

USCOB BRIEFING

In order that you may more fully appreciate the current situation in Berlin, we feel that a short review of a few basic facts, concerning the political and military relationship between the Allies and the Soviets since 1945, is in order.

Every President of the United States, since the 2d World War, has deemed the defense of the freedom of Berlin critical to the security of the United States and the entire free world. The United States, France and the United Kingdom stand pledged to defend West Berlin by whatever means may be necessary.

Now, for the third time in just over 13 years, the Soviets have launched a major threat to the freedom of West Berlin. We are in Berlin by right of conquest, and our free access to West Berlin is inherent therein. In addition, in June of 1945, representatives of the Soviet Union, United Kingdom and the United States agreed on arrangements for use by the Western Powers of specific roads, rail lines and air lanes, between the Western occupation zones, and Berlin. These rights are again reaffirmed by the Soviets in a Four Power agreement in 1949. However, the Soviet Union has not faithfully adhered to these and other pledges; instead, they have periodically harassed, or permitted East German harassment of Allied and German access rights in an effort to frighten the West into giving up West Berlin.

The so-called German Democratic Republic - GDR - which was set up by the Soviets on the 7th of October 1949 as their puppet regime in the East Zone of Germany, has become increasingly militant in nature. In direct violation of the initial Four Power agreement, this East German regime has proclaimed the Soviet Sector of Berlin to be its capital.

Since 13 August 1961, in a series of outrageous and illegal actions, the GDR has succeeded in sealing off a major portion of the border crossing points between East and West Berlin. Since that time the armed forces of this puppet regime have injured and even killed their own people who have attempted to reach sanctuary in West Berlin.

In stark contrast, West Berlin has no troops of its own and, as it is not a part of the Federal Republic, no West German troops are stationed here. Contrast this with the massive East German armed forces stationed around and within East Berlin in the Communist May-Day celebrations in 1959, 1960 and 1961, these East German armed forces paraded openly in East Berlin. These militaristic displays were an ominous hint of West Berlin's probable eventual fate if the Allies were to depart from this city. This threat became even plainer in August 1961, when the East German regime deployed large military forces, including tanks, in the sealing off the sector/sector border.

West Berlin is a lighthouse of freedom in a dark totalitarian sea. It demonstrates the economic superiority of a free society which allows and encourages individual initiative. More important, it is a shining model of political, intellectual, and spiritual freedom in which individual liberties are assured and the people choose those who govern them.

For more than a decade Berlin has been a test tube of peaceful competition. Hundreds of thousands of visitors have seen at first hand the result that the difference between West and East Berlin is the differences between day and night.

President Kennedy has emphasized the western powers' determination to defend their presence in West Berlin, access to the city and the viability of West Berlin.

It will be recalled that in his address to the UN General Assembly on 26 September, he said the crisis existed in Berlin "because of threats against the vital interests and the deep commitments of the Western powers, and the freedom of West Berlin." He said "we cannot yield these interests. We cannot fail these commitments. We cannot surrender the freedom of these people for whom we are responsible."

The President carefully defined what he means by "freedom", since the Soviet call for a "free city" is not at all the same, Mr. Kennedy said that "for a city or a people to be truly free, they must have the secure right, without economic, political or public pressure, to make their own choice and to live their own lives."

Then he said the western powers "have calmly resolved to defend, by whatever means are forced upon them, their obligations and their access to the free citizens of West Berlin and the self-determination of these citizens

For the Western Allies, Free Berlin is the symbol, the evidence and the acid test of their unity, strength and determination.

My next remarks will review a few facts concerning the city of Berlin, the missions and command relationships of the United States Commander, Berlin, and the Allied Command Structure in Berlin.

THE CITY OF BERLIN

This is the city of greater Berlin. With a population of over 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ million it compares with Chicago; however, on an area basis, Berlin's 340 square miles make it larger than the District of Columbia, Alexandria and Arlington combined. Paris is even smaller. Within the limits of the sprawling city of Berlin there are several very sizeable forests, river with many canal outlets for barge traffic, and many lakes. There are three airports within the city, and one just outside of the southeast.

In 1945 the city was divided into four occupation sectors in much the same way that Germany itself was divided into four occupation zones. Therefore, in reality the city of Berlin was the fifth occupation zone planned as the seat of the quadripartite Allied Control Authority, the ruling body for all Germany. Each of the four sectors of the city was garrisoned by military forces of the power occupying that sector. The city of Berlin was to be administered by a four-power Allied Kommandatura composed of the Four Allied City Commandants, meeting in the Allied Kommandatura building in the U.S. Sector.

The Soviet Commandant walked out of the Allied Kommandatura at the time of the Berlin Blockade in 1948. Concurrently, the freely elected city-wide government was forced out of the Rathaus located in the Soviet Sector, and the city was divided into East and West Berlin.

East Berlin with a population of about one million is administered by the Communist Berlin Magistrat under Mayor Friedrich Ebert. West Berlin, with a population of about 2 1/3 million is administered by the Berlin Senat under Governing Mayor Willy Brandt. Both of these city governments claim legal jurisdiction over all Berlin, but, in fact, confine their activities to East and West Berlin respectively.

In spite of these two separate city governments there has been, until recently, a fairly free flow of individuals between East and West Berlin. In the past, S-Bahn and U-Bahn rail transportation systems covered the entire city; private automobiles went back and forth freely; and there were many individuals who lived in one of the sectors and worked in the other.

On 13 August, when the East Germans closed the sector border, this free flow was disrupted. The East Germans have placed stringent controls on the movement of Germans between the East and the West Sectors, and by limiting the Allies to one crossing point, the East Germans have attempted to restrict our movement between the sectors. However, we are maintaining our right of free movement by use of our remaining point of access to East Berlin.

CHANNELS OF AUTHORITY

Let us turn now to the U.S. organization for our occupation role in Berlin.

Both the State Department and the Defense Department have responsibilities for our occupation of Berlin. The State Department carries out these responsibilities through the United States Mission, Berlin, abbreviated US-BER. The Mission is located in Berlin; however, the Chief of Mission is Mr. Dowling who is also the U.S. Ambassador to Germany in Bonn. Defense Department responsibility is delegated largely to CINCEUR, in turn to CINCUSAREUR, the major Army Commander in Europe. These two chains of responsibility, i.e. State and Defense, are brought together in the Office of the United States Commander, Berlin -- abbreviated USCOP --. USCOP is also Commanding General, US Army Berlin. Berlin Brigade is the tactical element of this command. The Commanding General, Berlin Brigade, reports directly to the Commanding General, US Army Berlin. Thus, as the senior representative of the United States physically located in Berlin, General Watson operates in a dual capacity under separate letters of instruction from the Ambassador and CINCUSAREUR.

USCOP's staff is very small and deals primarily with policy matters. Together with his British and French counterparts of the Allied Kommandatura, he is responsible for the security and defense of the city, and for the administration of West Berlin.

In day-to-day operations, the U.S. Mission, Berlin reports directly to the State Department.

MISSIONS

This chart (see below) summarized the missions of USCOB derived from his two letters of instruction. The political missions are assigned by the Ambassador. The military missions are assigned by CINCUSAREUR. The unique position an occupational commander representing both his foreign office and his Defense Department is an essential organizational feature in each of the four sectors of Berlin, where all major problems have both military and political implications.

CHART

POLITICAL

1. Exercise all U.S. Government functions in Berlin.
2. Sit as member of Allied Kommandatura.
3. Coordinate intelligence.

MILITARY

1. Support Chief of Mission Berlin.
2. Regulate rail and road access to Berlin.
3. Defend Berlin.

ACA-AK ORGANIZATION

This discussion of command relationships and organization has been concerned so far only with the U.S. side. Let us return now to the Allied organization in Berlin.

You may recall that the Allied Control Authority (or ACA) was the US-UK-USSR-French agency created to govern Germany after its surrender in 1945. The ACA was headed by the Military Governors (later High Commissioners) of each of the four powers. While the ACA is dormant, certain vestiges remain. The most obvious of these is the 400-room ACA Building. Only a few of these rooms are occupied by the two ACA agencies still functioning -- the Berlin Air Safety Center and the Allied Travel Office.

The Berlin Air Safety Center, staffed by US, British, Russian, and French Air Force personnel, is the mechanism for insuring safe passage of allied aircraft through the three air corridors between Berlin and West Germany. All Allied flights plans for military and commercial flights in these corridors are handled to the Soviet Controller for information. The center has no means of actually monitoring the flights, but the Soviet controller's initials on the flights plan signify his acknowledgement of responsibility for safety of the flights.

The tripartite Allied Travel Office provides Temporary Travel Documents to residents of the Soviet Zone who desire to travel to Western countries which do not accept passports of the so-called German Democratic Republic, or GDR. By this means, officials of the GDR, and known agents, can be excluded or limited on their activities.

Spandau prison is the only agency established under the Allied Kommandatura which remains on a quadripartite basis. Initially seven War Criminals were incarcerated in Spandau. The prison is administered by four prison governors, one for each power. Security for the prison is rotated monthly between the four military garrisons. The prison population is now three - Hess, Speer and von Schirach.

PROBLEMS

We will now consider some of the Berlin problem areas. These include air and ground access, our so-called propaganda activities, the refugee flow and the strength of the Allied garrisons in Berlin.

ACCESS I

The first problem is that of air and ground access.

There are five quadripartitely agreed routes for Allied access to Berlin: three air corridors, the autobahn from Helmstedt to Berlin and the rail line through Marienborn.

The day to day problem in Berlin is to resist any Soviet maneuver to increase their authority over our land and air traffic, and to refuse to accept any controls exercised by the GDR -- the so-called German Democratic Republic. Since the slightest relaxation on our part is eagerly adopted by the Soviets as a new precedent, our train and convoy commanders are given instructions in minute detail to govern their rejection of all Soviet inroads.

Soviet nibbling tactics are a continuing problem. However, the greater Soviet threats are interruption of our ground access routes by turning over control to the GDR, and interference with our air access routes through refusal to guarantee safety of aircraft or by interference with their flights. For these contingencies there are governmentally approved tripartite plans.

PROPAGANDA

Another problem area is our so-called propaganda activities.

The US Information Service in Berlin has two prime objectives: First, to continually identify the US with the political, economic and cultural life of this isolated city; and second, to take advantage of our unique geographical position (110 miles by autobahn) behind the Iron Curtain in giving the 16 million residents of the Soviet Zone practically the only truth about the outside world that they are able to obtain.

The principal USIS agencies for accomplishing these objectives are RIAS and the Amerika Haus. Since the building of the "Wall" which cut off all East German visits to West Berlin, RIAS has become more important than ever before and is the Free World's prime link with the people of the Soviet Zone. RIAS, whose letters stand for Radio-in-the-American-Sector, is on the air, in German, 24 hours a day, with news, music, political commentaries, and special programs designed for East German listeners. Its seven transmitters, the largest of which has 300,000 watts, plus its use of the Voice of America's million watt transmitter in Munich make it one of the most powerful stations on the continent of Europe.

The multiple wave AM coverage of Rias blankets all of East Germany. The effectiveness of the AM coverage is reduced but far from eliminating by the East Zone jamming which gives RIAS the distinction of being the most jammed station in the world. The FM coverage of RIAS is less extensive, but as is characteristic of FM it is difficult to jam. It is estimated that through its AM and FM coverage, RIAS reaches over two-thirds of the East Zone radio audience.

Before the 13th of August Amerika Haus, the United States Information Center was an important magnet for East Germans seeking information about the US of the 1½ million people who visited the Amerika Haus during 1960, to browse through the library, view exhibits and art shows, and to hear lectures and concerts all of, or about America, some 600,000 were from East Berlin and the Soviet Zone. While the East audience is now cut off, Amerika Haus still has a vital role in the cultural and political life of West Berlin. Its programs, which have featured such well-known personalities as James B. Conant, John J. McCloy, Arnold Toynbee, Thornton Wilder, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Arnold Berstraesser, Willy Brandt, and others are considered by West Berliners to be one of the City's most important cultural attractions. The operation of this cultural center in the heart of down-town Berlin is also a continual reminder of America's identity with the post-war struggle of the West Berliners to maintain their freedom.

The Soviet campaign to eliminate what they call "hostile propaganda" from West Berlin has as its real objective the removal of these two checks to the effectiveness of their own propaganda in the Soviet Zone.

TROOP STRENGTH

Finally, we will discuss the subject of troop strength in Berlin. Without doubt, this is a critical potential problem - largely because the Soviets choose to make it one.

For conducting operations the Allies have at their disposal a total of about 11,000 troops, consisting of about 6500, US; 3000 British, and 1500 French. These figures include all military personnel living in Berlin - regardless of assignment. About 20% of this strength is in non-combat support units.

When viewed in terms of the 10,000 East German troops, 14,500 Communist police and security personnel, and 45,000 Soviet troops, all located within 20 miles of downtown Berlin, our Allied force might be considered to be only symbolic. However, there are three reasons for considering it otherwise.

First, since the Soviets themselves can hardly accept to attack West Berlin without initiating general war, we consider that a Communist-inspired and engineered uprising of East German civilians, reinforced by East German police or troops in civilian clothes, is a likely threat. Our present force is far more than symbolic against such tactics.

Second, the Berliners look upon our forces as their protectors, and as an indication of our national determination to defend the city. Any reduction of size of the garrisons or of the Allied community in Berlin would inevitably be interpreted as a reduction of our determination, as well as our capability, to protect them.

Third, the Allied garrison in Berlin must be strong enough to conduct an effective defense against major enemy forces for a limited period. Our objective to such a battle is time: Time for world opinion to be clearly and adequately roused; time for the governmental decision-making process to function; and time for an Allied reaction to the attack to be mounted. If the Communists would seize West Berlin in a sudden coup and confront the Allies the next morning with a fait accompli, an Allied decision to act after the fact would be most difficult to make, and Berlin would be lost.