NATIONAL SECURITY FILES
COUNTRIES
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and undated

~~TOP SECRET~~

DOC. NO. 7

CYCLE 1

RED TO CONTROL

RESUME OF STRATEGY 2 APRIL 1963

IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE REQUIREMENT TO ESTABLISH A FIRM DE FACTO BASIS FOR GDR SOVEREIGNTY, AND TO FORCE A WESTERN RESPONSE TO THE GERMAN PEACE TREATY, DICTATED REJECTION OF GENERAL YAKUBORSKY'S REQUEST FOR NO WITHDRAWAL AND REINFORCEMENT BY 30 NEW DIVISIONS. HOWEVER, CONCERN OVER THE LOYALTY AND ABILITY OF THE NVA TO FILL THE MILITARY VACUMN RESULTING FROM THE WITHDRAWAL CAUSES US TO DECIDE ON A PHASED WITHDRAWAL, STARTING WITH SIX DIVISIONS --- HALF OF THE SOVIET FORCES IN THE BORDER ZONE -- THE FIRST IN 90 DAYS. FURTHER WITHDRAWALS WOULD BE A MATTER FOR LATER CONSIDERATION. THE FIRST MILITARY REDEPLOYMENTS, STARTING 9 APRIL, WILL INVOLVE 3 SOVIET AND 2 EAST GERMAN DIVISIONS.

COMPANION ACTIONS DESIGNED TO FURTHER SOVIET OBJECTIVES IN PARTICULAR THAT OF FORCING WESTERN RECOGNITION OF GDR SOVEREIGNTY, WERE AS FOLLOWS:

1) GDR TO TAKE OVER ACCESS CONTROLS 3 APRIL; NO INITIAL HARASSMENT.

2) MASSIVE OBSTRUCTION OF AUTOBAHN, RAIL, CANAL AND AIR CORRIDOR TRAFFIC FOR 4 DAYS BEGINNING 9 APRIL.

3) DECISION TAKEN TO ALLOW ALLIED MILITARY PROBES TO PASS AND

~~TOPSECRET~~

UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES TO PROVOKE ARMED CONFLICT.

4) DECISION TAKEN AGAINST ANY HARD-LIVE ACTIONS OR PRESSURES IN BERLIN AT THIS TIME.

5) INVITE UN OBSERVERS INTO EAST GERMANY; STEP UP PROPAGANDA AGAINST INFLEXIBLE, MILITARISTIC ATTITUDE OF WEST.

6) PREPARE TO PROTEST IN UN WESTERN VIOLATIONS OF GDR SOVEREIGNTY.

7) PREPARE CONTINGENCY ACTIONS FOR LAOS AND CUBA.

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DOC NO. 15

CYCLE II

FROM RED TO CONTROL

RESUME OF STATEGY 12 APRIL 1962:

THE WESTERN REACTION TO THE CLOSURE OF THE ACCESS ROUTES STOPPED SHORT OF MILITARY ACTION. THIS, COUPLED WITH EFFECTIVENESS OF SOVIET INTERFERENCE WITH ALLIED TRAFFIC CONTRIBUTED TO DECISION TO CONTINUE WITHDRAWAL FOR TIME BEING AND ANNOUNCE EXTENSION TO 16 APRIL OF ACCESS CLOSURE.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY WEST OF ANNEXATION OF WEST BERLIN BY GDR WAS MET BY STRONGEST POSSIBLE GDR AND SOVIET PROTEST AND REJECTION, TAKING NOTE OF WEST SELF-ADMISSION OF END OF OCCUPATION STATUS AND REQUIRING DIRECT NEGOTIATION WITH GDR. SOVIETS STATE ATTEMPT TO INTRODUCE WEST GERMAN MILITARY FORCES INTO BERLIN WILL BE MET WITH FORCE AND CALLED ON UN TO SEND NEUTRAL PEACE FORCE TO WEST BERLIN, PENDING A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE STATUS OF THE CITY.

VARIETY OF ACTIONS WERE TAKEN IN BERLIN TO INCREASE DISCONTENT OF WEST BERLINERS WITH ALLIED ACTIONS.

WEST MILITARY ALERTS AND PARTIAL MOBLIZATION WERE COUNTERED WITH STRENGTHENING OF SOVIET AND GDR MILITARY FORCES IN EAST GERMANY AND EXERCISING OF AIR FORCE CONTINGENCY PLANS.

PLANS WERE SET IN MOTION TO INCREASE COMMUNIST PRESSURES AND ACTIVITY IN CUBA, LAOS, THAILAND, TAIWAN STRAITS AND OTHER POTENTIAL TROUBLE AREAS.

IN XGENERAL OUR STRATEGY IRS-A-VIS THE WEST AND THE PEACE TREATY REMAINS UNCHANGED WITH INCREASED EMPHASIS ON BRINGING ABOUT UN PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN. ~~TOP SECRET~~

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RED TO CONTROL

DOC NO 20

CYCLE III

RESUME OF STRATEGY 14 APRIL 1962

1. DURING THE PERIOD, THE PRINCIPAL DEVELOPMENTS AND EVENTS THAT HAD A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON OUR PROPOSED STRATEGY EWERE:

(A) THE WEAK WESTERN RESPONSE TO OUR CHALLENGE RE-ACCESS ROUTE CLOSURE.

(B) THE DIVISION OF OPINION IN NATO AS TO COUNTERMEASURES TO SBVIET - GDR ACTIONS .

(C) INCREASED CIVIL UNREST IN BERLIN AND POPULAR DESCONTENT WITH WEST POSITION.

(D) SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS IN UN AND OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD.

2. OUR PROPOSED STRATEGY ENCOMPASSED THE FOLLOWING ELEMENTS:

(A) CONTINUATION OF PLANNED TROOP WITHDRAWALS TO BE COMPLETED ON 16 APRIL.

(B) WITHDRAWAL FROM WEST BERLIN OF E G TROOPS USED TO REPEL RIOTERS ENTERING E. BERLIN.

(C) ASSUMPTION BY GDR OF COMPLETE CONTROL OVER BERLIN ACCESS ROUTES. EFFECTIVE 16 APRIL. GDR MOVES TO PRECLUDE FURTHER ALLIED TRAFFIC INTO BERLIN PENDING RESTORATION OF ORDER IN THE CITY AND ARRIVAL OF UN COMMISSION.

(D)SBARRAGE OF OFFICIAL NOTES AND PUBLIC STATEMENTS HIGHLIGHTING CHAOTIC SITUATION IN W. BERLIN AS MAJOR THREAT TO PEACE, DANGERS OF CONTINUED ALLIED TROOP PRESENCE IN W. BERLIN, NEED FOR UN INTERVEN-

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TION CALL FOR SUMMIT MEETING AND CALL FOR EMERGENCY MEETING OF WN SECURITY COUNCIL.

(E) A VARIETY OF OTHER MEASURES DESIGNED TO ACCELERATE THE PACE OF OUR EFFORTS TO GAIN WORLD SUPPORT FOR SOVIET PROPOSALS AS WELL AS INCREASE THE POLITICO-MILITARY CHALLENGE TO THE WEST IN WORLD AREAS OTHER THAN BERLIN.

3. IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT WEST WILL CONDUCT AUTOBAHN MILITARY PROBES OF INCREASING STRENGTH BEGINNING 17 APRIL IN EFFORT TO OVERCOME GDR BLOCKS. SUCH MOVES WILL BE RESISTED INTIALLY BY ALL POSSIBLE DEFENSIVE MEASURES SHORT OF SHOOTING. SHOOTING BY THE WEST WILL BE CONSIDERED AN ACT OF AGGRESSION TO BE ANNOUNCED TO THE WORLD. FOLLOWING A PAUSE OF 6 HOURS THE GDR WILL THEN RETURN DEFENSIVE FIRE AT WHATEVER LEVEL OF INTENSITY IS NEEDED TO MAINTAIN BLOCKAGE, AND THE WARSAW PACT POWERS WILL MOVE TOWARD A FULL WAR FOOTING.

END

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NATIONAL SECURITY FILES
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and undated

Berlin 9

INCOMING TELEGRAM *Department of State*

RETAIN OR DESTROY

47

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Control: 21ØØ2
Rec'd: AUGUST 27, 1962
9:Ø6 PM

Action
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Info
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RMR

- SMITH-BUNDY
- DUNGAN
- KAYSEN
- KILDUFF
- PETERSEN
- SCHLESINGER
- ~~TAYLOR~~
- BELK
- FORRESTAL
- JOHNSON
- KLEIN
- KOMER
- RASKIN
- SAUNDERS

FROM: JCS

TO: Secretary of State

NO: 5854, DTG 2718Ø1Z, AUGUST

ACTION USCINCEUR; INFORMATION BONN, CIA, STATE DEPARTMENT

FROM JWGCG, JOINT STAFF SENDS.

1. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HAS REQUESTED THAT THE JOINT WAR GAMES CONTROL GROUP PLAN AND CONDUCT, AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY, A GAME EXAMINING THE VARIOUS CONTINGENCY PLANS IN A BERLIN CRISIS SITUATION. SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF, STATE DEPARTMENT, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, JOINT STAFF AND DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE ARE BEING INVITED TO PARTICIPATE.

2. THE EXERCISE WILL UTILIZE A GAMING TECHNIQUE PREVIOUSLY USED IN POLITIO-MILITARY EXERCISES OF THIS TYPE. A CONTROL TEAM WILL REGULATE GAME ACTION BETWEEN THE RED AND BLUE TEAMS, WHICH ARE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS--SENIOR POLICY AND ACTION LEVELS. SENIOR RED AND BLUE WILL MEET WITH THEIR RESPECTIVE ACTION TEAMS FOR ONE HOUR EACH DAY COMMENCING AT 11ØØ TO PROVIDE THEIR ACTION TEAMS WITH POLICY GUIDANCE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF DAILY PLANS.

3. IN ORDER TO PROVIDE ALL PARTICIPANTS A FULLER AND AUTHENTIC INSIGHT INTO THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, IT IS PROPOSED TO HAVE A SECOND ACTION BLUE TEAM AT EUCOM HEADQUARTERS IN CONJUNCTION WITH WASHINGTON BLUE, PLAY AGAINST THE WASHINGTON RED TEAM SIMULTANEOUSLY. THIS TEAM WOULD INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES OF STATE AND CIA FROM BONN AND BERLIN, AS FEASIBLE, AS WELL AS EUCOM PLAYERS FOR A TOTAL OF APPROXIMATELY EIGHT. INFORMAL APPROVAL OF THIS PLAN HAS BEEN GIVEN BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND CIA.

4. THE

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Berlin Game, 9/1961-9/1
and undated

4. THE GAME HAS BEEN SCHEDULED FOR 17-21 SEPTEMBER. THE EUCOM/BLUE TEAM WOULD PARTICIPATE DURING NORMAL WORKING HOURS AT EUCOM. A GAME DIRECTOR AND ADMINISTRATOR WILL BE PROVIDED BY THE JOINT WAR GAMES CONTROL GROUP.

TENTATIVE PLANS FOR SEPARATE RAPID ON-LINE COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE JOINT STAFF AND EUCOM HQ HAVE BEEN MADE. IN ORDER THAT PLANS MAY GO FORWARD PROMPTLY A MESSAGE REPLY TO THIS INVITATION IS REQUESTED.

5. THE CODE NAME FOR THIS GAME IS EPSILON I-62.

GP-4.

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NATIONAL SECURITY FILES

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Berlin Game 9/62 61-9/1
and undated

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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

SEP 1 1962

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~~The~~ File
~~to~~ have we accepted?

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. CARL KAYSEN
DEPUTY SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Politico-Military Game on Berlin

1. Because of the urgency of the Berlin problem, the Office of the Secretary of Defense is arranging a politico-military exercise under the direction of the Joint War Games Control Group, Joint Staff. Senior officials from the State Department, Department of Defense, Central Intelligence Agency, US Information Agency, and Joint Staff are being invited to participate.

2. The exercise will use the technique of Senior Red and Blue Policy and Action level teams. The Seniors will meet daily for one hour to provide guidance for their respective teams. In order to provide a fuller and more authentic insight into the immediate problem, there will be a second Blue Action team. This team will be at EUCOM Headquarters and will play in conjunction with Washington Blue against the Washington Red team. This second Blue will include representatives from EUCOM and, as feasible, from the State and CIA offices in Bonn and Berlin.

3. Because of your past most significant contributions to these exercises and your personal interest in the problem area, I should like very much to invite you to participate as a member of a Senior team. Should you find it possible to join in, it would be appreciated if your acceptance could be phoned to Colonel James Y. Adams, USA, ext 5-7683.

4. The offices of the Joint War Games Control Group in the Pentagon will be used in order that each participant can be immediately reached by his office. The code name for this game is Epsilon I-62. Additional information on the game will be furnished you at a later date. The scheduled dates are 17-21 September 1962.

Roswell Gilpatric

DOWNGRADED AT 3 YEAR INTERVALS;
DECLASSIFIED AFTER 12 YEARS.
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SecDef Cont. No. 5515 45

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and undated

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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

SEP 1 1962

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Signed
ROSWELL L. GILPATRIC
Deputy Secretary of Defense

DOWNGRADED AT 3 YEAR INTERVALS;
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DOD DIR 5200.10

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SecDef Cont. No. 5515 - 62

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Berlin Game 9/62
9/62-9/1/62
Undated

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THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

SEP 1 1962

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DOWNGRADED AT 3 YEAR INTERVALS;
DECLASSIFIED AFTER 12 YEARS.
DOD DIR 5200.10

Signed
ROSWELL L. GILPATRIC
Deputy Secretary of Defense

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SecDef Cont. No. 5515

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DOC NO. R

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CYCLE NO IV

BLUE TO CONTROL

I. ESTIMATE OF SITUATION

A. ALLIED OCCUPATION RESPONSIBILITIES STILL EXIST IN BERLIN NOTWITHSTANDING UN ACTIONS.

B. REDS WILL PROBABLY ACCEPT UN FORCES IN EAST BERLIN.

C. REDS WILL PROBABLY ATTEMPT CONTINUE DENIAL OF ALLIED GROUND ACCESS.

D. REDS IN LONG RUN UNLIKELY TO PERMIT UN FORCES TO OPERATE FREELY IN EAST BERLIN.

E. DEGAULLE MOVES UNPREDICTABLE.

F. SOVIET GDR MANEUVERINGS TO GET UNSYG AND UN TROOPS INTO BERLIN IS AN OBVIOUS MEANS TO PROMOTE THEIR "FREE CITY" PROPOSAL.

G. GDR MIGHT REOPEN AUTOBAHN FOR MILITARY TRAFFIC WESTBOUND ONLY ON THE GROUNDS THAT WITH ARRIVAL OF UN FORCES THE TRIPARTITE FORCES NO LONGER REQUIRED AND SHOULD DEPART BERLIN.

II. OBJECTIVES

A. LONG-RANGE

1. MAINTAIN INTEGRITY OF NATO AND NORTH ATLANT C COMMUNITY

2. REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY IN FREEDOM, CONSISTENT WITH OBJECTIVE A1

3. MEINTENANCE OF THE FREEDOM AND VIABILITY OF WEST BERLIN.

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4. MAINTENANCE OF FREE ACCESS TO BERLIN

5. NON-RECOGNITION OF THE GDR

B. SHORT-RANGE

1. RESTORE ORDER IN WEST BERLIN

2. MAINTAIN QUADRIPARTITE STATUS OF BERLIN PENDING A PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF GERMAN PROBELM.

3. MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE ALLIED PRESENCE IN BERLIN.

4. OPEN ACCESS TO BERLIN FOR ALLIED MILITARY AS WELL AS CIVILIAN TRAFFIC.

5. ATTEMPT TO DEVISE A POLICY WHICH WILL BE AMENABLE TO THE MAJOR PARTNERS IN NATO: PARTICULARLY FRANCE AND THE FRG.

6. SEEK AN ALL-BERLIN SOLUTION TO THE IMMED ATE CRISIS.

7. ADDRESS ACTIONS TO THE EVENTUAL GOAL OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION

8. IN THE LIGHT OF IMMMEDIATE CIRCUMSTANCES, HARNESS THE UN PRESENCE TO THE PURSUIT OF THE ABOVE OBJECTIVES.

III. ATLTERNATIVES:

A. POLITICAL

1. INTERNAL

(A) JOINT EMERGENCY HEADQUARTERS UNDERSCORE NEED ESTABLISH COMPLETE LAW AND ORDER IN WEST BERLIN. STATEMENT: RELAXATION OF MARTIAL LAW AS SOON AS THIS ACCOMPLISHED.

CONSQUENCES: CLAMING DOWN OF WEST BERLIN

(B) DECISES WELCOME UNPKF FOR ALL OF BERLIN

CONSEQUENCES: PUT RIGHT FOOT FORWARD

(C) STATEMENT RE: CONTINUED RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF ALLIES, WALL SOURCE OF ALL TROUBLES: ALLIES WILLINGNESS REDUCE

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TROOP LEVEL AS SOON AS UN ASSISTED CALMING SITUATION; ALL BERLIN UN MONITORED FOUR-POWER SOLUTION ACCEPTABLE IF ACCESS TOO GUARANTED.

CONSEQUENCES: REASONABLE STANCE OF THIS WESTERN INITIATIVE WILL BE RECOGNIZED BY UN

(D) GEN CLAY EMPHASIZE TO U-THANT UN MAY ACT IN ALL OF BERLIN ONLY. IN CASE UN LOCKED OUT OF EAST BERLIN WE WILL ASSIST HIM IN "KNOCKING AT THE WALL".

CONSEQUENCES: BETTER PUBLIC POSTURE.

(E) PROPOSE UNPKF ASSIST IN CLEARING UP ALLIED TRAFFIC BLOCKAGE ON ACCESS ROUTES. ALLIED READYING FORCE TO ENFORCE RIGHTS. UN CONTROL OF ACCESS ALONG STATUS OF MARCH 31, 63 ACCEPTABLE. CONSQUENCES. POSSIBLE UN ASSISTANCE IN RESTORING ALLIED ACCESS.

CONSEQUENCES: WARNING THAT WE MEAN BUSSINESS. BETTER PUBLIC POSTURE.

2. EXTERNAL

(A) PRESIDENT CELCARES READINESS TO MEET KHRUSCHEVE (A) REUNIFICATION GERMANY (B) ALL BERLIN SOLUTION.

CONSEQUENCES: BEGIN OF DETENTE POSSIBLE. BETTER PUBLIC POSTURE.

(B) PRESIDENT CALL TO DE GAULLE PERSUADING HIM TO PASSIVELY ACCEDE TO OUR POLICY.

CONSEQUENCES: DE GAULLE PROBABLY PERSUADED.

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(C) INVITE PRP[illegible] TO UNGA THAT UNPKF SUPERVISE ALL-BERLIN PLEBICITE. CHOICES (A) UNIFIED BERLIN (B) EAST BERLIN GDR CAPTIAL, WEST BERLIN "FREE CITY". PLEBISITE TO BE FOLLOWED BY UN SUPERVISED SLECTIONS ACCORDING TO STATUE OF 1946.

CONSEQUENCES: BETTER PUBLIC POSTURE FOR WEST. POSSIBLE ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION.

3. IN CASE EAST UNWILLING ACCEPT UN IN EAST BERLIN

(A) REFUSE UN ACTIVITY IN WEST BERLIN BUT REMAIN HOSPITABLE SHIFT ON US TO EAST. PRESS FOR EVACUATION. PERMIT NO FURTHER LAND NGS.

CONSEQUENCES. INSOLATION BREECH IN TRIPARTITE ANTHONITY.

(B) ACCEDE TO UN OPERATING IN WEST BERLIN ABOVE,

CONSEQUENCES: SWIFT EROSION OF ALLIED AUTHORITY. RAPID MOVE IN DIRECTION OF "FREE CITY WEST BERLIN" CONCEPT.

B. MILITARY

Q. INTERNAL BERLIN 75985

(A) ACCEPT UNPKF IN WEST BERLIN ONLY AND DISARM OR EVACUATE PER UN RESOLUTION.

CONSEQUENCES:

(1) WILL CAUSE NATO SPLIT.

(2) MAY PROLONG THE PEACE BUT US POSITION WILL BE COMPLETELY UNTENABLE FOR THE FUTURE.

(B) ACCEPT UNPKF, FOR ALL OF BERLIN, BUT MAINTAIN OUR RESPONSIBILITY REGARDING BERLIN PER QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENTS.

CONSEQUENCES:

(1) OUR POSITION OF THE WHOLE ISSUE IS NOT WEAKENED.

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(2) PUTS US IN A GOOD POSITION TO PRESS FOR ALL-GERMAN SOLUTION ON ACCEPTABLE TERMS.

(C) REFUSE TO ACCEPT UNPKF

CONSEQUENCES:

(1) ADVERSE WORLD REACTION

(2) DE GAULLE WOULD APPROVE AND THUS PROBABLY PERFORM HIS NUCLEAR ACTION.

(B) DOES NOT PROVIDE A BERLIN SOLUTION AND TENDS TO WORSEN THE PROGLEM.

2. EXTERNAL BERLIN

(AL CEASE PROBING AUTOBAHN AND REQUEST UN SUPERVISE ACCESS

CONSEQUENCES:

INDICATE OUR RELUCTANCE TO USE FORCE

AND INVITE THE SOV/GDR TO UNDERTAKE FURTHER RESTRICTIVE MOVES

WITH MOST DISASTEROUR RESULTS OVER-ALL

(B) CONTINUE USE OF LAMBA I PROBES WITH LAMBA II TO RESCUE LAMBA I IF IT GETS INTO DIFFICULTIES, BUT RETURN TO HELMSTEDT EACH TIME

CONSEQUENCE: UNPRODUCTIVE, ACCOMPLISHING NOTING

(C) DISPATCH LAMBA I WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO PROCEED TO BERLIN. IF LAMBA I STOPPED LAMBA II SENT TO BACK UP LAMBA I WITH INSTRUCTION TO USE FORCE IF NECESSARY TO GET TO BERLIN. IF OPPOSED BY GREATER FORCE WITHDRAW TO HELMSTEDT, REQUEST UN SUPERVISION OF ACCESS AND CONSIDER USE OF LAMBA III

CONSEQUENCES: SAME A AND B ABOVE

(D) SAME AS (C) ABOVE EXCEPT THAT LAMBA II DOES NOT WITHDRAW AND LAMBA III IMMEDIATELY DISPATCHED IF UN SUPERVISION OF ACCESS NOT

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OBTAINED OR HOPELESSLY BOGGED DOWN. BE PREPARED TO ESCALATE TO GENERAL WAR IF LAMBA III STOPPED.

CONSEQUENCES:

(1) WOULD BE POPULAR WITH DE GAULLE

(2) WOULD CLEARLY PRESENT RED WITH CHOICE OF REOPENING ACCESS FACING GENERAL WAR

(3) WOULD LIKELY FORCE UN TO MOVE TO SUPERVISE ACCESS

IV. ACTIONS TAKEN AND TIMING.

A. POLITICAL

1. INTERNAL:

(A) JOINT EMERGENCY HEADQUARTERS UNDERSCORESUNSED TO ESTABLISH COMPLETELY LAW AND ORDER IN WEST BERLIN. STATEMENT: RELAXATION OF MARTIAL LAW AS SOON AS THIS ACCOMPLISHED.

(B) DECIDES TO WELCOME UNPKF FOR ALL OF BERLIN.

(C) DECIDES TO ISSUE STATEMENT THAT RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THREE ALLIES REMAIN INTACT; THAT WALL SOURCE OF ALL TROUBLE; IN ORDER TO ALLOW UNPKF ACCESS, REASONABLE INTER-SECTOR TRAFFIC MUST BE RESTORED. ALLIED TROOPS WILL REMAIN AND RETAIN SUPREME CONTROL BUT WILLING TO REDUCE LEVEL AS SOON AS UN PRECENSE SUCCEEDED IN CALMING SITUATION IN ALL OF BERLIN. UN MONITORING OF FOUR-POWER ALL-BERLIN SOLUTION WITH UN GUARANTEED ACCESWS ROUTES ACCEPTABLE.

(D) DECIDES VIA THE UNGA TO INVITE UNPKF TO SUPERVISE FREE, SECRET, DIRECT ELECTIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE FOUR POWER APPROVED ELECTION STATUTE OF 1946.

(E) GEN CLAY TO TALK TO U-THANT EMPHASISING ABSOLUTE NEED TO

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undated

HAVE UN ONLY ACT IN ALL OF BERLIN AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCE IN WEST BERLIN ALONE. IN CASE SOVIET-GDR BAR UN TEAM AND TROOPS FROM EAST BERLIN WE WOULD ASSIST SYG IN "KNOCKING AT THE WALL."

(F) PROPOSE UNPKF ASSIST IMMEDIATELY AND URGENTLY IN CLEANING UP UNJUSTIFIED AND DANGEROUS BLOCKAGE OF ACCESS TO BERLIN OF ALLIED TRAFFIC. SINCE THIS A CONTINUED DANGEROUS AND FLAGRANT VIOLATIONOF OUR RIGHTS FORCEFUL MILITARY ACTION BEING READIED. SYG'S ASSISTANCE IN ELIMINATING PROVOCATORY SOVIET IRRESPONSIBILITY APPRECIATED. ALLIES WILLING TO ACCEPT ACCESS CONTROL BY UN PROVIDED IT INSURES FREE ACCESS TO BERLIN BY GERMANS AND ALLIES ALONG THE STATUS OF MARCH 31, 1963..

2. EXTERNAL

(A) PRESIDENT DECLARES READINESS TO MEET KHRUSHCHEV TO DISCUSS

(1) ALL BERLIN UN MONITORED SOLUTION

(2) REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY BY FREE UN SUPERVISED ELECTIONS.

(B) PRESIDENT CALL DE GAULLE AND PERSONALLY PERSUADE HIM TO ACCEDE PASSIVE TO OUR EFFORTS TO HARNESS UN TO OUR BEST PURPOSES.

(C) PROPOSE TO UNGA AN ALL-BERLIN SOLUTION TO FUTURE ALL-GERMAN SOLUTION.

3. IN CASE EAST UNWILLING ACCEPT UN: DO NOT ALLOW UN TO BECOME ACTIVE IN WEST BERLIN BUT BE GENERALLY HOSPITABLE AND SHIFT ON US ON EAST FOR FAILURE OF MISSION. PERSUADE U-THANT TO EVACUATE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. NO MORE THAN ORIGINAL CONTINGENT OF UN PERMITTED, OF COURSE.

IV. ACTIONS (CONT'D)

A. POLITICAL (CONT'D)

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4. UNITED NATIONS: AMBASSADOR STEVENSON IS INSTRUCTED TO MAKE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS BEFORE THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY:

(A) THE UNITED STATES WELCOMES THE DISPATCH OF UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL TO BERLIN IN HELPING THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES IN BERLIN TO RESTORE A DANGEROUS SITUATION DELIBERAELY AND CYNICALLY PROVOKED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS AGENTS. THE U.S. HOPES THAT THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UN WILL PROMOTE A SPEEDY RESOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTIES IN THAT CITY.

(B) THE UNITED STATES URGES ADHERENCE BY THE UNPKF TO THE FULL MANDATE ENTRUSTED TO IT BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT THE REQUEST OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY: NAMELY ITS DEPLOYMENT TO ALL OF BERLIN. SHOULD THE UNPKF NOT BE PERMITTED TO ENTER THE SOVIET SECTOR OF BERLIN, THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE TO CONSIDER THAT THE MANDATE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAD BEEN DELIBERATELY FLOUTED AND THE MISSION OF THE UNPKF VOIDED.

(C) ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES INTERPRETS THE MISSION OF THE UNPKF TO HELP IN THE RESTORATION OF NORMAL CONDITIONS IN BERLIN, IT ENVISAGES ITS USE AS AN EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT IN A MORE PERMANENT SOLUTION DESIGNED TO PRECLUDE THE KIND OF CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE LED THE WORLD TO THE EDGE OF WAR: NAMELY, THE FORMATION OF AN ALL-BERLIN GOVERNMENT THROUGH FREE ELECTIONS, SUPERVISED BY THE UN. THIS WOULD BE A TANGIBLE STEP TOWARD THE SOLUTION OF THE BROADER PROBLEM OFGERMANY AND PLACE IN EUROPE.

(D) THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS AGENTS, IN DEFIANCE OF EXISTING

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AGREEMENTS, CONTINUE TO BLOCK ACCESS TO BERLIN, ENDANGERING THE LIVELIHOOD OF ITS INHABITANTS. THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES HAVE PATIENTLY WAITED FOR THE SOVIET ACTION TO BE SUSPENDED. IT CAN WAIT NO LONGER, AND IS TAKING THE NECESSARY STEPS TO OPEN ACCESS TO THE BESIEGED CITY. IT ASKS FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN THIS TASK.

IV. ACTIONS (CONT'D)

B. MILITARY

1. EXTERNAL BERLIN

(A) UNILATERAL

(1) CONTINUE ACTIONS UNDERWAY

(B) MULTILATERAL

(1) DISPATCH TREADMILL LAMBDA I FORCE FROM HELMSTEDT. WHEN IT S STOPPED, SUPPORT IT BY TREADMILL LAMBDA II FORCE WHICH WILL TAKE ARMED ACTION TO PREVENT BARRIERS BEING RESTORED OR ADDITIONAL BARRIERS BEING CREATED AS LAMBDA I FORCE CLEARS THE ROAD.

(2) ASSEMBLE LAMBDA III FORCE IN VICINITY OF HELMSTEDT PREPARED TO MOVE TO SUPPORT OF LAMBDA I & II FORCES IF THEY CANNOT GET THROUGH. LAMBDA III FORCES WILL MOVE OUT FOR BERLIN DESTROYING OR CAPTURING ANY FORCES WHICH IMPEDE OR THREATEN TO IMPEDE THEIR ADVANCE. LAMBDA III FORCE WILL BE COMMITTED AS SOON AS LAMBDA I & II HAVE COMMITTED ALL ASSIGNED FORCE AND HAVE BEEN STOPPED. AND EFFORTS TO GET UN SUPERVISION OF ACCESS HAVE BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL OR HOPELESSLY BOGGED DOWN, IF LAMBDA III STOPPED SITUATION WILL THEN ESCALATE INTO GENERAL WAR INCLUDING USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

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2. INTERNAL BERLIN

(A) UNILATERAL

(1) CONTINUE TO OPERATE AS PART OF TRIPARTITE FORCE.

(B) MULTILATERAL

(1) CONTINUE OPERATIONS TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER.

(2) PERMIT UNPKF TO LAND AND ASSIST IN RESTORING LAW AND ORDER. UNPKF WILL NOT BE PERMITTED TO FUNCTION IN WEST BERLIN UNLESS THEY FUNCTION IN EAST BERLIN.

(3) PREPARE TO WITHDRAW TO BARRACKS IF UNPKF CAN HANDLE SITUATION IN ALL BERLIN.

(4) OFFER TO RETURN ARMS TO ARMS ROOMS IF SOVIET FORCES IN EAST BERLIN ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY DISARMED AND NVA WITHDRAWN.

(5) PREPARE GARLANDS OF F

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OWERS AND APPROPRIATE SIGNS CARRIED BY PRETTY FRAULEINS TO WELCOME FIRST CONVOY OR LAMBDA FORCES COMING IN FROM HELMSTEDT.

IV. ACTIONS (CONT'D)

C. PSYCHOLOGICAL

1. PRESIDENT KENNEDY, MINDFUL OF THE FACT THAT THE ALLIES ALL ALONG HAVE INSISTED UPON MAINTAINING WAR-WON RIGHTS IN BERLIN AND RESPONSIBILITY TO ASSURE FREEDOM OF POPULATION, ADDRESSED THE NATION 18 APRIL TO EMPHASIZE THAT UN MILITARY PRESENCE WOULD NOT NULLIFY THOSE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS. HE WELCOMED UN PRESENCE IN ALL BERLIN TO ASSIST IN MAINTAINING CALMER ATMOSPHERE. HE SAID ALLIES ARE NOW TAKING ALL NECESSARY MEASURES TO RESTORE ACCESS TO BERLIN BY AUTOBAHN AND WOULD REQUEST THAT UN OFFICIALS SUPERVISE THE ACCESS ROUTES HENCEFORWARD UNTIL THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY IS ACHIEVED

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BY FREE ELECTIONS, ALSO UNDER UN SUPERVISION.

2. THIS ADDRESS WAS HEARD IN BERLIN THROUGH RIAS AND RADIO FREE BERLIN, AFTER WHICH GENERAL CLAY SPOKE OVER THESE STATIONS. HE STRONGLY ADMONISHED THE WEST BERLINERS TO RESIST COMMUNIST-INSPIRED RIOT PARTICIPATION, ASSIST IN MAINTAINING ORDER, AND HE REMINDED BERLINERS OF THE CONFIDENCE THEY HAD IN HIM IN 1948 AND SINCE.

3. ADLAI STEVENSON TELLS UNGA THAT UN NOW HAS BEEN CONFRONTED WITH GREAT CLALLENGE OF REACHING SOLUTION OF GERMAN PROBLEM AND URGES THAT IMMEDIATE STEPS GE TAKEN LOOKIING TO THE CREATION OF AN INTER-NATIONAL AGENCY FOR SUPERVISION OF THE ACCESS ROUTED TO BERLIN AND FREE ELCTIONS IN ALL GERMANY TO DETERMINE THE POPULAR VIEW ON REUNIFICATION.

END

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FROM RED TO CONTROL

DOC NO 21

CYCLE IV

TIME/1310

RED STRATEGIES FOR CYCLE IV

1. ESTIMATE OF SITUATION

A. RE ACCESS: ALLIED RESPONSE TO ACCESS ROUTE BLOCKS BY GDR HAVE BEEN WEAK AND VACILLATING. TWO SMALL ALLED PROBES HAVE BEEN REBUFFED; ELEMENTS OF U.S. CORPS ARE ENROUTE TO HELMSTEDT. ANNOUNCEMENTS BY SACEUR AND PRES KENNEDY INDICATE PLAN TO BY-PASS OBSTACLES RATHER THAN USE OF FORCE. U.S. MOBILIZES AND DIRECTS DEPLOYMENT TO EUROPE OF ONE ARMORED DIVISION. LACK OF SEMILAR ACTION BY OTHER NATO MEMBERS IS SIGNIFICANT.

B. RE BERLIN: RIOTING AND FEELING AGAINST WEST AT HIGH PITCH. WEST DECLARES STATE OF MARTIAL LAW; USES FORCE TO SUPPRESS WEST BERLINERS; U.S. ANNOUNCES PLANS TO REINFORCE BERLIN GARRISON; ALLIED COMMANDER ORDERS TROOPS TO REPAIR WALL.

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C. RE UN: UN ACTS TO FLY UNPKF TO BERLIN TO TAKE-OVER AND DISARM ALLIED, GDR AND SOVIET TROOPS. NATO SPLIT WIDENS WITH U.S. RESISTING UN SOLUTION AND UK OFFERING FURNISH AIRLIFT FOR UNPKF.

D. OTHER AREAS: SOME INCIDENTS OF UNREST IN EAST GERMANY; SOVIET AND POLISH COMMERCIAL SHIPS BOARDED AND SEARCHED BY ALLIES IN VIOLATION OF MARITIME LAW AND PRECEDENT. SOV ET DUAL SATELLITE LAUNCED SUCCESSFULLY OFFERING OPPORTUNITY FOR LINK-UP.

SOVIET-SPONSORED TENSION ACTIVITIES IN OTHER TROUBLE AREAS ARE PROCEEDING ACCORDING TO PLAN.

E. MILITARY SITUATION - EAST GERMANY

PRESENT DIVISION DEPLOYMENTS UPON COMPLETION OF PHASE I TROOP MOVEMENT

FORWARD ZONE	10 SOVIET (4 ARMORED)
	5 EAST GERMAN (2 ARMORED)
REAR ZONE	10 SOVIET (6 ARMORED)
	1 EAST GERMAN

INCLUDED

AROUND & IN BERLIN	4 SOVIET (2 ARMORED)
	2 EAST GERMAN (1 ARMORED)
AROUND AUTOBAHN	2 SOVIET (2 ARMORED)
	2 EAST GERMEN (1 ARMORED)
WITHIN EASY	10 SOVIET (8 ARMORED)
MOTOR MARCH OF AUTOBAHN	
	4 EAST GERMEN (2 ARMORED)

2. REVIEW OF OBJECTIVES

A. FORCE WESTERN RECOGNITION OF GDR SOVEREIGNTY

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B. ERODE AND ELIMINATE WESTERN POSITION IN BERLIN

C. OBTAIN NEUTRAL AND BLOC APPROBATION OF SOVIET POSITION AND ACTIONS; CREATE DIVISIVE PRESSURES WITHIN NATO

D. AVOID GENERAL WAR

E. MAINTAIN SOVIET BLOC SECURITY

F. MAINTAIN STATUS QUO IN EAST BERLIN.

3 COURSES OF ACTION

A. RE UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE:

GDR AUTHORITIES DID NOT PERMIT UN FORCES TO LAND AT SCHOENEFELD AIR FIELD. ADVISED THEM TO LAND IN WEST BERLINE. RADIOED UN COMMANDER OF FORCES THAT GDR WOULD ARRANGE FOR LATER MOTOR TRANSIT FROM WEST TO EAST BERLIN OF "UN NSPECTION TEAM." SIMULTANEOUSLY IN- 75945 FORMED U THANT THAT ALTHOUGH GDR WOULD WELCOME UNARMED UN INSPECTION TEAM OF UP TO 50 PERSONNEL, IT COULD NOT PERMIT UN MILITARY FORCES TO TAKE OVER SECURITY OF EAST BERLIN, WHICH IS CAPITAL OF GDR. GDR AUTHORITIES HAVE DEMONSTRABLE CAPABILITY MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER IN EAST BERLIN WHICH INSPECTION TEAM WILL IMMEDIATELY RECOGNIZE AND CAN VERIFY. BLUE'S ATTEMPT TO EQUATE EAST TO WEST BERLIN IS TRANSPARENT RUSE AND IS CATEGORICALLY REJECTED BY RED.

B. ONLY TWO SOVIET DIVISIONS HAVE BEEN WITHDRAWN UP TO NOW, IN EXCHANGE FOR TWO GDR DIVISIONS, SECRET ORDERS TO YAKUBOVSKY TO SUSPEND FURTHER MAJOR WITHDRAWAL FOR THE TIME BEING IN VIEW OF ALLIED FORCE AT HELMSTEDT BUT TO CONTINUE ACTIVE AND VISIBLE PLANS AND PREPARATIONS AS BEFORE.RED IS PREPARED AND WILLINT TO SHOW UN OBSERVERS WHAT HAS

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BEEN WITHDRAWN AND ITS PLANS FOR FURTHER WITHDRAWALS. RED ANNOUNCES PLANS FOR ADDITIONAL MOVEMENTS BACK AND PROPAGANDIZES NATO'S REFUSAL TO WITHDRAW, NOTING ALSO THAT NATO IS PLANNING AGGRESSIVE MOVE INTO EAST GERMANY. TASS AND KHRUSHCHEV CRITICIZE NATO BELLIGERENCY.

C. SOVIET UNION AND POLAND PROTEST IN UN, AND SWELL A TREMENDOUS PROPAGANDA TIDE AGAINST HIGH-HANDED ILLEGAL US SEARCHES OF BLOC SHIPS WHICH REPRESENT GROSS VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ARE A SHOCKING EXAMPLE OF US DISREGARD FOR WORLD OPINION AND THE NEEDS OF PEACE. UNANNOUNCED, RED COMMENCES DEPLOYMENT TO OPEN SEAS OF SURFACE AND UNDERWATER NAVAL VESSELS FROM NAVAL BASES IN BALTIC, BLACK SEA AND PACIFIC PORTS.

D. ON THE BERLIN-HELMSTADT AUTOBAHN RED HOLDS TO ITS PLANS FOR MEETING A BLUE PROBE AT ZONAL BORDER WITH GDR TROOPS. IN VIEW OF NEW POSSIBILITY OF BLUE PROBES ELSEWHERE ALONG GDR BORDER, RED INTENSIFYS ITS RECONNAISANCE BY GDR AND USSR UNITS IN THEIR AREAS OF DEPLOYMENT AND AGAIN INSTRUCTS ITS AGENTS I WEST BERMAN TO PASS ALL INFO RE BLUE TROOP MOVEMENTS. RED INCREASES ITS ZONAL BORDER PATROLS. INSTRUCT GDR AND SOVIET TROOPS TO BLOCK PHYSICALLY INCURSION AND ATTEMPT TO GET BLUE TROOPS ONTO NEAREST AUTOBAHN.

E. ORDERS ISSUED TO FIELD COMMANDERS TO INCREASE ALERTNESS AND MEASURES TO COUNTER ANTI-REGIME ACTIVITIES IN EAST GERMANY.

F. WE WILL LET GENERAL CLAY AND HIS REINFORCEMENTS FLY INTO WEST BERLIN. GDR AND SOVIET WILL PROTEST THIS HOSTILE ACT, POINTING OUT THAT THE NATO POWERS ARE SEEKING TO IMPOSE A UNILATERAL MILITARY SOLUTION ON

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THE BERLIN PROBLEM IN CONTRAST TO OUR EFFORTS TO FIND A PEACEFUL UN SOLUTION. RED WILL SEND PROTEST NOTES TO NATO POWER, LAUNCH A WORLD WIDE PROPROGANDA CAMPAIGN AGAINST BLUE'S ACTION, AND ORGANIZE PROTEST DEMOSTRATIONS IN VARIOUS NEUTRAL NATION CITIES.

G. ON OUR SUCCESSFUL LAUNCH OF TWO SPACE VEHICLES RED WILL SUCCESSFULLY COUPLE TWO VEHICLES ON 18 APRIL. PGIOR TO COUPLING RED SCIENTISTS AT CERTAIN INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS WILL HINT THAT VEHICLES HAVE SOME TYPE OF WEAPON ON BOARD.

H. RED IS NOT PARTICULARLY CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE UNREST AT JUTERBOG, STENDAL AND MAGDEBURG. RED HAS USSR UNITS AT MAGDEBURG AND JUTERBOG. OUR SECURITY POLICE IN GDR UNITS HAVE BEEN ALERTED NEVERTHELESS, (BOTH USSR AND GDR). MOSCOW IS CONSIDERING ANNOUNCEMENT OF MASSIVE RECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO GDR.

I. RED WILL CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS TO KEEP WEST BERLIN POPULATION STIRRED UP AND RIOTING AGAINST ALLIED FORCES IN CITY IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN PRESSURE ON AND SENSE OF URGENCY FOR UN FORCES.

J. PSYCHOLOGICAL AND COVERT OPERAIONS.

1. TO PRESERVE AND EXPLOIT FAVORABLE POSITION OF COMMUNIST BLOC ON BERLIN SITUATION, SOV GOVT CONTROLS PSYCHOLOGICAL AND COVERT OPERATIONS IN LOW KEY TO MINIMIZE ANY CONTRIBUTION TO FIRM-UP OF NATO AND WEST GOVTS WHICH ARE NOWISE UNIFORM NOR SOLID IN THEIR POSITIONS, ATTITUDES AND SUPPORT OF NATO OR UN.

2. COVERT FORCES IN E. GERMANY ACTIVATED TO MOVE IN WORKING WITH GDR KREIS LEVAL ADMINISTRATION TO CONTROL INSURGENCY AND RELATED

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CONTROL PROBLEMS.

3. NTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE MAINTAINED OF NAC, NATO FORCES, WEST GOVTS ANDTHEIR OTHER FORCES, PARTICULARLY US STRATEGIC FORCES.

4. NOTING MAYOR WILLIE BRANDTS BEHAVIOR UNDER THE TENSIONS OF 14 APRIL, HIS ACCUMMODATION TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE MOBS AND HIS WITHHOLDING ANY PUBLIC REFERENCE TO THE APPROACHES BY E. BERLIN MAYOR PROPOSING REPLACEMENT BY UN OF PROVOCATIVE ALLIED UNITS, SU MARKED BRANDT AS USEFUL TOOL IN MANIPULATION OF ACCEPTABLE BERLIN SOLUTION, IN OR OUT OF UN.

K. RE OUTSIDE TROUBLE SPOTS:

1) MAJOR BUILDUP OF COMMUNIST FORCES IN LAOS, INCLUDING NORTH VIETNAMESE NEAR FRONTIERS, AND CHICOMS IN INTERIOR. REPORTS ARE SPREAD THAT MAJOR ATTACK ABOUT TO BE LAUNCHED AGAINST THAILAND OR SOUTH VIETNAM, OR BOTH.

2) PGEPARATIONS FOR CHINESE ATTACK ON QUEMOY; DECLARATION THAT QUEMOY IS AS OFFENSIVE SALIENT AND B NOT NECESSARY FOR THE DEFENSE OF TAIWAN.

3) MAJOR WAVE OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAPAN AGAINST US BASES, ON GROUNDS THAT US USES ITS OVERSEAS FORCES FOR PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS AND AGAINST THE PEACE, CAUSING DANGER TO JAPAN. PHYSICAL INPEDIMENTS TO RUNWAYS, UNREST ON OKINAWA. COMMUNIST MANEUVERS IN NORTH KOREA.

4) MORE CUBAN FIREWORKS.

5) BARZARI-INSPIRED INSULLECTION IN MOSUL; INCIDENTS IN TABRIZ, SOVIET AIRLIFT OF ARMS TO KURDS.

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DRAFT SCENARIO

The time is _____, Oct. 1, 1961. These are principal events leading up to this time.

X X X X X

The sealing off of East Berlin in mid-August was followed by striking evidences of unrest and disaffection in East Germany. Large-scale arrests of alleged foreign agents, saboteurs, trouble-makers, and would-be escapees were reported throughout East Germany. Protests against food shortages were reported to be widespread and taken as an indication of general discontent. In many cities, East German police were conspicuously unenergetic in enforcing repressive measures against disorderly groups of protestors. Increasing numbers of police and military personnel defected into West Berlin and asked asylum. Substantial reshuffling of top GER military personnel was reported. Simultaneous appearance of an "underground" news sheet in several East German cities indicated organized resistance; its news reports of arrests, acts of sabotage, food shortages, personnel changes, and other isolated events were quick and reliable, indicating a high degree of organization and good communication.

Charging that West Berlin was the center of such illegal activity, the GDR cut telephone communication with West Berlin on September 15, widened the "no man's land" between East and West Berlin by closing up buildings, and stopped entry from West Berlin into East Berlin of all except allied military personnel. September 20, apparently tipped of,

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GDR police doubled their security guards around the West Berlin perimeter and rolled up unprecedented numbers of armored vehicles. At dark, evidently by prearrangement, mobs formed in East Berlin at several points only a few hundred yards from West Berlin; a number of fires broke out in the vicinity, explosions were heard, and the mobs moved quickly toward the barricades separating East and West Berlin. At all points but one, barricades, tear gas, and water pressure were successfully used to stop and disperse the mobs; but at _____the crowd tangled with police at close quarters, searchlights were destroyed, and in the confusion several persons made it across the barricades. A GDR tank broke its way through the barricade in apparent pursuit but, having opened a swath, pulled off to one side; the crew escaped to West Berlin. Several score East Germans made it through the gap before GDR tanks moved in to close it. Most of the crowd escaped back into East Berlin in the confusion; several score were arrested.

September 21, another GDR tank on border duty crashed the barricade, and the crew defected. Ostensibly firing on the tank and plugging the gap, several additional border guards defected. The night of September 21, Soviet armored vehicles replaced East Germans along the East-West Berlin border. During the following week, GDR military units in the area west and south of Berlin were reported being separated from their armor and most vehicles; many units were moved eastward and replaced by Soviet troops.

The night of September 28 riots broke out in a dozen East German cities. GDR troops sent in to support the police defected in several instances, joined the uprising, took up defensive positions, and used

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local radio stations to call for general revolt. Before dawn, Soviet troops were in motion to isolate all GDR army units; by early morning, numbers of GDR troops throughout the country had joined the uprising. In most instances they retreated into the nearest city or town, joined or initiated rebellion, assumed defensive positions, and denounced the Soviet occupation, calling for Western help. Widespread sabotage of transport and communication links slowed the Soviet countermeasures; and on September 29, large numbers of GDR MIG 15's straffed USSR airfields in East Germany and fled to the west, many of them crash landing in open fields across the western border.

September 30 all was confusion. Most cities in East Germany, with the notable exception of East Berlin and Magdegurg, appeared either to be in rebel hands with GDR military units collaborating, or else to be without effective government. Soviet army units were moving slowly to cut off and surround a number of cities; Soviet troops appeared to be in command of all airfields, but extensive sabotage to aircraft and POL had occurred at most fields, some of it by defecting armed aircraft. In _____Soviet troops had begun a "Budapest-type" invasion of the city. The night of September 30, identical announcements were repeated over and over on most radio stations in rebel hands:

The USSR--the announcement reported--had reinstituted a crushing re-occupation of what was to have become the German Democrated Republic. It had reversed the movement toward GDR independence, reinstituted repressive measures, and attempted to disarm GDR military forces. Instead of a "peace treaty," military occupation of the worst sort had been resumed. Spontaneous revolt had become organized, but it had no more chance than Budapest to hold out against Soviet military might.

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The Soviets were already using fire, tanks, and aircraft to massacre the people of East Germany. Only help from the West, within hours, could prevent the bloody suppression of East German self-determination. The West, and especially Germans west of the iron curtain, could not this time shirk their civilized obligations to intervene and demand Soviet withdrawal. The alternative is disaster at Soviet hands.

At dawn, October 1, a rebellious GDR army force, approximately in regimental strength, evaded Soviet encirclement and reached the border southwest of Gera. There it overcame Soviet border guards, demolished barriers, and took up defensive position on the border itself. A patrol made contact with West German military units in the area and asked for support to keep the border open.

In East Berlin absolute round-the-clock curfew reigns.

It is 1 a.m., October 1, 1961.

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