

# **U.S. State Department Office of the Executive Secretariat, Crisis Files**

## **Part 1: The Berlin Crisis, 1957–1963**



**A UPA Collection**

*from*



Cover: Map of Berlin showing the four occupation zones of the victorious World War II powers. Image by Norma Wark and Mark Zimmerman.

**U.S. State Department  
Office of the Executive Secretariat,  
Crisis Files**

**Part 1: The Berlin Crisis, 1957–1963**

**Guide by  
Rosemary Orthmann**

**A UPA Collection from**



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# SCOPE AND CONTENT NOTE

The *U.S. State Department Office of the Executive Secretariat, Crisis Files, Part 1: The Berlin Crisis, 1957–1963* offers an in-depth look into the negotiations of top U.S. officials with leaders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, aka Soviet Union) and Western Allies during one of the tensest periods of the cold war.

For a collection about the Berlin crisis, it contains curiously little discussion of the Berlin wall, which was erected in August 1961 to stem the tide of refugees fleeing the German Democratic Republic (GDR, aka East Germany). Instead the collection covers high-level diplomatic exchanges, preparations for those meetings, and policy options. The collection consists largely of meeting summaries, reports, policy directives, telegrams between the State Department and its representatives in the field, memoranda of diplomatic conversations, research memos, policy analyses, and a few press releases. Most of the documents in this collection originate in the administration of President John F. Kennedy in the early 1960s, although some, on Reels 6, 7, and 9, provide background to the onset of the crisis during the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the late 1950s.

The documents in this collection introduce readers to high-level officials of the U.S. Department of State during the Kennedy administration, notably Dean Rusk, secretary of state; Foy D. Kohler, assistant secretary of state for European Affairs until August 1962 and thereafter ambassador to the Soviet Union; Martin J. Hillenbrand, director of the Berlin Task Force and Office of German Affairs until July 1963, thereafter assistant secretary of state; Llewellyn E. Thompson, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union until July 1962; and Walter C. Dowling, U.S. ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG, aka West Germany) until April 1963.

Other individuals who figure prominently in this collection include Konrad Adenauer, FRG chancellor until October 1963; Charles de Gaulle, president of France; Nikita S. Khrushchev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union; and Andrei Gromyko, Soviet foreign minister. Additional foreign dignitaries surface often in these documents, such as the foreign ministers and ambassadors of NATO countries, but not to the extent (depth and breadth of coverage) of those specified above.

These documents show that the Allied powers—the three Western occupation powers of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States (tripartite powers), plus their NATO allies—spent much time planning for various contingencies, including both military and nonmilitary actions. In addition, the collection covers Allied consultations and meetings over the approach they should take in negotiating with the Soviets. Users will find reports

of the Four Power Working Group on Germany including Berlin, comprising representatives of the three Western occupation powers and the FRG (quadripartite powers). The four respective foreign ministers established the working group in April 1960 to draft negotiating proposals for consideration and use by the Western Allies in their dealings with the Soviets. The documents also cover meetings of the North Atlantic Council, comprising permanent representatives of NATO countries, to discuss Western negotiating tactics.

A major topic of contention between East and West during this period was free access to the city of Berlin, both by land and by air. Berlin was situated within the Soviet occupation zone of Germany and was itself divided into four occupation zones (see the map on the cover of this guide). The tripartite powers legally asserted the right of free passage of their military forces between the zones, but not without considerable harassment by the Soviets and their GDR allies during this period and some serious confrontations. The Western Allies secretly considered proposals for an interim arrangement or practical compromise on Berlin (the so-called Berlin *modus vivendi*), while openly advocating a resolution of the Berlin crisis only within the broader context of an all-German solution based on a plebiscite and reunification. This collection contains multiple sets of negotiating tactics in various drafts.

The topic of an all-German solution fed into the discussion of how and with whom to negotiate a post-World War II peace treaty. After the war, two separate German states emerged—the FRG, which was aligned with the West and NATO, and the GDR, which was aligned with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact. The Western Allies, especially the United States, steadfastly refused to recognize the so-called German Democratic Republic, while the Soviet Union repeatedly threatened to sign a separate peace treaty with the GDR. Each side objected to the establishment and “militarization” of yet another nation in the enemy camp. The documents show how nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament took on heightened significance during the Berlin crisis.

The collection covers numerous high-level diplomatic meetings over the Berlin crisis, including Kennedy’s talks with de Gaulle, Gromyko, and Alexei Adzhubei, the editor-in-chief of *Izvestia*; Rusk’s talks with Gromyko and Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to the United States; Thompson’s talks with Gromyko in Moscow; and meetings of NATO foreign ministers in Geneva, Paris, and Washington.

Documents in this collection reveal the true nature of the high-level diplomatic exchanges that took place to resolve the Berlin crisis. In a July 24, 1962, telegram from Geneva to the acting secretary of state (to be read only by the president and Ambassador Thompson), Rusk reveals his satisfaction in dealings among representatives from France, the United Kingdom, the United States, and FRG but also his frustration in negotiating with the Soviets:

There has been good feeling among four Western foreign ministers at Geneva and unity on the line to take at this point as well as on necessary urgent review of Western position on contingency planning. This plus



fact that Gromyko keeps door open encourages me to think that additional patience may work this our [*sic*], distressing as it is to listen to and to play certain long-playing records ad nauseum. (Reel 4, Frame 0106)

Two U.S. ambassadors reveal Khrushchev's contempt for the West German chancellor, as well as the threatening nature of Khrushchev's rhetoric. In a telegram to Secretary Rusk on May 13, 1962, to be read only by the president, Ambassador Thompson reports on his latest meeting with Khrushchev:

K immediately brought up subject of Adenauer's statements on Berlin. He said Adenauer senile old man but US unfortunately tied to his policy. Said only way Adenauer could reunite Germany would be through war but he didn't have courage to start it because it would be end of West Germany. (Reel 4, Frame 0677)

Similarly, in a telegram to Secretary Rusk on October 16, 1962, Ambassador Kohler reports the following:

Adenauer says, Khrushchev continued, that if USSR signs peace treaty [separate, with GDR], US must do its duty and start war. Adenauer is too old and is losing his mind. He is stupid old man (glupy starik). But West Germany would be first country to be burned up, within first hour of war. Adenauer is 86 and perhaps he doesn't care. But German people want their children to live. (Reel 5, Frame 0313)

The collection contains a number of notable historical documents, some readily and others not-so-readily available. Of particular significance to this collection is the official translation of the Soviet aide-mémoire on Germany and Berlin, which Khrushchev handed to Kennedy on June 4, 1961 at their summit in Vienna (Reel 1, Frames 0710–0716). (An aide-mémoire is a written summary of important points in a diplomatic communication.) It was this particular document, enumerating eight provocative points, which generated over a month of negotiations with the Western Allies and multiple drafts of replies, available in this collection. Although none of the points was new, the Soviets asserted, in one place, that it was the Western-oriented FRG, not the Eastern-oriented GDR, which failed to live up to postwar agreements to eradicate militarism in Germany. In essence the Soviets threatened to conclude a separate peace treaty with the GDR, terminate occupation rights, and establish the “free city” of West Berlin.

The Soviets advanced a vigorous public relations campaign to win over support for their policies. They published the text of the aide-mémoire within days of the Khrushchev-Kennedy summit (not covered extensively in this collection). The Western powers were clearly concerned about countering the Soviets' public relations campaign with its own information program to win over the hearts and minds of the public for Allied policy. A UK document composed after receipt of the Soviet aide-mémoire but before erection of the Berlin wall summarizes the position of the Western powers nicely:

(a) There is no need for a Berlin crisis: if one develops, it will be artificial and made by Russia.

(b) The apparent reasonableness of Soviet proposals covers a calculated plan to usurp essential Western rights and to deprive two and a half million people of their only effective guarantee for freedom.

(c) The Russian assertion that West Berlin is part of the territory of the D.D.R. [Deutsche Demokratische Republik] is quite untrue. They offer a “free city of West Berlin” as a “concession”; in fact they ask us to give up absolute rights for a doubtful leasehold with a built-in risk that this is a first step towards swallowing up West Berlin.

(d) The West certainly do not desire war, nor will there be war if the basic situation is left as is. But we are determined to take any necessary steps to safeguard our position. (Reel 1, Frames 0663–0664)

Other notable documents in this collection include

- the text of the statement President Kennedy made to the nation on July 25, 1961, regarding the Berlin crisis (Reel 1, Frames 0283–0290);
- the text of the joint communiqué by President Kennedy and Chancellor Adenauer on November 22, 1961 (Reel 5, Frames 0782–0741); and
- the communiqué issued on December 15, 1961, by the NATO Ministerial Council: “Disregarding the obligations it has undertaken, the Soviet Union has cut Berlin in two. Walling-in of the people under its control has once more demonstrated to the world the real nature of the Communist system and the irresistible attraction of a free society” (Reel 3, Frame 0212).

The collection also contains a thoughtful study dated February 6, 1962, on the viability of Berlin after the erection of the wall (Reel 10, Frames 0343–0367). In it, the author offers the following recommendation:

The key to Berlin’s future is the confidence of its people in the United States. It must be clear that West Berlin is part of the West and that free access to the city from the West is guaranteed. It must be clear that the full power of the United States stands back of that guarantee. We need not be bellicose or provocative; we must be firm and clear. (Reel 10, Frame 0343)

It was this philosophy that governed U.S. policy during the Kennedy administration and was memorialized in President Kennedy’s “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech in June of 1963 (not included in this collection).

The two final folders in this microfilm collection contain the minutes of Berlin Task Force meetings, which covered specific incidents in East-West relations during this volatile period of the cold war. Every meeting began with a briefing by the State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research, examining relevant activities in the GDR and Soviet Union. Members then discussed specific incidents, such as a Western

tractor trailer that had difficulty negotiating the maze of barriers the GDR erected in Babelsberg to control traffic on the autobahn (Reel 10, Frame 0657). Other incidents involved harassments during passage through the checkpoint at Friedrichstrasse and in accessing the exclave of Steinstuecken in the southwest corner of the city.

While documents in this collection provide insight into the Western Allies' positions and thought processes during the Berlin crisis, researchers desiring a more complete picture will need to turn to documents of the Soviet and GDR governments that have been declassified since the fall of the Berlin wall. Recent scholarship based on such documents indicates that the GDR exerted much greater influence over Soviet cold war policy than had previously been thought.\*

Related collections published by LexisNexis include the *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Federal Republic of Germany: Foreign Affairs, 1955–1959 and 1960–January 1963*; *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Federal Republic of Germany: Subject-Numeric Files, February 1963–1966, Part I: Political, Governmental, and National Defense Affairs and Part II: Social, Economic, and Industrial Affairs*; *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Germany: Internal and Foreign Affairs, 1955–1959 and 1960–January 1963*; *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Germany: Subject-Numeric Files, February 1963–1966, Part I: Political, Governmental, and National Defense Affairs*; *Records of the United States Information Agency, Research Reports, Part 2: German Public Opinion, 1945–1970*; and *Peace Studies: Documents on Disarmament, 1945–1982*.

\*See Hope M. Harrison, *Driving the Soviets Up the Wall: Soviet–East German Relations, 1953–1961* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).



## **SOURCE NOTE**

This microform publication consists of documents from the following Lot Files held at the National Archives and Records Administration in College Park, Maryland: Record Group 59, Records of the State Department Office of the Executive Secretariat, Lot File 66D124, Boxes 1–3, Entry 3052; and Bureau of European Affairs, Office of German Affairs, Records relating to Berlin, 1957–1963, Lot Files 70D548, 78D222, 78D269, 78D271, and 80D2, Boxes 1–7, Entry 3089.

## **EDITORIAL NOTE**

LexisNexis has filmed all documents in their entirety from the Lot Files noted above, except for documents the archives staff withdrew for national security reasons. LexisNexis has filmed the document withdrawal sheets in place of the withdrawn documents to indicate what is missing and where.



# ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations appear in this guide.

<b>B</b>	Berlin
<b>ENDC</b>	Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee
<b>FRG</b>	Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)
<b>G</b>	Germany
<b>GDR</b>	German Democratic Republic (East Germany)
<b>IAA</b>	International Access Authority
<b>INR</b>	Bureau of Intelligence and Research (Department of State)
<b>JFK</b>	John F. Kennedy
<b>MemCons</b>	Memoranda of conversations
<b>NAC</b>	North Atlantic Council
<b>NATO</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>NSC</b>	National Security Council
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>USSR</b>	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Soviet Union)





# REEL INDEX

The following index is a listing of the folders that compose *U.S. State Department Office of the Executive Secretariat, Crisis Files, Part 1: The Berlin Crisis, 1957–1963*. The four-digit number on the far left is the frame number at which a particular file folder begins. This is followed by the file title and the date(s) of the file. Substantive issues are highlighted under the heading Major Topics, as are prominent correspondents under the heading Principal Correspondents. Topics and correspondents are listed in the order in which they appear on the film, and each is listed only once per folder.

## Reel 1

*Frame No.*

### **Bureau of European Affairs, Office of German Affairs Records relating to Berlin, 1957–1963**

**0001 POL 1-2 Working Group [Four Power ... on Germany including Berlin] Report, April 9, 1960; Supplementary Working Group Report, April 21, 1960.**

*Major Topics:* Tripartite (U.S., UK, France) access to Berlin; Berlin reunification; USSR motives in Germany and Berlin; German reunification; Allied plebiscite proposal for Germany.

**0034 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G [Berlin and Germany] (History), January–June 1961.**

*Major Topics:* U.S. contingency planning on Berlin; Allied responses to Soviet aide-mémoire on Germany and Berlin; Allied peace plan proposal; all-German talks; USSR motives in Germany and Berlin; Allied contingency planning; Berlin crisis history; USSR-FRG relations; Four Power Declaration proposal.

*Principal Correspondents:* Martin J. Hillenbrand; Dean Rusk; Foy D. Kohler; Llewellyn E. Thompson; Nikita S. Khrushchev.

**0200 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History), July 1961.**

*Major Topics:* USSR motives in Germany and Berlin; Allied contingency planning; JFK statement to nation on Berlin crisis; U.S. policy on Berlin; proposed Allied economic sanctions against Sino-Soviet bloc; NATO and Japan trade with bloc (1959–60); USSR negotiating tactics; Federal Emergency Plan for Berlin; GDR control of access to Berlin; impact of Vienna disarmament talks on USSR Berlin policies.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Acheson; Llewellyn E. Thompson; John F. Kennedy; Edward A. McDermott; Foy D. Kohler; Heinrich von Brentano.

**0435 POL 1-2 U.S. July 17 Note/Reply to Soviet Aide Memoire of June 4, 1961. June 4–July 13, 1961.**

*Major Topics:* Chronology and text of U.S. reply to Soviet aide-mémoire on Germany and Berlin; German reunification; FRG as integrated part of Western European community; GDR as instrument of USSR foreign policy; postwar protocol governing occupation zones in Germany; French and British policy on Germany and Berlin; FRG reply to Soviet aide-mémoire; Berlin reunification proposal; International Court of Justice; UN jurisdiction in Berlin; English-language translation of Soviet aide-mémoire on Germany and Berlin.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Rusk; Theodore C. Sorensen; Martin J. Hillenbrand.

**0729 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) August 1961.**

*Major Topics:* Proposed parallel peace agreements as framework for talks on Berlin, German reunification, and European security; U.S. and British negotiating positions; INR assessment of consequences of recognition of the GDR; proposed JFK visit to Berlin; Charles de Gaulle views on Berlin; Allied military strength; tripartite access to Berlin; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; USSR motives in Germany and Berlin.

*Principal Correspondents:* George C. McGhee; Harold Macmillan; R. A. Lincoln; Dean Rusk; Foy D. Kohler.

## Reel 2

**0001 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History): 4 Power Working Group Report, August 4–9, 1961.**

*Major Topics:* USSR and Western Allied motives, objectives, and tactics in Germany and Berlin; GDR political and economic situation; German reunification; all-German plebiscite; access to Berlin; Allied alliance military force build-up; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; Berlin contingency plans.

**0039 POL 1-2 Negotiations History, USSR Note on Berlin and Germany, August 3, 1961.**

*Major Topics:* English-language translation of USSR note to U.S. on Berlin and German question; peace treaty with GDR and FRG; German reunification; NATO military preparations; German self-determination; FRG draft reply to USSR note with U.S. comments; drafts of U.S. reply; West Berlin press coverage and quadripartite discussion of Nikita S. Khrushchev TV broadcast.

*Principal Correspondents:* George G. McGhee; Llewellyn E. Thompson.

**0144 POL 1-2 Negotiations History, USSR Memo to FRG, December 27, 1961.**

*Major Topics:* West German reactions to FRG reply to USSR memo; German disarmament; FRG foreign trade; FRG relations with France, U.S., UK, and USSR; European Economic Community; NATO; German reunification; self-determination; Berlin wall erection; Konrad Adenauer; Willy Brandt support of bilateral talks; Hans S. Kroll; Erich Mende; GDR reactions to USSR memo; Berlin as “free city”; West Berlin economy.

- Principal Correspondents:* Walter C. Dowling; Martin J. Hillenbrand; Llewellyn E. Thompson; Dean Rusk.
- 0292 POL 1-2 Four Power Working Group Report as Revised in Light of Ministerial Consultations, September 14, 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* USSR motives and intentions in Germany and Berlin; Berlin as “free city”; Luftwaffe overflight of Soviet zone; NATO military preparations; air access to Berlin; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; Jawarharlal Nehru–Nikita S. Khrushchev talks; USSR tactics; plan for Allied response to separate peace treaty of Soviet bloc with GDR; all-German constitution; European security; Berlin reunification; UN involvement in Berlin; all-German plebiscite; West Berlin plebiscite; West Berlin ties with FRG.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Dean Rusk.
- 0508 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History): Four Power Working Group Report, August 5–6, 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* USSR motives and intentions in Germany and Berlin; Allied tactics; West Berlin ties to FRG; German reunification; NATO military build-up; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; Berlin contingency plans; UN involvement in Berlin; publicity themes to back Four Power position.
- 0572 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History), September 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* German public concern over U.S. policy; comparison between the Japanese peace treaty and a USSR-GDR peace treaty; USSR occupation of Japanese territory; Paul-Henri Spaak talks with Nikita S. Khrushchev; NATO members land access to Berlin; USSR security issues in Germany; Henry A. Kissinger assessment of USSR position; U.S. negotiating strategy; Khrushchev–Walther Ulbricht dialogue on Berlin as “free city”; parallel peace treaty approach; Khrushchev message on German peace treaty; Berlin reunification; European security; Allied peace plan revision.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Heinrich von Brentano; Thomas K. Finletter; Henry A. Kissinger; George C. McGhee; Foy D. Kohler.
- 0702 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History), October 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* European security; access to Berlin; GDR sovereignty; possible Allied concessions to USSR demands; USSR position on Berlin and Germany; Andrei Gromyko September 30 talk with Dean Rusk and October 6 talk with JFK; German views on Berlin crisis.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Konrad Adenauer; Paul H. Nitze; Charles E. Bohlen.
- 0768 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History), November 1961.**  
*Major Topic:* Comparison of FRG and U.S. negotiating positions.  
*Principal Correspondent:* John F. Kennedy.
- 0772 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History), December 1961.**  
*Major Topic:* Allied negotiating tactics.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.

## Reel 3

**0001 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History): Rusk/Gromyko talks, September–October 1961; incl. Pres./Rusk October 6, 1961.**

*Major Topics:* Summary and analysis of JFK–Andrei Gromyko talks; access to and viability of Berlin; German peace treaty; European security; summary and analysis of Dean Rusk–Gromyko talks; GDR sovereignty; self-determination; disarmament; draft FRG peace treaty.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Rusk; Chester Bowles; Charles E. Bohlen; Foy D. Kohler; Allen W. Dulles.

**0202 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History): Telegraphs from Paris NATO Meeting re. B&G, December 1961.**

*Major Topics:* NATO strengthening of military forces in face of USSR threats, especially in Berlin; NATO ministers' communiqué about Berlin wall; member strategies to show unanimity at NAC meeting.

*Principal Correspondent:* Thomas K. Finletter.

**0317 POL 1-2 Thompson/Gromyko (Moscow), December 1961.**

*Major Topics:* Negotiating instructions for U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson; FRG views on U.S. negotiating tactics.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Rusk; Llewellyn E. Thompson.

**0347 POL 1-2 President Kennedy/Adzhubei [Editor-in-Chief *Izvestiya*], January 31, 1962.**

*Major Topics:* JFK–Alexei Adzhubei meeting; incompatibility of U.S.-USSR positions on Berlin and Germany.

*Principal Correspondent:* George W. Ball.

**0382 POL 1-2 Thompson/Gromyko (Moscow), January 1962.**

*Major Topics:* Negotiating instructions for U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson; access to Berlin; IAA; GDR position on West Berlin; UK view of U.S. negotiating position; USSR intentions in Berlin crisis; Thompson–Andrei Gromyko talks; West Berlin as “free, demilitarized city”; FRG views of U.S. negotiating position; Allied occupation rights in Berlin; GDR sovereignty.

*Principal Correspondents:* George W. Ball; Walter C. Dowling; Llewellyn E. Thompson; E. Allan Lightner Jr.; George C. McGhee; Dean Rusk; Charles E. Bohlen.

**0716 POL 1-2 Thompson/Gromyko (Moscow) February 1962.**

*Major Topics:* Access to Berlin; USSR position on West Berlin; IAA; Berlin reunification.

*Principal Correspondents:* Llewellyn E. Thompson; Dean Rusk.

## Reel 4

**0001 POL 1-2 Thompson/Gromyko (Moscow) March 1962.**

*Major Topics:* USSR position on Berlin and Germany; access to Berlin; USSR “harassment” of Allies in Berlin air corridors; U.S. position on Berlin and Germany.

- Principal Correspondents:* Thomas L. Hughes; Llewellyn E. Thompson; Dean Rusk.
- 0051 POL 1-2 Negotiations History, Rusk-Dobrynin Conversations, April–August 1962.**  
*Major Topics:* USSR intentions in Berlin crisis; talking points for Dean Rusk conversations with Anatoly Dobrynin; shooting of 18-year-old boy at Berlin wall; negotiating history of Berlin crisis since November 1958; Allied military personnel in West Berlin; nuclear diffusion; chronology of U.S. initiatives since January 20, 1961, to improve relations with USSR; USSR proposal for UN military personnel in West Berlin; de facto division of Germany.  
*Principal Correspondents:* William R. Tyler; Dean Rusk; Foy D. Kohler.
- 0265 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History), MemCons from Geneva Mtg., March 1962.**  
*Major Topics:* U.S. position presented by Foy D. Kohler and Dean Rusk; USSR position presented by Andrei Gromyko and Vladimir S. Semenov; access to West Berlin; de facto division of Germany; Allied military personnel in West Berlin; nuclear diffusion; GDR sovereignty; Adar Rapacki; disarmament; West Berlin ties to FRG; USSR harassments in Berlin air corridors; Evelyn Shuckburgh; FRG position presented by Gerhard Schroeder, FRG foreign minister.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.
- 0475 POL 1-2 B&G Negotiations (History) February 1962.**  
*Major Topics:* U.S. negotiating strategy; Berlin modus vivendi; FRG negotiating position.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Foy D. Kohler; Dean Rusk.
- 0517 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) March 1962.**  
*Major Topic:* Andrei Gromyko’s exposition of USSR position.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Thomas L. Hughes.
- 0534 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) April 1962.**  
*Major Topics:* JFK–Heinrich von Brentano meeting about German press reports critical of U.S. position; Dean Rusk–Anatoly Dobrynin meeting for clarification of recent public statements of USSR position by Andrei Gromyko; IAA; Berlin transit; U.S.-FRG relations.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Gerhard Schroeder; John F. Kennedy; Konrad Adenauer.
- 0617 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) May 1962.**  
*Major Topics:* IAA; tabular comparison of U.S. negotiating principles (April–May); positive German press reports of U.S. position regarding FRG; Pierre Salinger–Nikita S. Khrushchev talks concerning access to and status of West Berlin; disarmament; U.S.-FRG relations; Allied military personnel in Berlin; chronology of U.S. “Principles Paper” and IAA Paper; JFK and Konrad Adenauer press conference about U.S.-USSR talks on Berlin.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Richard D. Kearney; Foy D. Kohler; Walter C. Dowling; Llewellyn E. Thompson; John F. Kennedy; Dean Rusk.

**0763 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) June 1962.**

*Major Topic:* Dean Rusk trip to Europe.

**Reel 5**

**0001 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) July 1962.**

*Major Topics:* German peace treaty; Dean Rusk–Andrei Gromyko talks; access to West Berlin; USSR security; disarmament; Berlin crisis history since 1958; Rusk–Anatoly Dobrynin talks; Allied military personnel in Berlin; possible UN role in Berlin; GDR sovereignty; IAA; Berlin reunification.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Rusk; Foy D. Kohler.

**0157 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) August 1962.**

*Major Topics:* Quadripartite foreign ministers' meeting on Berlin; contingency plan for separate USSR peace treaty with GDR; negotiating history of Berlin crisis since November 1958; Berlin reunification; IAA; occupation rights; UN role in Berlin; European security; GDR sovereignty; parallel peace treaties.

*Principal Correspondent:* William R. Tyler.

**0219 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) September 1962.**

*Major Topics:* Dean Rusk talking points for meeting with Andrei Gromyko; Berlin negotiations impasse; Allied military personnel in Berlin; Berlin as “free city”; Nikita S. Khrushchev.

*Principal Correspondent:* William R. Tyler.

**0238 POL 1-2 Negotiations on B&G (History) October 1962.**

*Major Topics:* All-Berlin solution; West Berlin plebiscite; GDR economy; trade sanctions; Dean Rusk–Andrei Gromyko talks; land and air access to West Berlin; Allied military personnel in Berlin; GDR sovereignty; JFK–Gromyko talks; nuclear weapons testing; West Berlin as “free city”; Nikita S. Khrushchev; Konrad Adenauer; disarmament; INR assessment of USSR intentions; Gerhard Schroeder; Anatoly Dobrynin; Lord Home; JFK–Willy Brandt meeting; Berlin as NATO base.

*Principal Correspondents:* Walter C. Dowling; Foy D. Kohler; William R. Tyler.

**0410 POL 1-2 Negotiations History November 1962.**

*Major Topics:* Nikita S. Khrushchev assessment of Allied motives; Frank Roberts; Allied military personnel in Berlin; UN role in Berlin; West Berlin as “free city”; U.S. negotiation tactics; Lord Hood; Martin J. Hillenbrand; disarmament; nuclear weapons testing; USSR intentions and objectives; NATO reactions to separate peace treaty contingency; Willy Brandt; FRG negotiation proposals; David Ormsby Gore.

*Principal Correspondents:* Richard H. Davis; William R. Tyler.

**0553 POL 3 Ambassadorial Meetings 1961 (Holloway's file on Berlin) [August 25, 1961–October 4, 1961].**

*Major Topics:* U.S. negotiating strategy with allies; air access to Berlin; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; NATO.

*Principal Correspondent:* Jerome K. Holloway Jr.

**0587 POL 3 Quadripartite Ambassadorial—Round II, October 9, 1961.**

*Major Topics:* FRG position on Berlin viability; air access to Berlin; GDR sovereignty; occupation rights; European security; Andrei Gromyko; sector border problems; checkpoint Friedrichstrasse.

*Principal Correspondent:* Jerome K. Holloway Jr..

**0618 POL 7 NATO Ministerial Meeting May 1961.**

*Major Topics:* NATO economic and defense policy; Allied position on USSR threat of separate peace treaty with GDR; U.S. negotiating strategy and objectives; Nikita S. Khrushchev; nonmilitary tripartite countermeasures to possible USSR cutoff of Berlin access (Allied contingency planning); JFK statement to NATO Military Committee about the need for both conventional and nuclear weapons.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Rusk; Foy D. Kohler.

**0742 POL 7 Adenauer, Chancellor, November 20–22, 1961 (Memcons, reports, etc.) [November 20–27, 1961].**

*Major Topics:* Constitutional status of West Berlin; Oder-Neisse border for Germany; recognition of the GDR; nuclear weapons; NATO build-up of conventional forces; Berlin-FRG relationship; UN role in Berlin; access to Berlin; Berlin contingency planning; contingency planning for USSR-GDR separate peace treaty; Dean Rusk; JFK; Gerhard Schroeder, foreign minister of the FRG; Franz-Josef Strauss; occupation rights; Hans S. Kroll; Nikita S. Khrushchev; Charles de Gaulle.

*Principal Correspondents:* John F. Kennedy; Dean Acheson.

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**0001 POL 7 Adenauer, Chancellor, November 20–22, 1961 (Memcons, reports, etc.) cont. [October 20–November 20, 1961].**

*Major Topics:* JFK; Hans S. Kroll; Nikita S. Khrushchev; USSR military build-up; nuclear weapons; Charles de Gaulle; U.S. objectives and talking points for JFK–Konrad Adenauer meetings; access to Berlin; Allied negotiating tactics; constitutional status of West Berlin; UN role in Berlin; recognition of the GDR; Oder-Neisse border; European security; West Berlin–FRG ties; German reunification; Foy D. Kohler.

*Principal Correspondents:* Dean Rusk; Foy D. Kohler; Konrad Adenauer.

**0230 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin, October 24, 1957–November 15, 1958.**

*Major Topics:* Access to Berlin; Nikita S. Khrushchev; German reunification; Allied occupation rights; Communist promotion of a “confederation of the two Germanies”; Wilhelm G. Grewe; legal status of Berlin.

*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.

**0253 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin November 16–21, 1958.**

*Major Topics:* Berlin contingency planning; FRG-GDR relations; legal status of Berlin; recognition of the GDR; access to Berlin.

**0311 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin, November 22–27, 1958.**

*Major Topics:* Airlift plans; Berlin blockade; chronology of 1958 events; Berlin partition; constitutional status of West Berlin; interzonal trade.

- 0344 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin, November 28–December 3, 1958.**  
*Major Topics:* FRG analysis of Nikita S. Khrushchev Berlin plans; German press comments on Khrushchev's plans; USSR–Germany relations, 1922–1939; Nazi–USSR relations, 1939–1941; peace treaty negotiations, 1946–1949; FRG–West Berlin ties; FRG–GDR relations; UN role in Berlin.
- 0409 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin December 4–31, 1958.**  
*Major Topic:* U.S. strategy for molding public opinion to counteract Communist press offensive.
- 0422 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin, January 1–February 28, 1959.**  
*Major Topics:* USSR disruption of land and air access to Berlin; British negotiation strategy.
- 0437 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin, March 1–December 3, 1959.**  
*Major Topics:* H.J. Resolution 278 (U.S. responsibilities in Berlin); congressional proposal for UN action in Berlin; British position on Berlin; existence of two Germanies.  
*Principal Correspondents:* William B. Macomber Jr.; Woodbury Willoughby.
- 0449 October–December 1959.**  
*Major Topics:* British position on Berlin; four-power preparations for summit meeting; FRG position on Berlin; Allied tactics in response to USSR emphasis on German peace treaty/unity issue; German plebiscite; separate USSR–GDR peace treaty; USSR treaty violations since 1925; U.S. objectives regarding NATO defense posture.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.
- 0511 Washington Foreign Ministers' Conference ([April] 1960).**  
*Major Topics:* Allied negotiating tactics; USSR aims on Germany and Berlin; USSR summit tactics; German reunification; all-German plebiscite on peace treaty; Berlin reunification; Berlin *modus vivendi*; British contingency plan.
- 0549 Soviet & East German Moves in Berlin, 1960–June 1961 [March 16, 1960].**  
[Editorial note: a single, two-page typewritten Russian-language document].
- 0552 Negotiations & Preparations therefore #1 [July 13, 1960–December 7, 1961, and undated].**  
*Major Topics:* Nikita S. Khrushchev; Konrad Adenauer; Foy D. Kohler; nuclear diffusion; NATO; FRG position on German question; right of self-determination; JFK–Charles de Gaulle talks (May 31–June 2, 1961); Allied military personnel and occupation status in Berlin; access to Berlin; German reunification; recognition of the GDR; Berlin *modus vivendi*.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.
- 0678 Berlin Negotiations—1960 [November 1, 1961–December 28, 1962, and undated].**  
*Major Topics:* NATO contingency plans; Berlin Task Force; Military Subgroup of the Washington Ambassadorial Group; Paul H. Nitze; Samuel Hood; Hans-Georg Wieck; Jean-Claude Winckler.



**0781 POL 7 ENDC [Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee], Geneva, March 1962 (Memcons etc.).**

*Major Topics:* Dean Rusk–Andrei Gromyko talks; German peace treaty; Allied military personnel in Berlin; access to West Berlin; Foy D. Kohler–Vladimir S. Semenov talks; GDR sovereignty; Berlin *modus vivendi*.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.

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**0001 POL 7 ENDC, Geneva, March 1962 (Memcons etc.) cont.**

*Major Topics:* Dean Rusk–Andrei Gromyko talks; access to Berlin; separate USSR-GDR peace treaty; GDR sovereignty; Allied military personnel in Berlin; Rusk talks with Eastern bloc foreign ministers; Adam Rapacki; NATO–Warsaw Pact nonaggression arrangement; Foy D. Kohler–Vladimir S. Semenov talks; USSR harassment in Berlin air corridors; FRG–West Berlin ties; self-determination; nuclear diffusion; U.S.-UK bilateral talks; Rusk–Gerhard Schroeder talks; disarmament; Berlin *modus vivendi*; Gromyko–Llewellyn E. Thompson talks; Berlin as “free city”; IAA; USSR intentions at disarmament conference.

*Principal Correspondents:* Foy D. Kohler; Roger Hilsman.

**0303 Negotiating Position—4-Power Declaration (letter 1961) [March 1958; February 10–December 31, 1961].**

*Major Topics:* Parallel peace treaties; NATO and European security; General Lauris Norstad plan; separate USSR-GDR peace treaty; French, British, U.S., and FRG positions on separate peace treaty conference; access to Berlin; West Berlin as independent city; nonnuclear diffusion.

*Principal Correspondent:* George C. McGhee.

**0387 High Level Correspondence re. Berlin (1961) [November 16, 1961].**

*Major Topic:* U.S.-British contrasting positions on Berlin.

*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.

[Three of four documents withdrawn.]

**0393 Berlin 1960: Soviet Harassment (August 30–September 8 Decrees).**

*Major Topics:* Temporary travel document (TTD) ban; NATO; eastern sector of Berlin as GDR territory; USSR and U.S. positions on Berlin.

*Principal Correspondent:* Martin J. Hillenbrand.

**0413 1960 Summit [illegible] [July 28, 1959–April 28, 1960].**

*Major Topics:* Contingency planning in light of negotiations; access to Berlin; revision of four-power steering group; five-power disarmament talks; French position on new Berlin statute; Karl Carstens; Foy D. Kohler.

*Principal Correspondents:* Martin J. Hillenbrand; Foy D. Kohler.

**0480 Berlin negotiations—1961, I [March 13–September 9, 1961].**

*Major Topic:* Berlin reunification.

**0493 1961 Soviet Memoranda of February & June & US Replies [March 9–April 5, 1961].**

*Major Topic:* FRG-USSR relations.

*Principal Correspondent:* Konrad Adenauer.

- 0500 Berlin Negotiations, misc. August–September 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* UN Security Council and NATO roles; access to Berlin; Wilhelm G. Grewe; JFK; Herve Alphanth.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.
- 0534 Possible nonmilitary Countermeasures ... in event of Obstruction of Access to Berlin, May 1961.**  
*Major Topic:* Contingency planning.
- 0571 Meeting of Foreign Ministers, Paris, August 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* USSR motives and intentions; Allied tactics; German reunification; contingency plans; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; UN role.
- 0673 Report of the Four-Power Working Group on Germany and Berlin, September 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* NATO; USSR motives and intentions; Allied tactics; self-determination; separate USSR-GDR peace treaty.
- 0745 Report of Four-Power Working Group on Economic Countermeasures, September 1961 [August 3–September 11, 1961].**  
*Major Topics:* Obstruction of access to Berlin; contingency planning; total and selective embargo; support for embargo and participation of non-NATO countries; Allied exports to the Soviet bloc; nonmilitary, noneconomic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; UK position on countermeasures; impact of economic countermeasures on Belgian-Luxembourg Economic Union, Canada, Denmark, FRG, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and UK.

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- 0001 Berlin Task Force Minutes, November 8, 1961 [June 3–4, 1961].**  
*Major Topic:* U.S. position on Berlin and Germany.
- 0003 Memorandum on Berlin, July 21, 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* Military build-up of U.S. and NATO allies; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis and estimated impact; NATO (including Japan) trade with Sino-Soviet bloc (1959); information program to influence public opinion.
- 0074 Berlin Talks, misc., 1961–1962 [February 1961–August 1963].**  
*Major Topics:* Observation post establishment in NATO and Warsaw Pact countries; exchange of military missions; self-determination; European security; USSR motives and intentions; land access to Berlin; military build-up of U.S. and NATO allies; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; Berlin information program; UN role; USSR-GDR separate peace treaty; Gunther Diehl; Inter Nationes (organization: a smaller German equivalent of the British Council); FRG–Eastern Europe relations; IAA; NATO–Warsaw Pact nonaggression arrangement.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Jonathan “Jock” Dean; William R. Tyler.
- 0280 Four Power Working Group Report (BER-5), December 7–10, 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* USSR motives and intentions; Allied military personnel in Berlin; access to Berlin; GDR sovereignty; contingency planning; arms

- control; information program to influence public opinion; Berlin-FRG ties; IAA; flight rules.
- 0361 Western Attitude in the Event of an Uprising in East Germany, December 1961.**  
*Major Topic:* UN role in Berlin.
- 0374 Paris—4 Power Working Group—July/August 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* Contingency planning; J. William Fulbright television interview; Foy D. Kohler; self-determination; UN role in Berlin.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Llewellyn E. Thompson; Walter C. Dowling; James M. Gavin; Dean Rusk.
- 0556 NSC Discussion of Berlin, June–July 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* Contingency planning; Foy D. Kohler; Evelyn Shuckburgh.
- 0589 DeGaulle-Kennedy Exchange of Correspondence on Berlin, August–September 1961 [August 24, 1961].**  
[One of two letters withdrawn.]  
*Principal Correspondent:* John F. Kennedy.
- 0595 A Handbook on the Berlin Problem, December 27, 1961 [October 22, 1962].**  
*Major Topic:* Planned Allied response to separate USSR-GDR peace treaty.
- 0626 Files from Cabinet 16+78 II, September–December II, BTF 22 [November 24–December 5, 1961].**  
*Major Topics:* Quadripartite position on Berlin; French nonparticipation in proposed Four Power declaration; NATO and contingency planning.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Abram Chayes; Thomas K. Finletter.
- 0656 Key Documents, 1961–1962 [November 30, 1960–August 8, 1962].**  
*Major Topics:* Berlin Medical Center project; Benjamin Franklin Foundation.
- 0727 2.11 Berlin Negotiations, January 1962.**  
*Major Topics:* Press reports; West Berlin morale; Nikita S. Khrushchev position on Germany and Berlin; USSR motives and intentions; West Berlin–FRG ties.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Charles E. Bohlen; Walter C. Dowling; John F. Kennedy.
- 0792 Crisis Documents, July–August 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* Lucius D. Clay; U.S. position on Berlin.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Foy D. Kohler.

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- 0001 Elections [January 29, 1960].**  
*Major Topics:* Free elections in Germany compared to Vietnam; Geneva Conference of 1954.
- 0006 Western Peace Plan [May 28, 1959].**  
*Major Topics:* German reunification; “Mixed German Committee” as transitional, consensus-reaching body; free elections.
- 0017 Foreign Ministers Meeting, Geneva, May 11, 1959. ([U.S.-USSR] Exchange of Notes on Berlin and Germany and Berlin Air Corridor Notes).**
- 0029 [Bruno] Kreisky Memorandum [October 12, 1960].**  
*Major Topic:* USSR proposals on West Berlin.

- 0033 1961–1965 Disarmament [August 7, 1961–July 29, 1963].**  
*Major Topics:* NATO–Warsaw Pact nonaggression arrangement; nuclear test ban agreement; Nikita S. Khrushchev and FRG position on disarmament; JFK European trip (June 1963).  
*Principal Correspondent:* Richard D. Kearney.
- 0183 Historical Documents from Dr. Kogan’s Study, 1961 [June 19–29, 1961].**  
*Major Topic:* Berlin contingency planning.
- 0193 Misc. Documents [September 27, 1960–August 13, 1962].**  
*Major Topics:* Charles de Gaulle European proposals; USSR position on Berlin and Germany.
- 0213 Mr. Hillenbrand—Chron File [August 17, 1962].**  
*Major Topic:* Martin J. Hillenbrand promotion to assistant secretary of state.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Hans Krueger; Reinhold Rehs.
- 0216 Personal Action [August 16–28, 1962].**  
*Major Topics:* Walter C. Dowling; Konrad Adenauer; nuclear deterrent.  
*Principal Correspondent:* John F. Kennedy.
- 0224 1961 Misc. Files (German economy, troops, NATO) [July 6, 1960–February 13, 1961].**  
*Major Topics:* USSR-GDR separate peace treaty; contingency planning; NATO; Charles de Gaulle; Berlin as international enclave and UN headquarters.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Konrad Adenauer; Thomas B. Larsen.
- 0237 MSOP [Mutual Security Objectives Plan]—1961 [October 14–28, 1960].**  
*Major Topics:* U.S. political, military, and economic objectives worldwide, specifically Greece, Iran, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Europe, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, United Kingdom, Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Philippines, China (Taiwan), Thailand, and Vietnam.
- 0434 IV Ideas & Background Discussions NOTS [May 13, 1960–December 7, 1961].**  
*Major Topics:* Post-Adenauer Germany; U.S. position in Berlin; Allied contingencies; antithetical U.S.-Allied philosophies on Berlin; transfer of UN headquarters to Berlin; proposed five-stage course of action favoring negotiations; Belgian position on Berlin; USSR intentions in Berlin post-Cuban missile crisis; Charles de Gaulle position on Berlin.  
*Principal Correspondents:* Francis Olcott Allen; E. Allen Lightner Jr.
- 0610 Meeting of Foreign Ministers, Geneva—1959 (First Phase) [June 8–11, 1959].**  
*Major Topics:* Willy Brandt views on Berlin; summary of ministers’ positions; Andrei Gromyko views.  
*Principal Correspondent:* Livingston T. Merchant.

**Office of the Executive Secretariat  
Records relating to the Berlin Crisis, 1961–1962**

- 0616 Status of Berlin, Contingency Planning [November 17, 1961].**  
[Report withdrawn.]
- 0618 Berlin Contingency Planning [June 1961].**  
[Report withdrawn.]
- 0620 CIA Berlin Handbook [December 27, 1961].**  
[Handbook withdrawn.]
- 0622 Berlin Crisis Documents, 1961.**  
[Report withdrawn.]
- 0624 Misc. Papers on Berlin [1961].**  
[Book withdrawn.]
- 0626 Documents on Berlin [1961].**  
[Papers withdrawn.]
- 0628 Kennedy Memos on Berlin [1961].**  
[Memos withdrawn.]
- 0630 Miscellaneous Documents on Peace Treaty with Germany [April–August 1961].**  
*Major Topics:* Llewellyn E. Thompson's twin treaty concept (U.S. and Allied Powers with FRG; USSR and Associated Powers with GDR; nonrecognition of GDR); draft NATO–Warsaw Pact nonaggression treaty; supreme authority of victorious WWII powers in Germany in 1945; Council of Foreign Ministers' role in German peace treaty; denazification, democratization, disarmament, and demilitarization of Germany; post–WWII population transfers; Allied Control Authority for Germany; constitutional organization of the Federal State; tripartite and USSR proposals on Germany; John Foster Dulles and Christian Herter statements on Germany.

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- 0001 Washington Foreign Ministers' Conference, September 1961; Report of Four Power Working Group on Germany and Berlin [September 11–13, 1961].**  
*Major Topic:* Contingency planning with NATO.
- 0071 NSC—Record of Actions Index, Research Memos [September 18, 1961–May 3, 1962].**  
*Major Topics:* USSR intentions in Berlin crisis; chronologies of events; checklists of possible Communist actions.

- 0210 First & Second Acheson Reports—1961.**  
[Reports withdrawn.]
- 0212 Meeting of Senior Officers, Paris, December 7–10, 1961; Report of the Four Power Working Group on Germany and Berlin [December 10, 1961].**  
*Major Topic:* Contingency planning with NATO.
- 0241 4-Power Working Group [August 2, 1961–February 8, 1962].**  
*Major Topics:* Public information program on Berlin; Allied contingency planning; UN aspects of Berlin question; viability of Berlin.  
*Principal Correspondent:* William J. Jordan.
- 0368 Report of the Four Power Working Group on Germany and Berlin as Revised in Light of Ministerial Consultations, August 1961.**  
*Major Topics:* Allied negotiating tactics and contingency planning; UN aspects of Berlin crisis.
- 0421 Report of the Four Power Group on Germany and Berlin as Revised in Light of Ministerial Consultations, September 1961.**  
*Major Topic:* Allied negotiating principles and contingency plans.
- 0495 Minutes of Steering Group—1961 [July 17, 1961].**  
[Report withdrawn.]
- 0497 Meeting “Re. Berlin” [July 13, 19, 1961].**  
[Books withdrawn.]
- 0500 Berlin Task Force Minutes of Meetings [November 1, 1961–May 7, 1962].**  
*Major Topics:* INR briefings; GDR and USSR activities; Berlin access (especially air corridors and autobahns); Foy D. Kohler; media coverage on Berlin; NATO and Warsaw Pact troop movements; Martin J. Hillenbrand; Richard H. Davis; military liaison missions in Berlin; diplomatic meetings; border crossing incidents and other USSR/GDR harassments; military and economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; arms control and disarmament; UN role; Berlin viability; IAA; GDR passport and visa controls for West Germans; USSR intentions in Berlin.
- 0696 Berlin Task Force Minutes of Meetings [August 17, 1961–October 31, 1961].**  
*Major Topics:* INR briefings; media coverage on Berlin and Germany; Nikita S. Khrushchev; Berlin access (especially air corridors and autobahns); border crossing incidents; checkpoint Friedrichstrasse; Foy D. Kohler; Martin J. Hillenbrand; NATO and Warsaw Pact troop movements; economic countermeasures to Berlin crisis; arms control and disarmament; diplomatic meetings; UN role; Steinstuecken (West Berlin exclave); Willy Brandt U.S. visit; European security; military countermeasures to Berlin crisis; NATO Secretary General Dirk U. Stikker U.S. visit; Tag der Heimat.

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“**T**he key to Berlin’s future is the confidence of its people in the United States. It must be clear that West Berlin is part of the West and that free access to the city from the West is guaranteed. It must be clear that the full power of the United States stands back of that guarantee. We need not be bellicose or provocative; we must be firm and clear.”

Even though a thoughtful observer made this recommendation in 1962 after the erection of the Berlin wall, it nonetheless reflects the basic philosophy that governed U.S. policy toward Berlin during the Kennedy administration.

*The U.S. State Department Office of the Executive Secretariat, Crisis Files, Part 1: The Berlin Crisis, 1957–1963* offers an in-depth look into the negotiations of top U.S. officials with leaders of the Soviet Union and Western Allies during one of the tensest periods of the cold war.

For a collection about the Berlin crisis, it contains curiously little discussion of the Berlin wall, which was erected in August 1961 to stem the tide of refugees fleeing East Germany. Instead the collection covers high-level diplomatic exchanges, preparations for those meetings, and policy options.

The collection consists largely of meeting summaries, reports, policy directives, telegrams between the State Department and its representatives in the field, memoranda of diplomatic conversations, research memos, policy analyses, and a few press releases. Most of the documents originate in the administration of President John F. Kennedy in the early 1960s, although some provide background to the onset of the Berlin crisis during the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower in the late 1950s.

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