East Germans to
the West appears to have been
dramatically cut. The press re-
ports that East Germans are be-
ing ordered off trains at
frontier points between East
and West Germany. The Swedish
telephone bureau says that East
Germans are no longer to be al-
lowed to organize travel groups
via ferry to Sweden.

Military Moves

Elements of two—and possi-
ably three—of the Soviet divi-
sions stationed outside Berlin
were at the outset deployed in
small tanks and infantry groups in
a circle two to three miles from
the city’s outer ring. These
elements had evidently with-
drawn or moved into assembly
areas by the afternoon of 16
August. The East German army
and police units which moved
into the Berlin area this past
week and are apparently still
there.

Popular Reaction

The East German popula-
tion, cowed by the show of
Soviet—East German force, is
generally taking a cautious
line in commenting on develop-
ments and evidently is closely
watching for reactions by the
Western powers.

Soviet Position

The Soviet decision, appar-
tently taken at the Warsaw Pact
conference on 3-5 August, to
authorise the move to halt
the refugee flow underscores
the dilemma confronting Khrus-
schev. Since his talks with
President Kennedy in Vienna in
early June, the Soviet premier
has sought to impress the West
with his determination to bring
the Berlin situation to a head.

before the end of the year. As
part of his campaign to force
the West into early negotiations
on Soviet terms, he has gone to
some lengths to create the im-
pression that no Western move
could deflect the bloc from
carrying through with its an-
nounced intentions. This more
aggressive tone, however, was
largely instrumental in precipi-
tating the mass flight of East
Germans which was an acute
embarrassment for Soviet police.
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indicated that the bloc foreign ministers will meet in "late fall" to consider the "results of the preparatory work" on a treaty, while Ulbricht indicated that drafting of a treaty was now in progress.

Khrushchev's speech of 11 August, however, is evidence that the USSR is still holding the door open to negotiations. While giving equal weight to threats against NATO Allies and to appeals for negotiations, Khrushchev sought to display some flexibility on the possibilities for a negotiated settlement. He reaffirmed that the USSR would offer "reliable guarantees" for a free-city status and indicated that there could be several "variations" on the terms of such guarantees. He also claimed that the question of West Berlin was "in itself" not so difficult to solve, provided the issue was not turned into a "trial of strength."

The announcement on 10 August that Marshal Ivan Koniev had been appointed commander of Soviet forces in East Germany was probably related to the decision to seal the Berlin sector boundaries and to the general Soviet strategy vis-a-vis the West. Koniev's appointment is a key position during a period of greatly increased tensions in Berlin. The advance notice that Koniev was in command was probably calculated to impress the East German populace with the extent of Soviet support for the regime and Soviet willingness to use its forces to suppress any popular opposition.

The naming of Koniev also served to underscore the seriousness of the measures recently announced by Khrushchev to "make the defensive might of the So-

viet Union even stronger and more dependable." The selection of Koniev, commander of the Warsaw Pact for five years and leader of the forces which captured Berlin, is also calculated to sharpen the repeated warning that the bloc will rebuff any resort to force by the West following a separate peace treaty. Khrushchev probably feels that the appointment of a man of Koniev's prestige and experience will strengthen his efforts to impress the West with his determination to conclude a separate treaty in the absence of a negotiated settlement.

The 13 August letter of the Soviet command in Berlin, rejecting a 9 August Western protest against restrictions at that time on border crossers, previewed the general diplomatic line the USSR can be expected to follow in connection with Western protests against the current control measures. The Soviet letter reaffirms Moscow's contention that East Germany has sole legal jurisdiction over East Berlin. Underlining the "exclusive competence" of the Ulbricht regime in East Berlin, it charges the West with using the "occupation regime" in West Berlin for intolerable provocations and undermining activity against East Germany and the bloc.

Reaction in West Germany and East Berlin

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Just German and East Berlin leaders have urged all Germans to remain calm and patient and avoid "emotional behavior" which would only worsen the situation in East Germany. Defense Minister Strauss, at a campaign rally on 16 August, warned that any explosive reaction by West Germans to East German moves would lead to developments "impossible to control," adding, "If shooting starts, no one knows what kinds of weapons it will end." Strauss criticized the oversensitivity of West German businessmen for trade with the bloc and said that the East German Leipzig Fair, scheduled for 3-10 September, was no place for West German participation.

Just Berliners, meanwhile, are becoming increasingly reactive over the lack of prompt Eastern countermeasures.

Just Berliners criticized Brandt for making "high-sounding statements but failing to take concrete measures." To reduce the chances of incidents, Just Berlin police are being kept on "maximum alert" and all demonstrations near the sector borders are forbidden.

At the large demonstration addressed by Mayor Brandt on 18 August, Just Berliners waved banners saying "Better dead than Red"; "No demand countermeasures"; "90 hours without doing anything"; and "Betrayed by the

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