

SPECIAL REPORT/THE BERLIN WALL OPENS

Germans in West worried

By Scott Bowles
Gazette Staff

West Germans are far less excited about the opening of the Berlin Wall than their eastern counterparts, a Little Rock native stationed in West Germany said Thursday.

"A lot of West Germans are upset," said Army Cpl. Keith Cockrell, a Little Rock native living in Ludwigsburg, West Germany. "They know this country can't hold all those people."

Cockrell, who has lived in West Germany for about three years, said in a telephone interview that residents are afraid opening the wall will present a housing and economic crunch for which the country isn't prepared.

"German housing is very limited," Cockrell said. "The government has said that if an East German and a West German want the same apartment, the East German gets priority."

Cockrell said that many people do not see the wall's opening as an act of historical significance, but "kind of an annoyance."

"The government has been in a shambles, and now it's become our problem," Cockrell said. "The communist leaders realized it had to open it up or the people were going to overthrow the government. I haven't talked to a single person here who is completely for it."

He said that once the East Germans begin settling into West Germany, competition, and possibly resentment, could develop between residents.

"It won't be all glorious," Cockrell said. "If you look at it from the West German side of things, there's probably going to be some friction."

Stephan Meyer-Brehm of Hamburg, West Germany, echoed Cockrell's concern, but said there was also "a sense something really positive is happening."

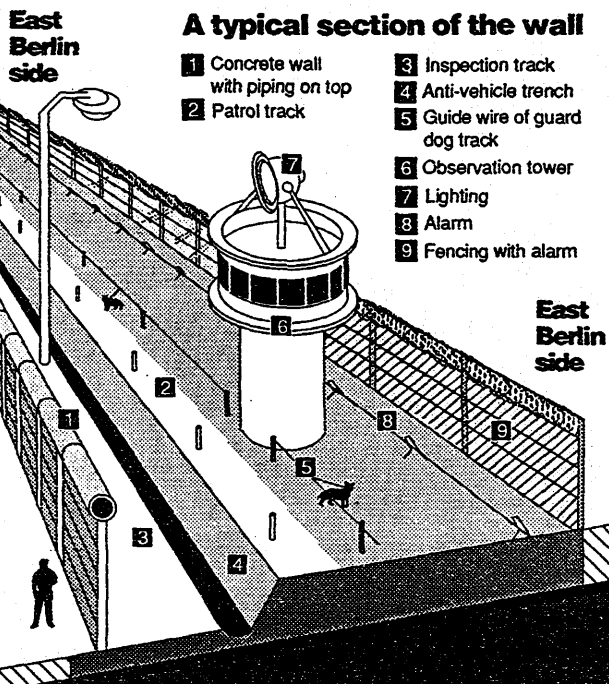
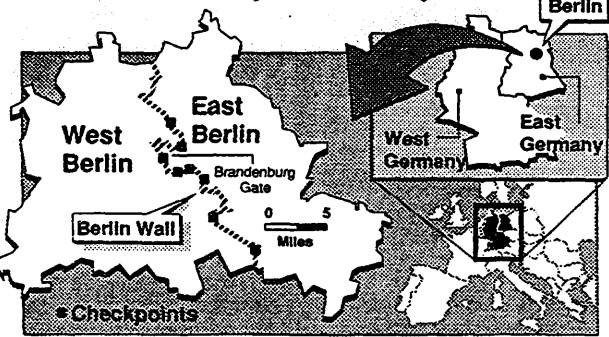
"I've grown up with that wall," said Meyer-Brehm, who was born in West Berlin. "We always talked about it coming down or opening up. It happened so quickly, it was almost magical."

Meyer-Brehm, a graphic artist, spent a year at the University of Texas on a Fulbright scholarship. During his stay, he made several trips to Little Rock, Conway and Stuttgart.

Meyer-Brehm said by phone that West Germans originally feared violence would accompany liberation efforts, "like they had in China."

The Berlin Wall

On Aug. 13, 1961, East Germany set up a concrete and barbed wire barrier to stop refugees flooding across the East-West frontier in Berlin. The wall is 29 miles long; 285 watch towers guard it.



Berlin Wall chronology

- In early 1961, the flow of refugees from East Germany turns into a flood.
- June 15, 1961: East German leader Walter Ulbricht assures a Western journalist that "Nobody intends to build a wall" to stop the refugees.
- July 1961: 30,000 refugees register in West Berlin.
- Leaders in Moscow and East Berlin demand a stop to the mass emigration.
- Aug. 3-Aug. 5: Leaders of Warsaw Pact nations (Soviet bloc) meet in Moscow.
- Aug. 12: Warsaw Pact calls on East Germany to "establish order on the borders of West Berlin" in order to "securely block the way to the subversive activity against the socialist camp countries ..."
- Overnight, Aug. 13: Concrete barricades and barbed wire go up along East-West frontier at Berlin.
- The wall cuts 193 streets and closes 13 underground railway stops. The wall is 29 miles long; 6.8 miles of it is made of concrete.
- Sixty-nine pillboxes and 285 watch towers guard the wall.
- From 1949 to 1961, more than 2,500,000 left East Germany for the West. Since the wall went up, 200,000 have escaped to the West.
- At least 71 people have been killed trying to cross the wall.

Knight Ridder-Tribune News

Wall of Shame becomes a relic

Barrier will no longer keep people in

By Larry Eichel
Knight News Service

On the night of Feb. 6, 1989, border guards shot and killed a 22-year-old worker trying to scale the Berlin Wall.

That man, whose name is not known, was the 77th East German to lose his life trying to escape from his country since the 28-mile barrier of concrete and electrified razor-wire went up in 1961.

He may have been the last. Thursday, East Germany's ruling Politburo said that it was opening its borders to the world. With that stunning announcement, the Berlin Wall suddenly seemed superfluous.

During the past 28 years, the jagged, gray, wall that divides Berlin has come to be the embodiment of the term "Iron Curtain" and the symbol of the Cold War itself. Now, it seems well on its way to becoming a relic.

Thousands of East Germans have tried to scale it or tunnel under it or crash through a checkpoint. Many of their attempts ended with familiar scenes — a young man or woman caught in the barbed wire, bleeding to death from bullets fired by border guards.

Late Thursday night, on the graffiti-covered West Berlin side of the wall, there was a less familiar scene — Germans by the thousands, dancing and singing and pounding on the wall with hammers.

Former West Berlin Mayor Willy Brandt once described the wall as "a concrete stake driven through the heart of a living city." Current West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl has called it "a monument to inhumanity." Throughout the 1960s, it was known in the Western World as "The Wall of Shame."

It is, in its way, a structure unique in the annals of history. Over the centuries, other nations had built barriers to keep invaders out. This one — which outside of Berlin became a constantly guarded no man's land of landmines and barbed wire running along the entire border of the two



Associated Press

NOW MORE FLEXIBLE: A recent photo shows the Berlin Wall behind a sign that reads, "Attention — you are now leaving West Berlin." The Brandenburg Gate is in the background.

Germanys — was built to keep the citizens in.

John F. Kennedy, who was president of the United States when the wall was built, underlined that point in his memorable "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech, made during his 1963 visit to the divided city.

"Freedom has many difficulties and democracy is not perfect," he said, five months before his death. "But we have never had to put a wall up to keep our people in, to prevent them from leaving us."

That was the reason the wall was built. Between 1949 and 1961, more than 2.5 million people left East Germany, about half of them through Berlin — still technically considered an open city under the agreements signed at the end of World War II by the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

And the pace of emigration had quickened in the summer of 1961 to the rate of 12,000 per week, with

the sense of impending crisis, after Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev had met with Kennedy in Vienna and demanded that the United States and its allies withdraw all their troops from the city.

Then, before dawn on a Sunday morning, Aug. 13, it happened. East German militiamen set up barriers through the center of downtown Berlin. They strung barbed wire across Potsdam Platz, once the busiest intersection in Europe. And suddenly, Berlin, like the rest of Germany, was a divided city, part east, part west.

The wall was built on orders from Walter Ulbricht, leader of the nation's Communist Party at the time. The construction work itself was supervised by Ulbricht's deputy, Erich Honecker, the man whose own 18-year tenure as party leader ended last month — when he was swept out of office by the ferment that has caused the nation to open its borders.

'Let us have a beer over there'

By Alison Smale
Associated Press

BERLIN — There were wild scenes at Checkpoint Charlie, the most famous crossing in the infamous Berlin Wall, when hundreds of East Germans arrived Thursday night and tried to get through.

Minutes after West German television said it had heard East Germans were allowed to cross at Checkpoint Charlie, about 300 East Berliners arrived carrying only their identity papers.

Watched by cheering West Berliners, waving from 50 yards away, the East Germans tried to persuade their border police to let them through.

"I just want to go over and have a good time," one man said. "We've got to get back to work tomorrow." "Let us have a beer over there," a woman said. "We'll come back."

Suddenly, the border guards relented and hundreds of people ran through toward the customs hall, waved on by East German officials.

At the last barrier, the crowd encountered locked doors. Guards urged everyone to be patient and distributed cards to be filled out.

Then came disappointment. Border guards said no one could go through without a visa stamp from East Berlin police.

Eventually, the crowd was persuaded to turn back, but 34-year-old Angelika Wachs slipped through the door when it was opened to let an Associated Press correspondent through.

Later, hundreds more East Germans arrived at Checkpoint Charlie and, finally, they too were let through. The flood of new arrivals continued into the night, a historic night.

The Germanies could be united, but only if...

Cox News Service

MOSCOW — The Soviet Union said Thursday that East and West Germany could be united if the U.S.-led North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact military alliances were dissolved.

Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gennady Gerasimov reiterated

that longstanding policy just hours before East Germany announced that its citizens could leave through the Berlin Wall, the most visible sign of the division of Europe into East and West since World War Two.

Gerasimov added, "Let's disband the Warsaw Pact together, simultaneously with NATO and then

maybe the situation is going to change and we can return to this subject and discuss it again."

Such proposals have been rejected by NATO in the past on the ground that they imply an unearned neutrality for Western Europe, which would make it vulnerable to Soviet attacks.

World ramifications of opening borders startling and many

By Adam Pertman
Boston Globe

NEW YORK — East Germany's stunning decision to open its borders portends potentially historic changes for Europe, for Washington's leadership role on the continent and for U.S.-Soviet relations, American officials and other analysts said Thursday.

The U.S. officials, in telephone interviews from Washington, said the administration had been caught by surprise by Thursday's development, which was described as the regulatory equivalent of bulldozing the Berlin Wall.

Officials said that surprise explained, in part, the cautious initial responses from President Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker.

In private discussions at the White House and the State Department, however, the importance of the East German move, they said, was fully realized.

"It could change the entire political situation, all of it, entirely," one top administration aide said breathlessly.

A senior adviser on Eastern Europe said, "It is dramatically clear that we are talking about the political future of Europe; what we are seeing now is not the end of history, but the rebirth of European

politics."

The changes rocking Europe, assuming they continue even at a slower pace, will be felt in an array of important ways. The extent of the impact, analysts said, will depend largely on whether the two Germanies eventually reunite, something that seems increasingly possible.

If they do, Bonn's already considerable social and economic clout will be intensified by the potential of its neighbor, which is the most powerful and heavily armed Eastern bloc country. Much of Western Europe, as well as the United States, is privately nervous about that prospect, and its realization could cause tension with unpredictable results.

More certain, specialists agreed, is that a single Germany would become a power center to which central European countries would gravitate, could become the engine that drives an economically unified Europe beginning in 1992 and could grow to rival the superpowers in some aspects of international influence.

Even without reunification, the easing of East-West tensions — not just because of East Germany's changes but also those in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union — would have enormous ramifications.



Associated Press

APPLAUSE: West Berliners cheer this morning as an East Berlin family crosses to the West.

tions.

The Warsaw Pact, analysts said, will be perceived as less and less a threat by Western Europeans, and perhaps by Americans as well. U.S. officials said that could accelerate a transformation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from a military alliance to a more political one.

Some of the questions analysts raise are: If East and West Germany do one day reunite, will the

resulting state belong to NATO? Will it have designs on leadership of the alliance? And would a German-led alliance have different priorities than a US-dominated organization?

Short of such a dramatic shift NATO is already split over some of its policies, with some members arguing that such moves as missile modernization in West Germany are not necessary because President Mikhail S. Gorbachev of the

Soviet Union has so extensively diminished the Soviet political and military threat.

The division among the Western allies could grow if the liberalization of Warsaw Pact nations continues. Alternately, if all of NATO becomes convinced of the sincerity of Moscow and its satellites, it could decide to undergo a more rapid transformation than the evolutionary one that already appears to have begun.

Dream

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mans offered them vodka and champagne; the guards smiled, but refused.

One of the guards said, "I may be out of a job soon."

A West Berliner shot back, "How are the unemployment benefits over there?"

In the middle of the confusing yet festive scene, the guards received word that the border really was open and they swung wide the gate.

The Ebertuses said they quickly arranged for a baby-sitter for their 1½-year-old son before setting off on their adventure. Their first destination in the West was the glittering Kurfurstendamm, full of restaurants and taverns.

"We don't even have any money, we just want to look," said Angela Ebertus. "We'll go home tomorrow and tell ourselves this night was not a dream."

Another East German, Torsten Ryl, simply flashed his identity card early this morning, and for the first time in his life entered West Berlin.

With that, Ryl, a waiter walked into the West at Checkpoint Charlie.

"I've never been here before," Ryl said. "It's not my intention to stay here, but we have to have the possibility to come over here and go back again. I have my apartment and my car over there."

A middle-aged West German reached over and gave him 20 marks [about \$11] and said with a grin: "Why don't you go get yourself a beer first?"

SPECIAL REPORT/THE BERLIN WALL OPENS

Arkansan recalls day of the wall

Arkansas Gazette photographer W.L. "Pat" Patterson was stationed in Kitzingen, West Germany when the Berlin Wall went up.

A friend of Patterson's, Mutti, the mother of his landlord, happened to be in East Berlin the day the wall went up to visit her daughter. She was trapped on the other side for six anxious weeks until authorities finally let her go.

"We thought she was trapped there forever," Patterson said. "I remember it well. This was just something you don't forget."

Mutti's daughter had to stay behind because she had no West German passport.

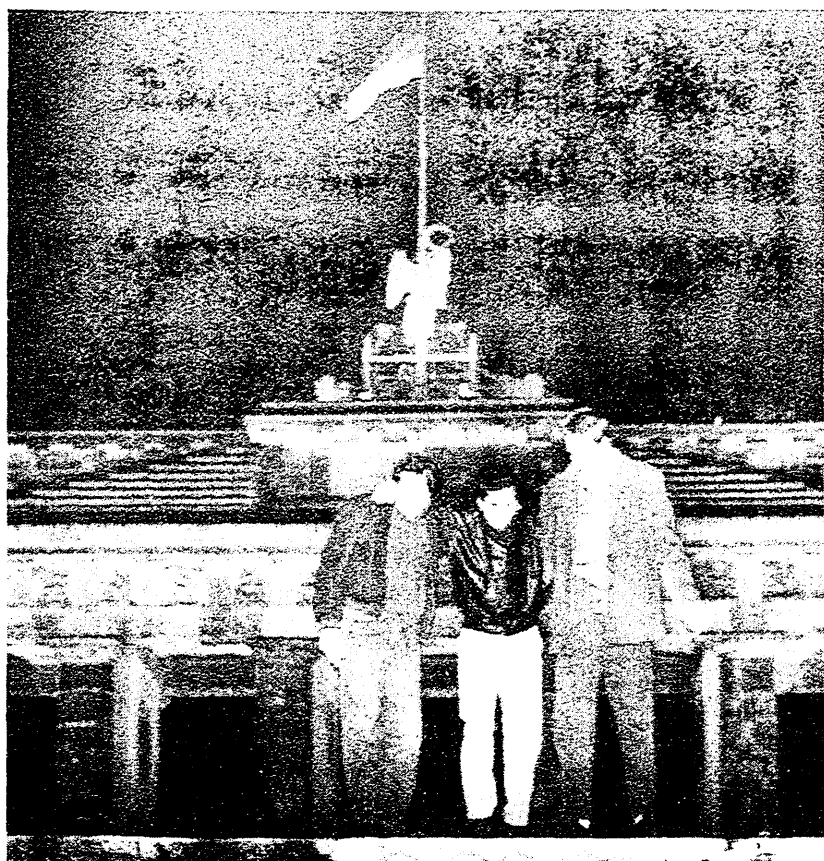
Patterson was a member of a tactical artillery rocket battalion.

"It was fairly tense, of course, for us," Patterson said. "We were all on alert. It was a serious thing for us because the majority of our weapons were nuclear. We took alerts very, very seriously."

Patterson said many West Germans resented the wall very much.

"The whole country was affected," Patterson said. "It's like part of your family was cut off."

- Karen Rafinski



ON TOP OF THE WORLD: Berliners stand arm in arm in front of the Brandenburg Gate on top of the wall facing the West as they celebrate in West Berlin Thursday night.

Surprise, delight in state greet opening of wall

By Michael Arbanas Gazette Staff

Christa Tackenberg of Jacksonville got all choked up as she watched televised accounts of the opening of the Berlin Wall.

"I'm looking at it right now, and I could just bawl," said Tackenberg, who was born in Berlin and whose mother still lives there. "We've waited so long."

Tackenberg left West Berlin in 1952 and came to the United States in 1959, but she returns every summer to visit her mother, now 85 years old.

She remembers going to see her mother's brother, who lived in East Berlin, shortly after the wall was built. They made elaborate arrangements to meet near Checkpoint Charlie, and they had to signal to each other clandestinely because they weren't allowed to wave.

"My mother and my grandmother were just devastated," she said. "For years, there wasn't even any phone service from West Berlin to East."

Eventually, her uncle, who is now dead, was allowed to spend 30 days each year in West Berlin visiting Tackenberg's mother. Tackenberg's cousin also came to visit, but she was never allowed to travel to West Berlin with her 16-year-old son.

"She was always a little leery about losing her job," Tackenberg said. "Maybe that will change now."

Tackenberg said she and her family were surprised by the East German government's decision to open the checkpoints, and by the desire of so many East Germans to come to the West. She said many West Germans believed that the young East Germans had been indoctrinated into the Communist system.

"It caught us by surprise that they do genuinely seem to want to have a Democratic government," she said.

Also pleased by the news was Andreas Muller, now associate professor and acting head of the health services department of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. He was 12 years old in 1959 when his family left Leipzig in East Germany.

The Berlin Wall hadn't been built yet. Muller and his family were flown to West Germany, where his parents still live. He came to the United States in 1970.

"I am delighted to hear this and I certainly feel for the people who are making the decision to leave their homes," he said. "It is a very difficult decision. I hope it's as worthwhile for them as it was for my family."

The West German economy was booming when Muller's family arrived, and his father soon found a managerial position in industry. At the time, he said, 2,000-4,000 East Germans were leaving each month, and it was not difficult to integrate them into a booming economy.

He said he expected a much larger number of East Germans to leave in the coming weeks, though, and expressed concern that such a migration could cause problems for both countries.

"I would expect a large number of people to leave very soon," he said. "Most of these people will have very few assets when they leave. In West Germany, there might be a very large number of people unemployed or on welfare."

Tackenberg said she shared Muller's concerns. She said there were a large number of foreign workers in Germany already, and a flood of East Germans wanting to support themselves could cause severe problems.

"There's so much unemployment," she said. "There are just not enough jobs to go around, and here come all these new people. It could be just terrible for West Berlin and West Germany."

Arkansas family ponders relatives' move

By Joe Crommett Gazette Hot Springs Bureau

HOT SPRINGS — A Hot Springs couple is wondering if their relatives in East Germany will cross the border to West Germany.

As a child Horst Fischer left East Germany to live with his father in West Germany when his parents divorced in 1948. He later moved to the United States.

Now Fischer is the general manager of

the Arlington Hotel in Hot Springs. His wife, Linda, owns the Stitt House Restaurant in Hot Springs.

His mother, brother, sister and other relatives still live in East Berlin. He also has two brothers in West Germany.

Fischer's wife called her sister-in-law in East Berlin Thursday at 3 p.m. It took 30 minutes to get through because the West German government was letting all the people who had already moved into West Germany call their relatives in East Ger-

many free of charge.

The family was in bed because of the time difference.

"They are stunned, my sister-in-law said they can't comprehend it all because every day something new is happening," Linda Fischer said. "They don't know what to believe."

She said her sister-in-law plans to talk with her daughter today to decide if they want to receive an exit visa so they can leave.

East Berliner says, 'This is what we have dreamed of'

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were walking, biking and driving to crossing points.

A middle-aged East Berliner summed up his feelings with the words: "Joy, entirely great joy."

At Checkpoint Charlie, where Allied and Soviet tanks were locked in a tense face-off while the Berlin Wall was being erected in August 1961, lines of cars and people began to file across the border by late evening.

Two East German border guards, their chins resting in their hands, impassively watched the dramatic encounter from the windows of a gray watchtower flanked by searchlights.

Cheers, sparkling wine, flowers and applause greeted the new arrivals. On the West Berlin side of the wall, at the Brandenburg Gate, hundreds of people chanted, "Gate open! Gate open!" at perplexed East German border guards, whose first response was to seal the border by swinging shut a heavy metal gate.

The shouts grew in volume, and finally, just after midnight, the guards relented to the whoops and cheers of the crowd.

"I can't believe I'm here," an elderly East Berliner told reporters as he crossed into the West. "This is what we have dreamed of all these years."

"It's over, it's all over, I can't believe it," said an East German as he ducked to get under the red-

and-white barriers at the Bornholmer Strasse crossing, an act that might have cost him his life several months ago.

"First of all, I must take a step on your soil," another East Berliner who crossed at Bornholmer Strasse about midnight told a West German television reporter. "I can't describe it," a young woman said with tears in her eyes. "I would never have believed it possible."

Many hugged and kissed strangers, while cars packed with East Germans and others paraded down the streets of West Berlin.

"It's crazy! It's crazy!" shouted one young man as he sat in the back seat of a car with his parents after a brief trip past the once-impenetrable Berlin Wall.

His parents said they just wanted to see the West — and then drive back. They declined to give their names.

"I don't know what we're going to do, just drive around and see what's going on," said a 34-year-old East Berliner as he sat at the wheel of his orange Trabant auto on the glittering Kurfurstendamm, West Berlin's main shopping street. "We're here for the first time. I'll go home in a few hours. My wife and kids are waiting for me. But I wasn't going to miss this."

Most of the people interviewed said they would return shortly to their homes, that they just wanted to see what crossing the border was like.

Similar scenes were reported in Lubeck, the only other East German city touching the West German border.

All apparently were arriving without visas, although visas technically were necessary under regulations announced earlier Thursday.

East German radio announced that East Germans would be required to get a visa for such trips beginning this morning.

Reacting to the late-night flood of people into the city, Walter Momper, West Berlin's mayor, made a televised appeal to East Berliners not to rush into his city.

"Please, come tomorrow or the next day," Momper said late Thursday evening. But he also welcomed the East German decision.

"We've fought against this division for 40 years," he said. "We cannot shrink now from the task that has been given us. Since we are really a great metropolis, we will find a way to cope with this. It was a courageous, reasonable step."

The move to open the borders came at a Central Committee meeting Thursday.

Egon Krenz, East Germany's new leader, also advocated a law Thursday that would ensure free and democratic elections in his nation. The Central Committee scheduled a Communist Party conference, the first since 1956, for Dec. 15-17.

In another major action, East



1961 MEDIA COVERAGE: The Arkansas Gazette and the sentiment of those affected by the foreign reported in 1961 the construction of the Berlin Wall event.

Germany confirmed that it had legalized New Forum, the country's largest opposition movement, although it may take as long as three months for formal approval to come through. Legalization of the group had been a key demand at many of the anti-government demonstrations in recent weeks.

The decision to open the borders was announced by Guenter Schabowski, a member of the ruling Politburo. He said the new rules would remain in force until a law

was passed to allow East Germans greater freedom of travel.

The actual Berlin Wall, 10 feet tall and built of concrete blocks white-washed on the eastern side, full of colorful graffiti on the western side, won't be toppled immediately.

But under regulations approved by the Communist Party's Central Committee in a secret session Thursday, any citizen can obtain a permission slip to cross the border by presenting his identity card to

the police.

The lifting of travel regulations was the most startling change to shake East Germany in recent days as tens of thousands of citizens fled to the West or marched in giant rallies around the country.

On Tuesday, the government of Premier Willi Stoph resigned, the first East German government to fall since the state was founded 40 years ago. The next day, Krenz shook up the real center of power, the party's ruling Politburo.

UALR professor recalls 7 months in E. Berlin

By Karen Rafinski Gazette Staff

Hans Baer saw some of the stirrings of East German unrest last year when he was teaching a course on life in the United States in an East Berlin university.

But he never expected to see the opening of the Berlin Wall Thursday.

Baer is a professor of anthropology at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. He spent seven months last year teaching at Humboldt University in East Berlin.

While he was there in October 1988 several daring students signed a letter protesting the government's banning of a Russian book and five Russian films. They met with the administration to protest the censorship and Baer said all of the students and faculty he talked to at the university supported them.

Baer said people complained about their situation all the time,

"People didn't think it could happen. Sometimes things move very very quickly."

-Hans Baer

in trains, in lines, at the university. But because people were worried about security the discontent was often hidden in political jokes. One of the most popular jokes making the rounds last year was about Ronald Reagan, Erich Honecker, and Mikhail Gorbachev meeting around a special red phone.

Reagan picks up the phone and a voice comes on and says "This is hell." So Reagan hangs up and months later gets a bill for \$10,000 because it's such a long distance call. Gorbachev does the same and he gets charged 5,000 rubles in long

distance charges. But when Honecker makes the call he is charged 20 pfennig (about 10 cents) because it's a local call.

However, organized protest then was "unthinkable," Baer said. "People didn't think it could happen. Sometimes things move very very quickly and I don't think anybody I talked to expected anything to happen so fast."

But Baer said conditions are now changing so fast in East Germany that he would not want to try to predict what will happen next. He called the situation a "cultural revolution" where people are not trying to take over the government but are trying to vastly alter the way things are done.

Baer said that many East Germans were committed to staying in the country and working for democracy. He also said that many people were not completely rejecting socialism but wanted more consumer goods and democracy.



PROFESSOR IN CHARGE: Professor Baer lecturing in his UALR class. Concerning the changes in East Germany, he says, "I don't think anybody talked to expected anything to happen so fast."

SPECIAL REPORT/THE BERLIN WALL OPENS

The Cold War ends with words, not a clash

By John Omicinski
Gannett News Service

WASHINGTON — The Cold War's over.

It ended Thursday, not with a bang but a whimper. In a quietly stunning announcement, East Germany's Guenter Schabowski said the country would open its borders. That will allow free travel anywhere, even through the barbed wire and cinder block checkpoints of the 28-year-old, 858-mile East German Wall and frontier.

Schabowski's announcement is a finalizing event, something to mark on a calendar.

It means far more than the Solidarity victory in Poland, more than Hungary's taking down the Red Star over the Budapest Parliament, more than the end-run by 200,000 East Germans through Hungary to the West, even more than declarations

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of glasnost or perestroika in Moscow.

Those were beginnings; this is an end. There was cool diplomatic understatement in the remarks of Secretary of State James A. Baker III. "We've been talking a long time about freedom of travel being a basic human right," said Baker. "We've been talking a long time about open borders. We've been talking a long time about the importance of seeing the wall come down."

The wall, built in 1961 to stanch a hemorrhage of 3.5 million East Germans, was the quintessential symbol of the Cold War.

It is the cold cement face of the socialist dictatorships.

As early as 1952, East Germany's Walter Ulbricht established a three-mile-wide

cordon of police-guarded land designed to hold its fleeing citizens in check. When it was obvious that it had failed, the wall went up almost overnight in August 1961.

East German militia armed with machine guns patrol the vast frontier from guard towers stretching from the Baltic Sea to Czechoslovakia. They overlook a denuded, treeless, no-man's land prowled by killer German shepherd dogs.

This relic of World War II marks the dividing line settled at the 1945 Yalta conference among Britain's Winston Churchill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Soviets' Joseph Stalin.

Opening up the border is a final admission of defeat, and it had to have been done with the approval of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

It seemed like braggadocio at the time, but perhaps Soviet spokesman Gennadi Gerasimov was on target when he pre-

dicted that the Dec. 2-3 Gorbachev-Bush summit would "put the Cold War down to the bottom of the Mediterranean."

The decision comes after 44 years of a U.S. policy called "containment." It was outlined first in a letter by George Kennan, then a U.S. diplomat in the Soviet Union, who signed it anonymously with an "X."

The "X" policy has been carried out uniformly by eight presidents from Harry Truman to George Bush. In 1948-49, Truman ordered a U.S. airlift of supplies into West Berlin that went on for months until Stalin gave up and lifted a blockade.

John F. Kennedy's emotional 1963 "Ich bin ein Berliner" speech was a Cold War rallying cry, and Ronald Reagan's "Tear down that wall" admonition was a reflection of Western confidence.

Some American veterans of the Cold War, however, remained wary of the latest news.

"This move by the GDR [German Democratic Republic] looks like it's aimed at breaking up the pressure for reform and making an easy release of the pressure," said Paul Nitze, former chief U.S. arms control negotiator. "I'm not completely in favor of this. I'd like to see the East Germans stay and join the opposition parties."

After the East German move, East-West competition may become more economic than military. That's because now, huge chunks of East Europeans will be free to vote with their feet. Ballistic missiles and tanks won't keep them home.

The East German decision may build pressures quickly for similar measures in the tight regimes of Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and, finally, the Soviet Union.

After the East German decision, it's only a matter of time.

West Germany must adjust to mass influx

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times News Service

BONN, West Germany — Hours before a high East German Communist Party official declared Thursday that East Germany's borders would be opened to any citizen who wanted to leave, the West German interior minister, Dr. Wolfgang Schauble, appealed to Germans on the other side to think twice before they headed West.

Of course, he said, all who did decide to come would be welcomed as West German citizens, as have the thousands who preceded them to the West by streaming around the fortified border through Czechoslovakia and Hungary. But it was clear that Bonn was headed for trouble if the exodus continued.

If East Germany does open the wall, it will also expose many of the contradictions that have been underlying West Germany's "Eastern policy" toward East Germany since it began in the early 1970s, when Willy Brandt — mayor of West Berlin when the wall went up in 1961 — was chancellor.

When Brandt began his "small steps" policy toward East Germany and the rest of Eastern Europe, he unsettled his Western allies, who wondered whether Bonn thought its destiny really was with the West or with what Germans call "Mitteleuropa."

It didn't matter then how many times Brandt swore allegiance to the Atlantic alliance, just as it doesn't matter now how many times his successor, Helmut Kohl, underscores it as he begins a policy of bigger steps toward Poland, Hungary, and maybe even East Germany.

In Washington, Paris, and London, the question — whether Germany? — still keeps coming up.

Part of the unease comes from a

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simple difference in perspective.

In other countries, the mass demonstrations for democracy in Berlin, Leipzig, and Dresden, the forced resignations of discredited Communist leaders, and the images of thousands of East Germans streaming to West Germany are dramatic but distant events.

In West Germany, the news is affecting people's daily lives, as East Germans turn up to occupy temporary housing in trailer parks, school buildings, and hospitals, and look for jobs.

They were subjects that interested hardly anyone here three months ago.

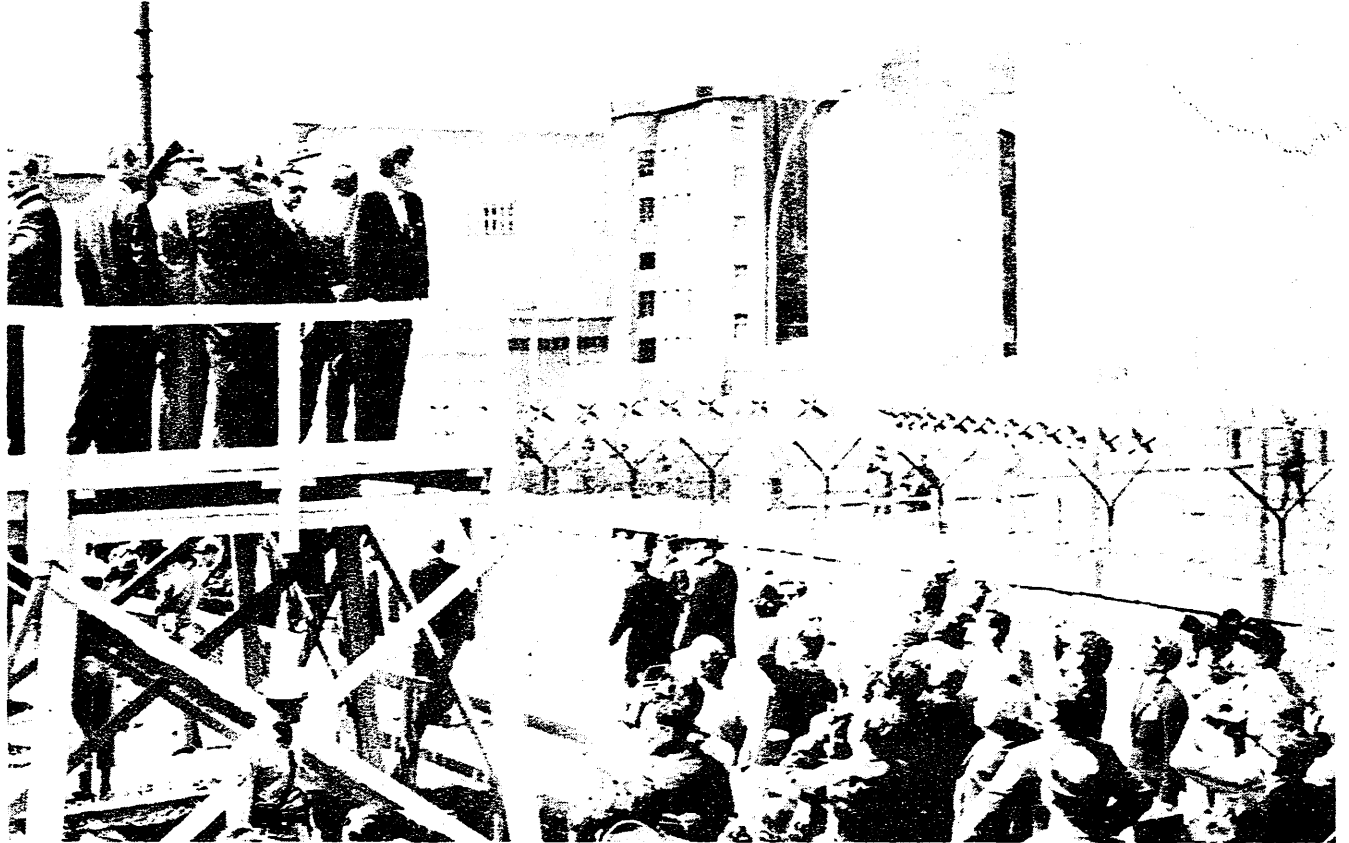
But now, West Germans tune in their radios and television sets to hear the latest decisions made by the East German Politburo and Parliament.

But part of the unease comes from the fact that there has always been deliberate confusion about the underlying assumptions of Bonn's Eastern policy.

Because of the West German constitutional profession of faith in the indivisibility of Germany and German citizenship, the assumption in Bonn's policy since 1972 that the communist government in East Germany was there to stay had to remain unspoken. Now it looks questionable.

Kohl recognized this in a speech to the West German Parliament Wednesday, before he left on a five-day visit to bring \$1.5 billion worth of economic aid to Poland.

"All advice to recognize the political status quo as final has proved short-lived and shortsighted," he said, holding out the prospect of "a completely new dimension" of West German aid for East Germany if it followed the same route



'Ich bin ein Berliner'

President John F. Kennedy stands on a platform and looks over the Berlin Wall into East Germany during a visit in June 1963. During his speech to an estimated 150,000 people, Kennedy remarked in German

to the crowd: "All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a freeman, I take pride in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner.'"

as Poland and Hungary.

The offer seemed to imply a dramatic departure from previous West German policy.

It also looked like a long stride, rather than a small step, toward the kind of economic and political convergence that some day could lead to German reunification — something suspicious outsiders have long suspected was the long-term hidden goal of the Eastern policy.

In fact, many of the "small steps" toward East Germany were palliatives, aimed at overcoming some of the worst consequences of partition — family separations, shortages of food and consumer goods, and political repression —

for ordinary people on the other side of the Berlin wall.

Western military backing could keep West Berlin and West Germany free, Brandt saw in 1961. But alone, Bonn was powerless to do anything for the people in the East who wanted to live in freedom, too.

But now, West Germans are thinking hard about ways to work more closely with the forces of change in East Germany, ways that won't unsettle Bonn's European partners and allies into thinking it is no longer interested in them.

"Caution should teach us that there can be no 'third way' for us, if we don't want to be the cause of new anxieties," former Chancellor

Helmut Schmidt agreed, writing in the weekly *Die Zeit* on Thursday.

He stressed that the European Community was planning to provide economic aid for Hungary and Poland, but even he said that if East Germany ever qualified for help in turning its state-run economy into a free-market one, West Germans would have to provide most of the aid.

"It will involve many billions of Deutsche marks, not at once, but over a few years," he said, suggesting a temporary income tax surcharge or a one-time capital levy.

Heinz Duerr, chairman of the AEG electronics group, wrote in *Der Spiegel* magazine this week that his company had in the past

built locomotives for Greece in cooperation with East Germany. "West German enterprises have cooperation agreements all over the world," he said. "Why shouldn't they begin cooperating with plants in the GDR and put their joint production on the world market?"

Kohl made a point on Wednesday of thanking both President Bush and the French president, Francois Mitterrand, for saying publicly in recent days that they saw no reason to fear German reunification, if Germans on both sides of the divide wanted it. West Germans, Schmidt said, would be ready when the day came — "next century, or the one after."

Leaders were caught by surprise

Flight to West spelled the end

Associated Press

BERLIN — Swift change in East Germany has overwhelmed a rigid Communist leadership jolted by the flight of tens of thousands to the West and stunned by the breathtaking growth of a popular revolt.

The pace of change has been much faster in East Germany than in the Soviet Union, Poland or Hungary. Events have spun out of control since East Germany, the Communist child of the Cold War, celebrated its 40th birthday just a month ago with 77-year-old Erich Honecker heading the celebration.

But the party was spoiled by images of East Germans fleeing to the West, through Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Now Honecker — builder of the Berlin Wall in 1961 — is gone, along with most of his aging comrades.

What was left of the Communist Party Politburo resigned en masse on Wednesday, and the new East German leader, Egon Krenz, tried to put together a new leadership that could retain the political supremacy of a discredited party.

He promised free elections and on Thursday, Guenter Schabowski, a member of the party's Politburo, announced that the country's borders would be open.

The dramatic chain of events came as East Germans took to the streets by the hundreds of thousands in such previously well-disciplined cities such as Dresden and



Egon Krenz: Struggled with East German leadership.



Mikhail Gorbachev: His policies meant more tolerance.

Analysis

Leipzig. "We are the people!" they shouted, and called for political freedom.

As Mikhail S. Gorbachev decreed changes in the Soviet Union, he also set loose movements across the Soviet bloc. And he signaled that the Kremlin would tolerate diversity and change in the East bloc.

In Moscow, Gorbachev maintained control, carrying out political changes that allowed freer elections, a more open press and formation of legislative bodies that partly reflected popular will.

In a decade of struggle, Poland

managed to come to terms with an opposition that rallied around Solidarity and to form the bloc's first non-Communist government. Hungary moved slowly but surely toward democratic change.

East Germany seemed firmly embedded in the old ways, its leadership wary of change. Then, East Germans started leaving, in a swelling flood that has reached nearly 200,000 people.

What was worse for the East German leadership, they were leaving through friendly countries — Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia — especially after Hungary began dismantling fortifications along its border with Austria on May 2.

No other East European state

has undergone such staggering mass departures. The exodus caught the East German leadership by surprise.

Honecker, reported ailing and probably not in full control during those crucial summer weeks, then compounded the problem by mishandling the exit of East German refugees from the West German embassy in Prague.

On the night of Oct. 3-4, thousands of East Germans stormed Dresden station trying to get on the special trains taking the Prague refugees west on a bizarre journey back through their Communist homeland.

Riot police beat back the crowds and battled others on the streets of East Berlin days later when they tried to march for change during the 40th birthday celebrations.

The next day, anger at the police and a mixture of shock and hopelessness caused 100,000 people to take over the streets of Leipzig to demand free elections.

"I'm leaving because of what I saw on the night of Oct. 3-4," said a Leipzig worker caught in the Dresden station battle by chance. "That was not what my wife and I expected of life in the DDR [East Germany], which we were always taught was a peaceful state."

West Germany, of course, played a part in the drama. No other Soviet bloc state has a counterpart — a West Hungary or a West Bulgaria that serves as an outlet and accepts refugees and offers them a new home in the West.

West German media — especially TV, which is received all over East Germany — also influenced



Erich Honecker: Fallen from power in East Germany.

events, providing news on the exodus and demonstrations. The reports forced East Germany's own state-run media to open up remarkably quickly.

Another key factor in the swiftness of the revolt in East Germany

was that the government didn't seem to know what to do. The government could not stop the protests or the flight of East Germans and could not prevent Hungary and Czechoslovakia from letting East Germans cross the borders.

SPECIAL REPORT / THE BERLIN WALL OPENS



1961: An East German border guard sees his chance and leaps over part of the wall into the West to join his family, who had already escaped.

AP File Photo

Berlin action stuns, pleases U.S. officials

Gazette Press Services

WASHINGTON — American officials were stunned, pleased and cautious Thursday as the dramatic news arrived that the Berlin Wall had been opened.

President Bush applauded the surprise announcement that the East German border had been breached as "a dramatic happening... for freedom" that may leave the Berlin Wall with "very little relevance" on the new political map of Europe.

"I don't think any single event is the end of what you might call the Iron Curtain," Bush told reporters during an Oval Office news conference. "But clearly, this is a long way from the harshest Iron Curtain days."

Predicting that other hardline Eastern bloc countries would be forced to succumb to pressure for change, Bush responded to the announcement of free emigration from East Germany with enthusiasm if little outward elation.

While offering help if West Germany cannot accommodate a flood of refugees to the West, Bush said that the rights granted Thursday may persuade East Germans to stay in anticipation of greater political and economic freedom.

The announcement that East Germans would be able to cross directly into West Germany without resorting to circuitous third-country routes added urgency to the summit at sea that Bush will hold Dec. 2-3 with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

From the White House to Capitol Hill, it prompted echoes of the challenge that former President Ronald Reagan delivered at the Brandenburg Gate in 1987: that Gorbachev tear down the Berlin Wall, the most vivid reminder of Europe's painful division.

"This is a historic event," said Senate Democratic leader George Mitchell of Maine. "It can be made even more so if the East German government acts now and tears the wall down. Only then — only then — will we know that their proposals of today have substance and meaning."

Mitchell said that for nearly 30 years the Berlin Wall "has stood as

a symbol of the failure of communism."

Senate Republican leader Robert Dole of Kansas said that with the latest events, "It appears that the Berlin Wall and all its represents are crumbling, even as the communist state which built it crumbles too."

Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, cautioned that the United States should be prudent in its reaction. He said the East German government might change its mind.

Bush said that if East Germany goes forward as promised, "this wall built in '61 will have very little relevance and it clearly is a good development in terms of human rights."

West German officials have expressed concern about the pace and consequences of a political whirlwind that has led to the flight of 110,000 East Germans since late August and shaken the foundations of communist rule.

Although the influx of refugees has imposed "an enormous burden" on West Germany, Bush said, Chancellor Helmut Kohl had displayed "a quiet confidence" in a recent telephone conversation "that the Federal Republic can cope."

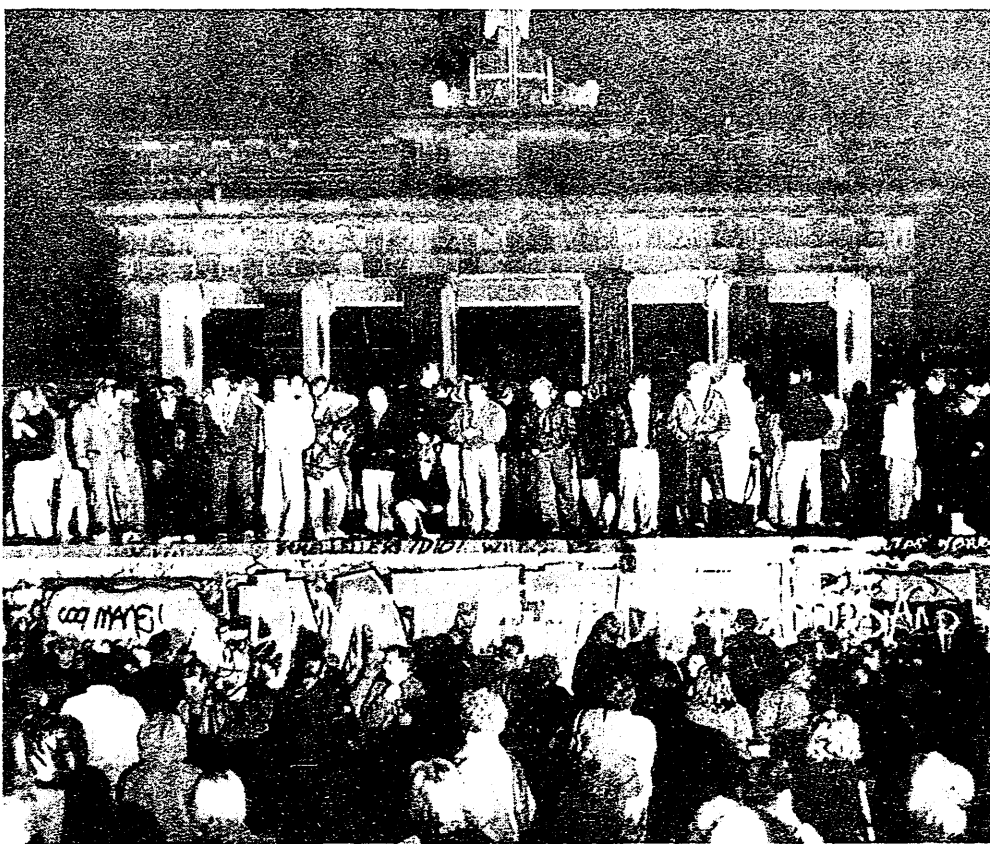
Asked about what may happen next, Bush said, "We just have to wait and see."

The Pentagon announced Thursday that the Air Force, acting on a request from the West German Finance Ministry, offered two standby hospitals and a housing unit in West Germany to help house up to 980 refugees for up to six months.

No food or other U.S. assistance has been offered.

Earlier, White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said that the East German announcement that the communist government would give its citizens freedom to travel had stunned American officials.

Former President Reagan said on the ABC show "Prime Time Live" that "If the wall isn't torn down immediately, at least they could keep the gates open."



CROWDING THE WALL: Today, Berliners from the divided city in East and West to celebrate its opening.

Associated Press

Visitors to LR forecast opening

The stunning news Thursday that East German officials were opening the Berlin Wall without restriction was presaged less than two weeks ago here in Little Rock by comments from visiting officials of that country.

A delegation sponsored by the United States Information Agency and the Arkansas Council for International Visitors foreshadowed the breach in the notorious boundary in conversations with Arkansas Gazette editors and reporters.

Following are some of the comments of East German officials who visited Arkansas during the last week of October.

Karl-Heinz Roeder, law professor at the Academy of Science in East Berlin: "The Berlin Wall is one of the relics of the Cold War, a symbol of the division of Germany, a symbol of the division of Berlin. ... In the course of a renewal of the European order as a whole, which should include much closer relations between both German states, the wall in its present existence shouldn't have any necessity. Of course, it is a border. There will be a border between both German states as long as two German states do exist. But the managing of this border, and how the border would be permeable, depends on the change of the political situation in the center of Europe."

Gerhard Shreier, chairman of the Office of International Civil Law in East Germany, and a former member of the United Nations secretariat: "I think, when we adopt more flexible provisions which provide our people easier, more liberal travel. ... I think the wall, as the border to Berlin West, will not be of such importance."

Eberhard Poppe, Martin Luther University law professor and member of the East German parliament: "It will become some kind of Chinese Wall in the future. It will become a landmark. ... I think we are on a crossroad. I am sure, personally, that the Berlin Wall will be — and I hope in the near future — only a symbol, like the

Chinese Wall."

Rudi Beckert, senior judge, Supreme Court of the German Democratic Republic: "I hope and I am sure that the wall will disappear — all of it, except for its historic part. ... As far as passing through the wall is concerned, for people traveling through in the year 1988, we had 14.8 million trips into foreign countries — private trips by our citizens into foreign countries. And as you know, we have 16.6 million inhabitants. I am aware you can manipulate statistics to a certain degree. Some people have made two or even three trips and are counted in this statistic. But it means, in general, that out of a hundred citizens, 90 traveled abroad."

The East German visitors were asked if, with the changes in East Germany, "we are going to see again people shot and killed who try to cross the wall."

Shreier, the former UN official, answered: "No, no. Those days belong to our past. I think."

Kohl may shorten visit in Poland

New York Times News Service

WARSAW — Chancellor Helmut Kohl left open the possibility Thursday night that he might break off a visit to Poland to return to West Germany.

At an informal meeting with reporters, Kohl, appearing strained, described events in East Germany as unforeseeable.

Pressed by reporters on whether he would cut short the long-awaited visit, he answered evasively, but said he would have to leave open the question of whether he would continue the visit as scheduled.

The decision would be a difficult one, given the high expectations of Poland's new Solidarity-led government, which has planned the visit for months.

Late Thursday night, only hours after East Germany announced its decision, Kohl offered to meet immediately with the new East German leader, Egon Krenz.

A spokesman traveling with Kohl said he had renewed an offer to provide East Germany with comprehensive economic aid if it agreed to introduce deep political and economic changes, including free elections and an overhaul of its centrally planned economy.

Kohl was unexpectedly confronted with the East German decision as he began the long-awaited visit here, the first by a West German government leader since 1977.

NBC anchorman scoops networks

NEW YORK (UPI) — NBC News had Tom Brokaw in place in East Germany Thursday when the news broke that the Berlin Wall would be breached.

ABC News within hours announced that Peter Jennings would travel to East Germany after Thursday's edition of "World News Tonight" — his fifth trip to Eastern Europe since April.

CBS News had under consideration whether it would send Dan Rather.

But Brokaw left for Germany after the Tuesday edition of "NBC Nightly News."

Earlier this year it was CBS that struck it lucky because Rather and a "48 Hours" crew were in Beijing when the pro-democracy protests erupted in Tiananmen Square.