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WEEKLY REVIEW

BERLIN

Border Controls

The Ulbricht regime has made further moves to strengthen the security of the sector and zonal borders surrounding West Berlin and to reduce and more efficiently control movement between East and West Berlin. New measures over the past week involve controls that might be encountered at a recognized international frontier—including replacement of the barbed-wire barricades along the East-West Berlin sector border on 13 August with concrete barriers, the strengthening of barbed-wire fences along the zonal border adjoining West Berlin on three sides, and various types of personal checks on those desiring to cross the border.

The regime has gradually reduced the number of crossing points on the sector border from the 13 announced on 12 August to 7. The Ministry of Interior on 22 August issued a series of decrees, to go into effect the following day at 0001 hours, regulating access to East Berlin by West Germans, West Berliners, and Western military and diplomatic personnel. The announcement stated that the new regulations—as was the case in the 12 August decrees closing the sector borders—would remain in effect "until the conclusion of a peace treaty."

Foreign nationals (other than West Germans), members of the diplomatic corps, and personnel of the Western occupation forces may cross the sector border at only one point, Friedrichstrasse. West Germans will be permitted to cross at only two points, Borholmerstrasse and Heinrich Heine Strasse. West Berliners are restricted to four crossing points—Chausseestrasse, Oberbaumbruecke, Sonnenallee, and Invalidenstrasse—and, for the first time, they will be required to obtain an East German permit, at the cost of one West German mark, to enter East Berlin.

There has been some actual interference with travel over the sector border by Western Allied personnel. On 22 August, prior to the imposition of the new restrictions, East German police detained a US military patrol—the first incident of this character involving US personnel since the promulgation of the 12 August decrees, although instances of interference have occurred in East Berlin in the past. A British patrol which strayed over the zonal border was detained for three hours last week.

In a test of the new restrictions, a US military patrol crossed into East Berlin on 23 August at the Friedrichstrasse checkpoint. When it sought to return via a street not designated as a checkpoint, it was turned back. It then proceeded to Eisenstrasse, where it found the road blocked. East German guards refused a request to talk with a Soviet officer, but did not prevent the patrol from leaving the area. Finally, the patrol returned to West Berlin via Sonnenallee.

In and around Berlin, security and police forces are still in evidence. Controls at the sector and zonal border nevertheless appear to have been
exercised somewhat sporadically. Although the number of refugees has been drastically reduced since 13 August, a significant number of East Germans and East Berliners are still escaping. On 22 August, 629 refugees registered at the Marienfelde reception center, of whom 168 had arrived since 13 August; the respective figures for 21 August were 1,202 and 238. No fewer than 13,837 persons regis-

Walter Ulbricht displayed great self-assurance at having successfully completed the difficult problem of sealing off West Berlin. There was, however, a note of concern about the reactions of the East German population. "For some time," he said, "there will continue to exist in the GDR capital and its environs people who have allowed themselves to be influenced and depraved by West Berlin." Ul-

tered between 13 and 22 August, of whom more than 2,000 claimed to have fled after the clampdown.

Popular Attitudes

In a television broadcast on 18 August, East German leader Ulbricht is due to make another speech on 25 August.

The regime took extreme precautions to prevent any manifestations of public enthusiasm in connection with the move of the US battle group to Berlin on 20 August. People's Police
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were posted in pairs at frequent intervals along the Autobahn.

Party functionaries are organizing a drive to dismantle radio and TV antennas required only to turn in foreign broadcasts. In Leipzig, radio repairmen reportedly have "pledged themselves" not to build or install such aerials, and party propagandists are to visit the homes of those people who persist in listening to Western broadcasts.

The regime also has cracked down on Evangelical Church leaders in East Germany who, on 17 August, signed a telegram protesting the 13 August restrictions. East Berlin Mayor Fritz Ebert called Kurt Scharf, chairman of the church's All-German Synod, on 18 August to rebuke him for signing the telegram. Other East German churchmen have also been lectured by local authorities in an effort to make them withdraw their public position against the regime's ban on free travel.

Military Situation

American officers estimate that security measures in East Berlin and the adjacent area were carried out by a force of at least 43,500 East Germans, representing such varied groups as major elements of an East German army division, the Security Alert Police, and the Kampfgruppen (armed factory workers).

Various types of East German police and security forces are well represented, with three regiments of the Border Security Police occupying installations at Gross Glienicke, Blankenfelde, and Blumberg. A regiment of Security Alert Police is at Potsdam, and another in East Berlin along with six battalions from the Motorized Brigade, Berlin. The number of Kampfgruppen around West Berlin appears to be declining from the high point of 24,000-30,000 at the beginning of the operation.

Soviet military elements in East Berlin, which consist of five battalions with a combined strength of about 1,900 men, apparently have taken no

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direct part in sealing off West Berlin. The 43,000 Soviet troops stationed on the outskirts of the city are not involved at this time. Elements from two—or possibly three—Soviet divisions which had been occupying positions around Berlin in small detachment force were apparently back in garrison by about 18 August. Aside from units used chiefly in guard and ceremonial functions, Soviet presence near the West German border probably reflect normal training activity. The impression of a general return to normal activity is reinforced by a number of reports indicating that the annual troop rotation may already have begun.

The overall air situation within East Germany and its ad-
jacent areas appears normal.

forces available for immediate commitment in Berlin consist of five motorized rifle regiments and the same number of tank regiments, with one regiment of each type located in the city and the remainder in nearby areas.

Soviet Attitude

In the aftermath of the East German action of 13 August, the USSR appears to be developing a dual line. On the one hand, Moscow has sought to counteract the impact of Vice President Johnson's visit to Berlin and the redeployment of the US battle group by stressing

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Approved For Release 2007/10/23 : CIA-RDP79-00927A003300060001-0
the temporary nature of current access controls. Mikoyan in his public remarks in Japan predicted that a separate treaty would be signed by the end of the year and that access to Berlin for any state would then depend on the conclusion of "special agreements" with the East German regime. This general line was also stressed by the Czech Government, which declared its "irrevocable decision" to conclude a treaty before the end of the year. Khrushchev, in a "letter to American readers" on 21 August asserted that the bloc has reached a firm decision not to postpone a peace conference any longer.

The Soviet protest note of 23 August is consistent with the bloc's broad effort to demonstrate the urgency of a peace treaty before the end of the year. The note, apparently intended as a threatening response to Chancellor Adenauer's visit to West Berlin on 22 August, charges the United States with failure to take measures to suppress "provocative activities" of West German officials in West Berlin. The warning of "possible consequences" of continued West German "interference," together with the demand for immediate measures to terminate "illegal and provocative actions in Berlin," suggests that Moscow may be preparing the groundwork to justify East German harassment of or restrictions on West German traffic to West Berlin and within Berlin.

In an effort to build a case for continued tightening of East German controls in Berlin, the note accuses the West of "abusing their situation" in Berlin and flagrantly violating four-power agreements by misusing the air corridors to transport "all kinds of renegades" to Berlin. On 18 August Moscow had replied to the US protest against East German actions by reiterating its position that the East Germans have legal "sovereignty" over East Berlin and that the four-power status of the Soviet sector had long ceased to exist.

At the same time, Soviet leaders have sought to minimize the prospect of an immediate crisis. The Soviet news agency Novosti transmitted the text of Khrushchev's "letter," which restated the Soviet position on Berlin in a relatively moderate manner and is apparently intended as a sign of reassurance that the bloc will not encroach on Western access to West Berlin pending a peace treaty. He also stressed that the possibility remains of negotiating the terms of continued Western access to and presence in Berlin. However, he ruled out any settlement which would reaffirm Western occupation rights in the city and candidly admitted that the question of East German control over Allied access to Berlin is primarily an issue of "political significance" rather than technical procedure.

Mikoyan dismissed the question of access as a "minor point" and repeatedly asserted that the USSR would accept a four-power or UN guarantee for Berlin.
Reactions in West Berlin and West Germany

Vice President Johnson’s visit to West Berlin and the movement of additional US troops to the city have succeeded in bolstering the badly shaken morale of the West Berlin populace. According to US officials in Bonn, Chancellor Adenauer’s appeal for calm, close association with the Allies, and eventual negotiation with the USSR appears to be closely attuned to the West German public mood. They believe that although Mayor Brandt may have gained increased sympathy and respect from West German voters as a result of the current Berlin crisis, they doubt that this means votes for Brandt’s Social Democratic party in the 17 September elections.

West German political figures, despite expressions of wrath and indignation at the sealing off of East Berlin, have generally avoided advocating strong countermeasures and have indicated a feeling of relief that the situation has not gotten out of control. American observers feel that the real impact of the recent events may come only after the elections, when some politician may try to attack the longstanding thesis of Adenauer’s Christian Democratic Union that the best chance for ultimate reunification lies in firm ties with the West.

The US Mission in Berlin reports, however, that business and banking leaders feel there have been no disturbing developments in the West Berlin economy. Consumer trade has not approached panic buying and in some respects is only an intensification of “prudent housewife precaution which began several weeks ago.”

The mission also states there have been no significant movements of workers or businessmen from Berlin and no abnormal change in bank deposits or transfer of funds indicating a loss of confidence in the city’s economy. Local industries are compensating for the loss of East Berlin workers by transferring personnel and re-employing retired workers.

Although Bonn is not planning any formal ban on West German travel to the East German Leipzig Trade Fair beginning on 3 September, the German Manufacturers’ Association has urged a boycott by both exhibitors and visitors. An official of the Munich Chamber of Commerce stated on 21 August that his organization is having a difficult time persuading businessmen to support the boycott. They feel any orders the Germans let go will merely be taken over by British exporters.
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A West German official reportedly stated on 23 August that Bonn does not plan an immediate suspension of trade with East Germany in retaliation for the further East German restrictions of 22 August—even though in his opinion the new restrictions give Bonn "every right to do so." West Germany's interzonal trade representative Leopold told US officials in Berlin that the restrictions violate the guarantees of free movement given by East German officials at the time of the renewal of the East-West German trade agreement last December. He said Bonn officials are considering what action should be taken and especially the consequences of the East German moves on interzonal trade.

French Reaction

At a meeting on 17 August the French Defense Committee under President de Gaulle decided on a number of measures to strengthen French military forces in Germany and eastern France. Public announcement of the details of the measures is being held up pending their execution, but another army division, probably the 7th Light Armored Division, is expected to be transferred from Algeria to eastern France by mid-September. In July the 11th Infantry Division was returned to France with indications that other units would follow. France may also bring the six brigades now stationed in Germany and the air defense units along the French-German border to full strength.

The return of a second battle-tested division from Algeria would bolster significantly French capabilities in eastern France, even though these units will probably require a period of large-unit training and refamiliarization with heavy weapons in order to operate at full effectiveness. De Gaulle may also find the need for additional French troops on the Continent a convenient way of thinning out his Algerian forces and focusing army attention on its responsibilities outside Algeria. French opposition to the establishment now of a timetable for negotiations with the Soviet Union on Berlin and Germany may stem in part from De Gaulle's interest in keeping the French Army concerned with events outside North Africa.