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"Berlin: A Tale of Two Cities"

Eleonore Lipschitz

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Eleonore Lipschitz
"Berlin: Tale of Two Cities"
November 18, 1964
Portland State College

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HOST: It's a privilege and pleasure for me today to be able to introduce our speaker: a member of the West German Parliament—or rather, the West Berlin Parliament—to Portland State College. When our speaker and I were born in Berlin, the city was called “Spree Athen,” that is to say, Athens on the Spree; because around that river, there were many museums with great art treasures, and the nearby university, a great center of learning. When our speaker was only 11 years old in 1933, that very site of learning had become the place for the famous book-burning, where Heine, Freud, Einstein, and other books were burned, and little of what had once made Athens was still recognizable. In fact, even Sparta was a far cry from the Nazi system. It was on account of her opposition to the Nazi totalitarians that upon her completing secondary education, Eleonore Lipschitz was barred from University of Berlin.

In 1945 when the Soviets occupied Berlin, there was at first a general hope that the fall of the Nazis might usher in the freedoms to which the Berliners had been accustomed. It is a statistical fact that Berlin and Hamburg showed the lowest percentage of Nazi party members of any German city, in part because of the strength of the Social Democratic Party to which Eleonore Lipschitz is linked. Having mentioned that, it should not be surprising that she, then a resident of Eastern sector, should have been in early opposition to the Communist authorities, for her party had the staunchest record of opposition to Nazism and to Communism. Indeed this fight was led by such courageous men as Ernst Reuter, then the Lord Mayor of Berlin, and Willy Brandt, who today governs the city-state.

When intellectual freedom had again been threatened at the university, this time the students did not sit by idly. They went to West Berlin, and with the help of the American government, students and teachers started a new university, lacking the buildings but possessed of the responsibility and the will for intellectual along with political freedom to prevail.

Is it really surprising that our guest was one of the first to register at the free university and that she studied political science there, ultimately became an intellectual, and the director of the school of social work there? In that fateful summer of 1948, I was working in Berlin with General Klee on aspects and measures on how to "democratize Germany." Well, it was the Berliners who began to teach the Americans a few things about the spirit of freedom. I was again in Berlin this summer visiting the free university, which may well be the most intellectually exciting place in Europe. That is why so many scholars go there on a visit, and I had difficulty deciding which of the many events often conflicting in time I could not afford to miss. I did not miss Robert Kennedy, who was warmly received by the students and by the city exactly one year after his famous brother had visited there. As you know, President Kennedy was also a historian, and when he visited Berlin, he knew what Thucydides and Pericles had praised about Athens. President Kennedy is remembered because he proudly said there, "Ich bin ein Berliner."

Was the man from Boston only a flattering politician? I think not. I want to give you five attributes which are well characteristic of the Berliners, and they are first: the love of one's city, two: inconspicuous heroism, three: opposition to stuffiness, four: a liberal temperament, and five: special wit. It is all that stuff that free men and women are made of everywhere, and John F. Kennedy possessed them and recognized them readily. "If anyone wants to learn of heroism and of freedom," he exclaimed, "let him come to Berlin." I hope that you may visit there, and also, as I have, visit in both sectors of that divided city. But if you should want a prior introduction, you could have no one better than Dr. Eleonore Lipschitz who will speak today about Berlin: a tale of two cities. [applause]

ELEONORE LIPSCHITZ: Ladies and gentlemen, I'm a little bit ashamed by the praise I hear about Berlin and Berliners. We are very friendly people, yes, but we don't want to be heroes... we want to live in peace. But sometimes this peace is disturbed, and therefore I'm in the United States to draw your attention to our problems and to ask you for your understanding. My subject had been announced as "Berlin: a tale of two cities." This is a plagiarism perpetrated on Charles Dickens. The despise-able Chinese wall cutting our city into two halves, tempts people to speak now of *two* cities. We Berliners will never acknowledge that. Berlin is one city, and I'm here to tell you its tale.

Berlin has been in the headlines of the world press ever since the end of World War II, but we Berliners would have preferred to live a normal and peaceful life. The latest Berlin crisis was caused by the Russian note of the 27th of November in 1958 to the three Western powers. This note, framed as an ultimatum, demanded the transformation of West Berlin in a so-called free city. The Western powers were to withdraw their troops from Berlin, the city was to assume a political shape all of its own, and no country—not even the Federal Republic of Germany—was to interfere in the life of this isolated area. To understand the Berlin situation, it is necessary to review the post-war development in Berlin. Let us therefore turn back to September and November 1944, when the legal basis of Berlin's four power stages was established.

In September 1944, the United States, United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union, the member nations of the European Advisory Commission, signed a protocol on the divisions of Germany for the occupation. There was then no talk of a French zone. Germany was to be divided into four areas of occupation. Within its boundaries as they stood on the 31st of December 1937, that means three zones in the special area of greater Berlin. Whereas each of the zones was allocated to one of the three powers, the Berlin area, though divided into three sectors, was to be jointly occupied by all three powers. Moreover, the protocol clearly defines the boundaries of the sectors, the special status of the city, and that Berlin was not a full part of the Eastern zone, that area which the Communists today refer to as the German Democratic Republic.

As a protocol, it was specifically stated that the Eastern zone will be occupied by the armed forces of the Soviet Union, with the exception of the Berlin area, for which a better system of occupation is provided. It was further stated that the Berlin area is the area of greater Berlin, and is to be jointly occupied by the armed forces of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. For this purpose, the area of greater Berlin will be divided in the following three parts. At the Yalta conference, held in February 1945, France was invited to participate in the occupation of Germany. And the London protocol was amended accordingly. The French zone of occupation was formed out of part of two Western zones, and the French sector of Berlin was carved out of the British one. This in no way affected the areas of occupation allocated to the Soviet Union. Appended to this protocol was a map signed by the representatives of the agreeing powers which designates zoning boundaries of occupation in the special area of Berlin. Thus, the whole of Berlin was from the very outset a very special area all of its own, and not part of the Soviet zone of occupation.

The second basic agreement of the victorious powers on this country was a land agreement of November 1944 between the government of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union under control machinery to be established in Germany. France became a party to this

agreement in May 1945. This agreement concerns organizations of Allied control during the period required for the realization of the terms of the declaration of surrender. The supreme power will be exercised by the supreme commanders of the occupation powers, each acting separately in his own zone on behalf of his government, and by all jointly in the control council on situations concerning Germany as a whole. Berlin, on the other hand, was to have a special occupation. The declaration of surrender, signed by the four occupying powers, referred to the city as follows: the administration of the greater Berlin area will be directed by an inter-allied authority which will be directed by an inter-allied governing authority, which will operate as a general direction of the control council, and will consist of the four commandants appointed by their respective commanders-in-chief. This body was to be called the Allied Kommandatura.

On the 8th of May 1945, the day of the military surrender of Germany, the greater part of Germany was in the hands of the Allied troops. However, the territory, then held by the different fighting forces as a result of military action, did not correspond as a division of the occupation areas as prescribed in the London protocol. Berlin was captured by the Soviet Army, but when Germany surrendered, the Western forces occupied much more, the Soviet Army much less than the areas assigned to them by the London protocol. Following an exchange of messages between President Truman and Stalin in June 1945, the American and British armies withdrew from their advance positions and moved into their allotted sectors of Berlin. In doing so, they relinquished to the Russians nearly half the territory and population of what became the Soviet zone of occupation.

During the latter part of June, verbal agreement reached between the supreme commanders and the three axes of the Western allies to Berlin. These agreements were later confirmed and extended by the control council in various individual agreements. On the 11th of July 1945, the Allied Kommandatura began to function in the agreements of 1944 and they became effective, and Berlin's four powers status was established. Six days later, the Potsdam conference was convened. This alone proved that the Potsdam agreement dated in August 1945 is not and cannot be the basis of Berlin's four power status. Berlin was not mentioned at all; moreover, even though France was one of the four powers of occupation, the French government was neither represented at the Potsdam conference nor has it ever associated itself with this agreement.

Despite the rational claims to the contrary, the Western rights to be in Berlin do not derive from the Potsdam agreement, but from the military defeat of Nazi Germany and from earlier regulations. Right after the conquest of Berlin, the Soviet authorities began to reactivate the municipal administration and fill key positions with especially selected Communist individuals. A municipal government of 18 officials was already functioning in the middle of May. A German

Communist party led by former German Communists who had returned from Moscow on the heels of the Red Army was formed in Berlin instantly. The supreme Soviet commander decreed that in addition to Communists, the Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Union, and the Liberal Democratic Party should be permitted. Thus, the Russians to their advantage began exploiting the party licensed in their area to influence political development throughout all of Germany. From the very outset, the Communist party worked hand in hand with the Soviet military administration and was assured of its moral and material support.

The first and the last free elections to be held in East Berlin since the end of the war were on the 20th of October in 1946. The people were only too eager to express their views. 93 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls and cast their ballots as follows: for the Social Democratic Party, 50 percent, for the Christian Democratic Union, 20 percent, for the Communists, 19 percent, and the Liberals, 9 percent. The returns clearly indicated that Berlin's tack towards freedom and democracy to a Western way of life even though material conditions were bad and the political future of Germany and Berlin was still very uncertain. It is interesting to note that the Communists have had serious defeat even in those boroughs of Berlin that they were notoriously Communist before 1943.

The first official act of the newly constituted municipal assembly of deputies was the election of a new city council, which consisted of 10 members of the Social Democratic party, three each of the Christian Union and the Communists, as well as two of the Liberals. In accordance with the temporary constitution, the council was to have representatives from all recognized political parties. Despite the decisive election results, the Soviet Union still exercised considerable influence on Berlin's internal affairs. Every law, decree, or directive, was to be passed by the Allied Kommandatura. This required the unanimous decision of the four powers. Hence the veto became a powerful instrument used by the Russians to further their own aims.

Over the course of time, the differences between the Western powers and the Soviet Union increased. Finally, in March 1948, the Soviet representatives walked out of the Allied control council and in June 1948, they boycotted the German Allied Kommandatura. It had become obvious that Germany's unsatisfactory economic situation could only be remedied by a drastic currency reform. The inflation had to be stopped. But the Russians were not interested in a healthy economy. After months of tedious negotiations between the four powers, the Western allies had no alternative but to introduce a currency reform in the Western zones of Germany, which was effected on the 20th of June 1948. At first, the Western powers had no intention of applying the currency reform to the Western sectors of Berlin. On the contrary, they were prepared to recognize East marks as the only legal tender in Berlin, providing that its release

and its circulation was controlled by the Allied Kommandatura and not the Soviet authorities alone.

This proposal was rejected by the Russians, and on the 22nd of June in 1948, they abandoned the four-power talks on uniform currency reform for Berlin. On the very next day, the supreme Soviet commander issued an order and proclaimed the East marks as the only legal tender in Berlin, and in complete violation of Berlin's four-power status, it was demanded that this order applied to the whole city. This unilateral act was rejected by the Western powers, who invalidated this order as it applied to their sectors, and authorized the introduction of West marks in their part of the city. Whereas this order went into effect on the 25th of June in 1948, it was not until the 1st of April 1949 that they declared West marks as the only legal tender in the Western sectors of Berlin. In the intervening time, both currencies were used in West Berlin, but the West mark became a much harder and more valuable currency.

On the 24th of June in 1948, Berlin and the outside world were severed by the Russians, and all surface lines of communication as roads and rails. The Soviet Union wanted to bring the Berlin people to their knees and drive the Western allies out. This did not happen. The Berliners resisted and the Western allies resolved to remain in Berlin. From the very first day of the blockade, the Berliners were prepared to meet any hardship to uphold political and personal freedom. The determined stand of the Berliners did influence the American president's decision to meet this situation with every available means. Out of the improvised airlift introducing the first stages of the blockade grew a highly technical and efficient organization capable of supplying the vital requirements of a vast city of more than two million inhabitants. More than two million tons of foodstuff, fuel, and other commodities were brought to West Berlin in the short space of some 11 months. Altogether, about 200,000 flights were carried out by one of the finest groups of men ever assembled in the interests of peace and freedom.

In the meantime, the attitude of the outside world toward Germany had changed somewhat, largely due to the stand taken by the Berliners. The ties of friendship that developed between the Western allies and the Berliners during the blockade have remained to this day. Together they have met the problems as they came. Accordingly, the ties were strengthened. Since the trying days of the blockade, the Western troops are not regarded as forces of occupation in Berlin, but as forces of friendship and protection. The last vestiges of political and administrative unity in Berlin ended with the blockade. Until then, the municipal assembly and the magistrate sat in East Berlin. On the 6th of September 1948, the Soviet authorities stood by while Communist mobs stormed the town hall, and as a consequence, the municipal deputies were compared to transfer their seats to West Berlin. This act of Communist violence led to

impassioned meetings of protest in West Berlin. Under the circumstances, there was little else that Berliners could do.

In November 1948, the Communists summoned a meeting of all the Communist mass organizations in East Berlin. Here they called a new municipal assembly into being which was contrary to all the rules governing Berlin's four-power status. This body, virtually elected by no one, declared the freely elected magistrate invalid, and put a new one in office. Four days later, the Soviet commandant of Berlin proclaimed this new magistrate as the only legal municipal administration in Berlin. Thus begins the split of Berlin's government. Berlin's temporary constitution called for the election of a new municipal assembly every two years, and it was due on the 5th of December 1948. The Russians prevented this election. The poll was held in West Berlin alone, and the Communists, fully conscious that the results would prove most embarrassing, they abstained.

After West Berlin had withstood the winter hardships of 1948 to '49, the airlifts continued to grow and to grow; the Soviets recognized the futility of the blockade. On the 4th of May 1949, Western allies and the Soviet Union met in New York and agreed to end the blockade. The lines of communication between West Germany and Berlin were reestablished and regulated everywhere on the 1st of March 1948. This agreement was confirmed at the Four Power Conference of foreign ministers in Paris in May and June 1949. The four occupying powers agreed to take measures in their respective zones for normal use of railroad and water communications for passenger and freight between the Soviet zone and the Western zones, as well as between the individual zones and Berlin. Both of these agreements are still valid, international law. They confirmed previous four-power agreements in communication, and guaranteed free access to and from Berlin for civilians as well. Despite the lifting of the blockade, the city's administration remained divided, and during the years that followed, the split became greater and greater. In May 1952, for example, the East Berlin authorities severed the telephone communication system between both parts of the city. West Berliners can telephone with anyone, anywhere in the world, but they cannot speak with their own countrymen living just beyond the wall.

In spring 1949, the preparation for establishing the Federal German Republic had reached the final stage. This was very important to Berlin, whose efforts were aimed at its inclusion within the constitutional structure of free Germany. The draft of the basic law clearly stated that the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany was to apply to Berlin as well as to other federal states. The Western powers, however, raised objections to a complete and [...] integration of Berlin within the Federal Republic. As a result, the so-called Article 23 of the basic law designating Berlin as a state of the Federal Republic was suspended. Berlin's relationship to

the Republic has since been governed by a supplementary article stipulating that laws enforced in the Federal Republic of Germany may be made applicable to Berlin, and that the entire provisions of the basic law shall be binding on the city except where their applicability is precluded by the suspension of the named article. In addition, the Berlin members of the federal Parliament, although present at proceedings, can only advise but not vote. The reservations expressed by the Western powers were made necessary by the four-power status of Berlin. It was in this way that the Western allies chose to document Berlin's character as a special area of occupation, and ensured their rights to remain within the city.

The Berlin constitution became effective in 1950. Berlin is both a city and a state; one of the states of the Federal Republic of Germany. City parliament was succeeded by the House of Representatives as well as the city council by the Senate. Heading the Senate is a governing mayor of Berlin, and this executive consists of a deputy and the a maximum of 16 senators. The House of Representatives and the Senate decided on integrating West Berlin's economic, financial, and legal life with West Germany, while at the same time observing the stipulations established by the Western powers. With the approval of Western powers and with the knowledge of the Soviet Union, the Berlin Senate had pursued this policy. West Berlin is today not only politically part of free Germany, but it is inextricably linked with its economic, financial, and legal life. The most important step in this direction was taken in January 1952, when the federal parliament passed the transference law; since then all laws enacted and born became valid in West Berlin without further detailed debate. The three Western commandants, however, as a supreme authority, still retain the powers of objection.

The Western powers' position in Berlin has been neither politically nor legally impaired by the incorporation of this city into the Federal Republic of Germany. In the Bonn convention on relations between the three powers and the Federal Republic of Germany, which proclaimed the Federal Republic of Germany a sovereign state on the 5th of May in 1955, the Western powers retained the rights to theretofore exercise their [...] relating to the stationing of armed forces in Germany and the protection of their security, their rights concerning Berlin, and those applying to Germany as a whole, including the reunification of Germany and the final peace treaty.

On the 16th of June in 1953, the East Berlin building workers protested against the 10 percent increase in work quotas decreed by the Communist council of ministers in the Soviet occupied zone. One day later, this protest developed into a powerful demonstration and spread throughout the whole of the Soviet zone. Within a short time, this strike assumed the character of a popular uprising; a manifestation against the existing regime and in favor of free and secret elections. The Communist regime, unable to cope with the situation, was saved by the Soviet

forces of occupation. Russian troops supported by tanks went into action and brutally smashed the uprising. On the 17th of June 1953 saw an unarmed people rise against its rulers for the first time within the Soviets' field of influence. Were it not for the Russian tanks, the German people's right of self-determination would have been realized some ten years ago. To mark the occasion, the federal parliament shortly afterwards proclaimed the 17th of June as a German Unity day.

Despite Berlin's political and administrative split in 1948, its people still regarded the city as a single unit. That is, until the 13th of August 1961. Berlin, both East and West, was open to nearly everyone, and its people were able to visit any one of the four sectors. Each day saw about half a million Berliners cross the demarcation line. More than 50,000 East Berliners, plus a few thousand living in the outskirts of the city, were employed in West Berlin. On the other hand, some 7,000 West Berliners worked in East Berlin. To meet the problem of disproportionate rate of exchange between the two currencies, on the average favored four to one in the favor of the West mark, arrangement had to be made for the people living in one part of the city and working in the other. To this end, a wage adjustment system was established which functioned quite satisfactorily. With a transportation network extending over all of Berlin, it was easy to maintain the ties between friends and relations in both parts of the city. Berlin's special status made it a link between both parts of Germany. Berlin, above all, the Western sections of the city, served in this capacity from 1945 to the 13th of August 1961. It was a bridge between a politically divided people, a haven refuge for those who could no longer bear the pressure of tyranny.

West Berlin's energy and vitality, its steady climb towards a better future, its standard of living, and above all, its free and democratic system exercised tremendous influence on the people in the Soviet zone. They felt the irresistible magnetism of the city, and each day thousands of visitors came from all parts of the Russian occupied territory. After the Communist authorities had radically restricted travel, between their area and West Germany, Berlin's importance as a place of meeting grew from year to year. Similarly, West Berlin also became the place of refuge for those who could no longer stand life without hope, a regime which deprived men of every basic right. From here, they were flown out to Western Germany. Each year saw between 150 and 200,000 people leave the Soviet zone. Of these, 25 percent were below 25 years of age and a further 50 percent were below 45. But even those without definite plans for escape found comfort in the very fact that West Berlin was still accessible.

There is reliable evidence that the Communist leadership urged the Soviet Union for years to bring West Berlin to its knees. At the end of 1958, the Russians felt that the time was right for a new attack against Berlin. In its note of November 1948, which took on the form of an

ultimatum, the Soviet government insisted on the transformation of West Berlin in a so-called free city. In their notes, the Russians write, openly admitted, that the natural solution of the Berlin question would be the merging of both parts of the city and the incorporation of the whole city in the Soviet occupied zone. In a note on January 9th 1959, presented to the United States a few weeks after the Berlin ultimatum, the Soviet Union demanded the conclusion of a peace treaty with two German states and simultaneously submitted the draft for a treaty of this nature. The Russian moves and demands were not only carefully timed, but were there to drive the Western powers out of Berlin. A political defeat of the Western world in Berlin would have had a disastrous effect on the morale of free people everywhere. By concluding a peace treaty with two German states and transforming West Berlin into a so-called free city through power politics, threats, and intimidations, the Soviet Union planned to break the Berliners. The last attack made on West Berlin was on the 13th of August in 1961. It was the saddest day in the history of the post-war Germany. During the early morning hours, under the cover of tanks and heavily armed troops, the Soviet sector and zonal boundaries were sealed off from West Berlin by fences and barbed wire entanglements.

A resolution by the member states of the so-called Warsaw Pact provided the pretext for the measures taken by the Communists. Part of this resolution read as follows: The Warsaw Pact states, proposed to the people's [...] government of the Soviet zone and to all the workers of the Soviet zone, that they take action to introduce a system at the border of West Berlin that will effectively check the subversive action against the countries of the Communist camp and install a reliable watch and control around the area of West Berlin, including its boundaries with the Soviet occupied part of Berlin. A few separate crossing points for foreigners, West Germans, and some Berliners were established along the sector boundaries, and the possibility that West Berliners could go through the wall was amended eleven days after the 13th of August. The West Berliners were not a peaceful people, as the Communists say. The West Berliners, in fact, are the only people in the world unable to visit the other part of their city. Visitors from all over the world have been shocked at the very sight of the wall. It has provided many people with food for thought, and it has changed the attitude of numerous politicians with respect to East/West problems. In this way, it has served to condemn its own architects. It is a charge against the Communist system itself.

The Russians have not been able to transform West Berlin as a so-called free city. Their attempts were thwarted by the will and the resistance of the West Berliners, as well as a determined stand taken by the Western powers. While the escape from the Soviet zone is now quite impossible. Despite the wall, thousands of East Berliners and residents of the Soviet zone have still tried to escape to the West. A lot have paid for this with their lives, and many more were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Communist border guards are ordered to make

ruthless use of their firearms, and many do. In the first three years after the building of the wall, about 112 people were killed trying to reach West Berlin.

Berlin is but a part of the German question. It cannot be severed from the overall problem; it can only be permanently solved in conjunction with the settlement of the German issue. This in turn can only really be achieved if the German people are free to exercise their basic right of self-determination. New agreements on Berlin, therefore, can only serve to establish a reasonable temporary settlement. Berlin will welcome any such settlement that will guarantee the freedom and economic existence of its people, and ones that will remove the inhuman effects of the wall. Berlin has but one aim: to continue and to complete its peaceful program of reconstruction, and assume its historical role as the capital of a free and democratic Germany. Thank you.

[applause]

HOST: Because of the fact that some of you may have to leave for another class, we would understand if you have to leave, but Dr. Lipschitz has consented to answer questions and there may be a number of you who may want to ask her questions against this very extensive background. Maybe we'll start... see who else has a class and then have questions.

[simultaneous conversations in German and English off-microphone for about a minute]

AUDIENCE 1: I would be interested in hearing what Dr. Lipschitz has to say about the social problems in Berlin today... how... well, how the divided Berlin has affected social problems that are almost universal, what changes there might have been since the war, differences from Americans. In other words, I'd like your 11 o'clock lecture now. [laughter]

LIPSCHITZ: [laughing] Well, the central problem which is most important for Berlin now is that our population pyramid is not built in the natural way, which means we have a problem with old-aged people. And nearly twenty percent of the population of West Berlin is over 65 years of age. And the young generation has a relatively small size. That means only eleven percent. So... the tension between the social problems the youth have and those old-age people have is very visible. We in Berlin are short of hospitals, short of homes for old-age people, so that we have to introduce a certain help system for old-age people... those who cannot make their meals by themselves or can't go to buy the goods they need are helped by special trained social workers; the main problem is that they are lonely... loneliness. We have made some special cultural programs for them so that everyone can go once a month to such a special program made for them. We have clubs for old-aged people in special houses, meeting their desires to have a...

some tea in the afternoon. On the other side, concerning the young generation, we feel that the educational problems the parents have are emphasized. We have special educational centers, that means there are social workers who will give advice for those parents who are in trouble with their children, and see that this problem is growing. Those are the two main social problems we have in Berlin, but this which we face is the most severe is this problem of the old-aged people and the help they need.

HOST: May I ask you a question? I want to ask what has been the work of the Social Democratic Party toward the Eastern zone, and what is the ministry for all-German affairs now doing in Berlin duplicating all this work or supercedes it or... what differences are there? Can you explain that a little? What Mende is doing in Berlin and what the SPD, what used to be called the [...] is doing?

LIPSCHITZ: Well... both try to get in touch with their people beyond the wall. The Social Democratic Party tries to form a certain picture of the development of society over there, and tries to keep in touch with those known to them as Democrats. We try to send them some literature, we try to write them letters so they have the feeling not to be alone behind the wall, and the office you named has the task to publish all political and administrative publications made in the Soviet zone and to analyze those publications so that we can see the tendencies of the politics of the Communist head in the Eastern occupied zone. This ministry you named has a task to introduce the German youth who are living in the Federal Republic to the problems of a divided country. So youth groups are financially supported who came to Berlin and will come to Berlin, and the members of parliament have their task to discuss with them political problems concerning the division of Germany. So nearly, I think, 80,000 young people came every year and will come next year too, to Berlin to see the wall, to see the bricked windows, and see the division of our town, and have a certain feeling about the importance of a reunificated Germany. So both fields are to get in touch and to impress the effect of the division of Germany... those both tasks are solved by the institutions you named.

HOST: Another question? Go ahead, please.

AUDIENCE 2: [off microphone and in background] [...] with the creation of a new German army, does this army have a political position [...]?

LIPSCHITZ: Well, you see, the military virtues are not... well... not so favored in Germany, now, in the Federal Republic, because of the historical experiences this country has; and up 'til now, the leaders and the heads of the army have no influence on the government and its actions.

HOST: All right, over here please.

AUDIENCE 3: Have you, when you speak about sending literature and writing people in the zone, a somewhat personal question, have you information regarding how much of this literature is not reaching people, because this happens very often... in particular are... I know an individual, and he's someone whom I would like to write, but hesitate to do so because this person is a clergyman under suspect. What is the possibility that he could receive a letter from me with this sort of thing? [...]

LIPSCHITZ: Yes, it is an interesting question, because we are now in Berlin about to send thousands of books to the Soviet zone and this is quite the funny thing. You see, we sent... for instance, we sent a thousand books. We wrap them up and write the address in handwriting, because a typed address is... often a parcel is sent back because of the typed address, and then we will, after four weeks, will get 900 of those books. And then we will put a new... well, we will address them anew and then send them again to those addresses we intend. And then, this... well, maybe you can... this is like a game. We continue this for some months. So at the end of this 1000 books maybe 50 will come back and we will try anew. We establish this in September, October, so that we have this rest of 50 a shot before Christmas. We know that literature published in the United States, for instance, will not reach the men or women who should get them. Then we have some tricks to send the books. Maybe we alter the cover; we have some press who will manage this. Or we have a list of all books in which political problems, up-to-date problems are discussed. Those books won't reach the place of destination, and so on. So when in September, we have to send those books, we have a certain list with books we think will reach the men to whom... will think it's a gift for him. In the beginning as I told, we get 90 percent back and one must try. But if a person is—in the sense of the Communists—unreliable, then I would be very cautious to send literature, because in every case this parcel will be opened by the secret police of the Soviet zone and maybe he will become in trouble... and I think it is worthwhile to send a book if he is in some danger.

AUDIENCE 4: You said that about twenty percent of the population of West Berlin is elderly, in the Eastern sector, does it have the same problem? And if so, what do they do about it?

LIPSCHITZ: Yes, they have the same problem, because up until 1945 Berlin was the capital of Germany and the administrations of the government and so was there in all those officials and employees of the government rest in Berlin. This is the reason why the percentage of old-aged people are so high. They have now a new trick to get rid of those old-aged people; they allowed those men over 65 and women over 60 to have a four-week vacation in West Berlin or West Germany, with the hope that they won't return. So, there is a diminishing of the rate of old-

aged people for them; and they of course say it's in the name of humanity that they can go and see their relatives in the Western sector of Berlin, you see; but if the Communists say anything, you have to be aware of the fact that the actions they talk have another meaning than the words they say. That's now the latest news we have, but approximately since the 2nd of November they are allowed to come over.. approximately 15,000 old-aged people from the Eastern sector or the Eastern zone came to West Berlin. And as I said in the beginning, we have a problem of old-aged people in our part of the town, and are short of hospitals and homes for old-aged people or special apartments for them, and so this problem will be intensified. Is this right?

HOST: Mm-hmm.

AUDIENCE 5: [off-microphone and inaudible]

LIPSCHITZ: Well, you see this question is probably a bit above the problem at hand, but I'll try to answer. The idea is not very popular in Germany, because we are of the opinion that it must be one nation which has a hand over those H-bombs, and that it's a very dangerous thing to distribute this force among various nations. And therefore, the attitude of the federal government is showing up 'til now to support the idea that the atom bombs and all those things are only... well, in the possession of the United States, and not in those hands [...] as the European countries. It's a most dangerous thing, you see.

HOST: You can have three more questions.

AUDIENCE 6: [off-microphone and inaudible]

LIPSCHITZ: We know that nowadays if men or women sentenced toward 10 or 15 years of imprisonment on political reasons, they were held in East German prisons, in the former concentration camp of Buchenwald, established by the Nazis.

AUDIENCE 7: [...] ...born a German, a Rhinelander, a Catholic, and a separatist [laughter from audience and LIPSCHITZ] [questioner continues, inaudible] ...and he also had influence on John Foster Dulles. I wondered if these factors worked against the reunification of Germany, especially after the death of Stalin.

LIPSCHITZ: Maybe you are right that the former chancellor suppressed the feelings towards the reunification of Germany. And that we have to fill this gap nowadays to interest the young generation in the problems of a divided country. Maybe this neglected problem will be

unfavorable for the political development in Germany, and all we can do now is to teach the German youth the problems of the country and of the necessity to be reunified, because you see, the wall and the minds and all which divides Germany is not only a division of the area but also a division of cultural development, development of the language, of the... we know they have some words which have another background as in our language, so that some months ago a dictionary was published which contains only the words and the different meanings in the Eastern zone of Germany and in the Western world. You see, if such a division in the cultural development begins, this is a very dangerous thing, and we must be aware of the fact that reunification is only a possibility if we understand each other. If we have a discussion and everyone has the same word but another meaning, then we won't understand each other anymore, and I think this is a very bad pattern for the future of Germany.

HOST: Last question.

AUDIENCE 8: Can you give us an estimate of about how many so-called political prisoners in the East zone as opposed to the West?

LIPSCHITZ: Well, we don't know for certain, but we have some lists of those known to us because many trials are secret, and I can tell you that during the month of September and October, well, a so-called trade took place. That means the Soviet, the Communist zone was in need of some equipment and materials for their agriculture, and so as the Federal Republic of Germany sends them those things, it was agreed secretly that one train with those goods means 50 prisoners, and so we get back 500 people. Most of them had ten and twelve years' imprisonment. So the organization I work for... to my organization came such men who are now 30 years of age...

[program ends mid-sentence]