

MEMORY OF THE WORLD REGISTER

Construction and Fall of the Berlin Wall and the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of 1990

(Germany)

Ref N° 2010-60

PART A – ESSENTIAL INFORMATION

I SUMMARY

The documents nominated here are fundamental and unique parts of the political heritage and the collective memory of Germany, Europe and the world during the post-World War II era.

The Berlin Wall was the central monument of the cold war. 'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent' - the division of Europe which Winston Churchill diagnosed already in 1946 is one of the most important developments of the second half of the 20th Century. Hopes for a free, democratic Europe after the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over Nazi Germany were not fulfilled. On the territories conquered by its army, the Soviet Union established communist dictatorships. The East-West conflict and the cold war started: two irreconcilable systems struggled worldwide for power and influence. And one main arena of this cold war was the divided Germany – and Berlin.

The building of the Berlin Wall on 13 August 1961 cemented the political division of Germany, Europe and of the world. The initial barbed wire fence was systematically transformed into a concrete wall surrounded by a *death strip*, between 15 and more than 150 metres in width, with watch towers, electrified signal fences, chained dogs, anti-vehicle-trenches and armed patrols who had the order shoot to kill [in German: “Schießbefehl”].

This Wall was not a defensive wall against external enemies as presented by the propaganda of the German Democratic Republic (GDR); it was directed inwards, against the escape of its own people, against their *voting with their feet*. It became the world-wide symbol of political repression in the states of the Soviet empire and the symbol of the weakness of the communist regime which denied basic human rights to its citizens.

Accordingly, the fall of the Wall on the night of 9 November 1989 was one of the great moments of European revolutions for freedom and democracy in 1989. It symbolized not only the end of the political division of Germany and of the European continent, but also the end of the cold war and the Eastern and Western bloc systems.

During the confrontation between the blocs which lasted nearly half a century and the waves of confrontation and détente that followed one after the other, the world stood repeatedly on the brink of nuclear war.

Given this background, the negotiation of the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of the Victorious Powers of World War II with the representatives of both German states in 1990 was a masterwork of diplomacy and statecraft which overcame decades of enemy images, enabled the unification of Germany and pushed forward the process of European integration.

The nominated documents are part of the historical evidence and narrative of the Cold War. As such, they constitute the material which provides the context for related historical research, analysis and reflection.

2 DETAILS OF THE NOMINATORS

2.1 Name (person or organisation)

- a) The Centre of Contemporary History Potsdam
- b) Memory of the World Nomination Committee of the German Commission for UNESCO

2.2 Relationship to the documentary heritage nominated

a) The Centre of Contemporary History (Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung –ZZF) serves as a scientific and research partner of the Memory of the World Nomination Committee of the German Commission for UNESCO. The Centre is an interdisciplinary institute based in Potsdam, focusing on German and European contemporary history and especially on the history of the cold war. The ZZF cooperates with numerous universities and other research institutions in Germany and abroad and provides public access to relevant documents with regard to the construction and fall of the Berlin Wall (see www.chronik-der-mauer.de).

b) The Memory of the World Nomination Committee of the German Commission for UNESCO serves as the focal point for liaising with the archives that preserve elements of the documentary heritage of the Berlin Wall included in this nomination.

2.3 Contact persons

- a) Dr. Hans-Hermann Hertle, Centre of Contemporary History Potsdam
- b) Prof. Dr. Joachim-Felix Leonhard, Chairman, and Christine M. Merkel, Executive Secretary, Memory of the World Nomination Committee of the German Commission for UNESCO

2.4 Contact details (include address, phone, fax, email)

a) Dr. Hans-Hermann Hertle
Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung Potsdam
Am Neuen Markt 1
D-14467 Potsdam/Germany
Fon +49 (0) 331 289 91 31
Fax +49 (0) 331 289 91 50
E-mail hertle@zzf-pdm.de

b) Prof. Dr. Joachim-Felix Leonhard,
President of the von Behring-Roentgen-Foundation
Schloss 1
D-35037 Marburg/Germany
Fon +49 (0) 6421 2822331
Fax +49 (0) 6421 2822336
E-mail praesident@br-stiftung.de

and

Christine M. Merkel
Head, Division for Culture, Memory of the World
German Commission for UNESCO
Colmantstr. 15
D-53115 Bonn/Germany
Fon +49-228-60497-18/-0
Fax +49-228-60497-30
E-mail merkel@unesco.de

3 IDENTITY AND DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTARY HERITAGE

3.1 Name and identification details of the items being nominated

The fifteen items nominated here are fundamental and unique parts of the political heritage and the collective memory of Germany, Europe and the world during the post-World War II era.

a) Name of the items being nominated

DVD No. 1>

1. The Construction of the Berlin Wall 1961

Document 1

German Broadcasting Archive (Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, Frankfurt-Potsdam, DRA)

– film –

Walter Ulbricht (First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee) speaks to the international press in East Berlin, 15 June 1961 (Special Report, Current Affairs Camera, Television of the German Democratic Republic, GDR [Aktuelle Kamera, Fernsehen der DDR]/ [length: 55'47 min.]

Document 2

Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting (Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, RBB)

– film –

„Sealing off the sectoral border in Berlin“: Special broadcast of the „Berlin Evening News“ [Berliner Abendschau], 13 August 1961, 13.10 h [length: 09'00 min., silent]

Document 3

State Archive of Berlin (Landesarchiv Berlin, LAB)

– film –

The Berlin Wall 1961 [silent; total length: 140'00 min. ,35mm film]
Selected sequences (August – November 1961)

Document 4

State Archive of Berlin (LAB)

– film –

Speech of the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy at Rathaus Schoeneberg, 26 June 1963
[length: 10'27 min.]

2. Escapes / Victims of the Wall

Document 5

State Archive of Hamburg (Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, HStA)

– photograph –

„Jump to freedom“. The escape of the border policeman Conrad Schumann, 15 August 1961

<DVD No.2>

Document 6

Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting (Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, RBB)

– film –

Escape of a man and wife with their things, jumping out of a window on Bernauer Straße: „Berlin Evening News“ [Berliner Abendschau], 22 September 1961 [length: 01'4 min.; silent]

Document 7

Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting (Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, RBB)

– film –

„Successful escape through the Spree River near the Reichstag“: „Berlin Evening News“ [Berliner Abendschau], 22 August 1988 [length: 02'15 min.]

Document 8

Spiegel TV

– film –

Peter Fechter (transporting him away), 17 August 1962 [length: 00'56 min.; silent]

Document 9

Police Historical Collection of the Berlin Police President (Polizeihistorische Sammlung des Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin, PHS PPr Berlin)

– photograph –

Peter Fechter, shot at while trying to escape and helplessly bleeding to death at the Wall, 17 August 1962

3. The Fall of the Berlin Wall 1989

Document 10

Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting (Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, RBB)

– film –

Speech of President of the United States of America Ronald Reagan at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, 12 June 1987 [length: 28'56 min.]

<DVD 3>

Document 11

Foundation of the Archives of the Parties and Mass Organizations of the GDR at the German Federal Archive (Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv, SAPMO-BArch)

– written document –

Prime Minister Willi Stoph [member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)-Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers]: Proposal for the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), Regarding: Temporary Transition Rules for Travel and Permanent Exit from the GDR, Berlin, 9 November 1989 (“Schabowski’s Note”)

Document 12

German Broadcasting Archive Frankfurt-Potsdam (Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv, DRA)

– film –

Guenter Schabowski, Member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), speaks to the international press in East Berlin, 9 November 1989 [length: 70'51 min.]

Document 13

Spiegel TV

– film –

„East Germany – boundless“ [DDR grenzenlos]: Breaking through the Wall at the border crossing Bornholmer Strasse, 9 November 1989 [length: 17'42 min.]

Document 14

Sanssouci Film

– film –

Flight along the Berlin Wall, 25 February 1990 [length: 46'57 min.]

<DVD No.4>

4. The Two-plus-Four-Treaty of 1990

Document 15

Political Archive of the German Foreign Office (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, PA-AA)

– written document –

Treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany, 12 September 1990

b) Identification details

1. Foundation of the Archives of the Parties and Mass Organizations of the GDR at the German Federal Archive

Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv

SAPMO-BArch

Document No 11

Item: Written document

Title [Titel]: Willi Stoph [member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)-Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers], Proposal for the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), Regarding: Temporary Transition Rules for Travel and Permanent Exit from the GDR, Berlin, 9 November 1989 ("Schabowski's Note")

Location: SAPMO-Bundesarchiv, Berlin

Record number: SAPMO-BArch, DY 30/J IV 2/2A/3256, Bl. 9-10 (double sided, 4 pages)

Nature of the nominated document: Original

Submitted document: Scan of the original

Access: Public

Copyright: German Federal Archive

Contact:

Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv

Finckensteinallee 63

D-12205 Berlin

Tel.: +49 (0) 3018 7770 0

Fax: +49 (0) 3018 7770 111

berlin@bundesarchiv.de

www.bundesarchiv.de

2. German Broadcasting Archive

Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv

DRA

Document No 1

Item: Film

Title: Walter Ulbricht (First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) Central Committee) speaks to the international press in East Berlin, 15 June 1961 (Special Report, Current Affairs Camera [Aktuelle Kamera]/GDR Television)

Location: German Broadcasting Archive, Potsdam-Babelsberg

Record number: ID/Production No 063795 (length: 55'47 min.)

Nature of the nominated document: Copy of the original footage (oldest copy: Beta-Video cassette OBC 152)

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users

Copyright: German Broadcasting Archive

Contact:

Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv

Marlene-Dietrich-Allee 20

D-14482 Potsdam-Babelsberg

Tel.: +49 (0)331 5812 0

Fax: Tel.: +49 (0)331 5812 199

sekretariat@dra.de

www.dra.de

Document No 12

Item: Film

Title: Guenter Schabowski, member of the SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY OF GERMANY (SED) Politburo, speaks to the international press in East-Berlin, 9 November 1989 (Special Report, Current Affairs Camera [Aktuelle Kamera]/GDR Television)

Location: German Broadcasting Archive, Potsdam-Babelsberg

Record number: ID/Production No 045440 (length: 70'51 min.)

Nature of the nominated document: Copy of original footage (MAZ-Videoband VBA 60923)

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users

Copyright: German Broadcasting Archive

Contact:

Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv

Marlene-Dietrich-Allee 20

D-14482 Potsdam-Babelsberg

Tel.: +49 (0)331 5812 0

Fax: Tel.: +49 (0)331 5812 199

sekretariat@dra.de

www.dra.de

3. State Archive of Hamburg

Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg

HStA

Document No 5

Item: Photograph

Title: „Jump to freedom“. The escape of the border policeman Conrad Schumann, 15 August 1961

Location: State Archive of Hamburg, Hamburg

Record number: STAHP CP 32512 (Photograph: Peter Leibing)

Nature of the nominated document: Original film negative and paper copy

Submitted document: Digital scan from the paper copy

Access: Public

Copyright: State Archive of Hamburg

Contact:

Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg

Kattunbleiche 19

D-22041 Hamburg

Tel.: 040 42831 3200

Fax: 040 42831 3201

poststelle@staatsarchiv.hamburg.de

www.hamburg.de/staatsarchiv

4. State Archive of Berlin

Landesarchiv Berlin

LAB

Document No 3

Item: Film

Titles-Content/Record NoThe Berlin Wall 1961 (silent; total length: 140'00 min., 35mm film)

Selected sequences:(August – November 1961)

F Rep 400-01-723/1 und 2

2:12 - 6:37, 4:25

- Berlin-Wedding/Bernauer Strasse: The flight of a family with its belongings out of a window on the ground floor onto the other side of the street which belonged to the Western sector of Berlin (a few days after the sealing off of the sector borders)
- Berlin-Kreuzberg/Zimmerstrasse - Lindenstrasse: The construction of the Wall, a construction worker (probably on 18. August 1961)
- Border soldiers marching, young people directly in front of the Wall
- A walled up door to a house

- Berlin-Neukölln/Harzer Strasse: two young woman talking over the Wall

F Rep 400-01-723/3

9:31 - 9:57, 0:26

Bernauer Strasse: View of walled-up windows in the cellar and the first floor

F Rep 400-01-723/5

19:42 - 26:26, 6:44

- The construction of the Wall from hollowed out stone blocks, barbed wire mounted on the Wall
- People waving across the Wall
- Poster in West Berlin: „10.000 DM reward“ for information about a suspected wall sniper
- The Wall in Berlin-Wedding/Ackerstrasse
- A man behind a window of barbed wire
- A bride and groom at Bernauer Strasse – the mother of the bride and neighbors leave bouquets of flowers in the Western sector – the bride weeps

F Rep 400-01-723/9 und 10

39:08 - 47:33, 8:25

- The construction of a Wall from street paving segments at the Brandenburg Gate (the end of November 1961)
- People waving across the Wall
- Berlin-Kreuzberg/Niederkirchner Strasse: Border soldiers and construction workers put down anti-tank barriers made of tram tracks behind the Wall
- A sign: „He who attacks us will be destroyed“
- A poster: „Don't be fresh, Mr. Brandt [referring to Willy Brandt, the then Lord Mayor of Berlin West] . . .“
- Berlin-Wedding/Bernauer Strasse: Walled-up houses/windows/Commemorative cross for the refugee Bernd Luenser, who fell to his death on 4 October 1961
- Montage of barbed wire on the roofs on Bernauer Strasse in Berlin-Wedding

Location: Landesarchiv Berlin, Berlin

Nature of the nominated document: Original footage, 35 mm (1961); Camera: Hans Jaehner

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Public

Copyright: State Archive of Berlin

Document No 4

Item: Film

Title: Speech of President of the United States of America John F. Kennedy at Rathaus Schoeneberg in West Berlin, 26 June 1963

Location: Landesarchiv Berlin, Berlin

Record No: LAB, F Rep. 400-01-991 (length: 11'00 min.)

Nature of the nominated document: Original footage, 35 mm (1963); Camera: Hans Jaehner

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Public

Copyright: State Archive of Berlin

Contact:

Landesarchiv Berlin

Eichborndamm 115-121

D-13403 Berlin

Tel.: +49 (0)30 90264 0

Fax: +49 (0) 30 90264 201

info@larch.verwalt-berlin.de

www.landesarchiv-berlin.de

5. Political Archive of the German Foreign Office

Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes

PA-AA

Document No 15

Item: Written document

Title: Treaty on the final settlement with respect to Germany, 12 September 1990

Location: Political Archive of the German Foreign Office, Berlin

Record number: PA-AA, MULT 781

Nature of the nominated document: Original (original treaty in four languages with the original signatures)

Submitted document: Scan of the Original

Access: Public

Copyright: Political Archive of the German Foreign Office

Contact:

Auswärtiges Amt

Politisches Archiv

D-11013 Berlin

Tel.: +49 (0)30 1817 2159 (Sekretariat)

Fax: +49 (0)30 1817 3948

poststelle@auswaertiges-amt.de

www.auswaertiges-amt.de

6. Police Historical Collection of the Berlin Police President

Polizeihistorische Sammlung des Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin

PHS PPr Berlin

Document No 9

Item: Photograph

Title: Peter Fechter, shot at while trying to escape and helplessly bleeding to death at the Wall, 17 August 1962

Location: Police Historical Collection of the Berlin Police President, Berlin

Record number: Film-No 2118/13

Nature of the nominated document: Original negative of the film and paper copy

Submitted document: Scan from a paper copy

Access: Public

Copyright: Police Historical Collection of the Berlin Police President

Contact:

Polizeihistorische Sammlung des Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin

Platz der Luftbrücke 6

D-12101 Berlin

Tel.: +49 (0) 30 4664 994762

Fax: +49 (0) 30 4664 994798

E-Mail: phs@polizei.verwalt-berlin.de

7. Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting

Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg

RBB

Document No. 2

Item: Film

Title/Record No.: „Sealing off the sectoral border in Berlin“: Special broadcast of the „Berlin Evening News“ [Berliner Abendschau], 13 August 1961 (silent)

Location: Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (ARD/rbb), Berlin

Record No.: ID/Production No: 100881; length: 9'15 min. (silent)

Nature of the nominated document: Copy of original footage

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)

Copyright: Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting

Document No. 6

Item: Film

Title: Escape of a man and wife with their things, jumping out of a window on Bernauer Straße: „Berlin Evening News“ [Berliner Abendschau], 22 September 1961 (silent)

Location: Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (ARD/rbb), Berlin

Record No: ID/Production No: 100917; length: 02'44 min. (silent)

Nature of the nominated document: Copy of original footage

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)

Copyright: Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting

Document No 7

Item: Documentary film material

Title: „Successful escape through the Spree River near the Reichstag“: „Berlin Evening News“ [Berliner Abendschau], 22 August 1988

Location: Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (ARD/rbb), Berlin

Record No: ID/Production No: 110524; length: 04'21 min.

Nature of the nominated document: Copy of original footage

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)

Copyright: Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting

Document No 10

Item: Film

Title: Speech of President of the United States of America Ronald Reagan at Brandenburg Gate, West Berlin, 12 June 1987

Location: Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg (ARD/rbb), Berlin

Record No: ID/Production No: 213410; length: 28'56 min.

Nature of the nominated document: Copy of original footage

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)

Copyright: Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting

Contact:

Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg

International Relations Department, Fernsehzentrum

Masurenallee 8-14

D-14057 Berlin

Tel.: +49 (0)30 9799 35 05 00

Fax: +49 (0)30 9799 35 05 09

www.rbb-online.de

8. Sanssouci-Film

Document No 14

Item: Film

Title: Flight along the Berlin Wall, 25 February 1990

Location: Sanssouci Film, Kleinmachnow

Record number: No record number; length: 46'57 min.

Nature of the nominated document: Original footage

Submitted document: Copy

Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)

Copyright: Sanssouci Film
Contact:
Sanssouci Film GmbH
Hohe Kiefer 159
D-14532 Kleinmachnow
Tel.: +49 (0)33203 22222
Fax: +49 (0)33203 34620
www.sanssouci-film.de
E-Mail: contact@sanssouci-film.de

9. Spiegel TV

Document No 8

Item: Film
Title: Peter Fechter (transporting him away), 17 August 1962 (silent)
Location: Spiegel TV, Hamburg
Record number: Original cassette 189, Clip 158, Band 157, TC 05:00:00, Cass.-ID HI 1207; length: 00'56 min. (silent)
Nature of the nominated document: Original
Submitted document: Copy
Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)
Copyright: Spiegel TV
Contact:
Spiegel TV
Brandstwiete 19
D-20457 Hamburg
Tel.: +49 (0)40 30108 0
Fax: +49 (0)40 30108 222
www.spiegel.de

Document No 13

Item: Film
Title: „East Germany – boundless“ [DDR - grenzenlos]: Breaking through the Wall at the border crossing Bornholmer Strasse, 9 November 1989
Location: Spiegel TV, Hamburg
Record number: Block 01, Cas. 004/070, Cass. ID RO 248 (length: 17'42 min.)
Nature of the nominated document: Original footage
Submitted document: Copy
Access: Access for professional users (Broadcasters, Production Companies)
Copyright: Spiegel TV
Contact:
Spiegel TV
Brandstwiete 19
D-20457 Hamburg
Tel.: +49 (0)40 30108 0
Fax: +49 (0)40 30108 222
www.spiegel.de

3.2 Description

1 The Construction of the Wall

No other state in central Europe in the second half of the 20th Century experienced a comparable human haemorrhage as East Germany, the German Democratic Republic (GDR). From a population of

18 million, between 1945 and 1961, three and a half million people fled from the Soviet occupation zone and the later GDR to the Federal Republic of Germany (i.e. to West Germany). With the expansion of the barrier system and the intensification of controls on the inner-German border from May 1952, the number of refugees who turned their backs to the GDR via the Federal Republic of Germany increased steadily; 80 percent of the refugees in 1961 escaped via West Berlin. In summer 1961 the GDR was on the brink of economic and political collapse. "No one intends to build a wall," declared Walter Ulbricht, leader of the East German communist party SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands - Socialist Unity Party) already on 15 June 1961 at an international press conference in East Berlin—and thus denied what would be bitter reality two months later. In July 1961, the Soviet Union agreed to sealing off the sectoral border in Berlin. Under conditions of great secrecy, the SED leadership carried out the military and technical preparations for the border closure. Fewer than 100 officials from the party, state and military were informed of the plans. "Since decisive measures will be taken in the next days, any hostile activity must be stopped," declared the GDR Minister of State Security, Erich Mielke, on 11 August 1961 to the leadership of his ministry. "Anyone appearing to be hostile is to be arrested." The secret police (Stasi) code name for the building of the Wall was "Action Rose."

On the afternoon of 12 August 1961, SED chief Ulbricht signed the order to seal off the sectoral border. For the district military commands of the SED in Berlin and in the adjacent areas of Potsdam and Frankfurt/Oder, a state of heightened security was ordered. In the early morning hours of 13 August 1961, at 1:11 a.m., East Berlin radio interrupted the program on the air for a special report. The texts of the resolution of the GDR Council of Ministers on "securing the border" and the declaration of the member-states of the Warsaw Pact on "protective measures in Berlin" were read out. More than 10,000 People's Police and Border Police, thousands of members of the paramilitary factory battle groups and of the Stasi began to seal off the border around West Berlin. In the middle of Berlin, they tore up the streets, erected barricades from pieces of asphalt and paving stones, erected concrete posts and raised barbed wire entanglements. At the same time, thousands of soldiers of the National People's Army (NVA – Nationale Volksarmee) and of the Soviet forces in the GDR stood with hundreds of tanks in and around Berlin ready to prevent anyone from breaking through the sector borders.

Stunned, West Berliners stood on one side and East Berliners and residents of the surrounding countryside stood on the other side of the barbed wire. On the East side, battle groups and the People's Police with machine guns kept onlookers in check; protesters were arrested. On the Western side, West Berlin police guarded the border area from upset citizens. The United States, Great Britain and France lodged protests with the Soviet Union, but in the end they accepted the sealing of the border, because they did not want to risk a war over Berlin. The Western allies limited their protection to West Berlin, which, however, was rock solid, as John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, emphasized in June 1963 with his Berlin visit.

When the SED leadership saw that the West refrained from acting and that the barbed wire did not deter its own citizens from attempting to flee, construction brigades began to replace the barbed wire with a Wall of hollow blocks of stone on the night of 17-18 August in the centre of the city at Potsdamer Platz. After this Wall and a later one of paving stones, in the second half of the 1960s there followed the 'third generation' Wall made of horizontally built concrete panels. In the middle of the 1970s, the 'fourth generation' Wall was erected. It was composed of industrially produced perpendicularly placed segments of concrete that were riveted together.

On the East Berlin side, there was an extended border area accessible only with special permission. It was guarded by the People's Police, the Stasi and the volunteer "Border Troop Helpers." A roughly 11,500 man strong commando of border troops secured the 156 kilometre long Wall around West Berlin and had order to prevent "breakthroughs of the border" with all means, including with firearms.

2 Escapes / Victims of the Wall

The Wall tore apart families, it divided friends and lovers, destroyed hopes and lives. Rebellion and resistance seemed pointless due to the massive military presence in the days after 13 August, the absence of support from the West, the omnipotence of the Stasi and a wave of arrests. The reigning reaction was one of resignation and depression. The situation of being walled in required everyone in their own ways to live their daily lives with the system. Expectations that the communist regime would experience a stabilisation through the building of the Wall and that the barrier system would subsequently disappear were not fulfilled. Up to 1989, the leadership of the communist party did not devote any thought to a political system that would have made the Wall unnecessary.

However, the Wall could not break the will for freedom of many people, the yearning to see their relatives, the hopes for a better life in freedom and democracy. Two days after the building of the Wall, a 19-year-old People's Policeman, Conrad Schumann, jumped over the barbed wire into West Berlin. The photo was seen around the world and carried the message: even the guards are running away from the communist regime. Civilians jumped from the windows of houses situated on the sectoral border or climbed down ropes from the windows. They went over the Wall and barbed wire or they crawled through underground sewers. They swam and dove through Berlin's waterways. They escaped with falsified passports or hollowed out tunnels to the West. Some hijacked a train, others a ship. A few of them succeeded in flying over the Wall. Every successful escape led to an analysis of weak spots and the corresponding improvement of the barrier system by the GDR regime.

Over 5,000 people successfully fled from the GDR across the barrier system to West Berlin between 1961 and 1989, most of them in the first five years. The number of escape attempts in Berlin that were discovered, betrayed and thus ruined remains unknown to this day. Statistics from the GDR public prosecutor's office show that across the GDR from 1961 through 1988, there were about 110,000 criminal proceedings for "flight from the Republic" or "illegal border crossing." Random samples from GDR criminal statistics show that between 1960 and 1988 there was a total of more than 71,000 cases of prison sentences imposed due to "flight from the Republic."

"Border violators are to be apprehended or destroyed"—with this order GDR border soldiers were sent every day to their posts in the death strip until the 1980s. At least 136 people have been proven to have been shot at the Berlin Wall, crashed into the Berlin Wall or took their own lives due to a failed attempt to escape. Among them were 98 refugees, 30 people from East and West who did not intend to flee, as well as eight GDR border soldiers who were killed on duty. Of the 98 refugees, 67 were shot.

The shooting of the 18-year-old construction worker Peter Fechter unleashed world-wide outrage. He bled to death on 17 August 1962 in front of the eyes of the world public, since neither the eastern nor the western side gave him help.

3 The Fall of the Berlin Wall

In spite of the fatalities at the Berlin Wall, many people in the East and West had gotten used to the Wall in the 1970s and 1980s. The policy of détente contributed to this, since it led to the easing of travel restrictions at first for West Germans and West Berliners to visit the GDR and after the mid-1980s also for East Germans to travel to the West. But the monstrous edifice itself seemed built for eternity.

However, Mikhail Gorbachev's assumption of the office as Secretary General of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in March 1985 changed the world political climate. "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this Wall," demanded Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, in 1987 at the Brandenburg Gate to the Kremlin leader. While most people at the time merely smiled sympathetically, in retrospect the speech acted as the first "wind of change" that many only felt when it later developed into a hurricane and led to the European revolutions of 1989. Popular uprisings in East Germany in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980-81 had led to violent crack-downs. But in 1988-89, democratic reforms in Poland and Hungary led to multi-party systems, all made possible by Gorbachev's reforms, perestroika and glasnost.

In East Germany, the main reason for the building of the Wall in 1961 also brought about its fall in 1989: mass exodus from the GDR. A chain of events unleashed mass protests and plunged the SED regime into a final crisis: the occupation of West German embassies in East Berlin, Budapest and Prague by GDR citizens who wanted to leave; the opening of the Hungarian-Austrian border on 10/11 September 1989 and the resulting mass exodus; the trains carrying refugees from Prague; and finally the closing of the border of the GDR to Czechoslovakia on 3 October 1989.

70,000 people rose up peacefully on 9 October 1989 in Leipzig against the regime. The mass protests pushed the SED leaders towards frantic measures. On 17 October the Politburo ousted Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) General Secretary Erich Honecker. His successor Egon Krenz announced a “change.” But hundreds of thousands had long been demanding more: the authorization of opposition groups, free elections, and, above all, freedom of travel.

Starting on 4 November, GDR citizens could leave permanently for West Germany via Czechoslovakia. After Hungary, the Wall had a second hole towards Czechoslovakia. Within a few days, 50,000 people left the GDR this way. The Czech regime therefore demanded of East Berlin that it deal with the permanent exit of GDR citizens “directly and not via the territory of Czechoslovakia.” Under this pressure, the SED Politburo commissioned the Council of Ministers to quickly formulate a new travel regulation. They did not intend to tear down the Wall. Instead, the intention was, beginning on 10 November 1989, to allow permanent exit, i.e., migration to the Federal Republic, now also across the German-German border, but only after a corresponding application. Trips just for visiting—also upon application—would be allowed up to thirty days per year, but were coupled with the receipt of a visa and possession of a passport. But only about four million GDR citizens had a passport, namely the retirees; all others, so went the calculation, must first apply for a passport and must wait at least four weeks. Thus it was thought that the immediate departure of all citizens was postponed in one stroke. According to the plan, the new travel regulation was supposed to be announced by the government spokesman only on 10 November at 4 a.m. so that the employees of the passport and registry offices could prepare for the expected mass onslaught. The draft was submitted to the Council of Ministers in a *fast track procedure* (Umlaufverfahren) which was designed to guarantee a quick decision – by 6.00 p.m.

The draft travel regulation and the press statement about it were submitted by Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, also to the Politburo, and agreed to on the afternoon of 9 November by the SED Politburo and Central Committee. But as was the custom for 40 years, the SED leadership overrode the Council of Ministers in whose competence the regulation and its announcement and implementation fell. Instead of the government spokesman on the morning of 10 November, the SED press spokesman and Politburo member Guenter Schabowski made a premature and confusing announcement about the travel regulation already early on the evening of 9 November 1989 at an international press conference that was carried live by television of the GDR —and thus destroyed all the intentions connected with the travel regulation.

Schabowski had received the draft travel regulation and the press statement from SED leader Egon Krenz, but he was not instructed about a gag order to be in place until 4 a.m. the next day. He had not been present when the Politburo and the Central Committee confirmed the draft travel regulation that afternoon. He therefore was not familiar at all with the text. Around 7:00 p.m., during the press conference, Schabowski announced the new travel regulations. It was possible to apply for permanent exit and private travel to the West “without presenting (the heretofore necessary) requirements,” and GDR officials would issue approval certificates “on short notice,” he said.

Journalists asked when the regulations would come into effect. Schabowski appeared a bit lost, since “this issue had never been discussed with me before,” as he later reported. He scratched his head and glanced at the announcement again, his eyes not catching the final sentence that stated that the press release should be made public no earlier than 10 November. Rather, he noticed the words

“immediately,” and “without delay” at the beginning of the document. Thus, he responded concisely: “As far as I know, it is immediately, without delay.”

The Western media, especially television, interpreted Schabowski’s confused statements as an unconditional border opening. With reports like “The GDR opens its borders” and “the gates in the Wall are wide open,” they—and not the press conference itself—unleashed later in the evening a storming by East and West Berliners of the border crossings and the Brandenburg Gate, which then led to the reported event, the supposedly already “open border.” The fall of the Berlin Wall is thus the first event in world history to attain reality because the media - press agencies, television and radio – had announced it.

Furthermore, the reports by the media about breaking through the Wall at border crossing points and at the Brandenburg Gate and about the joyful celebrations in the city already in the night and on the following 10 November 1989 were also themselves accelerating factors in the events and a guarantee of their irreversibility.

A flight along the Wall three months after its fall, documented by an East German film team, still conveys a feeling of the border security system and the death strip, which had been nearly impregnable for more than 28 years.

4 The Two-plus-Four Treaty

After the fall of the Wall and the subsequent collapse of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) power, the majority desire for a speedy unification of both German states was demonstrated in the first free elections to the GDR People’s Chamber in March 1990. The establishment of German unity had to be internally and externally politically regulated. It required the contractual agreements of the Victorious Powers of World War II. The domestic political aspects of the unification were agreed to between the Federal German government and the GDR government by the signing of the Treaty on the Establishment of the Unity of Germany on 31 August 1990. The external political conditions of the unification process were determined on the other hand by the parallel running “Two-plus-four negotiations” of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union, the US, France and Great Britain, as well as their two German colleagues.

On 12 September 1990 the treaty was signed in Moscow. The former occupation powers gave up their rights and responsibilities in Berlin and all of Germany stemming from World War II. They assured Germany the rights of sovereignty; at the same time Germany confirmed the final status of its borders and obligated itself, among other things, never to carry out a war of aggression.

On 1 October 1990 the Four Powers declared in New York the suspension of their rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis Berlin and Germany as a whole. On 3 October 1990, the entrance of the GDR into the legal jurisdiction of the constitution (Basic Law) of the Federal Republic of Germany came into effect. The Two-plus-Four Treaty belongs to the founding documents of united Germany which thereby received its full sovereignty over all internal and external affairs.

The Two-plus-Four Treaty was a masterwork of diplomacy and statecraft. It overcame decades of enemy images and pushed forward the process of European integration.

Selected Bibliography

Internet

www.chronik-der-mauer.de

www.berlin.de/mauer/index.de.html

DVD/CD/Video-Tapes

- Deutsche Welle-TV, 2009: Eingemauert! Wie die innerdeutsche Grenze wirklich war / Walled in! What the Cold War frontier in divided Germany was really like [DVD]
- DRA [German Broadcasting Archive], 2001 : Berlin 13. August 1961, Frankfurt am Main [CD]
- DRA [German Broadcasting Archive], 2000 : Stimmen des 20. Jahrhunderts: Die Mauer fällt. Die Wende in Deutschland vom Januar 1989 bis zum 3. Oktober 1990. Frankfurt am Main [Voices of the XXieth century. The Wall comes down. Winds of change in Germany from January 1989 through October 3, 1990] [CD]
- Landesarchiv Berlin, 2006: Die Berliner Mauer 1961-1989. Filmdokumente des Landesarchivs Berlin [The Berlin Wall 1961-1989. Film documents of the Berlin State Archives] [DVD]
- Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg, 2009: „Die Berliner Mauer“. Der Mauerbau – Die Zeit der Trennung – Die Wiedervereinigung [12teilige DVD-Edition][The Berlin Wall. Construction of the Wall / Time of Separation / The Reunification. DVD edition, 12 volumes]
- Sanssouci Film, 2005: Mauerflug/The Berlin Wall. [Flying 50 m above the Wall from Potsdam to Berlin] Spring 1990 [DVD]
- Spiegel TV, 1990: Fünf Wochen im Herbst: Protokoll einer deutschen Revolution [Video tape] [Five weeks in autumn. Chronicle of a German revolution, video tape]
- Spiegel TV, 2000: Herbstgeschichte '90. 10 Jahre Deutsche Einheit [Video tape] [Autumn history ,90. Ten years of German reunification]

Museums and Memorial Sites (selection)

Allied Museum, Clayallee 135, D-14195 Berlin-Zehlendorf

German-Russian Museum Berlin-Karlshorst, Zwieseler Strasse 4, D-10318 Berlin

Berlin Wall Foundation, Bernauer Strasse 111, D-13355 Berlin

Berlin-Hohenschönhausen Memorial, Genslerstrasse 66, D-13055 Berlin

Polizeihistorische Sammlung des Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin, Platz der Luftbrücke 6, D-12101 Berlin

Berlin Wall Museum – Museum Haus am Checkpoint Charlie, Friedrichstrasse 43-45, D-10969 Berlin

Gedenkstätte Deutsche Teilung Marienborn, Grenzenlos - Wege zum Nachbarn e. V., c/o Stadt Helmstedt, Markt 1, 38350 Helmstedt

Gedenkstätte Point Alpha/ Point Alpha Stiftung, Platz der Deutschen Einheit 1, 36419 Geisa

Deutsch-Deutsches Museum Mödlareuth, Mödlareuth 13, 95183 Töpen

Independent references

Prof. Hope Harrison, Ph.D., George-Washington University, Washington, DC

4 JUSTIFICATION FOR INCLUSION/ ASSESSMENT AGAINST CRITERIA

4.1 Is authenticity established?

For all nominated documents, authenticity is confirmed. Provenance and identity is reliably established. All 15 documents are either the originals or – in case the safeguarding of the originals required so – certified authentic copies of the originals.

4.2 Is world significance, uniqueness and irreplaceability established?

All nominated documents are of world significance, unique and irreplaceable. The knowledge of the world about the construction and the fall of the Berlin wall and their respective consequences had been communicated world wide through the media, mainly through film and photographs.

The images of the press conferences by Walter Ulbricht in 1961 and by Guenther Schabowski in 1989, which mark the beginning and the end of the Berlin wall, the construction proper of the wall, the subsequent constructions of the sectoral border walls, and, finally, the fall of the wall, have been and are being broadcasted and re-broadcasted up to today around the globe.

The herewith nominated audiovisual documents are the unique and irreplaceable originals which allow for this constant reference and re-use.

The photographs of the successfully escaping border policeman Conrad Schumann 1961 (*Jump to freedom*) and of the escaping young man Peter Fechter (1962), shot at while trying to escape and helplessly bleeding to death at the Wall, marked the shock of the Berlin wall for the contemporaries and carry the world wide memories of the Berlin wall until today. They have become icons of world photography.

This is also the case with the spectacular successful escape through the Spree River near the Reichstag [former Parliament Building] in 1988.

The two Berlin-speeches by the respective Presidents of the United States, John F. Kennedy in 1963 and Ronald Reagan in 1987 shape the world wide memories of the history of the Berlin wall and its consequences both for personal lives and for the course of world politics.

Last not least, world significance, uniqueness and irreplaceability is given for the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of 1990 in a special way. The negotiations of the Victorious Powers of World War II with the representatives of both German states in 1990 and the resulting treaty was and is a masterwork of is diplomacy and statecraft. It overcame decades of enemy images, of waves of confrontation between the blocs and of détente that followed one after the other and where the world stood repeatedly on the brink of nuclear war. The Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of 1990 enabled the unification of Germany, pushed forward the process of European integration and brought the world wide division in an Eastern and a Western bloc to an end.

The nominated documents are part of the historical evidence and narrative of the Cold War. As such, they constitute the material which provides the context for related historical research, analysis and reflection.

4.3 Is one or more of the criteria of (a) time (b) place (c) people (d) subject and theme (e) form and style (f) social, spiritual and community significance satisfied?

Provide an explanation against each criterion selected. Attach separate statement if space insufficient.

(a) Time:

The Berlin Wall was built twelve years after the states of West and East Germany - the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic - were constituted. Literally and figuratively it reinforced the division between East and West in Germany and Europe. Although German reunification has been achieved politically in 1990, the effects of the division of Germany and Europe can be sensed until today.

(b) Place:

Berlin was a focal point of the Cold War. Its four-power-status was a special arrangement which left enough room for manoeuvre. The Berlin Wall stabilized a fluid political situation and finalized the spheres of influence in Europe. The Wall became the single most important symbol of the Cold War.

The political status and the physical situation of the City of Berlin were of pivotal importance to East-West relations.

(c) People:

The Berlin Wall sealed off all 17 million East Germans from 65 millions West Germans and West Berliners. Contact, exchange and co-operation between families, friends and colleagues were made impossible or severely hampered. East Germans were denied civil rights and freedom. At least 136 people have been proven to have been shot at the Berlin Wall, crashed into the Berlin Wall or took their own lives due to a failed attempt to escape. Among them were 98 refugees, 30 people from East and West who did not intend to flee, as well as eight GDR border soldiers who were killed on duty. Of the 98 refugees, 67 were shot. Thousands who applied for exit visas were harassed, interrogated, imprisoned, humiliated, and tortured. Numerous members of the opposition were forced to leave the country.

(d) Subject and theme:

The Berlin Wall symbolises the political and economic ideologies that vied with each other worldwide during the Cold War. The Two-plus-Four-Treaty symbolises political will and process to overcome some of the results of the Second World War.

(e) Form and style:

As most of the physical construction of the Berlin Wall has been destroyed after 1990, the public memory is very much based on film documents and photographs. The 1990 Four-Plus-Two-treaty text follows the customary tradition of political treaties. However, given both the speed of its elaboration and the circumstances of its signing in September 1990 in Moscow, the original is done on simple typewriter paper.

(f) Social, spiritual and community significance:

The images of the fall of the Berlin Wall have become a symbol for democracy and personal freedom, a symbol of hope that change is possible without bloodshed.

4.4 Are there issues of rarity, integrity, threat and management that relate to this nomination?

a) Rarity:

Each of the nominated documents is unique. Of the treaty text, the original is being kept in Berlin. There is one copy per signatory power.

b) Integrity:

The nominated film, image and written documents are the unchanged originals.

(c) Threat and (d) management

The physical integrity of the nominated documents is not at risk.

5 LEGAL INFORMATION

5.1. Owner of the documentary heritage (name and contact details)

Documents 1, 12

Deutsches Rundfunkarchiv
Marlene-Dietrich-Allee 20
D-14482 Potsdam-Babelsberg
Tel.: +49 (0)331 5812 0
Fax: +49 (0)331 5812 199
sekretariat@dra.de
www.dra.de

Documents 2, 6, 7, 10

Rundfunk Berlin-Brandenburg
International Relations Department, Fernsehzentrum
Masurenallee 8-14
D-14057 Berlin
Tel.: +49 (0)30 9799 35 05 00
Fax: +49 (0)30 9799 35 05 09
www.rbb-online.de

Documents 3, 4

Landesarchiv Berlin
Eichborndamm 115-121
D-13403 Berlin
Tel.: +49 (0)30 90264 0
Fax: +49 (0) 30 90264 201
info@larch.verwalt-berlin.de
www.landearchiv-berlin.de

Document 5

Staatsarchiv der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg
Kattunbleiche 19
D-22041 Hamburg
Tel.: 040 42831 3200
Fax: 040 42831 3201
poststelle@staatsarchiv.hamburg.de
www.hamburg.de/staatsarchiv

Documents 8, 13

Spiegel TV
Brandstwiete 19
D-20457 Hamburg
Tel.: +49 (0)40 30108 0
Fax: +49 (0)40 30108 222
www.spiegel.de

Document 9

Polizeihistorische Sammlung des Polizeipräsidenten in Berlin
Platz der Luftbrücke 6
D-12101 Berlin
Tel.: +49 (0) 30 4664 994762
Fax: +49 (0) 30 4664 994798
E-Mail: phs@polizei.verwalt-berlin.de

Document 11

Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR im Bundesarchiv
Finckensteinallee 63
D-12205 Berlin
Tel.: +49 (0) 3018 7770 0
Fax: +49 (0) 3018 7770 111
berlin@bundesarchiv.de
www.bundesarchiv.de

Document 14

Sanssouci Film GmbH

Hohe Kiefer 159
D-14532 Kleinmachnow
Tel.: +49 (0)33203 22222
Fax: +49 (0)33203 34620
www.sanssouci-film.de
E-Mail: contact@sanssouci-film.de

Document 15

Auswärtiges Amt
Politisches Archiv
D-11013 Berlin
Tel.: +49 (0)30 1817 2159 (Sekretariat)
Fax: +49 (0)30 1817 3948
poststelle@auswaertiges-amt.de
www.auswaertiges-amt.de

5.2 Custodian of the documentary heritage (name and contact details, if different to owner)

The custodians are identical with the owners.

5.3 Legal status:

(a) Category of ownership

All archives are the owners of the nominated documents.

(b) Accessibility

The nominated documentary heritage of the German Broadcasting Archive, the Political Archive of the German Foreign Office, the Historical Police Collection, the Federal Archive and the State Archives is accessible to the public at large; Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting,

Spiegel TV and Sanssouci TV grant access to the documents for professional users.

Especially by Berlin-Brandenburg Broadcasting, the German Broadcasting Archive, the State Archive of Berlin, Spiegel TV and Sanssouci TV samples of highly relevant documentation are made available for the public at large through DVDs, CD-ROMs and Internet (see bibliography above).

A facsimile edition of the Two-Plus-Four-Treaty of 1990 has been published on the occasion of its tenth anniversary as an insert to the German Foreign Office Publication "2 plus 4". Die Verhandlungen über die äußeren Aspekte der Herstellung der deutschen Einheit. Eine Dokumentation. Bonn, 2nd edition, 1993 (see also: Allied Museum (Ed.), 2 + 4 = 1. The International Agreement on German Unity, Berlin 2000, S. 11-75).

(c) Copyright status

All archives hold the copyrights for the nominated documents.

Of the photograph "Jump to freedom" (Document 5) besides the State Archive of Hamburg which owns the film negative also the privately owned Ullstein Bildarchiv as well as Peter Leibing as the reporter who shot the photograph have permission to distribute the photograph.

Of the 1990 Two-plus-Four Treaty, there is the original in the Political Archive of the Foreign Office in Berlin and one copy per signatory power.

(d) Responsible administration

All public owners maintain a professional staff, including curators, conservators, registrars, etc. The law of Federal archives is applicable.

(e) Other factors

None

6 **MANAGEMENT PLAN**

6.1 **Is there a management plan in existence for this documentary heritage? YES/NO**

(a) No.

(b) All of the nominated film and written documents as well as the photographs are maintained, presented and documented in accordance with international archival, museum and/or professional standards. The original of the 1990 Two-plus-Four Treaty text is in good conditions. It is preserved according to the provisions for international treaties of the Federal Archives laws.

7 **CONSULTATION**

7.1 Provide details of consultation about this nomination with (a) the owner of the heritage (b) the custodian (c) your national or regional *Memory of the World* committee

Extensive consultations were held in January and February 2010 with all owners and custodians of the 15 nominated documents. This built on the substantial and extensive consultation with the Memory of the World Nomination Committee of the German Commission for UNESCO at its annual session 2009 (3rd December 2009, Berlin) where the decision was taken to table this nomination for inscription. Subsequently, a task force including the Chairperson, Prof. Dr. Leonhard, Committee members Prof. Dr. Steinbach and Prof. Dr. Elmshäuser as well as the Secretariat to the Committee (Ms. Merkel, Dipl. Psych., Ms. Steinkamp M.A.), was established. The final list of documents to be nominated was established on March 3, 2010, at a joint meeting between this task force of the Memory of the World Nomination Committee and the representatives of The Centre of Contemporary History Potsdam in Potsdam. Subsequently, all members of the Memory of the World Nomination Committee of the German Commission for UNESCO were consulted again prior to tabling this nomination.

PART B – SUBSIDIARY INFORMATION

8 **ASSESSMENT OF RISK**

There are no risks known at this point in time which might damage the nominated items.

9 **ASSESSMENT OF PRESERVATION**

All nominated items are in good conditions.