



**Berlin**

# Nikita Khrushchev

- Came out on top after power struggle following Stalin's death in 1953.
- 1956 – 20<sup>th</sup> Party Congress – Gave the “**Secret Speech**” denouncing Stalin & purges → Begins policy of **De-Stalinization**
  - US gets a hold of speech & leaks it to UN → Hungarian Revolution
  - Dulles: NK is best hope for peace.
  - AMBROSE: NK needs a Cold War victory

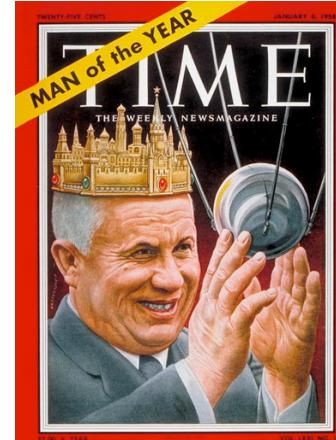
# Gaither Report (1957)

- Akin to NSC-68 in response to increased USSR productivity & militarism it proposes
  - Fallout Shelters
  - Better air defense capability
  - Missile development
  - More conventional ground forces
  - Increase in spending to \$48B
- Ike says NO due to fiscal conservatism & intel. told him “missile gap” didn’t exist
- AMBROSE: “Ike knew what he was doing.”



# Sputnik!

- 1957 – USSR wins Space Race I w/ **Sputnik**
  - NK views this as a huge victory in sci/mil/econ & had a lot of Westerners agree; **KISS**: “Khrushchev’s fantasy”
- Newfound confidence allows NK to declare 1948 Four-Power agreement in Berlin null & void
  - Says US/UK/FRA need to create ind. agreements w/DDR and W. Berlin be a demilitarized “free city”
  - **ULTIMATUM**: If not done in 6mos, he’d sign a peace treaty and give W. Berlin occupation & access routes to DDR (570-71)



# Decisions, Decisions...

- KISS: Dilemma for West. Either recognize E. GER satellite or go to war over technicality of who stamped transit documents (571)
  - NK's Problem: Suggests that DDR are great producers when their most talented are leaving through “gaping hole in the Iron Curtain” → Plug the hole.



# Konrad Adenauer

- Pro-Western policy put to the test
  - Avoid negotiations @ all cost & wanted reunification based on free elections; ind. & peace of BRD at stake if they don't stand up to NK
  - “If Berlin is lost [...] that would be the end of Europe”
  - Could not count on US's unconditional support, and felt slighted at how US wanted to meet USSR/DDR demands



*"In view of the fact  
that God limited the  
intelligence of man, it  
seems unfair that He  
did not also limit his  
stupidity."*

*Konrad Adenauer*

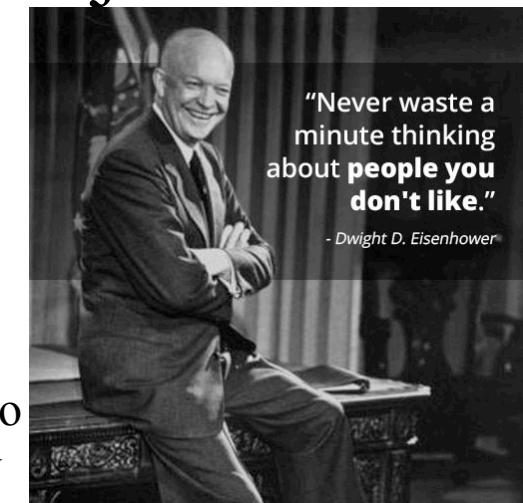
# Harold Macmillan

- Proponent of ANY negotiations
  - “Why die for a transit stamp?” (573)
  - Generally sides w/ Ike (575)
  - Goes to Moscow in Feb. 1959, but NK is more certain West won’t act & confidently expresses Realpolitik:  
“History teaches us that it is not conferences that change the borders of states” (579)



# Dwight Eisenhower

- AMBROSE: Ike “managed to avoid a crisis in Berlin by simply denying that a crisis existed.”
- Wants to calm his people above shocking USSR (574)
- Dulles backtracks on free elections being the only way reunification could be accomplished (578)
- Receptive to an idea of a free city without US troops if Berlin & access routes were under US jurisdiction (579); Dulles disagrees (580)



Unfortunately, this also applies to Khrushchev

# Charles de Gaulle

- Doesn't agree w/ Ike & HMac; wants to reassure GER
- Doesn't want to reawaken GER nationalism
- Abandons Richelieu's plan to keep GER weak & fragmented (576)
- Subtle balancing act w/ FRA in role of “defender”; fearful of Soviet-GER deal (577)



# Camp David (1959)

- First ultimatum expires without incident
- Ike & NK meet in US & Ike says US won't stay in Berlin forever (580)
- KISS: NK didn't ask for a compromise & never really followed through on any demands → spared NATO from its greatest potential crisis
  - NK had hawks (overconfident) & doves (realists) (581)
- “**Spirit of Camp David**” – Americans from the President on down genuinely want peace (*Newsweek*)
  - US perspective on conflict: result of misunderstandings rather than clashing interests



# U2

- KISS: Result of Camp David was another delay (582)
  - NK agrees to Four-Power meeting, but CDG says no unless NK first came to Paris.
- May 1960 – 2 weeks before meeting – U2 spyplane shot down over USSR → NK wrecks conference
  - Seemed like NK had his showdown, but he really wanted to avoid one & he postponed deadline again (583)



# John F. Kennedy

- NK thinks JFK is soft → Says DDR peace treaty is imminent, ended test ban w/ 50 megaton blast, & openly threatens UK/FRA w/ A-Bombs.
- Kennedy's Response: No unilateral treaty could get rid of US in Berlin
  - Basically calls for Gaither Plan to be enacted
- Reacts calmly on 8/13/61 by going sailing instead of freaking out...



# Die Berliner Mauer

- **8/13/1961** – E. Berlin citizens awake to find the escape route to W. Berlin is blocked by what would become the **Berlin Wall**, guarded by 32K troops; fleeing stops.
  - **KISS**: Bankruptcy of a communist regime unable to induce its own citizens to remain within their country was revealed to all the world (584)
- US would not resist Wall by force → Brandt's **Ostpolitik** resulted from disillusionment with US's reaction to Wall
- Adenauer to Acheson: I don't want Berlin defended by a nuclear war. **KISS**: No other way it could've been...



# Kennedy's Response II

- Troop mobilization to Berlin; “**Operation Stair Step**”; realizes DDR & E. Berlin are lost.
  - KISS: Staking American credibility on the freedom of Berlin (585)
- Standoff between troops & DDR backs down.
- NK at a self-created dead-end; advisors think him reckless; Ike & JFK call his bluff/expose weakness
- KISS: Ike = old containment script vs. JFK = New World Order → eliminate a permanent obstacle to peace



# NEW WORLD ORDER?

- Allies don't get a veto on negotiations (586)
  - **Dean Rusk** (SoS) abandons 4-Power talks to deal directly w/ USSR →
  - Soviets won't even agree to agenda.
- KISS: MAD Dilemma: Superpowers could use nukes to protect their survival, but they didn't bring about positive transformations.
  - 5% risk of reprisal too high b/c penalty is total loss
  - Therefore, both recoiled @ the idea of war
  - Status quo > impulse to modify it (586)



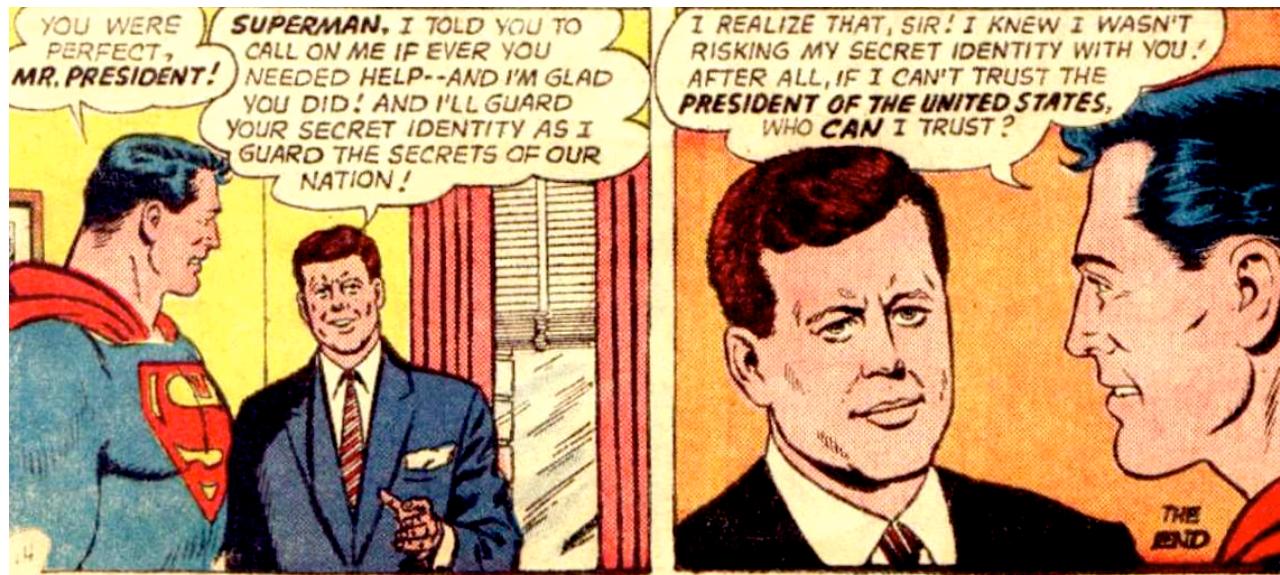
# Diplomacy?

- KISS: Diplomatic compromise impossible despite massive Allied concessions because NK's trumped up rhetoric raised USSR expectations
- Placing missiles in Cuba showed how high the stakes had to be raised before military power could affect diplomacy



# JFK's Plan for Berlin, 8/28/1961

- Accept DDR, Soviet Oder-Neisse line, non-aggression pact, & two peace treaties
  - Inevitable split w/ Adenauer
  - BRD would not be given the option to veto US ideas
    - Congress wouldn't've accepted war
    - BRD needed US, but this would wreck alliance
  - **KISS:** NK should have struck now (588)



# **US-BRD Relations Weak**

- 1962 US plan leaked calling for **International Access Authority** (ghost of Dulles in Suez?)
  - SWE, SUI, AUS would be given authority as neutrals
  - KA furious, esp. since DDR would have equal authority to BRD & three neutrals a poor substitute for US → Openly criticizes JFK (590)
- **KISS:** Once again, NK misses opportunity to destroy NATO → Instead causes Cuban Missile Crisis, which he loses to a bold JFK → Stripped his Berlin diplomacy (591)
- 1963 – NK says Wall is a success & separate peace treaty is unnecessary → End of crisis.



# Kissinger's Results

- NK achieved nothing except building Wall
- NATO weakened
- Hope of GER unification ends (for 30 years)
- USSR never challenges US directly again
- **Quadripartite Agreement** (1971) – USSR agrees to uphold open Berlin access & four-power status
- 1989 – Wall comes down
- KISS: Berlin Crisis is real turning point of the Cold War, although no one realized it at the time → Containment had worked after all (593)

